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The University of Alberta

Schooling in Paul Band, 1893-1923

by

Ruby Bird 

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF Master of Education

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled SCHOOLING IN PAUL BAND, 1893-1923, submitted by Ruby Bird in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Education in International/Intercultural Education.

Dr. Marilyn P. Assheton-Smith

Dr. Henry Hodysh

Dr. Joyce Bainbridge

Dr. A.D. Fisher

Date.....17.....1998.....

Abstract

This thesis is a bird's eye view of the history of Paul Band First nation in the years 1893-1923 with a focus on schooling and gender.

In it I first of all, drawing mainly on primary sources, trace the history of Paul Band as far back as possible in an attempt to discover if the people had been where they are now located in Alberta for a very long time or if they were relatively recent arrivals. I also attempt to distinguish them from other Stoney groups. From the available information it would appear that they are Woods Stoney –hunters, trappers and fishers of the forests and lake – and always have been.

Next I take a look at Paul Band schooling for the years 1893 to 1923. These years may seem arbitrary but to my mind represent a specific phase in their schooling experience. It is marked at the beginning by the first Paul Band schooling and at the end by the demise of the boarding and industrial schools and the emergence of the residential schools in 1923, beginning another era. This chapter draws on a combination of primary, secondary, and oral history sources.

Finally, I attempt a descriptive analysis of the relationship between gender and schooling in which I focus on the schooling of the native girls and women of Paul Band, while not leaving out the boys and men entirely. I use theoretical sources for my discussion of gender, and the schooling experiences provided by Paul Band girls and women.

Each of these topics – the general history of Paul Band, the history of Paul Band schooling, and the analysis of gender and schooling with respect to Paul Band – should be seen as merely beginnings for further research.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank my father, Mr. Sam Bird who began this project many years ago.

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Chapter One

Schooling in Paul Band, 1893-1923

Introduction

I think that there is a lot to learn from history. History gives us a sense of identity and direction. "In preserving the collective past and reinterpreting it to the present, human beings define their potential and explore the limits of their possibilities. We learn from the past not only what people before us did and thought and intended, but we also learn how they failed and erred."[1]

My interest in history stems back to high school but it was not until university that I was able to go into it in more depth. It was then that I started to think about the history of Paul Band. After graduating with a Bachelor of Arts degree in history in 1973 I came home and told my father, who was then chief of Paul Band, that we needed to know more about ourselves and the group we belonged to. Who were we and where did we come from? He became very interested himself in finding out more about the history of Paul Band and he decided to give me a hand.

My father conducted taped interviews with five of the eldest members, that is, people 65 years old and over, and with five others who were between 60 and 65 years of age. He wrote down what they said. He also listed in chronological order various leaderships of Paul Band spanning a twenty-year period and wrote about their efforts and progress at self-government. This included the programs they got hold of over those years from the Department of Indian Affairs and their management of them. When he was done he handed everything over to me and said, "We have done our part to give you a start. Do it." That was in 1975-6. But by then I had gotten a teaching certificate and was on my first teaching assignment, so I put the Paul Band project aside. However, it was always in the back of my mind and I knew that eventually I would embark upon it because the desire and interest have always been there.

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[1] Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1986): 221.

Establishing the Research

When I first entered a Master's degree program I knew right away what I wanted to do – to follow up this work of my father and write a history of Paul Band. However, as I moved closer to it I realized it would be too broad a topic for a work of this scope, and that such an ambitious project would have to wait a bit longer still. That is when I started thinking about all the different areas in Paul Band history I could focus on for a thesis. It was not difficult to figure out. I decided on native education which was of particular interest to me being a native teacher and all, and having taught in native communities in Alberta, Saskatchewan and Quebec as well as in the two native alternative schools in Edmonton.

After scanning the voluminous material on native schooling my enthusiasm began to wane because the picture I got was one of complete domination and oppression. That picture seemed one-sided to me, however true it might purport to be. If that is the way it truly was for everyone then I really had nothing to say or add to it. The history of schooling is, after all, well-known and well-documented.

I felt rather aimless and only half interested as I went out and interviewed ten people both men and women from Paul Band about their schooling experiences in the Edmonton Residential School and the St. Albert one between the years 1923 and 1950 approximately. I did not discover anything new under the sun that had not already been written about really, except that there was not much bitterness expressed which puzzled me. The women, in particular, seemed not to have minded it at all and even put a value on its practical aspects. I wondered how that could be since all the men viewed it as a negative experience to a greater or lesser degree. As a matter of fact, one of my male informants told me that he thought they (the school) used him too much for work and that he got behind in his schoolwork.[2] It then occurred to me that their

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[2] Interview with *Informant 1, October, 1997.*

schooling experiences were not the same, at least not according to their perceptions. It seemed that it was the women who enjoyed it and got the most out of it. It was not supposed to happen like that. Schooling was established for boys because it was expected that they would be the only or main breadwinners. Anyway my interest was greatly renewed because I knew then what I wanted to focus on - native women's education in the past as it pertained to Paul Band, but within an understanding of the whole situation of schooling for the Band.

Having at last selected an area of interest I started asking questions. Who went to school and what schools did they attend? How did the schooling of the women differ from that of the men? What were the factors that influenced the type of schooling they received? What has such schooling meant for them individually and collectively? Did women ever seek schooling for themselves or just put up with it?

However, there has not been much work done on the education of native women. They have been subsumed under native education which has not given native women's education due attention. While the history of native education or schooling tells us much about the cultural oppression that took place in the residential schools in particular it does not tell us much about the gender oppression native women faced and how they dealt with it. It has been 'hidden from history' as they say, and the reason it has been 'hidden from history' is because it was not an issue then. That is, notions of gender were so taken for granted as to be thought of as 'natural' or 'God-made.' Nevertheless, it needs to be uncovered and interpreted because no matter how taken for granted notions of gender were in Canada at the time, there is no doubt that gender played a major role in the way native schools were run and the type of schooling native boys and girls received.[3] Indeed, it can be said that their

[3] J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools (Toronto:* University of Toronto Press, 1996): 217.

schooling served to further generate and perpetuate gender inequalities in native society. By preparing native girls for future roles as mothers, wives and homemakers and for using them as domestic servants in the residential schools, these schools may have seriously impinged upon their traditional roles in their native society which extended beyond the domestic or private sphere to other work well beyond the home.

However, it was not just gender they had to contend with. There was also race and class which must be included in any discussion of gender if there is to be a proper understanding of the realities of their experience. To ignore either or both would be to distort the picture.[4] Race as we all know was really at the bottom of it all. Native people were regarded as morally and intellectually inferior and, therefore, in need of protection and civilization and Christianization. This was to be accomplished primarily through schooling.[5] Women, especially, who were long regarded by missionaries in particular as having too much sexual freedom were in need of rescuing and protection. With regard to class, social mobility was virtually non-existent. Their schooling did not provide them with the means and wherewithal to find jobs in the Canadian economy let alone climb the social ladder.

In this thesis then I would like to take a look at the schooling experiences of the children of Paul Band First Nation between the years 1893 and 1923, and examine the ways in which gender along with race and class influenced their schooling, and to the extent that it is possible, discuss how it impacted on their lives, that is, how they perceived, understood and acted on their experiences. That is what I would like to get a picture of.

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[4] Kathleen Weiler, *Women Teaching for Change: Gender, Class & Power* (Massachusetts: Bergin & Garvey Publishers, Inc., 1988): 50-51.

[5] John L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy" in Ian A. L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier, eds. *As Long as the Sun Shines and Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983): 39-43.

I chose the time period, 1893 - 1923 rather than 1923 to 1950 for a number of salient reasons. First, it marks the beginning of Paul Band First Nation. The reserve was officially formed in the fall of 1891 under the name 'White Whale Lake' which was later changed to Wabamun Lake Indian Reservation. Paul was the headman at the time so they named the band after him, though he was not the first. It was his brother Ironhead who first led them there in 1880-1 according to the government documents.[6] He died before the official formation of the reserve. So the name of the reserve is Wabamun Lake and the name of the band is Paul; however, no one ever refers to it as Wabamun Lake Indian Reservation. They all call it Paul Band.

Second, this time period also marks the beginning of schooling for Paul Band which took place on two fronts. The one was the day school which opened in the summer of 1893 under the auspices of the Methodist Church with the resident missionary in charge. The other was the Red Deer Industrial School which opened in the autumn of the same year also under the auspices of the Methodist Church.[7]

Third, it was a period of experimentation filled with high expectations and optimism for the first decade or so followed by doubt and reduced expectations on the part of the government and church before the midway point of the period under study. By the time Paul Band got its reserve in 1891 the industrial schools out west were in full swing, and more were being built like the one at Red Deer. The goal was to turn native students out as effectively and efficiently as possible to take their place in Canadian society; however, the schools plagued by recruitment, attendance, discipline, health and financial problems fell far short of this apparently lofty goal. The government feeling that they were not getting enough returns for the large amount of money they were putting out for these

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[6] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 14), 1881. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1880:* 110.

schools and realizing for the first time that the native people were here to stay began increasingly to turn their attention to the day schools. Day schools were a lot cheaper to operate though no more successful as it turned out. They, too, were plagued as were the industrial schools by attendance and other problems.[8] In any case, a major reorganization by the government in 1910 brought with it a new goal which was to prepare native students for life and work on the reserve.

> Shamelessly rewriting history, Scott contended that 'it was never the policy, nor the end and aim of the endeavour to transform the Indian into a white man.' Now, the department's view of its educational objectives for residential school was that they were intended 'to develop the great natural intelligence of the race and to fit the Indian for civilized life in his own environment.'[9]

Fourth, during this time period the traditional economic resources in Paul Band were still sufficiently abundant to enable the people to obtain a fairly good livelihood. That is, they were still able to live quite well by fishing, hunting and trapping.

And finally, it was a period which saw the demise of the boarding and industrial schools, the disappearance and reappearance of the day school, and the emergence of the residential school in 1923 which marks another era in native schooling/education. It differed from the previous period with respect to attendance and the enforcement of it. That is, attendance legislation was put in place and enforced using whatever measures were felt to be necessary including the appointment of truant officers. The amendments to the Indian Act in 1920 made education compulsory for all students between the ages of seven and fifteen and gave the department the power to take children of school age

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[7] E. Brian Titley, "Red Deer Industrial School: A Case Study in the History of Native Education." Eds. Nick Kach and Ken Mazurek, *Exploring Our Educational Past* (Calgary, Alberta: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1992), 56.
[8] J.R. Miller, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 130-40.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 140.

away from their parents and put them in residential schools and otherwise enforce attendance at day schools as well. [10]

> The department is thus enabled to establish a system of compulsory education at both day and residential schools. Prior to the passing of these amendments the Act did not give the Governor in Council power to make regulations enforcing the residence and attendance of Indian children at residential schools, as the department could only commit to a residential school when a day school is provided, and the child does not attend. [11]

Indeed, one of my informants from this later period commented on this aspect of compulsory schooling in this way: "I was told that if I did not go to school my dad would be thrown in jail so I went." [12]

Such was not the case during the period under study. For most of those years the schools were severely plagued by recruitment and attendance problems and had only the parents' cooperation to rely on. More often than not parents were unwilling to part with their children for any length of time; only those the missionaries could persuade attended.

Methodology

The disciplinary context of this study is primarily historical but the study draws on anthropological and sociological perspectives where appropriate. The objective is to gain an understanding of schooling on Paul Band with particular attention to gender and other social factors. To obtain an understanding of the relationship of gender and schooling I have identified the relevant factors pertaining to the schooling experiences of Paul Band girls and women within a particular time frame and in the context of particular circumstances.

In my writing I have employed a combination of the three basic techniques of description, narrative and analysis, sometimes alternating them; sometimes

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[10] Canada. Sessional Paper No. 27, 1921. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1920: 13.*
[11] *Ibid.*, 13.

fusing them more throughout the text. For instance, I have used description and narrative for "The Historical Development of Paul Band Schooling," to set the scene and put the relevant events in some kind of order. But in the section, "Gender and Schooling," I rely mainly on analysis in an attempt to elucidate the connectedness of the relevant events occurring as well as laying bare the workings of the schools.

My sources of data are primary materials, secondary works and oral history evidence. The primary sources are mainly government documents known as *Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs* 1880-1930. They are reports on the state of affairs on reserves including social and economic conditions as well as education. I have treated these reports not as ordinary reports but as parts of the administrative and policy-making process of the department of Indian Affairs and therefore have not questioned their reliability much. In any case the bias inherent in these reports is of historical significance in that it reflects the thinking of the times toward native people. For the history of Paul Band I have included reports of early travelers and explorers like Alexander Henry the Younger who sojourned with a group of Assinboines, an unpublished manuscript by John Laurie on the Stoney Indians of Alberta (Glenbow Archives), as well as works of anthropology on the Assiniboine.

Secondary works include J.R. Miller's SHINGWAUK'S VISION: A History of Native Residential Schools. It is the most recent and most comprehensive work on the residential school system thus far, and I have relied on it quite heavily to fill in the gaps left in the government records. E. Brian Titley's essays on specific native schools have been most helpful especially the one on Red Deer Industrial School because of its connection to Paul Band. Two of Dr. R. Carney's papers on residential schools were of special interest to the study. The one paper titled "Aboriginal Residential Schools Before Confederation: The Early Experience" serves as a prelude to aboriginal schooling after

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[12] Taped interview with *Informant 2*, October, 1997. Personal Files.

Confederation. It identifies the continuities and discontinuities of aboriginal schooling prior to 1867 which are often ignored in studies of native schooling but which are nevertheless part of the continuum of native schooling. Although the paper centres on the schooling activities of the Catholic Church, mention is also made of the Methodist Church and the role it played in native residential schooling at this time. The Methodists had established Mount Elgin and Alderville residential schools in Ontario prior to Confederation.

Something else I found interesting in this paper is Carney's contention that aboriginal boarding schools are not to be equated with the nineteenth-century industrial or reformatory school because the idea behind them was not the same. "While the environments of aboriginal boarding schools were spartan and highly structured, they were not designed for, nor did they take in, delinquent youth or children who had committed criminal offences. Misconceptions about the term "industrial school" may be because of the several meanings given it in the nineteenth century."[13]

The other paper titled "Residential Schooling at Fort Chipewyan and Fort Resolution 1874-1974" offers a different perspective on native residential schooling.[14] It examines the "Native-wilderness equation" and its application to the residential schools at Fort Chipewyan and Fort Resolution over this period of time. The concept of the "Native-wilderness equation" was premised on the belief that hunting and trapping and fishing would continue as the way of life and therefore only schooling of a minimal sort was necessary. Accordingly, schooling provided only minimal reading, writing and arithmetic skills encouraging and supporting the traditional way of life. This schooling arrangement continued well into the twentieth century until government policies based on the concept of permanent settlement necessitated changes.

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[13] Robert Carney, "Aboriginal Residential Schools Before Confederation: The Early Experience" in Paul A. Bator, ed. *CCHA, Historical Studies, 61.* (Toronto, Ontario: CCHA, 1995), 13-40.
[14] Robert Carney, "Residential Schooling at Fort Chipewyan and Fort Resolution1874-1974" in Raymond Huel, ed. *Western Oblate Studies 2.* (Queenston,Ontario: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 11 5-138.

I found the "Native-wilderness equation" to be an interesting concept and could draw a parallel to the Paul Band situation to an extent. Paul Band was also still very much into the hunting, trapping and fishing way of life during the period under study. The difference was that schooling in Paul Band was largely a side issue because it did not seek to maintain the traditional economy as it did in the north. Indeed, schooling in Paul Band in no way reflected their way of life as it did and does in most societies. Schooling sought to replace the native culture with the Euro-Canadian culture in as short a time as possible.

In general it can be said that cultural replacement was the main strategy the government followed in its dealings with the native people of Canada. This is opposite to what the sociologist, David Nock in his book, *A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy: Cultural Synthesis vs Cultural Replacement* terms cultural synthesis. According to Nock, cultural synthesis should be "redefined as a policy of cultural adaptation that encourages the synthesis of two cultures, that retains elements of both, and that encourages the voluntary borrowing and adaptation by the weaker cultural system."[15] Cultural replacement seeks to assimilate minority groups while cultural synthesis seeks to maintain a separate identity and political autonomy for minority groups.[16]

While the government followed a strategy of cultural replacement or what others would refer to as a policy of assimilation in the case of Paul Band as with most other First Nations, Paul Band was able to continue to maintain a separate identity and to remain autonomous economically at least for some time after the signing of Treaty Six and the survey of the reserve. There were several reasons why they were able to continue to do so which I discuss in my account of the history of Paul Band and the historical development of Paul Band schooling further on. But perhaps another reason which I do not raise in these accounts is that Indian agents were not always around or around enough to strictly enforce

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[15] David A. Nock, *A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy: Cultural Synthesis vs Cultural Replacement.* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988), 1-2.

all government policies on reserves. In the case of Paul Band the Indian Agency was located at the present day Enoch Band near Edmonton so the Indian agent was not around on a day to day basis. If the Indian agent had lived on or closer to the reserve it might have been a different story.

For a study of day schools I have used Ken Coates' article on day schools in the Yukon as well as other articles and essays found in volumes on native education. I have also turned to the works of feminists in history and sociology to give me a grounding in the concept of gender and the issues surrounding it. These include Joan Scott's "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," Sylvia Van Kirk's "Toward a Feminist Perspective in Native History," Gerda Lerner's The Creation of Patriarchy and Kathleen Weiler's Women Teaching For Change: Gender, Class & Power.

The oral history evidence consists of data from interviews which were conducted by my father on my behalf. In these interviews an unstructured approach was used with some of the informants in which they were asked to tell what they knew in general about the history of Paul Band. That is they were asked, how it came to be formed, which people were here then, how Paul Band got its name and so on. With others a more semi-structured approach was used in which they were asked about specific topics such means of livelihood, native religion, other aspects of native culture and schooling. All of these interviews were conducted in either Cree or Stoney depending on the preferences of the informants. Some of these interviews were taped and transcribed, some were left as is, and some were recorded in hand-written text.

The interviews I conducted for a more recent period (1923-1950) do not figure much in this piece of writing except for the occasional comparison and providing me with a larger context to schooling on the reserve. Nonetheless I would like to comment on the way I conducted the interviews. I used what may be termed an unstructured approach. I invited the informants to recount their

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[16] *Ibid.*, David Nock, 2.

schooling experiences focusing on what they learned and how that learning took place and so on with as little interruption as possible. I also gave them as much time as they needed, in some cases, going back for a second or third time. Only one is taped. In both sets of interviews, the ones conducted on my behalf and the ones I conducted, proper care and procedures were taken to inform the participants of the nature of the study and to obtain their consent.

Oral history is oral reminiscence, that is, "the first-hand recollections of people interviewed by a historian." The problems associated with oral history have not only to do with the way the researcher/historian conducts the project and the effect his presence has on the informant, but have mainly to do with the reliability of informants' accounts.

> For not even the informant is in direct touch with the past. His or her memories, however precise and vivid, are filtered through subsequent experience. They may be contaminated by what has been absorbed from other sources (especially the media); they may be overlaid by nostalgia ('times were good then'), or distorted by a sense of grievance about deprivation in childhood which only took root in later life.[17]

However, these shortcomings do not mean that oral history does not count for anything or cannot be useful. It is done all the time anyway. Rather if it is to make its full contribution it must be critically evaluated and used in combination with all other sources on the subject matter.[18] That is what I have tried to do - to check them out against the other sources pertaining to Paul Band schooling for the period under study. The point here is that considering the paucity of native writing or lack of in preliterate native societies interviewing them about their past is almost the only way to get any information. This in itself makes them extremely important sources. In my view they rank right up there with the other sources and are the basis of many of my observations and comments.

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[17] *Ibid.*, 213
[18] *Ibid.*, 215.

Concepts of Gender

At this point I would like to clarify my usage of the term "gender" and present some of the feminist theoretical perspectives that have informed this study. Gender refers to "the social organization of the relationship between the sexes." [19] In its current usage it is used as a substitute for "women" in titles and topics because it sounds more scholarly, neutral and objective. [20] "Gender" as a substitute for "women" is also used to suggest that information about women is necessarily information about men, that one implies the study of the other." [21] That is, women and men define each other and can only be properly understood when analysed in relationship to one another, or in relational terms. Gender also refers to the social relations between men and women - "the entirely social creation of ideas about appropriate roles for women and men." [22] In short, "gender is a category of analysis that refers to the social construction of sex." [23] It can be used to study the lives of either sex but not necessarily both at the same time. [24]

Gender is a social or cultural construct. All one has to do is take a look at different cultures or societies to see that behaviours considered masculine in one culture or society may be considered feminine in another and vice versa. That is, what is considered men's work in one culture may be considered women's work in another and so on. Take the Seneca in historical times for example. In their society, it was the women who were the agriculturalists. The Quaker missionaries who came into contact with them did not agree with this and attempted to change it as part of a civilizing scheme. They felt that it should be the men who should be the agriculturalists and the women "domesticated

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[19] Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." *The American Historical Review*, Vol., 91, No. 4, (1986): 1053.
[20] *Ibid.*, 1056
[21] *Ibid.*, 1056.
[22] *Ibid.*, 1056.
[23] *Ibid.*, 1056.
[24] *Ibid.*, 2.

dependents." "The Seneca were able to resist these plans, but what is particularly regrettable is that Seneca women were denied access to European agricultural technology which they were interested in utilizing, simply because this was not deemed an appropriate occupation for women'.[25] Such an interference, however well-intentioned, might have had disastrous consequences had not the Seneca women been able to resist successfully as they did.

With respect to the question of gender and schooling there are a variety of feminist perspectives. Liberal feminists, for example, are concerned about achieving equal opportunity and equal relations with men "arguing that one's sex should be irrelevant to one's chances for mobility, choice, and personal fulfillment."[26] Focusing on sex bias and sex stereotyping in schools, liberal feminists search out and document sexist practices and sexist instructional materials, both hidden and overt in schools. Their aim is to reform practices, texts and policies to make life better for all.

While liberal feminism has made a major contribution to the question of the relationship of gender and schooling, it has serious shortcomings. It not only fails to place the studies within a social and economic context but ignores class. By ignoring class it fails to address the differences in experiences of gender between those of middle-class origin and those of working class origin.

> While the strength of the liberal perspective lies in its documentation of gender discrimination and the analysis of specific sexist texts and practices, its lack of social or economic analysis limits its ability to explain the origins of these practices or the ways in which other structures of power and control affect what goes on within schools. Its lack of class analysis leads to a blurring of what actually happens in

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[25] Sylvia Van Kirk, "Toward a Feminist Perspective in Native History," in *Occasional Papers of the Centre for Women's Studies in Education* (Toronto, Ontario: Centre for Women's Studies in Education, 1986): 4.

[26] Christine E. Sleeter, "Power and Privilege in White Middle-Class Feminist Discussions of Gender and Education," in Sari Knopp Bikden and Diane Pollard, eds. *Gender and Education* (Chicago, Illinois: The National Society for the Study of Education, 1993): 226.

> schools as individuals are described only in terms of their gender and are not viewed in terms of their class or race location as well.[27]

In short, this perspective does not give much attention to social class and race. It is narrowly focused on classroom texts and practices, and assumes that reform in these areas will lead to better and equal relations.[28] It ignores the complex ways in which gender is constructed. Thus, it is of limited analytic value in the study of the schooling of Paul Band girls and women.

The socialist feminists, on the other hand, have a much wider perspective. They consider the categories of gender and class and , increasingly, race too as basic to the understanding of the complexity and construction of gender. They believe that schooling is tied to capitalism and that capitalism and patriarchy are closely connected and reinforce one another.[29] They "study how material conditions, particularly the sexual division of labor, shape gender relations."[30] Socialist feminist reproduction theorists, for example, look at the ways in which schooling reproduces gender inequalities and oppression. Fundamental to this perspective is the view that women's oppression with respect to their work in the home and in the labour force is reproduced through the process of schooling.[31] That is, sexist texts and classroom practices function ideologically to reinforce women's oppression. "Official state educational policies are examined for their overt and hidden assumptions about women and their 'proper' role in the economy."[32] In short, they are concerned with the ways in which schools function "to prepare girls to accept their role as low paid or unpaid workers in capitalism."[33]

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[27] *Op. Cit.*, Kathleen Weiler, 28.
[28] *Ibid.*, Kathleen Weiler, 28.
[29] *Ibid.*, 29.
[30] *Op. Cit., Knopp Bikden and Pollard*, 3.
[31] *Op. Cit.*, Kathleen Weiler, 31.
[32] *Ibid., Kathleen Weiler, 31.*
[33] *Ibid.*, Kathleen Weiler, 32.

The shortcoming in this perspective lies in its failure to consider "agency and the production of meaning on the part of girls and women in schools."[34] That is, it fails to consider girls and women as agents capable of resisting oppressive practices and ideological messages in schools. The picture it paints is one of complete domination and oppression - kind of like the way native education gets portrayed with the native students as passive victims. This is not to deny that the schooling experiences of native students were largely negative, but to point out that in portraying native students in this fashion it totally ignores and disregards individual experiences and successes. Such an approach, for instance, does not consider how native girls and women negotiated structures to get the most out of their schooling and why.

Because of these limitations, some feminists have turned to concepts of resistance and cultural production to examine girls' and women's experiences in schools.[35] Production theorists are concerned with the ways in which both individuals and classes assert their own experiences and contest or resist the ideological and material forces imposed upon them in a variety of settings.[36] Feminist production theorists maintain that both men and women are capable of resisting oppression and domination; however, women are not only oppressed by class but by sexism,[37] and in the case of native girls and women, of racism as well. Therefore, their way of resisting will be different from that of men.[38] "Moreover, schooling may have a different meaning for them than it has for boys of their same class or race."[39] Indeed, it appears that the women of Paul Band perceived their schooling differently from the men, and that they may have gotten more out of it at least in the short run.

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[34] *Ibid.*, Kathleen Weiler, 39.
[35] *Ibid.*, Kathleen Weiler, 40.
[36] *Ibid.*, Kathleen Weiler, 11.
[37] *Ibid.*, Kathleen Weiler, 40.
[38] *Ibid.*, Kathleen Weiler, 40.
[39] *Ibid.*, Kathleen Weiler, 40.

These various feminist perspectives have influenced my thinking and approach to this study though I make no pretension of adhering to any particular one nor do I try to apply any one of them in any systematic fashion. I write with an awareness of them. Also, I do think that "we must try to understand the construction of gender within specific historical and social sites."[40]

What follows next is an abbreviated history of Paul Band which is intended to serve as a necessary background to the study.

[40] *Ibid.*, Kathleen Weiler, 39.

Chapter Two
General History of Paul Band

Paul Band has a current membership of just over 1,400 people the majority of whom are Stoney and the remainder Cree. They live on Wabamun Lake Indian Reservation located some 60 kilometres west of the city of Edmonton. (See map.) During the historic period, they were in contact with many different cultures, allies and enemies alike, but were still able to maintain an identity that separated them from other Stoney and/or Assiniboine owing perhaps to differences in cultural adaptations.

The Stoney have always been known collectively by the Cree term 'Assiniboine' the first part of which means 'stone' in the Cree language. They were known to themselves as only Nakoda meaning the people, the generous ones. In Saskatchewan and Montana, they are still referred to as Assiniboine but here in Alberta they are called Stoney which is merely a corrupted form of the name. Although they all speak a common Siouan language, there are differences in the dialects spoken between the groups in Alberta and also between those in Alberta and those in Saskatchewan and Montana.

The Assiniboine had apparently split from the Yanktonnai Dakota before the advent of any European. Following a schism between two factions, a segment broke away and moved to the area around Lake Nipigon and Lake of the Woods. There they became known as Assiniboine meaning "people who cook with stones." They lined a hole in the ground with a paunch or hide to which they added water and pieces of meat. Then they threw in red-hot stones from a near-by fire to boil the water and cook the meat. This method from which they derived their name was by no means peculiar to them. Others were known to cook meat in this fashion as well but the name stuck.

In historical times the Assiniboine from whom the Stoney sprang occupied along with the Cree central and southern Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

However, archaeological evidence indicates that the Assiniboine and Cree may have been late arrivals in this region. Hlady suggests that the Assiniboine and Cree were at Lockport, Manitoba as early as 1000 A.D. and that they pushed westward thereafter. The Jesuits who provide the earliest documentary reference to the Assiniboine place them in the vicinity of Lake Nipigon in the early seventeenth century.[41] Jenness places them around Lake Nipigon and Lake of the Woods prior to the seventeenth century.[42]

Prior to the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670, the Assiniboine and the Cree became allies and were involved in the "Ottawa-Indian-French" trade as the main suppliers of fur.[43] Throughout the rest of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Assiniboine and Cree were the central figures in the fur trade involving the Hudson's Bay Company.

> With the acquistion of the gun and assumption of the fur trade middleman role by the Cree, the allied Cree and Assiniboine extended their territories westward and northward until they came to include part of the northern forests and most of the plains and grove belt zone from Lake Winnipeg to the headwaters of the North Saskatchewan, southward to below Missouri. The acquisition of the horse first by the Assiniboine, and through them by the Cree, cemented the interdependence of the Cree and Assiniboine as they moved onto the plains.[44]

Through their role as sole middlemen they were able to negotiate the terms of trade and control the rate of material cultural change,[45] but not for long. Before the end of the eighteenth century the Assiniboine and Cree middlemen found themselves being bypassed. Fur resources were being rapidly depleted and the

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[41] Walter M. Hlady, "Indian Migrations In Manitoba And The West," *Papers Read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, XVII* (1960-1): 32.
[42] Diamond Jenness, *Indians of Canada*. Sixth Edition. (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1963): 308.
[43] Arthur J. Ray, *Indians In The Fur Trade: their role as trappers, hunters, and middlemen in the lands southwest of Hudson Bay 1660-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974): 12.
[44] Susan R. Sharrock, "Crees, Cree-Assiniboines, and Assiniboines: Interethnic Social Organization on the Far Northern Plains." *Ethnohistory 21/1* (University of Montana, 1974): 103.
[45] *Op. Cit.*, Arthur J. Ray, 70.

Hudson's Bay Company following its rival, the North West Company moved into the interior after 1773 to establish trading relations with other Indian groups.

Prior to this the Assiniboine along with their Cree allies were involved mainly in carrying furs to the Hudson's Bay Company posts on the Hudson Bay. Now they were forced to acquire their own furs and take them down to trade at the various posts that had sprung up. However, as they were no longer as skilful at trapping as those in the woodlands who continued this activity, they had to look elsewhere to obtain the European goods which they had come to depend on so heavily. Fortunately for them the huge provision requirements of the trading posts opened up a new opportunity which they seized. With the exception of those living in the woodlands north of the North Saskatchewan River, most of the Assiniboine and Cree began to take on the important role of provisioners for at least some time.[46]

In their role as provisioners, the Assiniboine became very troublesome. They often threatened to cut off provisions if the terms of trade were not to their satisfaction or to prevent other Indian groups from coming to trade at the posts. They effectively cut off food supplies by setting fire to the area around a post in the fall "to prevent the bison from approaching them during the winter season."[47]

In this way they continued to have an upper hand in the fur trade. In time as they became preoccupied with hunting buffalo all year round and with that animal providing them with all the necessities of life, they became "less dependent on European goods"[48] and appeared less frequently and regularly at the provisioning post along the North Saskatchewan River.[49] "Les gens libres" (freemen) who were to become the Plains Metis took over the role.[50] In the

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[46] *Ibid.*, 102.
[47] *Ibid.*, 134.
[48] John E. Foster, "The Plains Metis," in R. Bruce Morrison and C. Roderick Wilson, eds. *Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1986): 383.
[49] *Ibid.*, 383.
[50] *Ibid.*, 383.

meantime those Assiniboine who lived in the woodlands or forest continued to trap for furs in the winter and to fish in the summer.

As the Assiniboine pushed steadily northward and westward they came to occupy a vast territory. In 1809, Alexander Henry the Younger described it as follows:

> Their lands may be said to commence at the Hair Hills (Pembina Mountains) near the Red river, then running in a western direction along the Assiniboine River, and from that to the junction of the north and south branches of the Saskatchewan, and up to the former branch as far as Fort Vermilion, then due south to the Battle River, and then southeast until it strikes upon the Missouris, and down that river until near the Mandan villages, then a north-east course until it reached the Hair Hills. All this space of open meadow country may be called the lands of the Assiniboine.[51]

The Assiniboine territory described above corresponds roughly to present day Manitoba and Saskatchewan including the drainages of Qu'Appelle and Souris rivers as well as the lower Yellowstone and Little Missouri rivers in the U.S.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the distribution of the Assiniboine was such that over half of the their population continued to occupy the region in the Assiniboine River valley. The remainder were dispersed over the region between the South Saskatchewan River and lower Battle River. There were also some Assiniboine living to the north of the North Saskatchewan River and in the area of the Macleod River to the northwest.

It seems that the Assiniboine nation had subdivided into several Plains and Woods dwelling groups. In 1775 Alexander Henry identified four distinct groups of Assiniboine he had encountered in his travels:

> (1) the "Paddling and Foot Assiniboines" located around lakes of the Qu'Appelle River and southward to the Missouri;

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[51] Elliot Coues, ed., *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest. The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson.* 3 Volumes (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1897): 516.

(2) "Canoe and Paddling Assiniboines" ranging in the area west of the preceding group;

(3) "Strong Wood Assiniboines" located on the Battle River and between it and the South Saskatchewan; and

(4) the "Grand River Assiniboines" on the south side of the North Saskatchewan River in Alberta.[52]

Others have made similar distinctions. In 1794, Duncan M'Gillvray of the Northwest Company made detailed notes on the distribution of the western groups of Assiniboine and identified three separate bands: the Canoe Assiniboine of the lower Qu'Appelle, the Grand River Assiniboine of the South Saskatchewan (who frequented South Branch House), and the Strong Wood Assiniboine of Battle River.[53] Clearly, there were were several different groups of Assiniboine.

Their population during this period or any period prior to the treaties is difficult to determine because of their mobility and the effects of various epidemics such as smallpox. Various estimates were made by early travellers and traders. In 1776 Alexander Henry the Elder estimated that there were between 2400 and 3000 Assiniboine but that before any diseases had swept through.[54] Jenness estimates that there were between 8000 and 10,000 distributed among sixteen and seventeen bands in the early nineteenth century.[55] In the years 1780-81 and again in 1832-33, the Assiniboine were almost completely annihilated by the small pox to which they had little resistance. As many as 4000 died during the second epidemic.[56] Both times the survivors fled into the Eastern Rockies. In addition, they were struck by epidemics of measles and whooping cough in 1819 resulting in a loss of about 2000.[57] In 1963 they numbered approximately

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[52] Raoul R. Andersen, "Alberta Stoney (Assiniboin) Origins And Adaptations: A Case For Reappraisal." *Ethnohistory*, XVII and XVIII (Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1970-1): 52.
[53] *Op. Cit.*, Ray, 94.
[54] *Ibid.*, 105.
[55] *Op. Cit.*, Jenness, 316.
[56] *Ibid.*, 316.
[57] *Op. Cit.*, Ray, 108.

2500 half of whom lived in Alberta and Saskatchewan, the remainder in Montana.[58] In 1972 there were 4000 Assiniboine altogether.[59]

In Alberta, there are seven bands of Stoney: Paul's, Alexis, Big Horn, Eden Valley or Pekisko and the Wesley, Chiniki and Bearspaw of Morley. In Saskatchewan, there are four bands: Mosquito, Bear's Head, Lean Man and Carry the Kettle. Rump's and Ocean Man's bands joined the Crees and Saulteaux at Moose Mountain. In Montana, the Assiniboine live on the Fort Peck and Fort Belknap reservations.[60]

So who are the Stonies and how are they to be differentiated from the Assiniboine of Saskatchewan and Montana?

Some of the Assiniboine in Saskatchewan and Montana speak of the Stonies as the "Lost Tribe" of the Assiniboine. The Stonies, on the other hand, maintain that they have never been "lost" at all; they have been mountain and foothill people since time immemorial, a forest people whose mainstay has been the game animals of wood and mountain - moose, elk, sheep, deer and bear - with, in olden days, an occasional foray out on to the Plains to secure buffalo and, later, horses.[61]

The Assiniboine were never known to possess many horses which may explain why they were reputed to be "the greatest horse thieves, perhaps on the face of the earth."[62] Apparently, it was a favourite activity and an accepted way of acquiring horses.[63]

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[58] *Op. Cit.*, Jenness, 316.
[59] Dan Kennedy, *Recollections of an Assiniboine Chief* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1972): 7.
[60] *Ibid., 7.*
[61] John Laurie, *The Stoney Indians of Alberta,* Unpublished Manuscript I (Calgary: Glenbow Foundation, 1957-9): 2.
[62] *Op. Cit.*,Dan Kennedy, 14.
[63] Olive Dickason, *Canada's First Nation: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1992): 193.

When and how the Stonies of Alberta came into the regions drained by the North Saskatchewan, Red Deer, Athabasca and Bow Rivers is not certain. They may have been in the foothills as early as the mid-seventeenth century.[64] Laurie holds that prior to the smallpox of 1780 which almost wiped them out and sent them fleeing in different directions they were living in places along the lower Battle River, the Athabasca River, the Pembina River and the North Saskatchewan River as well as the foothills.[65]

> Each group had been slightly different in manner of life: the Strong Woods were partially adapted to the horse and buffalo culture of the Plains and traded in horses with the Crees and in fur and meat with the companies. The Swampy Grounds had few horses, were almost strictly a forest people, used dogs for transport, hunted forest animals for food, and trapped beaver and other small fur.[66]

By the 1840's the Swampy Grounds, presumably the predecessors of the Morley bands, had already separated into three bands - Wesley, Chiniki and Bearspaw - which persist to the present time. The Wesleys were the most northern group and they occupied the area between the North Saskatchewan and Athabasca Rivers. The central group or Chiniki exploited the area between the North Saskatchewan and Bow Rivers. The southern group, the Bearspaw, roamed the area between the Bow River and Montana.[67] Each band signed separately at the time of Treaty Seven in 1877. When they were granted a reserve forty miles west of Calgary, the Wesleys settled on the north side of the Bow River while the Chiniki and Bearspaw groups settled on the south side of it.[68]

In 1892 some members of the Wesley Band became dissatisfied with reserve life and went to live at Big Horn. They became known as the Big Horn Band.

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[64] *Op. Cit.*, Laurie, 45.
[65] *Ibid.*, 19.
[66] *Ibid.* John Laurie, 19
[67] *Ibid.*, 22.
[68] Grant McEwen, *Tatanga Mani, Chief Walking Buffalo of the Stonies* (Edmonton, Alberta: Hurtig Publishers, 1969): 26.

Those at Eden Valley left the Bearspaw Band during the First World War to take up employment there and did not return. They were finally granted their own reserve in 1947. They are known as the Pekisko or Eden Valley Band.[69]

In brief then, the Swampy Grounds or Mountain Stoney had by 1955 settled down in three places with the majority going to Morley and the remainder going to Big Horn and Eden Valley.

Paul's and Alexis' Bands are a little harder to figure out. Of all the Siouan-speaking groups they are the farthest north and west. There are several possible explanations as to their location and cultural position in pre-treaty time. Andersen offers several tentative explanations:

> (1) The Stoney located roughly between the Athabasca and North Saskatchewan Rivers west of Edmonton (see Map 1) may have followed a westward migration route along the forested edge of the northern Plains; (2) the area occupied by the immediate pre-1877 predecessors of the Alexis and Paul's Bands of Stoney was within reach and perhaps regularly exploited by largely pedestrian Stoney by about 1795 or even earlier; (3) they may have entered this area prior to getting horses; (4) the Grand River Assiniboine first distinguished in 1775 may be the immediate predecessors of the modern Alexis and Paul's bands....[70]

One thing that seems certain is that these Stonies differed from the Strong Woods of the Battle River area.

In 1876, the Alexis Band signed Treaty Six. In 1880, a reserve was surveyed for them at Lac Ste.Anne. About one half of this band under Ironhead were living at Wabamum Lake a this time and refused to join Chief Alexis and his band "as they say the land is better where they are, and the fish crop more certain."[71]

Anderson who did research on the Alexis Band says that religion also had something to do with it. Apparently, Chief Alexis who was a Roman Catholic

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[69] *Op. Cit.*, Laurie, 40.

[70] R.R. Andersen, "Alberta Stoney (Assiniboine) Origins and Adaptations: A Case for Reappraisal. *Ethnohistory*, XVII and XVIII, (1970-1): 54.

[71] Canada. Sessional papers (No. 14), 1881. Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1889: 110.

would not permit any other faith to be practiced on his reserve, and as those at Wabamun Lake were Protestant, they felt it would be better to remain where they were. After repeatedly trying to reconcile the two groups but without any success, the government decided to grant a reserve to the group living at White Whale Lake in 1892.[72] The name was later changed to Wabamun Lake Indian Reservation but it has always been called Paul Band.

The group at Wabamun Lake were granted a little over 20,000 acres of land. It was decribed as being covered mostly with fir and poplar, and some prairie and hay lands, and well watered by many lakes, ponds and creeks.[73] With the coming of the railroad and white settlement the band agreed to surrender 5000 acres of land (Reserve No. 133B) in 1908 for the town plot of Wabamun.[74] 1000 acres was surveyed for the small hamlet of Duffield. The Stoney people live on Reserve No. 133A which consists of a little over 14,000 acres. (Map 2). There is also Reserve No. 133C located at Buck Lake (80 kilometres or so west of Wetaskiwin) but no one lives there. It was abandoned by the Sharphead Band the majority of whom came to join the Stonies at Paul Band over the years.

The Stonies of White Whale Lake, that is, Wabamun Lake were not a very large group to begin with. In 1885, their population was only 61 but by 1896 it had risen to 130, "having more than doubled its population since 1885 by transfers from Alexander's Band and the attachment of Sharphead's."[75] Prior to 1886 and aterwards as well "there was considerable movement between Lac Ste. Anne and Wabamun Lake on the part of the Alexis population...."[76] there being separated by a distance of only 22 kilometres.

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[72] *Op. Cit.*, R.R. Andersen, 55.
[73] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 14), 1892, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs:* 207.
[74] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 14), 1908, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1907: 166.*
[75] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 14), 1897, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Afairs: 282.*
[76] R.R. Andersen, *Political and Economic Structures of the Alexis Band of Wood Stoney Indians, 1880-1964* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, Inc., 1968): 58.

The ill-fated Sharphead Band had their own reserve allotted to them west of Ponoka. In 1884, they numbered 192.[77] However, they did not remain there for very long. By 1893 they had pretty much abandoned it according to the Indian agent's report.

> The next and last reserve in this agency visited was Sharphead's, or generally known as the Stony's, No. 141. Nothing has been done on this reserve, beyond planting a few acres of potatoes; in fact, it is abandoned to all intents and purposes. The cattle are now on Ermineskin's Reserve. They number thirty-four head. A number of this band have gone to Paul's Reserve....[78]

They seemed to have had a hard time settling down on this reserve, I think, mainly because of sickness. They seemed to be sick a lot, and were probably fearful of it. "On Sharphead's reserve little or no improvement is visible; the Indians still complain of sickness, and will not work unless peristently urged; a few are still sick, but the greater number are able to work."[79] The Indian agent's report a year later states that their health is improving but nevertheless notes that "the mortality has been greater than usual...."[80]

When this group disbanded Chief Sharphead went down to Morley and was accepted into that band in 1896. He died there sometime later. Old Man Rain and his family who refused to join any other band moved down to Buck Lake. Others joined them there, and with the help of Rev. John McDougall, the Methodist missionary, they convinced the government to grant them a reserve there [81] in 1914. However, the flu epidemic of 1918 all but wiped them out. [82]

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[77] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 14), 1897, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1897: 271.
[78] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 3), 1893, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1892: 123.*
[79] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 12), 1890, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1889: 77.*
[80] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 18), 1891, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1890:* 54.
[81] *Op. Cit.*, John Laurie, 43.
[82] *Ibid.*, 43.

The remaining few went to Paul's Band at Wabamun Lake[83] and that was the end of Sharphead Band.

It should perhaps be pointed out that there was considerable movement among the bands in the Edmonton agency which included Alexis (Stoney), Paul (Stoney), Alexander (Cree), Enoch (Cree) and Hobbema (Cree). There were several reasons for this. Intermarriage created and strengthened ties. Internal dissensions and dissatisfaction with the reserve in general often led members to seek other places to live. Hunting and fishing encouraged members, as in the case of Ironhead and his followers, to seek places where the game and fish crop were more certain. And diseases such as smallpox, measles and influenza, as in the case of the Sharphead Band, to which they had little resistance sent them fleeing in different directions.

None of these groups was completely isolated culturally and geographically but then, no group on the Plains or in the Woodlands ever existed as a cultural or geographical "isolate."[84] Good examples are the Cree and Assiniboine and the interrelationship that existed between them during the historic period. From the seventeenth century onward the Cree and Assiniboine were "inseparable allies in war against the Sioux, Saulteaux(Ojibwa), Mandan, Minnetaree, Crow, Slave, Blood, Blackfeet, and Atsina...."[85] In trade they were partners serving first as middlemen and later as provisioners.[86] They were connected in other ways as well. They intermarried and were mutually bilingual in spite of the lack of similarities in their languages.

As a result of their intimate association they were similar in most other aspects of their culture and this was noted by several observers. Alexander Henry in his sojourn among the Assiniboines sometime between the years 1760 and 1776

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[83] *Ibid.*, 43.
[84] S.R. Sharrock, "Crees, Cree-Assiniboines, and Assiniboine: Interethnic Social Organization on the Far Nothern Plains." *Ethnohistory*, XXI, (1974), 102.
[85] *Ibid.*, 106.
[86] *Ibid.*, 106.

stated: "In their religious notions, as well as in their dress, arms and other particulars, there is general agreement between the Osinipoilles and the Cristinaux."[87] In 1801 Daniel Harmon of the North West Company made a similar observation. "Both of them are numerous tribes; and as they often meet and intermarry, their manners and customs are similar; but there is no resemblance in their languages."[88] The anthropologist, Robert Lowie found in his study of the Assiniboine in 1907 that "the Canadian Stoneys, at all events, have adopted some cultural features from the Cree and are frequently able to converse in, or at least to understand, the Cree language."[89]

It seems likely that it was the Assiniboine who adopted aspects of the Cree culture rather than the other way around. According to Alexander Henry's earlier account "the Osinipoilles (Assiniboines) (brackets mine), at this period, had had no acquaintance with any foreign nation, sufficient to affect their ancient and pristine habits.....They lived in fear of the Cristinaux,(Cree) (brackets mine) by whom they were not only frequently imposed upon, but pillaged, when the latter met their bands, in smaller numbers than their own."[90]

These various forms of interrelationships are evident in present day Paul Band. Many of the descendants of the Sharphead Band who were originally located at Wolf Creek near the Crees of Hobbema took Cree wives and brought them into Paul Band. And many of the older members are still bilingual but not very many anymore as hardly anyone speaks either language these days never mind both.

Nevertheless, the Stonies of Paul Band and their immediate predecessors, in spite of their long and close association with the Cree, managed to maintain a separate identity. They remained a distinct group living a lifestyle that differed

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[87] Alexander Henry, *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 and 1776 (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1976. Reprint of the 1809 edition published by I. Riley, New York): 299.*
[88] S.R. Sharrock, *Op. Cit.*, 108.
[89] Robert Lowie, *The Assiniboine* (New York: AMS Press Inc., 1975. Reprinted from the edition of 1909, New York.): 8.
[90] *Op. Cit.*, Alexander Henry, 313.

from that of the Plains groups. That is, they did not live by hunting buffalo. Rather, they hunted deer, moose, elk and occasionally bear in addition to trapping a number of small fur-bearing animals such as beaver, lynx, squirrel and muskrat. They also fished intensively in the summertime as Wabamun Lake abounded in white fish and large pike.[91]

And while they may have gone out occasionally on to the Plains to hunt buffalo, they did not do so on a regular basis because of the distance to the Plains and fear of enemies. They also did not possess very many horses using the few they had as pack animals much the same way they used dogs. Because they did not depend solely on the buffalo for their existence, the disappearance of that animal by 1880 did not affect them as much as it did others.[92] They continued to be relatively secure economically for some time afterward. Indeed, the government soon became weary of its efforts to get them to farm saying it was hopeless as long as these Indians were able to continue hunting, trapping and fishing. Consequently, they did not soon become as dependent on the government as those who were dependent solely on the buffalo for their existence. In time, of course, they became increasingly restricted to the reserve boundaries as both the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific railways began to push their way through the reserve toward the end of the first decade of the century and with it impending white settlement. Even so they continued to pursue their traditional economic activities for awhile longer in addition to working for surveyors, lumbermen and farmers.[93]

In short, it is evident that not all Stonies were culturally similar. Andersen hypothesizes that three cultural types may be distinguished as a result of their

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[91] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 14), 1892. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1891:* 207.
[92] Op. Cit., R.R. Andersen, 58.
[93] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 11), 1905. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1904:* 156.

ecological adaptations: Wood, Wood and Plains, and Plains.[94] For the Wood Stoney adaptation, the distinguishing characteristics are:

> a yearly cycle of hunting, trapping, fishing (especially in the summer months) and gathering largely restricted to the forested river and lake foothills region between the Athabasca and North Saskatchewan rivers west of Edmonton....A close relationship with the fur trade, one which likely predates their entry into this area, underlies this adaptation. The area they normally exploited is wooded and often swampy, with numerous small lakes and creeks, and the game taken included buffalo, moose, elk, deer, beaver, muskrat, porcupine, and mountain goat and big horn sheep in the more mountainous western parts.[95]

For the Wood and Plains Stoney adaptation, the distinguishing features include "intensive exploitation of forest game in winter" and a "summer shift to intensive buffalo hunting on the Plains."[96] The Plains adaptation features include "a relatively intensive, "total," wide-ranging dependence upon the buffalo in conjunction with elaborate equestrian organization and horse raiding."[97] Based on this hypothesis of Stoney ecological adaptations, Paul Band as well as the nearby Alexis Band are Wood Stoney and may have been for some time.

To sum up then, Paul Band and the Alexis Band from which it sprang are the most northwesterly bands of Siouan-speaking people. When and how they came to the region between the North Saskatchewan and Athabasca Rivers is not clear. They may have been here more than 300 years ago or they may be more recent arrivals. They may have been in the vanguard of the westward-moving Assiniboine and Cree of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries or they may be indigenous offspring of those groups. Whatever their exact origins may have been what seems to be reasonably certain is that though they shared the same language and similar customs they became and remained a distinct sub-group as hunters, trappers, fishers and dwellers of the forests and lakes outside the principal territory of their relatives.

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[94] *Op. Cit.*, R.R. Andersen, 58.
[95] *Ibid.*, 58.
[96] *Ibid.*, 59.

This brief history is meant to identify the Paul Band Stoney not just as another group of Stonies who have broken away from the Assiniboine nation sometime in the distant past but as a distinct group of Stonies, and to provide what I consider to be the necessary background to the history of their schooling to which I now turn.

[97] *Ibid., 59.*

Chapter Three

An Outline of the Historical Development of Schooling in Paul Band, 1893-1923

The Methodist Day School

Schooling for Paul Band began in 1893 with the "day school" which opened in the summer of 1893 under the auspices of the Methodist Church with the resident missionary as teacher.[98] It started off well enough amidst hope and optimism. By 1895, the majority of all school-age children on the reserve were enrolled, all Methodists.[99] The boys were taught carpentry and gardening; the girls sewing, knitting and spinning.[100] "Three good tables and some good chairs were made by the boys.... Four pairs of trousers, three coats, five dresses, and a number of pairs of socks had been made by the girls...."[101] of which they were all very proud.

In 1896, things were still going well at the school. All school-age children were attending and making good progress in the authorized program of studies and in the industries of carpentry, knitting, sewing, spinning, laundry-work and gardening which were the main emphasis. "The tools granted to this school by the department have been made excellent use of, and many of the boys are quite expert at making such articles as ox-collars, axe-handles, hay-fork handles, wheel-barrows, &c.

By the fall of 1897, however, things appear to have changed quite drastically. An inspector from the Calgary Inspectorate found no one at the school on October 27 except for the principal. Apparently "the school was closed as all the

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[98] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 10), 1894. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1893:* 81.
[99] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 10), 1896. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1895:* 87.
[100] *Ibid.*, 87.
[101] *Ibid.*, 87.

children were away off the reserve with their parents hunting and trapping."[102] It reopened in 1898 but there were not very many children in attendance.[103] It closed again in 1899 because of lack of attendance.[104] It reopened a few years later but the situation had not changed much. An inspector who visited the school on March 9 and 10, 1903 reported that the school was practically closed again because of hardly any attendance. Only one student was present.[105]

The day school carried on in this fashion opening and closing depending on attendance until 1907 when it shut down for real. "From Paul's as from other reserves the day school has disappeared...."[106] It appears not to have reopened until around 1918-9.

There were a number of reasons for this lack of attendance and seeming parental indifference. One was the distance from the school. Probably not all families had horses and wagons and bobsleighs. In 1892, the band had twenty horses in total.[107] The Indian agent who inspected the school on March 9 and 10, 1903 and found it practically closed was not impressed when the teacher told him that the children were not attending because it was too far to go to school.

> Mr. Lent gave as the reason the long distances the pupils had to travel. At a meeting held in a farmhouse in the evening, I spoke to the parents about sending their children to school, and if they took any interest in

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[102] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 14), 1898. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1897: 152.*
[103] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 12), 1899. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1898: 145-6.*
[104] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 11), 1900. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1899: 151.*
[105] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 11), 1904. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1903: 210.*
[106] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 14), 1908. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1907:* 166.
[107] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 14), 1893. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1892:* 117.

> their education, they could easily drive them to the school and send for them. If it was to a dance they could easily find time and conveyance.[108]

Another reason was the lack of appropriate or warm clothing during the winter months. The snow was waist deep some years and it was exceptionally cold other years. The inspector who was honoured to be asked to distribute the clothes that had been made by the girls at the school one year felt bad that there was not enough to go round. "The only regret I had was that I had not garments enough to go over all the pupils, many of whom were badly in need of warm clothing, so that they may attend more regularly during the cold and stormy weather...."[109]

Still another reason was that parents preferred to send their children to the industrial school at Red Deer because of "the Indian being capable, apparently, of grasping the superiority of the residential school."[110] Industrial schools were considered superior to day schools as a means of achieving the major goals of Christianity and civilization sought by the government and church. However, it was more likely that the parents did not mind sending their children so far away to the industrial school in Red Deer because the principal of that school had been the missionary of their reserve prior to his leaving for Red Deer in 1895.[111] He had also served as their first teacher when the day school opened until a permanent teacher was appointed in July, 1894.[112]

But probably the biggest reason for not sending their children to school on any regular basis was because of the economic realities of the hunting and trapping

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[108] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 11), 1904. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1903:* 210.
[109] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 10), 1896. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1895:* 304.
[110] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 14), 1908. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1907:* 166.
[111] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 12), 1899. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1898:* 145-46.
[112] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 9), 1895. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1894:* 75.

life upon which they depended for their survival to a very large extent and which demanded that they be able to move around almost year round.

Hunting and trapping took them well beyond the reserve boundaries at least twice a year for quite lengthy periods of time. They went hunting and trapping west of the reserve toward present-day Drayton Valley in the fall and did not return until just before Christmas then went back out again after Christmas for a second hunt.[113] They hunted moose, elk, deer and bear which kept them well supplied with meat usually. They trapped fur-bearing animals such as muskrats, mink, beaver and squirrels for which they got good prices most years.[114] Needless to say, it kept the children out of school for much of the year.

Fishing was their other principal activity. Indeed, it was their mainstay for many years before and after the official formation of the reserve. Wabamun Lake was teeming with the finest whitefish and large pike. They fished year round more or less. They preserved lots of fish for their own use by smoking it during the summer and fall.[115] The rest of the time they fished for money. "The winter's fishing, also, was remunerative, as buyers were at the lake on the reserve all the season, prepared to buy all the fish they could supply at good prices."[116]

In short, they lived very well off fishing, hunting and trapping - too well, according to one of the Indian agents who stated it as the reason for the small progress in farming. "With whitefish at their doors and fur-bearing animals at hand, they are prosperous, and because of their prosperity they are unprogressive. Mr. Pattision, the farmer, is assiduous in his efforts to advance them in the way of civilization, with as good results as the conditions make possible."[117]

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[113] Interview with *Informant 4*, October 8, 1997. Personal Files.
[114] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 12), 1906. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1905: 164.*
[115] Taped interview with Mrs. Bella Paul conducted by Mr. Sam Bird in 1976. Personal Files.
[116] *Op. Cit.* Canada. Sessional Papers: 164.
[117] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 11), 1905. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1904: 156.*

The Paul Band people did not do as much farming as expected or hoped for. According to the Indian agent what farming they did do was either on a limited scale or of a very crude nature because "Stony Indians can never be made farmers, as we understand the term; to make them earn a subsistence is as much as can be accomplished."[118] That is, if they were shown how to grow vegetables and take good care of their cattle along with their fishing and hunting they could get by just fine without having to do anymore than that, and perhaps it was best left that way.[119]

However, this was not entirely true of course. They did try their hand at farming but certain factors militated against its success right from the start. To begin with, the government did not provide them with a farmer or farming instructor right away as promised, to help them get started, which was the government's practise then on reserves in the prairies west as part of its plan to transform them into farmers. "As on Joseph's Reserve, the farming done is only on a very limited scale, but this band is very anxious to have a farmer. This has been promised to them by the department."[120]

It was not until the spring of 1899 that a farmer was finally appointed "who says he considers it his duty to raise these Indians "financially, socially and morally.""[121] However, he resigned in December of the same year.[122] Mr. Blewett, their former missionary and teacher who could speak the Stoney language and who had gone to Enoch Band as farming instructor a few years before resigned his job there and returned to Paul Band to take over as farming

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[118] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 11), 1900. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1899:* 151.
[119] *Ibid.*, 193.
[120] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 14), 1897. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1896:* 178.
[121] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 12), 1899. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1898:* 145-6.
[122] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 11), 1900. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1899:* 151.

instructor . Still, there were other obstacles that had to be overcome and they too proved insuperable.

They not only had problems getting their grain threshed but also getting it to market.[123] "The difficulty of getting their grain threshed and their remoteness from markets were discouragements which might stagger more enthusiastic farmers than they."[124] This is a relevant point in light of the fact that agriculture did not get firmly established in the west until 1914.[125] Before the turn of the century agricultural methods were not sufficiently developed to make it reliable. Also, the government was still experimenting with vegetables and cereal grains and trying to find out more about the West's agricultural potential.[126] More importantly, there were no effective transportation facilities available yet without which agriculture could not take place successfully. "Transportation was essential to permit the export of wheat, barley and oats, in other words, the development of an exportable cash crop."[127]

Many reserves and homesteads were far away from the Canadian Pacific Railway which crossed the prairies in 1882 and 1883. "Though new trails and ferries appeared, reaching a railway usually involved long weary hours behind a team in all sorts of weather, from dusty heat to a blinding blizzard."[128] Farmers agitated for the construction of branch lines. The result was the construction of the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk after 1900.[129]Both the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk Pacific railways passed through the reserve sometime toward the end of the first decade of the century.

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[123] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 11), 1905. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1904: 156-7.*
[124] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 12), 1906. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1905: 164.*
[125] Lewis H. Thomas, "A History of Agriculture on the Prairies to 1914," in R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer, eds. *The Prairie West: Historical Readings* (Edmonton, Alberta: Pica Pica Press, 1985), 221.
[126] *Ibid.*, 223.
[127] *Ibid.*, 228.
[128] *Ibid.*, 228.
[129] *Ibid.*, 228.

It was not until they heard about the coming of the railways that the Paul Band expressed an interest in farming again. "Now that the railway is due to reach them this summer, there is a revival of interest in farming, and at their own solicitation, and from their own funds, a considerable outfit of work stock and agricultural implements is being purchased for them."[130] However, nothing much in the way of farming appears to have materialized until 1910 when "they did a little more farming during the past year than they have done heretofore."[131] In the meantime, fishing, hunting and trapping continued to be the chief occupations as well as putting up hay for their cattle and working for farmers and clearing right of way for the railways.[132]

In short, while the government may have wanted the Paul Band people to settle down on their reserve, take up farming and send their children to school, and even expressed great dissatisfaction from time to time with the lack of attendance at the day school there was no big push or rush to get them to do so as farming turned out not to be a very viable option at the time. Their traditional economy proved to be more reliable and continued to provide them with all their needs and, more often than not, brought them a surplus of goods.

> The band, this year, enjoyed prosperity, and evinced progress. In both fur and fish the catch was good and the prices were high. From their earnings they bought six stoves with the necessary pipes, twenty lamps and some household utensils toward furnishing the ten new houses they built. From the same source they bought eleven bob-sleighs, three driving sleighs and five sets of team harness.[133]

It appears that the government encouraged them to continue fishing, hunting and trapping for as long as they could because to have relied only on farming

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[130] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 11), 1907. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1906:* 170.
[131] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 27), 1911. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1910:* 172.
[132] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 27), 1909. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1908: 172-3.*
[133] Canada. Sessional Papers (No.27), 1907. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1906:* 170.

which offered little prospect of success at the time would have landed them in a destitute condition and in a dependable state a lot sooner than happened. It should also be remembered that they had only settled down on the reserve for a very few years, and that it would have been unrealistic to have expected a transformation to take place in such a short period of time. Many white settlers themselves ("untold thousands" according to L.H. to) gave up the struggle farm on the southern prairies and went back east or down to the United States. "They were discouraged from moving north into the fertile belt by the absence of railway facilities, which were not constructed until after the tum of the century."[134]

Schooling really had no place in such a lifestyle. Hunting and trapping demanded mobility almost year round for its success which was the very opposite of the sedentary life required by farming and schooling. Consequently, most of the children did not attend school on any regular basis even when it remained open year round as it did when in operation, and they made very little progress as far as grade advancement went. Throughout the years the majority of them were classified as Standard I. In 1895, 32 were in Standard I and 4 in Standard II.[135] Ten years later 22 of the 25 school-age children enrolled were in Standard I. "Although this school has been in operation for a number of years the 22 pupils were all classified under Standard I."[136] A quarter of a century later it was still the same. The 10 boys and 11 girls enrolled were in Standard I.[137]

Nevertheless, some progress was being made in certain areas. "The children who attend the school regularly are already beginning to speak a little English out of school hours."[138] A similar comment was made a year later. "As is not

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[134] *Op. Cit.*, L.H. Thomas, 227-8.
[135] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 10), 1896. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1895*: 304.
[136] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 11), 1906. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1905*: 420.
[137] Canada. Sessional Papers (No 27), 1919. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1918*:
[138] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 10), 1896. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1895: 87.*

often the case with day-schools, the children will speak English to you out of school hours."[139] Teaching English as a second language must have been a major pedagogical challenge, a fact not always appreciated when considering the academic impact of these schools.

In any case, these problems of lack of attendance and progress were not unique to Paul Band. They were national in scope as far as native schools went. The Paul Band experience merely reflects the day school situation at the time and "illustrates the federal government's marginal commitment to the Indian day school programme across the country."[140]

The day school system that developed was in response to the promises made in the treaties with respect to the establishment of schools on reserves. "And further, Her Majesty agrees to maintain schools for instruction in such reserves hereby made as to Her Government of the Dominion of Canada may seem advisable, whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it."[141] Day schools sprung up across the country. Numerically they vastly outnumbered the residential schools, that is, the boarding and industrial schools. By the time Paul Band got its school in 1892-3, there were 200 day schools and 30 residential schools in operation.[142] Toward the close of the period under study there were close to 250 day schools and over 70 boarding schools and industrial schools combined.[143]

Being more numerous the day schools catered to many more students than the residential schools. At the time of the 1910 reorganization in which the

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[139] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 14), 1897. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1896*: 177-8.
[140] Ken Coates, "A Very Imperfect Means of Education: Indian Day Schools in the Yukon Territory, 1890-1955," in Jean Barman, Yvonne Hebert, and Don McCaskill, *Indian Education in Canada* Volume 1: *The Legacy* (Vancouver: Nakoda Institute and University of British Columbia Press 1986), 133.
[141] Canada. *Indian Treaties and Surrenders*. Volume 2 (Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers, 1993. First published in 1891, Queen's Printer, Ottawa), 37.
[142] *Op. Cit.*, Ken Coates, 134.
[143] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 27), 1921. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs Report 1920:* 14.

government revised its objectives and plans for native schooling, there were 241 day schools with an enrolment of 6784 students, 54 boarding schools with an enrolment of 2229 students, and 20 industrial schools with an enrolment of 1612 students.[144] "This was not very impressive in a land containing 19,528 status Indians between the ages of six and fifteen, the prime schooling years."[145] In 1920, there were 247 day schools with an enrolment of 7477, 58 boarding schools with an enrolment of 3081 and 16 industrial schools with an enrolment of 1638. The percentage of attendance was 62.56.[146]

However, this percentage does not accurately reflect the attendance rates of the day schools. It must be remembered that the attendance at residential schools was probably up in the 90 per cent range or close to it most of the time which brings up the overall percentage of attendance for all schools quite significantly. But in actual fact the attendance at day schools was very low or next to nil in most cases in spite of their larger enrolments. Take Paul Band for instance. At the beginning it was not too bad but it was not great either. In 1895, 36 of the 40 school-age children on the reserve were enrolled but the average attendance was 13.[147]Then it declined. In 1905, 22 of the 25 school-age children were enrolled but the average attendance was 3.[148] Many years later it was the same or worse. In 1921, 24 students were enrolled but the average attendance was 1.[149]

There was no compulsory attendance legislation in the early years, that is, the years following the signing of the treaties with the native people of the prairie

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[144] J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 141.
[145] *Ibid.*, p. 141.
[146] Canada. Sessional Papers. (No. 27), 1921. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs Report 1920*: 14.
[147] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 10), 1896. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs Report 1895*: 304.
[148] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 12), 1906. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs Report 1905*: 420.
[149] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 8), 1922. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs Report 1921*:

west in the years 1876 and 1877.The government was reluctant to enforce attendance for a number of reasons. The passing of the buffalo economy was still recent and the government did not want to do anything to further irritate the native people who, as it was, were uneasily settling down on their reserves.[150] Problems in the American West were also cause for cautious concern. Following the Battle of Little Big Horn in 1876, Sitting Bull, chief of the Hunkpapa Sioux, and 4000 of his people came over the border into Canada and settled in the Cypress Hills region. "Not only were the food resources inadequate for so many people, but once more there was fear of an American invasion when the United States demanded that the refugees be forced to return."[151] Therefore, the federal government felt that it would not be wise to strictly enforce school attendance of Indian children until problems with the United States were settled.[152]

Under ongoing pressure from the missionaries who ran the schools the government finally introduced legislated compulsory attendance in an amendment to the Indian Act in 1894 and in an order in council.[153] But it was obviously very useless, and I think more directed to the residential schools. Another amendment in 1906 had basically the same provisions as the1894 one. "It also renewed the provision that annuities of children in schools could be directed as Ottawa saw fit."[154] It did not change anything. Attendance continued to be a problem. It was not until after 1920 that the government could compel attendance to some degree. In 1920, still another amendment to the Indian Act made attendance compulsory for all children seven to fifteen and authorized truant officers to forcibly remove Indian children of school age from their homes if necessary and penalize the parents.

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[150] *Op. Cit.*, J.R. Miller, 129.
[151] Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc. 1992), 283.
[152] *Loc. Cit.*, J.R. Miller, 129.
[153] *Op. Cit.*, J.R. Miller, 129.
[154] *Ibid.* J.R. Miller, 169.

> The recent amendments give the department control and remove from the Indian parent the responsibility for the care and education of his child, and the best interests of the Indians are promoted and fully protected. The clauses apply to every Indian child over the age of seven and under the age of fifteen.[155]

Enforcing the legislation is another story. Compulsion rarely ever worked but the department continued to resort to it.

Not surprisingly then, day schools during this period opened and closed according to attendance patterns and rates. In Paul Band the school closed in 1897, 1899, 1904, 1906 and eventually disappeared in 1907 as on other reserves. It reopened in 1918 to 1921 but it may as well have remained closed for the amount of attendance there was. The average attendance in 1918 was 5[156] and in 1921 it was 1.[157] It may have opened temporarily to accommodate those students who had been attending Red Deer Industrial School which closed down in 1919. Any students attending school from Paul Band would have been going there up until then as the day school was closed for all those years.

Of course schools also closed when they were unable to get teachers.[158] Getting teachers of any kind but especially qualified ones was a problem for a lot of reserves. They had to make do with unqualified teaching personnel or church personnel for the most part.

> Qualified teachers with professional training are employed wherever possible, but, in some cases, qualified teachers cannot be secured, owing to the remoteness of some Indian schools. The department has in its employ a number of teachers, who, though without professional

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[155] Canada. Sessional Paper No. 27, 1921. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs Report 1920*: 13.
[156] Canada. Sessional Papers No. 9, 1919. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs Report 1918*:
[157] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 14), 1923. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs Report Year ended 1922P 64:*
[158] Canada. Sessional Paper No. 27, 1920. *Report of the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 1919*, Part I: 32.

> training, have had a long experience in Indian work, and these prove quite successful.

However, this was not the problem for Paul Band. Except for the first year or two when the Methodist missionary in charge took on the teaching duties the teachers appointed in the following years were qualified. According to 1897 Department of Indian Affairs reports, Mr. W.G. Blewett, their first teacher held a third-grade certificate.[159] Elsewhere it was reported that he held a second-class Ontario certificate. He became their resident missionary shortly afterward and their farming instructor sometime later. He took over as teacher whenever the need arose like the time the teacher died. "Owing to the lamented death of Mrs. Hopkins, the teacher, last winter, it has not flourished, but revival is looked for under Mr. Blewett, whose engagement opens July 1."[160] The other teacher, Mr. D.H. Lent who was also missionary was said to be "an experienced and competent teacher."[161]

In short, there were numerous day schools but no one, least of all the government, had much faith in them to make any significant impact of any kind what with the children still under their parents' sway. For that reason not much money and effort were put into them. They were often not very well maintained perhaps due to their on and off operations. In any case, their upkeep was left largely to the missionaries in charge. The agent who visited the White Whale Lake Day School (that is what the Paul Band school was called then) on July 30, 1905 reported the school to be in disrepair. "The sills were considerably decayed and the walls had settled. The floor was several inches higher in the centre than along the walls. The Reverend Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Blewett offered to make the necessary repairs, gratis, if the material was placed on the

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[159] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 14), 1897. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs Report 1896*: 177-8. Elsewhere it was reported that he held a second-class Ontario certificate. In any case, he was qualified.

[160] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 12), 19065. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs Report 1905: 420.*

ground."[162] It is no wonder that the children were not so enthused about going to school as one might expect. The day schools were held to be inferior (they still are today!) and accordingly occupied a marginal position in the whole scheme of native schooling. They were essentially the government's way of fulfilling its treaty obligations as inexpensively as possible.

Red Deer Methodist Indian Industrial School

It was the residential schools that were considered superior and were the rage out west during this period. The government and church saw them as the only and most effective means of accomplishing the goals of civilization and Christianity. Children would be removed from their homes and placed in residential schools away from the influence of their parents and home life and given a useful education consisting of agriculture and other trades such as carpentry, to help them make the transition to a new way of life as efficiently and effectively as possible. The buffalo had virtually disappeared by 1880 and something had to be done immediately to help the Plains Indians.[163] The idea of the industrial school as a solution to the Indian problem had been quite thoroughly thought through as far as the government was concerned, and no small amount of money and effort went into planning and establishing the industrial school system which was modelled on the American system of industrial schools for Indians.

Three new industrial schools opened in the prairie west in 1883 - Battleford Industrial School in Battleford under the Anglican Church, Qu'Appelle Indian Industrial School at Lebret in the Qu'Appelle Valley under the Oblates of the

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[161] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 11), 1904. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs Report 1903*: 210.
[162] Canada. Sessioanl Papers (No. 12), 1906. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs Report 1905*: 420.
[163] *Op. Cit.*, J.R. Miller, 100-103.

Roman Catholic Church, and St. Joseph's at Dunbow, Alberta also under the Oblates.[164] Several others opened in the decade following.

The Red Deer Industrial School which is of particular concern and interest to this study opened in the fall of 1893 under the auspices of the Methodist Church. It was a small school consisting of one main building only. "The office, principal's quarters, dining room and kitchen were located on the main floor. On the upper level were the boys' and girls' dormitories. And the classroom, with its desks fixed to the floor, was at the top level."[165] Two years later a separate building was constructed to accommodate the boys separately, and which enabled the school to take in almost twice as many students as at the beginning when it could barely accommodate 50 students.

Students from Paul Band as well as from Hobbema, Saddle Lake, and Good Fish Lake attended this school. Paul Band students began attending soon after Reverend Somerset became principal of the Red Deer Industrial School in 1895. He undoubtedly had something to do with it "having been formerly the missionary of this reserve...."[166] as mentioned earlier in the discussion of the day school. While not all or even very many of the school age children on the reserve attended the school in any given year, attendance figures and various Indian agents' reports indicate that there were always some attending over all the years right up until it shut down in 1919. In the school year of 1901-2, for instance, there were nine students from Paul Band in Red Deer Industrial School.[167]My grandmother, Mrs. Sarah Bird and her siblings were among them.[168] In later years as many as could be persuaded went there as there was

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[164] *Ibid.*, J.R. Miller, 103-4.
[165] E. Brian Titley, "Red Deer Indian Industrial School: A Case Study in the History of Native Education" in Nick Kach and Ken Mazurek, eds., *Exploring Our Educational Past* (Calgary, Alberta: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1992), 57.
[166] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 12), 1899. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1898:* 145-6.
[167] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 11), 1902. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1901:* 149.
[168] Taped interview with Mrs. Sarah Bird conducted by Mr. Sam Bird at Paul Band in 1976.

no day school on the reserve.[169]Mrs. Bella Paul and her sister went in 1912-3 because their mother wanted them to go.[170]

The school was run efficiently and well in the beginning years of its operation. All the students' time was organized and run according to schedule from the time they got up to the time they went to bed. The instructional program itself was based on a half-day system in which "the older students worked in the morning while the younger ones attended school. This order was reversed in the afternoon. Academic work was not more than three hours a day for either group."[171] The industries were farming and carpentry for the boys and sewing and cooking for the girls.

However, it was not long before the school started to experience some problems. Students were said to be deserting from the school, and it was said that things were not going well between the principal and the staff.[172] Then it just got worse from there. The school was said to be in a state of chaos with some strange things happening there and so on.

The problems proved to be intractable ones. Poor management was one of them if not at the top of the list; this necessitated a change in principals every few years. The first principal, Reverend Nelson was difficult to get along with. "Rigid, authoritarian, and puritanical, he had caused no end of trouble to the department in his previous role as missionary teacher in the Peace Hills Agency."[173] There were not only problems between himself and his staff but there were also violent exchanges between certain teachers and some of the older students which resulted in a serious head injury to one of the boys during one of the incidents. When the Indian agent tried to investigate the incidents further, Reverend Nelson told him to mind his own business which did not go

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[169] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 27), 1909. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1908*: 172-3.
[170] *Op. Cit.*, Taped interview with Mrs. Bella Paul conducted by Mr. Sam Bird in 1976.
[171] *Ibid.*, 57.
[172] *Op. Cit.* E. Brian Titley, 57.

over very well with the department.[174] He was dismissed in the summer of 1895.[175]

The next principal, Reverend C. E. Somerset, was of a 'gentler disposition' which did not help him much as things went from bad to worse during his time there. First, there was the mysterious disappearance of the recently appointed matron who was never found.[176] Then there was the unruly behaviour of the boys which became a major cause for concern when it got out of hand. The boys were given to using profane language, phrases such as "God damn it," "Go to Hell" and "Son of a bitch" as well as causing disturbances in the dining room and attacking staff members.[177] One boy was even charged with assault and found guilty but was let go with a suspended sentence.[178] Reverend Somerset seemed incapable of bringing the situation under control. He was dismissed in 1903.

Reverend J.P. Rice took over. He made improvements to the sanitary conditions of the buildings which were "exceedingly bad."[179] He also gave more attention to the academic program than his predecessors did[180] but not enough. He spent far too much of his time and effort and that of the students' on expanding the school's agricultural operations which did not sit well with the department and the parents. He left in 1907.[181]

Reverend Arthur Barner took over in the summer of 1907. He was a kind man. He got rid of corporal punishment and arranged for the children to be allowed to go home for holidays which had a positive effect on the enrolment in due time. "There were only 50 students in attendance when he took charge, but this

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[173] *Ibid.*, 57
[174] *Ibid.*, 58.
[175] *Ibid.*, 58.
[176] *Ibid.*, 59.
[177] *Ibid.*, 61-2.
[178] *Ibid.*, 60.
[179] *Op. Cit.*, E. Brian Titley, 62.
[180] *Ibid.*, 63.
[181] *Ibid.*, 63.

number had risen to 80 by 1913."[182] However, he was not a good financial manager and soon ran up a deficit which did not impress the department. He resigned in 1913.

Joseph F. Woodsworth was the last person to take over. It was just before the outbreak of World War 1 and things could not have been worse. The Department of Indian Affairs was more stringent than ever, and there was no money to make much needed major renovations and other improvements. As well there was a shortage of teachers which was a problem for Indian schools at the best of times but even more acutely so during the war which attracted and enlisted many teachers.[183] Woodsworth was a competent man and did the best he could but by then the situation had gotten so bad that the school had lost all credibility or something very close to it. Anyway there was no point in trying to carry on, and Woodsworth very wisely asked for it to be shut down.[184]

Sickness was another reason for the school's demise. Throughout much of its history it was plagued by health problems. Parents were extremely fearful for their children to catch these sicknesses and die from them. They were not unjustified in their fears. Four students died from pneumonia between 1899 and 1900 and six from consumption in 1903[185] causing Reverend Somerset to wonder if industrial schooling was really worth it after all. "It is a question if the change of life has not been greater than the children could stand - from the wild, free life, living largely on fish, to the confined life here - and one is compelled to ask if after all the boarding school on the reserve is not more likely to make strong children."[186] Five more children died from the Spanish flu in 1918, and many more others including staff members were sick from it.[187] The school did not have the facilities to deal with the sick, and the sanitary conditions were in a

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[182] *Ibid.*, 64.
[183] *Ibid.*, 65.
[184] *Ibid.*, 66.
[185] *Ibid.*, 59.
[186] *Ibid.*, 59.
[187] *Ibid.*, 65.

very sorry state during the better part of its operation. An inspection at one point found the waste disposal pipe and fresh water supply inadequate, and the sick room so dark and dreary that the children did not want to be in it.[188]

Recruitment and pupil attendance were the other frustratingly large problems that the school had to contend with from start to finish. There were frequent desertions from the school. The North West Mounted Police went after some of them and forced them to return[189] but there was no end to it. Aside from the few exceptional years in which numbers were up, there were never very many attending most years. Take 1912, for instance. There were only 17 students enrolled from within the Edmonton Agency which included the following five reserves or bands (as they were called back then): Enoch, Michel, Alexander, Joseph and White Whale Lake or Paul's.[190] What is more those who attended stayed less than five years. "For the 185 students who passed through the school between 1893 and 1903, the average stay was 4.78 years...."[191] These figures for Red Deer Industrial School more or less reflected the national average. In general, residential schools never reached more than about a third of all school age children. "Only 36.2 per cent of the status Indian children between six and fifteen who were in any sort of Indian Affairs school were in boarding or industrial schools."[192] And the percentage of attendance of those in residential schools "ranged from 80 in 1891 to 88 at the beginning of the Depression."[193]

Parents refused to send their children not only because of the discipline and health problems that plagued the school but also because they were against their children being overworked doing manual work or labour for the school. A

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[188] *Ibid.*, 62.
[189] *Ibid.*, 59.
[190] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 14), 1897. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1896:* 271.
[191] *Ibid.*, 66.
[192] *Op. Cit.*, J. R. Miller, 142.
[193] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 171.

department inspector had good reason to believe that some of the students were spending more than half of their time doing work for the school than on their academic work.

> The principal boasted in 1904 that he had increased the value of the livestock (cattle, horses, hogs, sheep, fowl) on hand from $2713 to $4444 in his first year. During the same time he had "redeemed from the wilderness" 75 additional acres of land bringing the land under cultivation to 150 acres. By 1905 this figure stood at 225 acres and by 1906, 300.

In any case, the Red Deer Industrial School was not very effective in advancing the students through the grades. After 15 years or so of operation, "Red Deer reported fifty-five of sixty-one students in the first three standards, with the others divided evenly between fourth and fifth standard."[194] But it was not just the Red Deer Industrial School that was ineffective. In general, these figures were representative of the other Indian industrial schools in the west. Qu'Appelle Industrial School had ninety-three of 235 students in the first standard and forty-three and forty-four in the second and third standards.[195] St. Joseph's at Dunbow, Alberta had forty-six of sixty-six students in the first three standards.[196] Their progress in vocational training was no better.[197]

The half-day system made it difficult if not impossible to make sufficient progress in either the academic or vocational program to advance through each of the levels from one year to the next. The half-day system which was a distinguishing feature of native residential schools had students doing academic work for one half of the day and practical skills the other half of the day. "The theory behind it was sound so far as it went: academic learning and vocationally oriented instruction would give the student a 'practical' education, while supporting the schools financially. In reality, of course, the half-day system was oriented towards extracting free labour, not imparting vocational

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[194] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 167.
[195] *Ibid., J. R. Miller, 166-7.*
[196] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 167.

training."[198] The half-day system and the abuse of it were major causes of the lack of progress, particularly in their academic work.

To add further to the disadvantage they were already in because of the half-day system was the language barrier. One can only imagine what a challenge it must have been teaching English as a second language considering that there was not much known about it back then. A lot of instruction time must have been wasted. "For many Indian and Inuit children, the language barrier they faced when they went off to residential school meant that weeks, months, perhaps in some cases even years of academic instruction were wasted."[199] Add to that the severe measures taken to discourage the Indian language and culture, it must have been a traumatic experience for most.

There was also the problem of attracting and securing competent or professionally trained teachers. Qualified and competent teachers were not inclined to seek teaching jobs in native schools.

> The exception to the generalization were those very people whose 'missionary spirit,' rather than their training, had drawn them into 'the Indian work,' as they commonly referred to it. For young graduates of teachers' colleges and university faculties of education it was not generally the case that remote, poorly equipped residential schools would prove attractive. Unless the young person opted for residential schools out of a sense of adventure – and there were many such – a teaching assignment in a residential school was often the resort of someone unable to secure a post in a more attractive, more conveniently located, non-Native school.[200]

Indeed, residential schools just had to make do with whoever they could get even if they were unqualified or only semi-qualified.[201] In Red Deer they sometimes got brutal teachers. In one case, a male teacher struck a boy on the head with a stick so hard "that the boy appeared stupid a few days after the

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[197] *Ibid., J. R. Miller, 167.*
[198] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 157.
[199] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 173.
[200] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 176.
[201] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 177.

incident and was unable to do his work. The agent arranged for a doctor to examine the boy. He was found to have a large blood tumor on his head which had to be removed surgically."[202]

It should also be pointed out that Red Deer Industrial School did not receive much support of any kind during the whole time it was in operation. By the time it opened in 1893 the government had already begun re-examining its experiment with industrial schools, and concluded that there were not enough returns for the vast amount of money being put into them. There were not the steady successes hoped for, but it was the cost more than anything else that was of major concern to the government. The solution it came up with was a per capita system which meant that the schools would have to make do with a lot less than they were used to. While the government shared the cost of repairs and supplied the teaching materials everything else had to come out of the per capita grant set for each school. Qu'Appelle got $115, Battleford $140 and Dunbow $130 per student.[203] The per capita system came into effect in 1893, the year Red Deer Industrial School opened. Red Deer was put on a per capita grant of $130 in June 1894.[204]

The per capita system had a tremendously negative impact as missionaries competed for students cramming as many as they could into their schools including very young children and sick children just to get the grant money. And to help cut the cost of running the schools they forced the students to do most of the labour that needed to be done around the schools for its upkeep all under the pretext of vocational or manual training. In Red Deer as in all the others, "work took precedence over the academic program...."[205]

The government's disenchantment with the industrial school system became more widely known following the election of Laurier and the liberals in 1896.

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[202] *Op. Cit.*, E. Brian Titley, 58.
[203] *Op. Cit.*, J. R. Miller, 126.
[204] *Op. Cit.*, E. Brian Titley, 56.
[205] *Ibid.*, 57.

Clifford Sifton, the new Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, let it be known that he thought the residential school system a complete failure - a waste of time and money - because "the Indian, unfortunately, 'has not the physical, mental or moral get-up to enable him to compete" with the white man.[206]

The department's study of its boarding and industrial schools in 1897 only reinforced Sifton's view and the sense of despair the government felt towards its Indian policy at this time.[207] The study revealed that the schools were failing badly. There were some successes as might be expected but many if not most, perhaps, would have been better off if they never stepped foot inside these institutions. "In the case of Red Deer, of the 66 students discharged, 26 were doing well, 5 had turned out badly, 12 were dead, one had been transferred to another school, 4 were in ill health, and 18 were lost sight of."[208] The government considered closing down some of the schools but backed down in the face of extreme opposition and pressure from the churches who felt there was a continued need for such schools and defended them.

In short, the government began to question the effectiveness of its boarding and industrial schools about a decade or so into their operation. By the turn of the century it had lost all its enthusiasm for the experiment because the schools were clearly not accomplishing the goals it set out for them. Graduates were not taking their place in Canadian society. Most of them were returning to the reserves which they had been taught to disdain but had no where else to go.[209]

It was during this period of growing uncertainty and disillusionment that the Red Deer school, which as a Methodist school served Paul Band, was opened and operated. Consequently, it was left to struggle on its own for the most part which it did against all odds. By the time that substantial financial support was to be made available at the end of the First World War it was too late. The school

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[206] *Op. Cit.*, J.R. Miller, 135.
[207] *Loc. Cit.*, J.R. Miller, 135.
[208] *Op. Cit.*, E. Brian Titley, 59.
[209] *Op. Cit.*, Ken Coates, 134.

had been through every difficulty imaginable and had literally spent itself. Mr. Woodsworth, the last principal of the school, very wisely recommended that it be closed down and that the proceeds from its sale go to support the new Protestant school being built just north of Edmonton in present day St. Albert.[210] This school became the Edmonton Indian Residential School.

The majority of Paul Band students went there after 1923. The rest of them went to the St. Albert Boarding School which was under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church and run by the Grey Nuns.[211] The Roman Catholic school was the only school operating in the Edmonton Agency after all the day schools had closed down sometime before the end of the first decade of the century. This Catholic boarding school was mentioned as early as 1884[212] but it did not always cater to native children only. There were probably some students from Paul Band going there earlier as well but it is not known just how many. There could not have been very many as the census taken shortly after the turn of the century there were only 25 Roman Catholics in Paul Band. "25 of these people gave their religion as Roman Catholics, 120 as Methodists and 1 as pagan."[213]

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[210] *Op. Cit.*, E. Brian Titley, 65-66.
[211] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 23), 1915. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1914*: 164.
[212] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 3), 1885. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1884:* xlvi.
[213] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 11), 1902. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1901:* 149.

Chapter Four

The Focus on Gender, Race and Social Class

Gender

Notions of gender were so taken for granted during this period that no one really thought of it as a factor influencing relations.[214] Nevertheless, it can be said that the ideas and beliefs about the natures, roles, abilities and limitations of men and women influenced the way the schools were set up and run in Canada. In this regard, the native schools were no different.[215]

When the industrial school era began in the prairie west the girls did not figure in it much, that is, their schooling was of much less significance than that of the boys. The three new industrial schools – Battleford, St. Joseph's at Dunbow near High River, Alberta and Qu'Appelle at Lebret in the Qu'Appelle Valley – which opened in 1883 were at first intended for boys only.[216] These were expensive schools and all places in them were reserved for boys. Their primary purpose was to teach the boys, the future breadwinners, another means of livelihood as effectively and efficiently as possible.[217] At the time the disappearance of the buffalo upon which the Plains Indians had depended almost solely for their existence was still quite recent as was the confinement to reserves. The Plains Indians in particular were destitute and in a very agitated state. Something had to be done to reassure them. The government felt that farming was the most viable alternative for native people in the prairie west. Accordingly, the schools taught farming as well as other trades such as carpentry and blacksmithing but the main emphasis was on farming.

The decision to provide schooling for the girls came about a year later when it became clear to the government and church that their overall goals of

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[214] *Op. Cit.* J. R. Miller, 217.
[215] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 218.
[216] *Op. Cit.* J. R. Miller, 218.
[217] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 218.

Christianity and civilization could hardly be achieved without educating the girls in some fashion as well. Women were seen to be at "the centre of the home and the formative character influence on children"[218] therefore, it was imperative that they be properly prepared for their roles as mothers and wives. Education would not only civilize and Christianize them but it would make them better mothers. Their children would be healthy and moral. Also, it would make it less likely for the boys who married them to revert back to the old Indian ways as would most assuredly happen if they remained unschooled.[219] Thus went the reasoning. Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald was convinced. He "argued it was 'of the greatest importance with a view to the future progress of the Indian race in the arts of civilization and in intelligence that every effort should be made to educate and train the young Indian females as well as the male members....'"[220]

While the native girls may have been permitted and encouraged to go to school from quite early on, the thinking about the type of schooling they should receive and their attributed roles did not change. The prevailing attitude was that men and women should occupy separate spheres of activity. A Methodist's ideas about what native girls should be taught clearly reflected this Victorian notion which persisted into the early part of the twentieth century. He thought that they should be taught everything there was to know about running and caring for a household:

> Housework, mending, sewing, darning, use of thimbles, needles, scissors, brooms, brushes, knives, forks and spoons. The cooking of meats and vegetables, the recipes for various dishes, bread making, buns, pies, materials used and quantity. Washing, ironing, bluing, what clothing should be boiled and what not, why white may be boiled and colored not, how to take stains from white clothing, how to wash colored clothes, the difference between hard and soft water. Dairying, milking, care of milk, cream, churning, house work. Sweeping, scrubbing,

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[218] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 218.
[219] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 219.
[220] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 123.

> dusting, care of furniture, books, linen, etc. They should also be taught garden work. Our own women have to do a great deal of garden work, and it is of the greatest importance that the Indian girl should know how. Instruction should be given in the elements of physiology and hygiene, explaining particularly proper habits in eating and drinking, cleanliness, ventilation, the manner of treating emergency cases, such as hemorrhage, fainting, drowning, sunstroke, nursing and general care of the sick. Such an all-round training fits a girl to be mistress of her home very better than if she spent her whole time in the class-room.[221]

Indeed, that was essentially what their schooling was all about. The school inspection done of the Paul Band school in 1895 reported that "four pairs of trousers, three coats, five dresses, and a number of pairs of socks had been made by the girls...."[222] The girls did knitting, sewing, spinning, laundry-work and gardening.[223] At the Red Deer Industrial School the girls did cooking, sewing and other domestic type things.[224] The boys made tables and chairs,[225]as well as ox-collars, axe-handles, hay-fork handles, wheel-barrows and so on at the Paul Band school.[226] At the Red Deer school these boys were kept busy putting in crops, tending to cattle and putting up buildings for the farming operation.[227] In general, the girls were restricted to the domain of household skills in their vocational training whereas the boys were not. They received more varied instruction. "In the era of the industrial school, curricula usually contained lists of trades and skills such as farming, stock-raising,

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[221] *Ibid.* J.R Miller, 159.
[222] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 10), 1896. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1895:* 304.
[223] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 14), 1897. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1896:* 177-8.
[224] *Op. Cit.*, E. Brian Titley, 57.
[225] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 10) 1896. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1895:* 304.
[226] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 14), 1897. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1896:* 177-8.
[227] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 14), 1897. Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1896:177-8.

blacksmithing, carpentry, boot and shoe-making, and occasionally printing for male students."[228] The curricula for the girls was listed as 'domestic science'. [229]

Domestic science was for girls only, and its main purpose was to prepare them for their attributed roles as wives, mothers and homemakers or as others would say, for unpaid labour in the home. The campaign to include domestic science in the schools in Canada was begun by Adelaide Hoodless in Ontario in 1889.[230] Her view that "scientific understanding of food preparation and home management could curb some of the evils of industrialization"[231] won local support as well as the support of national feminist organizations such as the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC). Many felt there was a need for domestic science in the school curriculum, giving various reasons. The growth of industrialization and urban centres in places like Ontario were accompanied by crime, poverty and disease. Domestic science was seen as an antidote to these social problems. "Educated to be skilled consumers and managers, women would manage to offset the effects of low income and poverty."[232] As they became more knowledgeable about food preparation and hygeine children's health would improve and infant mortality would be reduced and so on.[233]

The advocates of domestic science education were also concerned about raising the image of homemaking. They wanted to make it into a profession with a scientific basis to elevate its status in society.[234] However, domestic science, in taking on the task of imparting the domestic skills that had earlier been the

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[228] Op Cit. J.R Miller, 220.
[229] Ibid. J.R. Miller, 220.
[230] Marta Danylewycz, "Domestic Science Education in Ontario, 1900-1940" in Alison Prentice and Ruby Heap, eds. *Gender and Education in Ontario* (Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press, 1991), 127.
[231] *Ibid.*, 127.
[232] Elisabeth Hansot, "Locating Gender and Education," in Sari Knopp Bikden and Diane Pollard, eds. *Gender and Education* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 16-17.
[233] *Op. Cit.*, Marta Danylewycz, 137
[234] *Ibid.*, Marta Danylewycz, 137.

purview of the family, altered the nature of housework and called for a redefinition.

> The training of the up-to-date housewife must rest upon a working knowledge of chemistry, physics, psychology and other fundamental sciences.... It must now include a fair knowledge of social and political economics and of ethical and economical standards of values of goods, of labour and of time in relation to human efficiency.[235]

Accordingly, housework was to be seen as a profession requiring training and skills like men's work in the outside world.

Domestic science, whose main proponents were the middle and upper-class women of Ontario, was also viewed as a solution to the 'servant problem'. There was not only a shortage of domestic servants around the turn of the century but people who sought this employment also lacked proper training. Domestic science would improve their skills and status. "The evident decline in the numbers of women entering domestic service as well as the supposed poor quality of service provided by this waning occupational class troubled many upper-class Ontario women.[236]

However, it should be pointed out that all girls of all classes were expected to take domestic science and most did. In Ontario, domestic science was taught at both elementary and secondary levels and eventually at the university level as well. At the elementary level, it began in the senior second grade. In the first year students learned "basting, running stitching, overcasting and cross-stitching. In the junior and senior grade three, students advanced to hemming, top-sewing, darning, feather-stitching and then were to apply these skills to mending garmets, making over clothes, and sewing doilies, handkerchiefs and shirts."[237] Older students received instruction in food preparation, etiquette, laundry work, home nursing and so on.[238] At the secondary level they continued

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[235] *Ibid.*, Marta Danylewycz, 138.
[236] *Ibid.*, Marta Danylewcz, 129.
[237] *Ibid.*, Marta Danylewcz, 130
[238] *Ibid.*, Marta Danylewcz, 130.

with what they had learned in the earlier grades but at a more advanced level.[239]

Domestic science had its greatest impact on schooling in the first quarter of the twentieth century. During this period the number of girls taking the course increased by 2600%. "At the beginning of this twenty-year period, only 1.6% of girls attending Ontario's public schools spent a couple of hours per school week sewing or cooking; at its end over 30% were studying domestic science."[240] What separated the different classes of girls taking the domestic science course were the underlying intentions of their exposure to domestic science education.

> The acquisition of homemaking skills was seen as a necessity for all women. Such training among women of less prosperous backgrounds, however, was expected to produce a body of workers prepared to serve in the homes of the rich."[241]

In short, domestic science became integrated into the school curriculum within a decade after it was first promoted by Adelaide Hoodless and others. It was recognized as a course the same as any other; however, it was very gender-specific and restricted in that it trained the girls and women for jobs they were already involved in. While its goal was not to prepare girls and women for the labour force it did lead to increased job opportunities and higher pay within the field of women's work. But it "could, in fact, change neither the occupational structure of the paid labour market nor the low wages attached to the jobs performed by the majority of female workers."[242]

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[239] *Ibid.*, Marta Danylewcz, 131.
[240] *Ibid.*, Marta Danylewcz, 139.
[241] Ruby Heap, ""Schooling Women for Home or for Work?" Vocational Education for Women in Ontario in the Early Twentieth Century: The Case of the Toronto Technical High School: 1892-1920" in Alison Prentice and Ruby Heap, eds. *Gender and Education in Ontario: An Historical Reader* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1991), 217.
[242] Ruby Heap, ""Schooling Women for Home or for Work?" Vocational Education for Women in Ontario in the Early Twentieth Century: The Case of the Toronto Technical High School: 1892-1920" in Alison Prentice and Ruby Heap, eds. *Gender and Education in Ontario: An Historical Reader* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1991), 217.

Indeed, most female workers in Ontario around the turn of the century were concentrated in the three sectors of personal service, manufacturing and professional service.[243] "In the first category, women were employed above all in domestic service, which still constituted the single most important occupation for females. In the professional service category, teaching represented by far the leading occupation for women who, in 1891, formed the majority of Ontario's teaching force."[244] In the manufacturing sector, women worked mostly in the clothing industry as dressmakers and so on.[245] In short, while domestic science led to increased educational and work opportunities its gender specific nature ensured rather than challenged the prevailing attitudes concerning "women's work."

In Alberta, it started off as sewing classes for the girls to give them something to do while the boys were in manual training classes. They were taught by women teachers who volunteered to do it. They did not have special training in it or any teaching materials to work with. "Unlike the manual training classes, there were no special facilities, no teachers properly educated in the subject, and no equipment, resources, or curriculum guides."[246] It became part of the curriculum in 1910, the first domestic science center being in Calgary. Like the domestic science movement in Ontario, it received a lot of support here in Alberta too especially from the various women's organizations such as the United Farm Women of Alberta, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and the Imperial Order Daughter of the Empire.[247] These women "thought domestic science classes in schools would provide well-trained domestic servants."[248]

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[243] *Ibid.*, Ruby Heap, 200.
[244] *Ibid.*, Ruby Heap, 200.
[245] *Ibid.*, Ruby Heap, 200.
[246] Nancy M. Sheehan, "Women and Education in Alberta: The Rhetoric and the Reality" in Nick Kach and Kas Mazurek, eds. *Exploring Our Educational Past* (Calgary, Alberta: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 117.
[247] *Ibid.*, Nancy M. Sheehan, 117.
[248] *Ibid.*, Nancy M. Sheehan, 117.

Like elsewhere all the girls were required to take it as it was expected that they would all become homemakers. It did not matter what other ambitions and plans they might have had they had to have home economics. And if there was a choice say between Latin or physics and home economics the latter was to be given the priority.[249]

And like Ontario the establishment of domestic science as an integral part of the curriculum in Alberta led to the creation of female professions and more job opportunities for women. Women could become not only more knowledgeable about their domain but could become teachers of domestic science as well. "The first domestic science Normal School instructors in Alberta were Catherine McCaig, appointed in 1913 to the Calgary Normal School, and Margaret Stewart, who was appointed in the same year to Camrose."[250] However, the prevailing notions about the roles of women did not change.[251]

Although domestic science became part of the curriculum in the various provinces of Canada and was a requirement for girls, it was not always available to them all. Some of the more remote and more backward rural areas did not have the facilities and equipment. "Like the continuation schools, most rural elementary schools could not afford to install manual training centres. If financing them was not the impediment, the inconvenience of transporting small children over long distances to the properly equipped central schools acted as a deterrent to their installation."[252]

They also did not have the teachers and had problems attracting them to their areas. As with native schools most qualified teachers were not inclined to seek positions in remote, rural areas if they could find jobs in better institutions more conveniently located. Also, teachers in some places had other more pressing concerns to deal with than the teaching of domestic science. For instance, "...in

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[249] *Ibid.*, Nancy M. Sheehan, 117.
[250] *Ibid.*, Nancy M. Sheehan, 117.
[251] *Ibid.*, Nancy M. Sheehan, 117.
[252] *Op. Cit.*, Marta Danylewycz, 133.

many regions of Ontario the struggle for higher salaries and battles against overcrowded classrooms, damp and insufficiently ventilated rooms were very much the abiding and overriding concerns of most schoolmistresses and masters well into the twentieth century."[253]

The teaching of domestic science in native schools or the gender specific nature of the curriculum in native schools was not new or out of line with what was happening in other schools in Euro-Canadian society. What was peculiar was that it was pushed to such an extreme. There was not only a gender specific curriculum being taught but there was also a 'fanatical separation of the sexes' that extended to almost every aspect of their lives in these institutions. "As the deputy minister of Indian Affairs had put it in 1895, the department was opposed to having the boys and girls in the same institution unless separate buildings were provided 'or by some other perfect arrangement they can be kept from the possibility of access to each other."[254] Accordingly, the physical arrangement of these institutions was such as to extend the separation of the sexes beyond the dormitories to the playrooms, dining rooms and so on.[255] Many were not even allowed to communicate with siblings of the opposite sex attending the same institution.[256] This must have been troubling to them to say the least as they were allowed to associate quite freely with one another in their own native societies just as children everywhere were.

Where the gender difference was most noticeable was in their vocational training. As mentioned earlier, the boys' training was the big concern. They were offered various trades and a much more concerted effort was made to get them to succeed. Whereas the girls were offered only domestic science besides the reading, writing and arithmetic they took with the boys the other half day. This was the only time they came together in the day.

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[253] *Ibid.*, 133-4.
[254] *Op. Cit.*, J. R. Miller, 219.
[255] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 219.
[256] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 219.

There was an even stricter separation in the tasks they had to perform as part of their apprenticeship. In general, the boys did all the work that needed to be done in the barns and stables as well as all the haying and cutting and hauling of wood. The girls did all the cooking, cleaning and washing inside the buildings.[257]

The assignment of male students to outdoor, heavy, and/or dirty work was motivated by attitudes that were typical of Canadian society of nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These assumptions held that boys were innately attuned to vigorous, strenuous, and perhaps even dangerous activities, while girls were necessarily to be protected from such activities, because of their inherently delicate nature.[258]

This was the Victorian ideal of the lady although it certainly did not apply to the working-class woman. During the Victorian period the working-class woman had to work long hours in appalling conditions doing back-breaking work to keep herself and her family from starvation and extreme poverty.[259] "She was a necessity in turn, in the wider context of society, as a source of cheap labour."[260]

Whereas the middle-class woman did not work not only because it was not economically necessary for to do so but it was forbidden in her class to compete with the man in work. She was so inactive and useless that she had to, indeed, be protected.[261]

> The affluent non-working woman was seen as weak and delicate; she was inherently sick, and permanently prone to illness and disease which could be brought on by multifarious causes. In contrast, the working-class woman was not sick, but sickening. She was a potential

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[257] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 220.
[258] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 220.
[259] Lorna Duffin, "The Conspicuous Consumptive: Woman as an Invalid" in Sara Delamont and Lorna Duffin, eds. *The Nineteenth-Century Woman: Her Cultural And Physical World* (London: Croom Helm Ltd. 1978), 29-30.
[260] *Ibid.*, Lorna Duffin, 29.
[261] *Ibid.*, 26-29.

> health hazard, harbouring germs of cholera, typhoid or venereal disease.[262]

I am not sure what the native girls and women thought about being treated like ladies when it came to hard, outdoor labour. They probably really appreciated it, although it probably did not help them much when they returned to life on the reserve. Physical strength was not an issue in native society. Native women everywhere have always had to work just as hard as men. Like the working-class women they had to engage in strenuous outdoor activities too.

HBC traders were frankly astonished at the strength of Chipewyan women, who were evidently much stronger than the men. This apparently did not compromise the Chipewyan male's sense of superiority, for Chief Matonabbee informed Samuel Hearne that 'Women...were made for labour; one of them can carry, or haul, as much as two men can do.' This should lead us to consider how the supposed natural frailty of women is culturally conditioned, and that strength is not a necessary criterion for male supremacy.[263]

Alexander Henry in his brief sojourn among the Assiniboine also described the women and their work in a similar light. The Assiniboine women not only hauled the meat from a hunt back to the village on sledges drawn by dogs,[264] they also set up and took down camp, loaded the dogs and drove them on long marches.[265] The men guarded the camp and hunted buffalo.

In short, the native women like the early pioneer women of Canada had to do physically demanding work and were accustomed to it. Indolence and inactivity were out of the question. And while the work they had to do in residential school can certainly be viewed as a drudgery it was probably nothing compared to

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[262] *Ibid.* Lorna Duffin, 30.
[263] Sylvia Van Kirk, "Towards a Feminist Perspective in Native History," *Occasional Papers*, No. 14 (Toronto: Centre for Women's Studies in Education, 1986), 3.
[264] Alexander Henry, *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories, 1760-1776.* (New York & London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1976. Reprint of the 1809 ed. Published by I. Riley, New York), 295.
[265] *Ibid.*, 308-9.

what they had to do in their own native societies whether they had been to school or not, because life on the reserves did not get any easier. In Paul Band, for instance, the people were still living their traditional lifestyle in 1920 and continued to do so for as long as they could. Cattle-raising and haying were the exceptions. There were a lot of natural meadowlands on the reserve for haying, and they could make money from it. Most years they were able to put up sufficient hay for their cattle and sell the surplus. The cattle came in handy as an emergency food supply when they were prevented from going hunting because of inclement weather. Farming as we saw remained largely a side issue for one reason or another during this period. Hunting, trapping and fishing continued to be the main occupations. This is the life the students returned to. In this regard the school did not prepare them very well for their life on the reserve. Perhaps their schooling program was not so well thought out after all! A native wilderness oriented program might have served them better.

So perhaps the problem was not how hard they had to work in residential schools, although they did work hard. Rather it was a question of why they were there. Were they there to learn to read and write and acquire some marketable skills or work for the school as domestic servants? I think some parents had different ideas and expectations of schooling.

In any case, the separate treatment of the sexes did not end once they left school. Soon after the industrial school era began in the 1880s, the government began providing assistance to the boys as soon as they finished school to help them get started in their new way of life. There were no such provisions for the girls until well into the second decade of the twentieth century when it became part of the government's policy to help out both sexes upon completion of their schooling.[266]

> In the western provinces, the department has a system of assistance for those ex-pupils of boarding and industrial schools who are reported to

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[265] *Op. Cit.*, J. R. Miller, 227.

> be deserving. Upon leaving school a male ex-pupil may be given a grant of cattle, horses, implements, tools, and building material. Female ex-pupils are granted sewing machines or household furniture. The encouragement thus given to the best ex-pupils has proved to be a great stimulus to progress, and although there are exceptions, the majority of ex-pupils show the benefits they have obtained from their education.[267]

To sum up briefly then, the boys and girls of Paul Band as native children elsewhere had to contend with differential treatment in almost all aspects of their schooling experience particularly in residential schools. It must have been confusing at times for while there was sex-typing and gender segregation in the education they received at home and in the reserve community (and we must remember that education does not occur only in school) as well as in the work they did, it was not always in the same areas. That is, what was considered men's work in Euro-Canadian society was not considered men's work or men's work only in many native societies. The native women did what would be considered men's work in Euro-Canadian society.

However, this is not to suggest that the native women of Paul Band were equal to men just because they worked as hard physically as the men. The Paul Band women may not have been equal to Paul Band men but the specific tasks they performed were indispensable to the group's survival. They worked hard but they were not slaves. So often the impression one gets from reading the accounts of fur traders, missionaries and explorers is that native women were treated badly, like slaves when in reality they were doing their share. It must be remembered that they were not Victorian ladies. The historical documents pertaining to Paul Band as well as the personal accounts of my older informants all attest to the hard work done by both men and women. What is perhaps more troubling is the attempt by the government and church not only to impose European values and definitions of acceptable roles on the native people

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[267] Canada. Sessional Paper No. 27. 1919. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1918:* 24.

through the process of schooling, but the manner in which they went about it and the underlying factors.

Race

Race as we know was another important motivating factor in native schooling. Racist assumptions lay at the heart of all policies pertaining to the native people. Indeed, it can be said that the whole purpose of native schooling was to obliterate the native culture and language and make the native people into white men in as short a time as possible. The relentless assault on the native culture and language by the residential schools is well-known and well documented and needs no further comment or elaboration here.

What I would like to discuss are the attitudes that developed and came to prevail about native people's potential, because like Miller, I believe that it was the attitudes that were largely responsible for the outcome of the schools' performance. The attitudes displayed toward the native students affected or determined the type of schooling they received.

At first, there were high expectations of native students' potential. Both government and church believed that native students would acquire European knowledge, skills and values in a short space of time and take their place in Euro-Canadian society, and that would be the end of the so-called Indian problem. But it did not happen. Native students returned to their reserves. Government and church officials were disappointed and decided that native students did not have what it takes to succeed in the white man's world.

Even though government officials and missionaries recognized that the native people had their own values and way of life which differed from their own they judged them according to Euro-Canadian standards and of course they always fell short. "The problem was that bureaucrats and educators tended to assess

Indian ways against the standard of their own society: Indian culture was defective because it was different."[268]

In their view, if native people were to gain self-sufficiency which was the goal and the mark of success, they would have to learn to be competitive and individualistic like all Euro-Canadians. Both of these are European values, indispensable to the workings of the capitalist system but not to the workings of the reserve system..

Accordingly, the church and government felt justified in the means they employed in trying to bring about this end. Hence, the attacks on native peoples' culture and language, and the coercive attempts to change their attitudes and behaviours, and to turn them into sedentary farmers. These attempts at the transformation of the native people may have been justified as far as the church and government were concerned, but "they were also based on an assumption that Native people were morally inferior to Caucasians, principally because of racial factors."[269]

Indeed, they were considered both morally and intellectually inferior and, therefore, incapable of making decisions for themselves and looking after themselves.[270] In other words, they were like children. For the missionaries this childlike morality explained everything there was wrong about native society.[271] Many were of the view that native morality was corrupted as a result of European contact.[272] Whatever the case might have been the church and government felt it justified their missions and schools.[273]

The residential school curriculum reflected the prevailing attitudes about native people's intellectual potential. "What coherence the curriculum had was implicit,

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[268] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 185.
[269] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 186.
[270] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 186.
[271] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 189.
[272] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 154.
[273] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 154.

or hidden: in keeping with instructional regimes aimed at groups that mainstream society regarded as marginal or deviant, it stressed 'moral redemption.'"[274]

The earlier optimism about "Indians' potential for Euro-Canadian progress" was gone by 1896, the year Laurier and the liberals came to power. As I have already mentioned in the discussion of the development of the industrial school system in the prairie west, Clifford Sifton, the new Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, who represented the prevailing, and I might add blatantly ethnocentric, attitude was outspokeniy pessimistic about native people's intellectual potential. He felt very strongly that the concept of industrial schools especially was all wrong, 'a misguided failure.' "The 'attempt to give a highly civilized education to the Indian child,' he said in the Commons, 'was practically a failure. I have no hesitation in saying – we may as well be frank – that the Indian cannot go out from school, making his own way and compete with the white man.'"[275]

One result of all this musing was reduced expectations. "The chief aim should be to train the Indian youths how to earn a livelihood when they return to the reserves, and it seems altogether out of the question for the Department to undertake to educate a large number of Indians with the idea of making them equal to whitemen by the process of education."[276] These reduced expectations of native students from early on were due not only to government parsimony, which was always an over-riding factor, but also to the prevailing view expressed by Clifford Sifton above that the native person did not have what it takes to succeed in the white man's system.

But nowhere was the racism more spectacular and offensive than in the attitudes displayed towards native girls and women. As I discussed earlier,

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[274] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 155.
[275] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 134-5.
[276] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 136.

native girls and women were left out of schooling at first because the government and church felt that the urgent need was to train the boys to become the main breadwinners. The girls were subsequently included when the government and church realized that the civilization process could not be completed without them. And anyway some missionaries out west had already been taking some girls in before the government got involved. Both St. Joseph's and Qu'Appelle took in a small number of girls from the beginning.[277]

However, there was another reason for including them. It was based on the assumption that native girls and women had far too much sexual freedom/independence which did not sit very well with missionaries especially. These poor girls were in desperate need of rescuing and protection. Their lives were ones of extreme 'degradation,' 'infamy,' and 'wretchedness.' The missionaries considered it their duty to rescue them. They felt that the best way to do this was by removing them from their environment and placing them in residential schools where they could be properly inculcated with European morals and manners, and their virtues protected at the same time. Missionaries often went to great lengths in their rescue efforts from making appeals for money donations to establish homes for girls to arranging marriages and even keeping them beyond school-leaving age.

Never far below the surface of missionary treatment of Native communities and students was an assumption that Native people were more overtly sexual in their behaviour than were Euro-Canadian Christians. Although much of the rigid separation of the sexes in the schools was based on prudish attitudes that applied to all racial groups at the time, there tended to be a pronounced fear that Native students, if left to their own devices, were likely to be more sexually active than non-Natives.[278]

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[277] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 218.
[278] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 234.

This was the main reason for the 'fanatical separation of the sexes' in native residential schools. In some schools the female staff even kept track of the girls' menstruation times, and warned them about getting pregnant.[279] They were also constantly admonishing them to be modest in their behaviour and dress, more so than the boys.[280]

This attitude toward native women's sexuality was not new of course. Missionaries and others, but more especially missionaries, have long felt this way about native women. In her interesting study of the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador Peninsula, Eleanor Leacock describes the Jesuit missionaries' attitudes toward the Montagnais-Naskapi women in the early seventeenth century. They saw the women as having too much sexual freedom. Women could pursue the men they liked, divorce anytime and have other lovers.[281] The Jesuits did not agree with this state of affairs and preached against it which did not go over very well with the women[282] or the men for that matter. The Jesuit missionary, Le Jeune wrote: "I told him that it was not honorable for a woman to love any one else except her husband, and that this evil being among them, he himself was not sure that his son, who was there present, was his son. He replied, "Thou has no sense. You French people love only your own children; but we love all the children of our tribe.""[283] The women were more numerous than the men which might have had something to do with this state of affairs.[284] In any case, men and women having lovers was not an issue among the Montagnais-Naskapi.[285] Indeed, if it was not an issue to them why should it have been an issue to anyone else?

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[279] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 235.
[280] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 235.
[281] Eleanor Leacock, "The Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador Peninsula" in R. Bruce Morrison and C. Roderick Wilson, eds. *Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), 155.
[282] *Ibid.*, Eleanor Leacock, 154.
[283] *Ibid.*, Eleanor Leacock, 154.
[284] *Ibid.*, Eleanor Leacock, 154.
[285] *Ibid.*, Eleanor Leacock, 154.

Alexander Henry, the noted traveller, who sojourned among a band of Cree on the shores of Lake Winnipeg sometime between the years 1760 and 1776 also makes comments about the Cree women that imply that they have sexual freedom.

> Such are the exterior beauties of the female Cristinaux; and, not content with the power belonging to these attractions, they condescend to beguile, with gentle looks, the hearts of passing strangers. The men, too, unlike the Chipeways, (who are of a jealous temper,) eagerly encourage them in this design.
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> The Cristinaux have usually two wives each, and often three; and make no difficulty in lending one of them, for a length of time, to a friend. Some of my men entered into agreements with the respective husbands, in virtue of which they embarked the women in the canoes, promising to return them the next year.[286]

It should be remembered that the European men came here without their women, and may have had a lot more to do with initiating these agreements than they were willing to admit. We will never know for sure because the Cree women, and other women for that matter, did not tell their side of it. [287]

Such views and comments based largely on a misunderstanding of the sexual practices and customs of some native groups has created an image of native women as loose which, unfortunately, has not disappeared.

In short, native people everywhere were considered morally and intellectually inferior, and this was reflected in the type of schooling they received. The curriculum to which they were subjected was full of European moral judgments and values.

Class

The Paul Band girls like native girls everywhere had not only to contend with gender and race in their schooling but also class. The schooling they received

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[286] *Op. Cit.*, Alexander Henry, 249.

was very limited and cannot be said to have provided them with sufficient academic and vocational skills to permit them to take part in the Canadian economy except perhaps as domestic servants, but even that did not materialize.

Schooling consisted of six standards of instruction but as we saw earlier Paul Band students like native students elsewhere during this period rarely got past the first two standards. With only three hours of academic instruction in a day, and language and cross-cultural barriers to overcome along with poor attendance, it was next to impossible to make normal progress or complete one level of schooling within a reasonable period of time. It took many years just to complete the six standards under this arrangement. Those who stayed took until they were18 years of age in most cases to complete their schooling. However, not many stayed long enough to complete a couple of standards let alone all six. At the Red Deer Industrial School around the turn of the century, "the average stay was 4.78 years and the average standard achieved on leaving was 3.38."[288] That was the average stay it seems for most residential schools around this period.

In any case, it did not really matter. It was never the intention to provide native students with anything more than a practical education then or later. It was not expected that they would pursue a higher education and the government was not prepared to sponsor them beyond this level. For the boys, this meant teaching them farming techniques or some trade which would enable them to settle down and make a living now that the buffalo were gone. Every effort was made to facilitate this process at the school level. Sometimes they were sent out to help local farmers during the summer and at harvest time to refine their

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[287] Alexander Henry, especially, sounds like a bit of a braggert. in other accounts. In them he tells of having to fend off native women.

[288] *Op. Cit.*, E. Brian Titley, 66.

skills.[289] The problem with this practice was that it took them away from their academic learning for lengthy periods of time.[290]

For the girls, the main goal was to train them to become good wives, mothers and homemakers, nothing more except perhaps as domestic servants. Some girls apprenticed as domestic servants in white homes some summers. It was known as the 'outing system.'[291] The girls were also used as domestic servants in the schools. They had to do all the work that needed to be done within the buildings. And as with the boys work came first.

However, the girls did not find jobs as domestic servants because the doors were not always open for such employment and most returned to their reserves which was the expectation of all those concerned with their schooling. Actually, they were required to return to the reserve and had to have a good reason for leaving it. The government instituted a system after 1885 whereby native people living on reserve had to obtain passes from an Indian agent which stated their reasons for leaving the reserve and how long they planned to be away. While all native people were affected, native women were much more restricted because of the negative image of them. All this made it more difficult for them to look for jobs off the reserves; if they were caught in town they were immediately sent back.[292]

Thus, for native women, domestic science did not evolve into other courses that could lead to further training and paid employment. That is, it was unlike the situation for their non-native counterparts in Ontario where domestic science was eventually "elevated to include a 'technical' course that could lead to

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[289] *Op. Cit.*, J. R. Miller, 164.
[290] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 164.
[291] *Ibid.*, J. R. Miller, 164.
[292] Sarah Carter. "First Nations Women of Prairie Canada in the Early Reserve Years, the 1870s to the 1920s: A Preliminary Inquiry" in Christine Miller and Patricia Chuchryk, *Women of the First Nations: Power, Wisdom, and Strength.* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: the University of Manitoba Press, 1996), 68.

university training and to gainful employment, particularly in the area of nutrition and dietetics."[293] There, domestic science entered the vocational stream.[294]

At the Paul Band day school and the Red Deer school as in all native schools generally, domestic science did not link up with work in the paid labour market. It continued to emphasize the link between vocational education and women's unpaid labour. Clearly, the goal was not to provide them with job skills but with the ability for homemaking and housekeeping.

Native women had no say in the matter and there was no one to advocate for them. In Ontario, "national women's groups, including the National Council of Women of Canada promoted the vocational training of girls and women, especially the training of qualified servants."[295] They recognized and accepted that girls and women were in the paid labour force. Native girls and women were not in the same situation. They were not already in the paid labour force, nor were they likely to have the opportunity to be there.

Their limited schooling can to a certain extent be ascribed to the ambivalence about the potential of native students. It was obvious that at first the government and church thought that native students had the potential to succeed otherwise they would not have bothered with the industrial school experiment. "Had 'scientific' proofs of the intellectual inferiority of non-Caucasian peoples been subscribed to generally by government and church officials, no experiment in Indian schooling, let alone the ambitious industrial schools after 1883, would have been attempted."[296] But after awhile they were not so sure. There were not many graduates and many of those who had attended were not doing too well. The government and church decided that it might be better to show them how to make a living on the reserve and send them back. For the girls with their

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[293] *Op. Cit.*, Ruby Heap, 212.
[294] *Ibid.*, Ruby Heap, 212.
[295] *Ibid.*, Ruby Heap, 214.
[296] *Op. Cit.*, J. R. Miller, 153.

schooling already so limited this move closed the door to any opportunities for employment in the domestic service field.

Conclusion

Schooling in Paul Band between the years 1893-1923 was only in its beginning stages and remained so during much of the period. It kept getting pushed aside because economic realities demanded a continuation of the traditional occupations of fishing, hunting and trapping by which they were able to live still. Farming which was to be the new way of life, and which may have supported schooling, turned out not to be a viable alternative due mainly to the lack of transportation and market facilities as well as other factors.

What this meant for Paul Band schooling was that the children were often not available for it. They accompanied their parents who went hunting and trapping west of the reserve towards Lodgepole and Drayton Valley several months out of a year. Consequently, they attended school only sporadically, that is, when they were back on the reserve.

The type of schooling they received was motivated by the factors of gender, race and class which intersected in complex ways to oppress them and cause them to resist. At the Paul Band school the boys were taught carpentry and gardening as well as reading and writing. The girls were taught sewing, knitting and spinning as well as reading and writing. At the Red Deer school the boys were taught mostly farming, stock-raising and carpentry while the girls were taught cooking, sewing and cleaning. In short, the boys were taught to be the main breadwinners and were given priority by being offered more trades. The girls on the other hand were taught to be domesticated dependents and were offered only domestic science. Considered degenerate both racially and morally they were pushed to adopt the white man's culture and religion and forbidden to practice their own.

The schooling the Paul Band students received did not amount to much. The schools failed both academically and vocationally to impart sufficient knowledge and skills to enable the students to find jobs or to live successfully in the white man's world.

The schools failed because of "government parsimony, Indian resistance to compulsion and assimilation, missionary disillusionment, Euro-Canadians' racist opposition to accepting Indians, and the same people's impatience to bring about in few decades a transformation that had taken their own ancestors centuries to accomplish. For all these reasons the schools were guaranteed to fail.

Yet, in spite of its meagre offerings, the schools were not a total failure. While the students of Paul Band did not attend either school very well (that is, both in terms of numbers and years) those who did felt that they got something out it. Ironically, it was the girls and women who seemed to get the most out of it. They appreciated its practical aspects and made good use of the skills they learned at these schools. Mrs. Bella Paul did not mind going to school in Red Deer. She thought it was a good or worthwhile experience. This is the way she put it:

> Some of us went to school in Red Deer, not many of us but some. Take my family for example. Me and my sister went to school in Red Deer. My mother sent us in 1911. My mother had gone to school there herself and wanted us to go too. But it did not do us any harm. We learned a lot of useful things. I learned how to knit and mend. Those of us who went both men and women we did not mind and we do not regret it. I learned how to make pies and things like that. I made use of what I learned when I returned to the reserve. I came back in 1912. Word came to the school that my uncle had died. My mother sent for us.[297]

What Mrs. Paul is saying is that it turned out to be a good or worthwhile experience because what she learned there was useful to her later on in her life. She learned Euro-Canadian methods of cooking and sewing which she successfully adapted to the traditional methods.

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[297] Taped interview with Mrs. Bella Paul conducted by Mr. Sam Bird in 1976. Personal Files.

With respect to cooking she not only learned how to make pies and cakes but also different ways of preparing foods and preserving foods which added variety to the traditional methods and diet. Mrs. Paul and the women of Paul Band adapted many of the Euro-Canadian methods of food preparation and preservation, and in doing so came up with their own peculiar dishes especiallyonce ingredients such as sugar and lard and flour became more readily available as well as pots and pans.

Take chokecherries, for example. They ground them up with stones, fried them in lard and added sugar for a sweet dessert. Traditionally they ate chokecherries and other berries fresh and dried some for later use. Dried saskatoons were added to soups and pemmican. Pemmican was lean dried moose or elk meat, pounded down finely, and mixed with fat and dried berries. Not all dried meat, which was thinly slice lean meat hung in smoke over a period of days or however long it took to dry it, was made into pemmican. Some of it was left in big pieces and stored. It could be eaten as is anytime or heated over an open fire. Fish was preserved in a similar manner. It could be smoked and made into fish pemmican. Fish oil was taken and stored for later use. That was the traditional method of preserving meat. Meat kept for a longtime with this method. (Indeed, it was the staple of the fur trade.) Mrs. Paul and the women of Paul continued to preserve meat in this fashion, but they were able to prepare and serve meat in different ways. They could fry meat and fish, and once they acquired stoves they could bake bannock in the oven as well as pies and cakes. Before they acquired stoves they cooked it in a pan set over the hot coals of an open fire or wrapped the dough in a spiral around a stick and held it near an open fire.

In sewing, European needles, threads, cloth and later sewing machines made it easier and faster to make new clothes. In exchange for a couple of weasel skins a woman or girl could have a new dress. In those days of which Mrs. Paul is speaking one weasel skin was worth 25 cents and cloth was 10 cents a yard. A

plain dress required only two yards of cloth.[298] Whereas the traditional method involved a tedious process which took several days to complete. Moose and elk-skins had to be scraped, soaked in a certain solution, wrung and stretched properly before they could be turned into leather suitable for clothing. In short, it is easy to understand why the girls and women sought and appreciated schooling. It was not, however, because they did not already know how to cook and sew. It was that these European technologies introduced variety and made their lives easier.

There were of course other reasons why they valued their schooling. My grandmother, Mrs. Sarah Bird, felt for example that learning English was of special benefit. She insisted on accompanying my grandfather to the Hudson's Bay store in Edmonton because she was afraid he might get cheated by the storekeeper.[299]

Some Final Theoretical Notes on Gender and Native Women

According to western feminist interpretations, native women were and have been subordinate to native men for as long as other women in all other societies in the world. But before I discuss native women's subordination any further, I would like to consider briefly theoretical speculation concerning how and why female subordination occurred. My purpose in doing so is not to query such speculation but to try to get some idea of where native women fit into the picture with respect to the development of female subordination.

One explanation is that female subordination is the result of the phenomenon known as the "exchange of women" through "forceful removal," "bride stealing" or arranged marriages.[300] It is based on "taboos on endogamy" and the "indoctrination of women" to accept it as their obligation to their kin.[301]

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[298] Op cit, Mrs. Bella Paul, 1976.
[299] Taped interview with Mrs. Sarah Bird conducted by Mr. Sam Bird in 1976. Personal Files.
[300] *Op. Cit.*, Gerda Lerner, 46.
[301] *Ibid.*, Gerda Lerner, 47.

The anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss "reasons that in this process women are "reified"; they become dehumanized and are thought of more as things than as humans."[302] Some feminist anthropologists have extrapolated from this position a discussion on kinship, and have made "the assumption that the kinship shift from matriliny to patriliny must be a significant turning point in the relation of the sexes, and must be coincident with the subordination of women."[303]

With the development of agriculture which takes place at different times in different places in the world, kinship shifts from matriliny to patriliny and private property develops.[304] "Engels and those who follow him think that private property developed first, *causing* "the world historic overthrow of the female sex." Levi-Strauss and Claude Meillassoux believe that it is the exchange of women through which private property is eventually created." That is, women's reproductive capacity became recognized as a resource with the development of agriculture, and was appropriated by men prior to the formation of the private property.[305] "Thus, Meillassoux stands Engels on his head, a feat Marx performed for Hegel."[306] The process of women's subordination continued to develop through various stages until patriarchy was firmly established. However, further discussion of this development and the part women played in it is beyond the scope of this paper as I would like now to turn to a discussion of some of the ideas that have been put forward about the subordination of native women and how it came about.

The historian, Sylvia Van Kirk who studied and wrote about native women in the fur trade, questions the claims made by some that native societies were egalitarian in pre-contact times. According to these claims native women were equal to native men because they contributed as much economically to the

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[302] *Ibid.*, Gerda Lerner, 47.
[303] *Ibid.*, Gerda Lerner, 47.
[304] *Ibid.*, Gerda Lerner, 49.
[305] *Ibid.*, Gerda Lerner, 49-50.

group's survival.[307] Van Kirk maintains that while native women in hunting/gathering societies contributed as much in terms of food and labour this does not mean they were equal or accorded high status. The high status jobs were "the male ones of big game hunter and warrior."[308]

This also is the view taken by the feminist historian, Gerda Lerner who says that all available date points to hunting/gathering tribes as the most egalitarian societies, and that in such societies women supply most of the food consumed.[309] "In most primitive societies of the past and in all hunting/gathering societies still existent today, women provide on the average 60 percent or more of the food. To do so they often range far from home, carrying their babies and children with them.[310] There is interesting proof of this in the early history of Paul Band. The department official who came out to survey a reserve for the people of Paul Band in the late fall of 1891 observed this of the women and made note of it.

> One day whilst at luncheon on the line we were joined by the wife of one of the Indians (Thomas) working on the survey, and another squaw. Cold as it was they had been out three days hunting with gun and dogs, and each one had a papoose on her back. Among the spoils of the chase they were bringing to camp were thirty partridges and a three year old bear that had been killed by Thomas' wife with an axe.[311]

However, this does not mean that they were equal. Their activities were an economic necessity.

One must also note that in all hunting/gathering societies, no matter what women's economic and social status is, women are always subordinate to men in some respects. There is not a single society known where women-as-a-group

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[306] *Ibid.*, Gerda Lerner, 50.
[307] *Op. Cit.*, Sylvia Van Kirk, 2.
[308] *Ibid.*, Sylvia Van Kirk, 2.
[309] *Op. Cit.*, Gerda Lerner, 29.
[310] *Op. Cit.*, Gerda Lerner, 22.
[311] Canada. Sessional Papers (No. 14), 1892. *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1891:* 207.

have decision-making power *over* men or where they define the rules of sexual conduct or control marriage exchanges.[312]

Finally, much has been made of the Iroquois women of an earlier period who took up and practiced agriculture, and the high status they enjoyed because of it.[313] They played a major role in the food distribution and took part in the Council of Elders. But they were not political leaders or the chiefs.[314] The men would not do agriculture because they considered it women's work.[315] "The particular work done by men and women has differed greatly in different cultures, largely depending on the ecological situation in which the people find themselves."[316] In short, it appears that Van Kirk's contention that the claims made for native women's equality are relativistic, not absolute[317] is a valid one.

However, Van Kirk does concede that a case can be made for the notion of 'relative equality' of the sexes in pre-contact times. It can be said 'relatively speaking' that native women were not as oppressed in pre-contact times as European women.[318] Missionaries, fur traders and explorers from the seventeenth century onward have written interesting accounts about "the strength, economic role, personal independence and influence of Indian women" which did not fit their definitions of acceptable roles and behaviour for women,[319] and which they attempted to change.

Van Kirk also questions the claim put forward by others that the subordination of native women is the result of European contact and colonization.[320] She says that while the position of the native woman may have declined, the process by which it took place is a complex one. For that reason she has "reservations

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[312] *Ibid.*, Gerda Lerner, 30.
[313] *Ibid.*, Sylvia Van Kirk, 2.
[314] *Ibid.*, Gerda Lerner, 30.
[315] *Ibid.*, Sylvia Van Kirk, 2.
[316] *Op. Cit.*, Gerda Lerner, 22.
[317] *Ibid.*, Sylvia Van Kirk, 2.
[318] *Ibid.*, Sylvia Van Kirk, 2.
[319] *Ibid.*, Sylvia Van Kirk, 2-3.
[320] *Ibid.*, Sylvia Van Kirk, 3.

about the claims of Leacock and Bourgeault that the subjugation of Indian women occurs almost immediately with the fur trade through the introduction of commodity production and exchange..."[321] She feels that "they have accepted Engel's hypothesis a priori and not subjected this theory to systematic, specific historical analysis."[322]

In short, there is not enough evidence to conclude that native women were equal to native men in the way that western feminists understand and interpret the concept. I agree with Van Kirk that we must be careful to differentiate between the relativistic and the absolute before jumping to conclusions about equal relations between the sexes in native societies. When viewed in this light it is much easier to understand and appreciate the role of native women in native societies. The Paul Band women may not have been equal to Paul Band men but the specific tasks they performed were indispensable to the group's survival. They worked hard but they were not slaves. So often the impression one gets from reading the accounts of fur traders, missionaries and explorers is that native women are treated badly, like slaves when in reality they were doing their share. It must be remembered that they were not Victorian ladies.

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[321] *Ibid.*, Sylvia Van Kirk, 3.
[322] *Ibid.*, Sylvia Van Kirk, 3.

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List A of Informants: taped interviews conducted by Mr. Sam Bird in 1976.
Mrs. Bella Paul
Mrs. Sara Bird
Mr. Alexie Simon
Mr. Willie Rain
Mr. David Bird
Mrs. Lottie Bird
Mr. Alex House (Part 1)

List B of Informants: interviews conducted and recorded in hand-written text by Mr. Sam Bird in 1976.
Mrs. Susan Bearhead
Mr. Alex House (Part 2)

List C of Informants: Interview of 7 members of Paul Band First Nation. 1997. (Recorded by name here but anonymous in the text, as per arrangements with the interviewees).
Mrs. Eliza Rabbit
Mr. Robert Rain
Mrs. Nora Bird
Mrs. Sophie Adams
Mrs. Clara Bearhead
Mr. Sam Bird
Mrs. Celina Bird

Intermediary for List C interviews, when required, was Miss Marlene Adams.

Appendix I: Selected Transcripts of Interviews Conducted in 1975/76

Record of Interview with Mr. Alexie Simon
by unnamed student under the direction of Mr. Sam Bird. 1976.

In regard to the existence of this reserve, I will try to tell you what I know of it. There were some people here who were living at Moon light Bay. Some were from Alexis, the rest from Goose Gull Bay. The reason they selected this area for a reserve was for food. Toward Goose Gull Bay, there were plenty of berries. It is now called Blueberry Hill. Blueberries were one of the foods the Indians ate. There was plenty of fishing in Wabamun Lake, Johnny Lake and Bad Lake. There was a lot of hunting and trapping besides fishing, for the purpose of raising children and survival.

The Wabamun people were here first. The chief of these people was Ironhead. And the other was Bearhead. They related to one another as brothers. They had four councillors besides. Their mind for a reserve was set for here for the same reason given by the Sharphead Band. The late Pierre Paul's mother used to tell us about the history of this reserve. The leaders marked how much of the area they wanted to establish as a reserve. They had wanted to include Johnny Lake, Bad Lake and have the line on the east side of these lakes and hit Saskatchewan River and go west. They also wanted to include Low Water Lake and Wabamun Lake and hit the line of Highway 16 (present).

At that time the people of Sharphead Band were badly hit by a disease and some were dying. The rest of the people who were still alive were told by the white people to leave the reserve. If they didn't leave they would die. The Indians were afraid. The white people wanted this land, they saw it was good. Chief Sharphead and two councillors and John Bull and other families started to move off the reserve.

The people were made up of Crees and some from Morley. My grandfather lived among the people of Sharphead Band. My grandfather was named "the

killer" and in English, Simon. As they moved on they reached Samson Reserve and Erminskin Reserve. The chief disliked the area, but some of the people liked it. They asked to stay and it was approved by the chief. The rest came toward Edmonton. There was a Reserve called Pa-Pas-Chase. Some of them there were half-breeds. The elders were related to Sharphead Band members. The chief disliked the area and started going West and came to Winterburn Reserve and Alexander Reserve and still had not approved of an area for settlement. He headed Westward and found a Stony tribe and liked the area because of the availability of food. He found plenty of food. I got this story from my uncle John Bull. Everyone was living a nomadic life. For example, some of the people were out hunting.

During that time the surveyors arrived to survey the reserve. The only man there was Alexie Cree. (He had another name too, Wabamun- Pwat). He was asked to drag a chain to survey. Alexie Cree cut himself and couldn't go any further. He could not show the surveyors the boundaries wanted by the chiefs. When all the leaders returned from hunting they were called to Winterburn which was where the Indian Agency office was located. The purpose of this meeting was to name the band. My grandfather, "Firebag" Paul was a councillor then. About that time Ironhead died. It was said that he suffered from heart trouble and he was found dead on a road.

The meeting was held. The Indian Agent told the members that since Sharphead came to join the Wabamun people that he suggested the reserve be named after him. The councillor Firebag Paul got mad and removed his suit coat and walked out.

John Bull was present. The Indian Affairs people asked Chief Sharphead to let Paul have the leadership and the band named after him (Paul Band). Chief Sharphead was good-headed and being old, approved. He was also asked to talk to Paul and ask him to put his councillor suit coat back on. Indian Affairs

accepted the band name. After the reserve was established, Chief Sharphead went to visit at Morley Reserve and died there. Chief Sharphead was buried there. This is all I know about the history of this reserve and the Sharphead Band.

Interview with Alexie Simon continued , recorded by Mr. Sam Bird.

As far back as I can remember for the leadership of this Band, right after Chief Paul David Bird became chief and when Chief Bird died Joe Michel became chief. After several years of leadership he was deposed from his position as chief. Then Firebag Paul became chief next. My grandfather was a councillor with Alexie Paul. My grandfather's name is Joe Cree.

I remember seeing the people working together. They helped one another for any kind of work. They returned help for putting in gardens and grain crops. There was a lot of co-operation. After consultations with the chief and council by the Indian Agent it was decided to build a corduroy road north of where Lloyd House presently lives because this was a main tract going to Jack Pine. Just south of this area, they all gathered together and camped there. Some would plow a piece of land with horses. Some would cut trees and rails and willows for the corduroy. They hauled the rails, trees and willows by wagons and cut the surface dirt or turf into pieces and hauled it and after that they used scrapers to haul loose dirt. The work was done in no time.

The women worked together also, helping each other cooking. I remember seeing all these people whenever they stopped for lunch or at the end of the day. They visited one another, told stories, no gossiping. And all what they were getting for the work was bacon, meat, and flour. But they were happy. The road got finished and was good for a long time. It took a lot of courage and cooperation.

Today it is very hard to live. There are a lot of problems arising now than ever. I have heard predictions from our elderly people that a day and time was coming

that more negotiations would be made by white people to work with them and live like them. The other prediction was that alcohol privileges would be offered. The Indians accepted it. The Indians became wild like today. There were some killings, and they had a lot of trouble. But some of the Indian leaders, one of them was Alexie Agnes, fought against it with the support of his people. They went up to Indian Affairs Department and presented their complaints and they were accepted. It was stopped and prohibited legally on the Indian Reservation. But again the liquor privileges were thrown open for everybody. This time the province made a new law, and the Federal government for equal rights. It is so difficult to get together to complain. Nobody wants to talk or listen.

I have something else to tell about myself. When I was growing up I used to think that I suffered a lot. The suffering I came through gave me a lot of courage in my later life. When I was six or seven I went with my folks hunting. We used pack horses. They tied me onto the pack horse. When the horse that I rode on went through bushes, I bumped into branches and sticks and sometimes almost fell off. Sometimes I would yell. Maybe I was suffering but not from sickness. There was hardly any sickness of any kind, not like today. Some of the Indian people stayed in the bush all winter. The hardest part of a youngster's life was getting up in the mornings especially in the winter time. Our parents would call us once, and if we didn't get up, the next call came with cold water on our faces. So we had to get up right away.

I never thought I would be sitting like this. I have to eat like a squirrel. I have to sit on a chair before a table and try to live like a whiteman today. At that time whenever we moved camp, it took a day and sometimes something was forgotten from the old camp. I would get sent back to get it, and not only once. Sometimes I would cry walking back and forth and get back home at night. They would lecture me. I was told that they were trying to make a man out of me and this was the only way to be brave. I was to be willing to do what they asked me

to do at all times. But I am not sorry for what I came through. I did learn to be brave and to be aware. I learned to seek for my livelihood all the time.

Today you can't lecture the young people, because they have already become alcoholics. They won't listen, they argue back. The Indian lectures were good and were about life-skills, that is what you would call them today. The Indian ceremonies that were held previously such as Sun dances, goose dances, sweat lodges and other Indian ceremonies, we were lectured to keep up these ceremonies faithfully and respectfully. Unfortunately, the liquor privileges have spoiled everything. Instead of reviving the culture and ceremonies, it is being forgotten. I feel sorry about this. Prior to this, the elders were respected and of course they were in the position to be respected at that time and to lecture young people. They used to say for every ceremony you must keep it holy for four days from the end of the ceremony. And blessing will be granted according to the prayers. This is all I can say and relate to you of the history, what I personally heard and know.

Copy of a letter dated June 9, 1975 and signed by Mr. Alexie Simon.

There is a serious problem facing native people all across Canada. I will mention this problem among native people concerning mostly Alberta native people. As we look back a few years, the Provincial Government gave liquor rights to native people of Alberta. This was back in the year of 1966. Before that time, everything seemed to be alright amongst natives. People attended the churches of their faith, good behaviour was everywhere, respect for each other. Young people honoured their parents. Since 1966 when liquor rights were granted to native people, we have lost all that I have mentioned.

Prior to1966 as I have already mentioned native people lived the right life the way that God wanted us to live. But we have lost all of this happy life that we once enjoyed. To-day people die by accidents caused by drinking liquor. Young

people are breaking and entering all over, stealing in cottages and everywhere. People neglect their children. There is poor attendance in school. There are many drop-outs. The Lord gave Commandments that we ought to live by. We native people would like to live by this better way. To live on this earth is to live by the Lord's Commandments.

The only way that we can overcome these problems is to ask all levels of Government in this country to discontinue or cancel the Liquor rights that was granted to native people. In1972 at the Annual General meeting of the Indian Association of Alberta a resolution was passed by the Alberta Chiefs and delegates asking for a cancellation of liquor rights. But there has not been any reply in regard to the resolution. We do realize that her White man's ways are very good in many ways. They have education, religion, recreation which is all good for everyone. We native people do honestly believe and support all the good things of life that the White Society provides. But we do not believe and cannot support their bad ways that have been brought onto us.

Alexie Simon

Record of Interview with Mrs. Susan Bearhead of Paul Band conducted by Mr. Sam Bird of Paul Band on July 27, 1975.

I am sixty-seven years old. I can only tell what my parents and my auntie, Annie Ironhead had told me in regards to the establishment of our Reserve. There were only a group of eight families gathered together. Of this tribe there were two brothers who were considered leaders or headmen. One was named Ironhead, and the other was named Bearhead. They were brothers but they each had a different last name. I would think that they must have registered under these Indian names.

These leaders and the tribe knew that they were to have a Reserve, and selected this area for settlement because Wabamun Lake was good for fishing and trapping and other means of livelihood. The other smaller lakes such as Johnny Lake and Bad Lake (Mayatan Lake) were also good for fishing and trapping. The next potential development they looked at was "timber." It was heavily timbered over all the area. They realized at that time that the timber was valuable in many ways such as for housing, logging for lumber, firewood, corrals and posts forf encing. Not too much wire was used at that time.

Bearhead died first of the two brothers and later my grandfather, Ironhead, died almost one year after. These two brothers or leaders died before this Reserve was actually surveyed and established as a Reserve. My grandmother and the other widow and the tribe were approached about the reserve by Indian Affairs,or go to the Alexis Band. My grandmother, Mrs. Ironhead, said to Indian Affairs people that her husband had selected this area for a Reserve. "So I will remain here since the reserve is now going to be given. "

A member named Paul became the head man of this tribe. So my grand mother and the tribe decided to determine the size of the area for a Reserve, since they had the opportunity to do so, to take as much land as they can when we talked about the surveying. The Indians marked the place and blazed where the lines

were to be for the surveyors to survey and make the cutlines. So they blazed and marked from starting East at Johnny Lake to the Saskatchewan and along the river to the South west corner of the boundary. And coming North bringing in Low-Water Lake and hit half of Wabamun Lake and hit the present highway 16. There was no highway at that time but somewhere along that line.

The surveyors came and the surveying took place. One of the members of the tribe who helped with the surveying chopped himself, and couldn't go any further. He couldn't walk the line. So Thomas James, one of the original members took over from there. He was the only man available at that time. He never reached the proper corner blazes. He turned West and North before even reaching Low-Water Lake. He also never reached the present highway 16 - line. This is why the reserve is so small.

Soon after the Reserve was established there were three things done immediately. I. Indian Affairs gave cattle to the members of the tribe. 2. The members selected an area for gardens. This is at where Willie Rabbit is presently living on the hill, the only open area with no bush. The whole tribe had their gardens there and they also dug a hole on the hill for a root house from which they took back some of the potatoes back to their log houses. 3. They put the Railway through the Reserve. The people did a lot of brushing. I don't know what kind of deal they made.

The people here had quite a few head of cattle. Even my father had quite a few. I can't tell a lie. You must have seen it yourselves, the yards they had with corrals and fences and barns. Same thing with my auntie, Annie Ironhead. She had corrals and fences and barns where I am living now. Some of these families didn't go out hunting because they had stock to look after and haying to do. There were a lot of sloughs, they cut hay by hand scythe and made coils, they cut rails and peeled them, they pushed two rails under the hay coils and lifted up the stack by hand. They lived off of their gardens and cattle.

Some families went out hunting and made a lot of dry meat and pemmican for their winter use. But in the fall and spring they all went out trapping all over the area of Stony Plain. There were hardly any settlements at that time. When they got fur, they had to go to Stony Plain to sell it. They got their groceries there too. The only transportation was by horses and train. I remember the people starting to farm, they helped one another.

Some of the people from Alexis came back and joined the membership of this tribe. So this made quite a few families altogether and made a difference in population, comparing to when they first took the settlement.

The members of Sharphead Band were dying off from sickness. There were a lot of people there, approximately five hundred. Just a few were left. So some went to Morley and some went to Hobbema. And the rest of them came here and joined the membership. Later on some more members came from Alexander Reserve and those are the House families and Burnstick families.

One of the interesting things that happened is that the members of Sharphead Band brought the church bell here and it is still used here yet. My father was a member of the Sharphead Band.

In the past our older people used to tell us that the white people will be crowding the Indian people, and we would have no place to go, to live our nomadic life of hunting and trapping. The white people will have no sympathy for us and the time will come that we will be suffering for food. This is true today. You can't kill any wildlife or game of any kind on the farmers' property.

As far as I am concerned it was a better life before than now. The older people at that time were respected and looked up to, and they respected themselves too, not like today the young people have lost respect for the old people. Some of the young people try to make a fool out of the old people over the pension cheques. You will find many things different at that time. Homes were respected, and they welcomed one another to visit. There was no hatred or gossip, they

loved one another. One of the reasons for this is, most of them or I should say all of them had what they used to call in the Stony language, Medicine Bags and other spiritual objects they believed in, hanging in every home. The lectures and beliefs for this was that you couldn't say anything bad in the presence of these objects. But the sad part, the white people bought these things for the museums and they are gone. When the people and children got sick, they helped each other.

I have also seen other ceremonies, such as the Smoking Ceremony. This was held once a year and usually in the fall. And the sun dance, the first one I have seen was the one Joshua Saulteaux's father put up, it was nice, highly respected. The most interesting part to see was when they were bringing in the tree. They used horses and ropes. People were all dressed in Indian Costumes and the horses were decorated. They looked pretty.

I was a small girl that time and I remember all this, and a few years later, things changed drastically, some of the people started drinking. They went to Stony Plain to get liquor, they made a lot of noise when coming home. We used to runaway and hide in the bush and sometimes we would sleep in the bush. And there was a lot of gambling going on.

My father received a letter from Morley, and told us that there was a man who had received blessing and been granted knowledge about the Great Spirit. This man was Hector Crawler from Morley, Alberta. Prior to this, everything was going wrong. People were drinking quite heavy and men and women were fighting. My father told my mother that he will go and see this man. So he went. I believe he stayed one week. And when he came back, it was a wonderful news and marvellous of how he spoke about this man.

He started explaining to the people and later he invited this man and held prayer meetings. A lot of people changed to a good life and they started thinking about living again. This man sure helped this Band a lot in a short period of

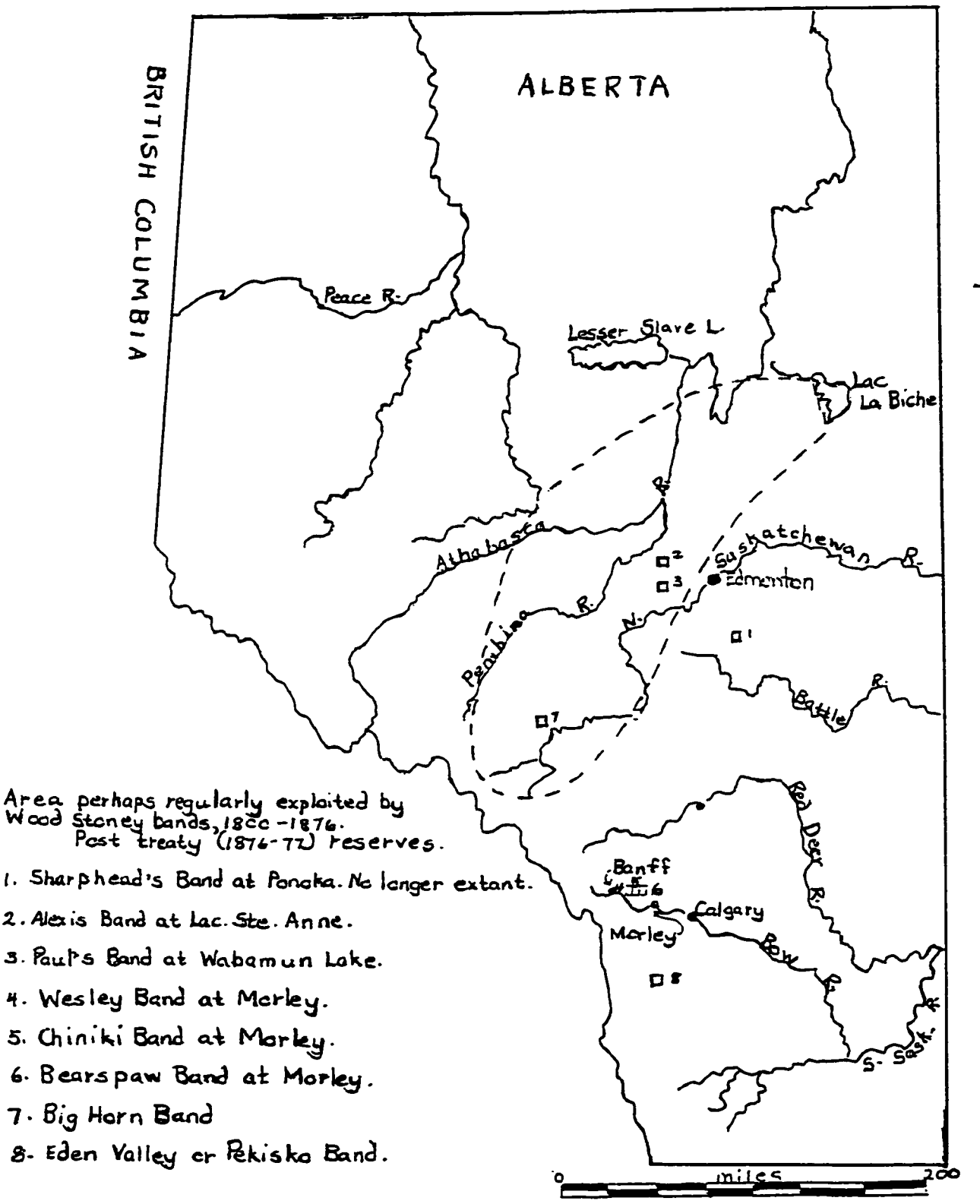
time- -.When I am talking about good living, respected homes, respected Elders, at that t ime when the people wanted to do some work, such as plowing for gardens, grain, building fences, corrals or threshing grain, the men helped each other and retumed the help. They trusted each other. Same thing with the women for cooking for men, they helped each other. Nobody paid any one. There was a lot of co-operation in every way.

As far as I remember, when they had dances (pow-wow) the people used to have a good time, especially the special Days like Christmas, New Year's, Easter. They had feasts in those days also. This is all I can tell. I have told you what I know, and what I have been told.

Susan Bearhead

Appendix II: Maps

Map 1: Wood Stoney Territory and Post-Treaty (1876-7) Stoney Reserves in Alberta

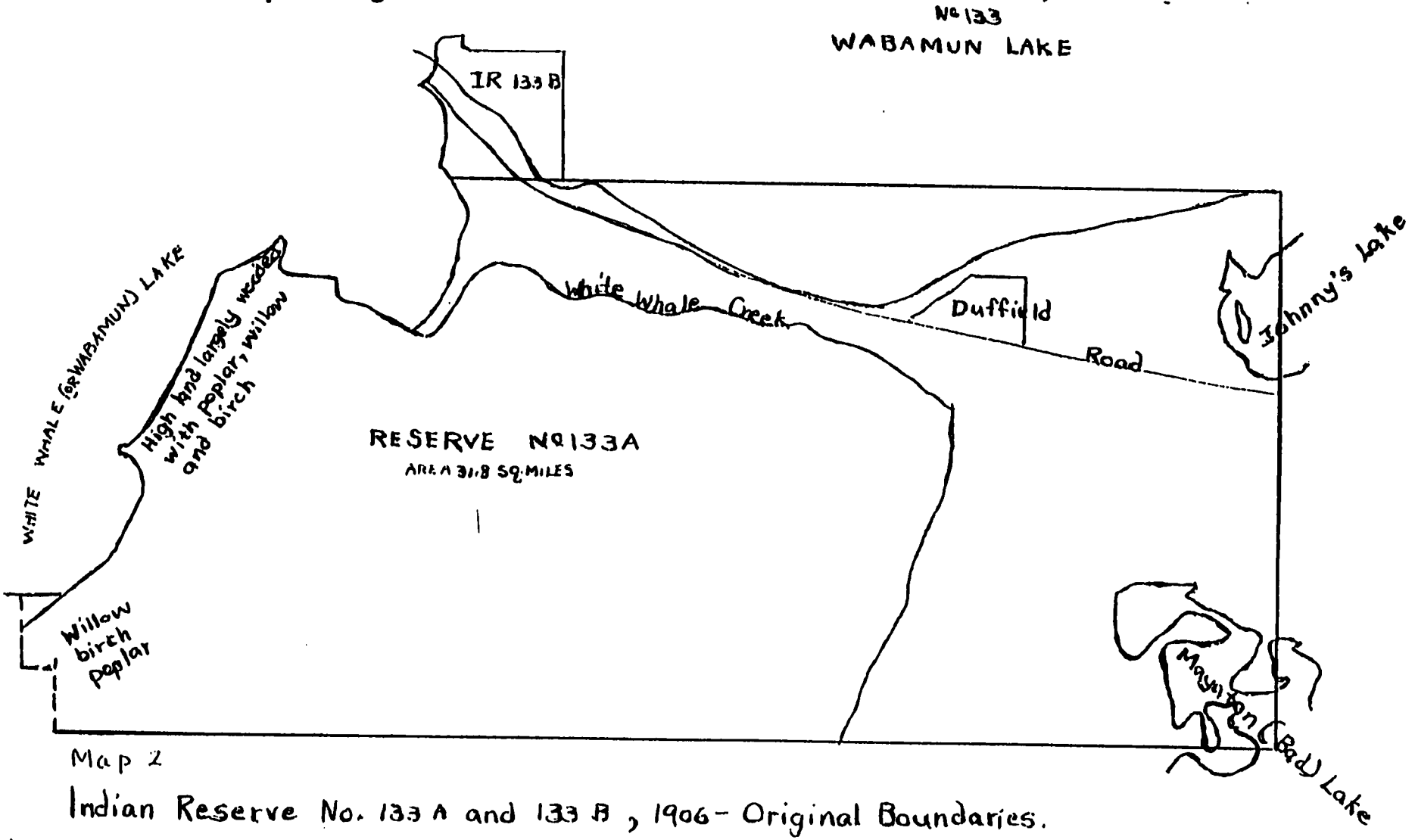


Area perhaps regularly exploited by Wood Stoney bands, 18cc - 1876.
Post treaty (1876-77) reserves.

1. Sharphead's Band at Ponoka. No longer extant.
2. Alexis Band at Lac. Ste. Anne.
3. Paul's Band at Wabamun Lake.
4. Wesley Band at Morley.
5. Chiniki Band at Morley.
6. Bearspaw Band at Morley.
7. Big Horn Band
8. Eden Valley or Pekisko Band.

Map 1. Wood Stoney Territory, and Post Treaty (1876-7) Stoney Reserves in Alberta
Source: R.R. Andersen's article on Alberta Stoney (Assiniboin) Origins and Adaptation p. 51 (adapted)

Map II: Original Boundaries of Indian Reserve 133A and 133B, 1906

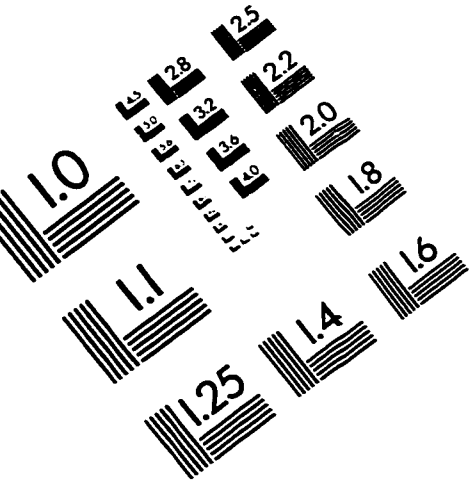


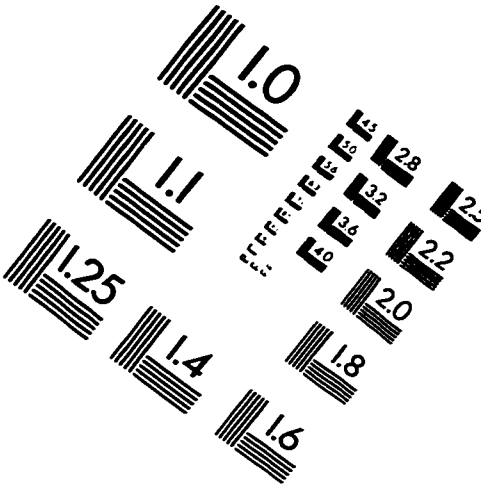
Map 2

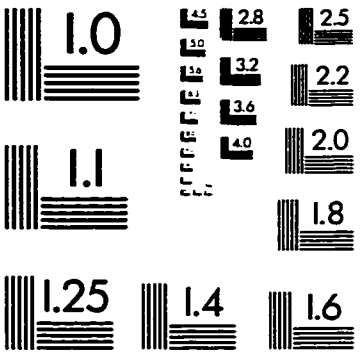
Indian Reserve No. 133 A and 133 B, 1906 - Original Boundaries.

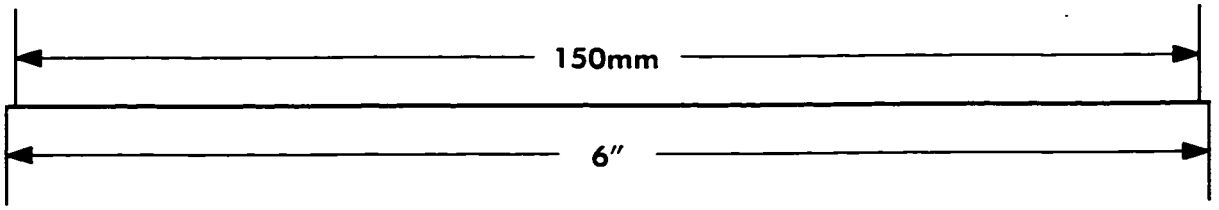
Source : Hills of Hope. Published by Carvel Unifarm, Spruce Grove, Alberta, p. 23.

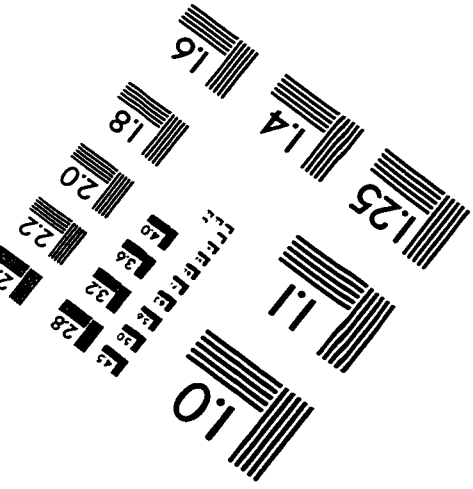
IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

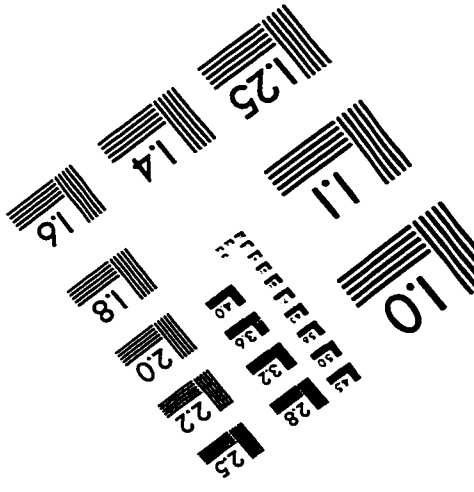












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Phone: 716/482-0300
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