VICTORIAN IDEOLOGIES OF GENDER AND THE CURRICULUM OF THE REGINA INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, 1891-1910

A Thesis Submitted to the College of

Graduate Studies and Research

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Masters of Education

In the Department of Educational Foundations

University of Saskatchewan

Saskatoon

By April Rosenau ChiefCalf

Summer 2002

Permission to use:

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Master's degree from the University of Saskatchewan, I agree that the Libraries of this University may make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for copying of this thesis in any manner, in whole or in part, for scholarly purposes may be granted by the professor or professors who supervised my thesis work or, in their absence, by the Head of the Department of Educational Foundations or the Dean of the College Education. It is understood that any copying or publication or use of this thesis or parts thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to the University of Saskatchewan in any scholarly use which may be made of material in my thesis.

Requests for permission to copy or to make other use of material in this thesis in part or in whole should be addressed to:

Head of the Department of Educational Foundations
College of Education
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

Abstract

Gender is an intrinsic part of the colonization process. This thesis examines the social construction of gender in the colonial context of the Indian Industrial Schools of western Canada. Through a case study of the official and hidden curricula of the Regina Indian Industrial School, this thesis explores the attempted imposition of Victorian Euro-Canadian ideals of gender upon Aboriginal youth around the turn of the century. The curricula of the Regina Indian Industrial school, as well as other western Industrial schools, was shaped by Victorian ideologies of gender, which promoted separate spheres for men and women, a cult of domesticity, sexual division of labour, and binary oppositions. The curriculum of the Regina Indian Industrial School became a method of conveying Euro-Canadian discourses of Victorian gender ideals. While boys in the Indian industrial schools were educated to become breadwinners, girls were socialized into domestic roles. Employing feminist, post-colonial, and post-structural theories and research methods, this study provides a textual analysis of records of government and church officials regarding gender and the curriculum of the Regina Indian Industrial School.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my thesis supervisors Dianne Hallman and John Lyons for their guidance, support, and feedback. I would also like to thank Verna St. Denis and Valerie Korinek for their influence and inspiration as members of my committee, as well as Dr. J.R. Miller who served as the external examiner for my defence. Of course, I must express my thanks to my family, including my husband Calvert, my children Kathleena and Matthias, and my parents for their patience, as well as moral support. Special thanks are extended to the staff, Faculty and students at Nortep/Norpac in LaRonge, who have offered me the opportunity to continue my research while working. Several librarians and archivists have also been extremely helpful in the research process and although I don't know their names, I would like to acknowledge their assistance, including the Saskatchewan Archives Board, the University of Saskatchewan library, Special Collections and Government Publications, the U of S Education Library, St. Andrews College, Regina Public Library Prairie History Room, Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre, and the U-Study program. Last but not least I would like to thank several friends who assisted who different phases of this project, including Marion Dinwoodie, Belle Young, Tina Pelletier, Lori Sparling, Amanda Plant, Cathy Littlejohn, Darcy Lackten, Georgina Taylor, David Cross and Michal Calder.

Permission to Reproduce:

Saskatchewan Archives Board

University of Saskatchewan
3 Campus Drive
Saskatoon, Canada S7N 5A4

University of Regina
Regina, Canada S4S 0A2

IMPORTANT MESSAGE TO USERS OF PHOTOGRAPHIC MATERIALS

The photographic reprint or slide you have acquired from the Saskatchewan Archives Board is for one time use for the purposes specified in your original request. Further duplication or integration into any other archival repository, library, or image bank is prohibited.

If the purpose of this material is for use in a publication, a television, video, or film production, a display, or an electronically distributed format, reasonable steps need to be taken to provide credit acknowledgement to the Saskatchewan Archives Board.

In publications and newspapers a credit line with the words "Saskatchewan Archives Board" followed by the respective call number is required adjacent to the photograph.

In documentary films and longer productions where acknowledgements are placed at the end, this may be accomplished by using the words "Saskatchewan Archives Board." In news items and shorter productions a "super" with the abbreviation "Sask. Archives" will be acceptable.

In electronic formats such as CD-ROM's and websites the scanned image must identify the Saskatchewan Archives Board as the source and include the appropriate call number. Credit should appear next to the image, and, if distributed electronically, the caption should be integrated into the image.

For more information please contact:

Tim Novak
Archivist, Reference and Special Media
Saskatchewan Archives Board
University of Regina
Regina, Saskatchewan S4S 0A2

Phone: (306) 787-4067
Fax: (306) 787-1197
tnovak@archives.gov.sk.ca

List of Abbreviations:

SAB – Saskatchewan Archives Board
UCA – United Church Archives
PC – Presbyterian Church
FMS, WS – Foreign Mission Society, Western Section, Presbyterian Church
OTC – Office of the Treaty Commissioner Collection, SIFC, Saskatoon
RG 10 – Record Group Number Ten, Department of Indian Affairs, National Archives of Canada
DIA – Department of Indian Affairs
CSP – Canadian Sessional Papers
NAC – National Archives of Canada

Dedication:

This thesis is dedicated to my children, Matthias Joseph ChiefCalf and Kathleena Winter ChiefCalf, who inspired me to continue my education.

Table of Contents

Introduction

> It is in the school, and especially in the industrial school, that the great work of the Church for the elevation of the Indian must be done. In the industrial school the children are withdrawn for long periods – and the longer the better – from the degrading surroundings of their pagan homes, and placed under the direct influence of all that is noblest and best in our Christian civilization. They are taught the elementary branches of an English education, and in addition, the boys are trained in farm work, tilling the ground, and caring for cattle, and in some instances in the elements of carpentry and smithing, and the girls in knitting, sewing, baking, cooking and general house-work, and all are taught to sing the psalms and hymns of the Church in English . . . From scenes like these results of the best kind are springing, and we may confidently expect that the generation trained under these influences will be immeasurably superior to their parents, and that in a comparatively few years our work as missionaries to heathen Indians will be accomplished.[1]

In 1891 the Regina Indian Industrial School for First Nations children and youth was opened four miles northwest of the growing town of Regina. The school was managed by the Foreign Mission Committee of the Presbyterian Church of Canada through a contract with the Department of Indian Affairs. The Regina Indian Industrial School was part of a larger movement of Indian industrial schools that swept the Canadian west in the 1880s and 1890s, pre-dating residential schools. Modeled after the industrial schools for orphans, delinquents, and the poor in urban centres, as well as the manual labour schools for Aboriginal children in Eastern Canada and the United States, the Indian industrial schools of western Canada were designed to provide Aboriginal youth with basic academic and vocational training. Officials within the government and the church were optimistic that the western Indian industrial schools would transform Aboriginal children and youth into ideal Christian citizens.

---

[1] United Church Archives [UCA], Records of the Presbyterian Church [PC], The Acts and Proceedings of the Fifteenth General Assembly, 1889, xvii.

Similar to other industrial schools of the time period, the official programme of studies of the Regina Indian Industrial School relied upon the half-day system. The half-day system required that children spend one half of their school day studying academic subjects in the classroom and the other half in vocational training and labour. Through both the academic and vocational curricula of the Regina Indian Industrial School, Aboriginal students were taught the sexual division of labour ingrained within Euro-Canadian society. While boys were taught trades and farming, girls were instructed in domestic sciences. Upon graduating, Aboriginal boys were to become breadwinners, either as farmers, farm hands, or in skilled trades such as carpentry or blacksmithing. Girls were to acquire Euro-Canadian domestic skills to enable them to become the wives of male industrial school graduates or the domestic servants of Euro-Canadian settlers.

The official curriculum of the Regina Indian Industrial School was accompanied by the hidden curriculum, which was designed to transmit Euro-Canadian codes of conduct and value systems to Aboriginal students. The hidden curriculum refers to the hidden "elements" of the educational process, which are "formative and educative" but are not part of the official programme of studies.[2] One of the goals of the hidden curriculum was to inculcate Victorian Euro-Canadian ideals of masculinity and femininity into Aboriginal societies. Through religious instruction, recreational and extra-curricular activities, appearance, role models, and prescriptive literature, Aboriginal youth and

[2] Bruce Curtis, "The Normalization of Educational Relations in Ontario, Canada," in Handbook of Educational Ideas and Practices, ed. N.J. Entwistle (London: Routledge, 1990), 150.

children were exposed to Euro-Canadian ideologies of gender identities, roles, and relations.

Figure 1 - Graduating class of the Regina Indian Industrial School, Saskatchewan Archives Board [SAB], R-B 570

Through a case study of the Regina Indian Industrial School, this thesis examines the production and reproduction of gender within the industrial school curriculum, arguing that gender was an intrinsic part of the colonial education process. Officials of both the Canadian government and the churches sought to reconstruct traditional indigenous gender relations, gender roles, and gender identities to reflect Euro-Canadian ideologies of gender of the late Victorian period. The curriculum of the Indian industrial schools was one area where Euro-Canadians attempted to reconstruct the gender identities of Aboriginal children and youth.

As an area of inquiry, gender has received only limited attention in studies of Indian industrial schools. Indian industrial schools have been the subject of graduate theses and dissertations, such as the case studies of the Battleford and Qu'Appelle (Lebret) Indian Industrial Schools which were produced in the early 1970s.[3] A recent dissertation on Indian industrial schools by Jennifer Lorretta Pettit provides the most comprehensive picture of Indian industrial schools throughout Canada.[4] Educational historians, such as Brian Titley and Joan Scott-Brown, have also published comprehensive articles as well as case studies on Indian industrial schools in western Canada.[5] Each of these studies of Indian industrial schools emphasizes language, culture, and religion as targets of assimilation, making only brief mention of the topic of gender. Thus, an exploration of gender in the Indian industrial schools can provide new insights into the colonial education process.

Over the last thirty years, substantial research has been produced on the topic of residential schools. At least three of these studies do explore the dynamics of gender in Indian residential schools in both specific and general contexts, providing a starting point for examining the role of Victorian gender ideologies in the Indian industrial schools in western Canada. Historian J.R.

---

[3] Jacqueline (Gresko) Kennedy, "Qu'Appelle Industrial School: White 'Rites' for the Indians of the Old North-West." (Master's thesis, Carleton University, 1970) and Walter Julian Wasylow, "History of Battleford Industrial School for Indians." (Master's thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1972).
[4] Jennifer Loretta Pettit, "'To Christianize and Civilize': Native Industrial Schools in Canada" (Ph. D. diss., University of Calgary, 1997).
[5] See Brian Titley, "Indian Industrial Schools in Western Canada," In Schools in the West: Essays in Canadian Educational History, ed. Nancy M. Sheehan, J. Donald Wilson, and David C. Jones (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1986), 133-154, and Joan Scott-Brown, "The Short Life of St. Dunstan's Calgary Industrial School, 1896-1907," Canadian Journal of Native Education 14, no. 1 (1987): 41-49.

Miller explores the subject of gender in "'The Misfortune of Being a Woman': Gender", in which he provides a general overview of the topic of gender within residential schools.[6] In this chapter, Miller examines both the sexual division of labour entrenched within the residential school curriculum and gender ideals within the hidden curriculum. In addition, Miller examines the gendered experiences of residential school staff. A limitation of Miller's chapter is the blurring of the distinctions between industrial and residential schools. However, the study provides starting points for exploring aspects of the topic of gender and industrial schools further. For example, Miller notes that the inclusion of girls in residential schools was premised on Victorian notions of gender and co-education, a point that will be examined further in this study.

In "Gender and the Paradox of Residential Education in Carrier Society", Jo-Anne Fiske analyzes the impact of colonial processes upon Aboriginal gender roles and relations among the Carrier Indians of British Columbia.[7] The author provides a case study of the Lejac Indian residential school in the interior of British Columbia. As Fiske argues, Catholic priests and Indian agents jointly endeavoured to instill Euro-Canadian gender ideologies, such as patriarchy, in Carrier society through residential schools. However, a paradox emerged among the Carrier Indians, as young women graduated from residential schools with better academic preparation to assume political offices in their communities than

---

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

[7] Jo-Anne Fiske, "Gender and the Paradox of Residential Education in Carrier Society," In Women of the First Nations: Power, Wisdom and Strength, ed. Christine Miller and Patricia Chuchryk (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1996), 167-182.

male graduates. Thus, contrary to the goals of the Oblates and Indian agents, Carrier women did not assume subservient positions in their community, but rather undertook prominent leadership roles. Fiske's article is based upon her graduate thesis titled, "And Then We Prayed Again: Carrier Women, Colonization, and Mission Schools."[8]

Another article that examines gender and residential schools is "Separate and Unequal: Indian and White Girls at All Hallows School, 1884-1920" by Jean Barman.[9] In this article, Barman presents a case study of the All Hallows boarding school in British Columbia, a unique residential school that provided education for both Euro-Canadian and Aboriginal girls. However, the girls within All Hallows were not treated equally; not only were the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal girls segregated, but the Aboriginal girls performed the majority of the domestic work for the school. Barman's article is a useful source for studying the interaction of race, class, and gender in residential schools, demonstrating how Aboriginal peoples in Canada were forced into subordinate positions in relation to Euro-Canadians. In addition, Barman's article discusses many of the significant policy changes that affected education of First Nations children in Canada.

This thesis seeks to expand on the existing literature on Indian industrial schools as well as gender and residential schools by exploring the production and reproduction of Victorian ideologies of gender in the industrial school curriculum. One of the purposes of historical inquiry is to "explain events in

[8] Jo-Anne Fiske, "And Then We Prayed Again: Carrier Women, Colonization, and Mission Schools." (Master's thesis, University of British Columbia, 1981).

terms of other events, and to attempt to situate them in the general context of the period."[10] This thesis differs from previous studies of Indian industrial schools and residential schools by contextualizing the gender ideologies of Euro-Canadians in relation to colonial education, by placing a study of the curriculum of the Regina Indian Industrial School within the context of Euro-Canadian gender ideologies of the late Victorian era. The purpose of this thesis is to explore how Euro-Canadian Victorian ideologies of gender shaped the curriculum of the Regina Indian Industrial School. This study does not seek to understand the effects of gender and colonization on First Nations; rather the focus is on the gender ideologies of the colonizers themselves and the ways in which gender was produced and reproduced in a historical and colonial context.

Gender and colonization in this study are viewed from the perspective of gender history, a genre that seeks to analyze relationships between men and women in a historical context.[11] Drawing upon feminist theories, the research of gender historians demonstrates that notions and ideals of gender are not static, but rather are constantly changing, constructed relative to time and place.[12] Gender ideologies of the Victorian era, for example, provide us with an excellent opportunity to study how ideologies of gender shift and change in different time periods and contexts. Gender analysis can also be used as a tool to enhance our

---

[9] Jean Barman, "Separate and Unequal: Indian and White Girls at All Hallows School, 1884-1920," In Indian Education in Canada: Volume 1: The Legacy, ed. Jean Barman, Yvonne Hebert, and Don McCaskill (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 57-80.
[10] John L. Rury, "Historical Inquiry," in Qualitative Research in Education: An Introduction to the Major Traditions, ed. David F. Lancy (White Plains, NY: Longman Publishing 1993), 250.
[11] Joy Parr, "Gender History and Historical Practice," in Gender and History in Canada, ed. Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1996), 8-27.
[12] Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan, and Nancy M. Forestell, eds., Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 1999), 2.

understanding of history through providing an "analysis of how femininity and masculinity shaped and were shaped by specific historical contexts."[13] In this respect, gender is studied as a primary way of signifying power between men and women.[14]

Yet the study of gender and colonization requires other frameworks in addition to feminist theory. Thus, this thesis also draws upon post-colonial and post-structural theories to explore gender in a colonial context. An inter-disciplinary perspective provides a broader perspective from which to explore the multidimensional and complex relations of gender, race, and class in colonization. For example, it is important to study the relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women within historical and colonial contexts. It is also essential to remember that Aboriginal boys and men were also the targets of the assimilation process, and therefore a study of the social construction of masculinity within the colonial process is vital. All three of these theoretical frameworks are concerned with power and domination of subordinated groups. Feminist theory seeks to reveal the oppression and subordination of women through patriarchy. Post-colonial theory examines the relations between colonizers and colonized peoples. And post-structuralist theory analyzes the social construction of knowledge and identities that preserve positions of power for certain groups of people. This thesis is strongly influenced by authors such as Sarah Carter, Anne McClintock, and, more recently, Adele Perry, who also

[13] McPherson, Morgan, and Forestell, Gendered Pasts, 1
[14] See Joan Wallach Scott, Gender and the Politics of History (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988).

blend feminist, post-structuralist, and post-colonial frameworks in their studies of gender and colonization.[15]

A main premise of feminist theory is that gender is socially constructed. The term gender signifies the social and cultural meanings attached to the physiological differences of the sexes.[16] As Poovey argues, "the representation of biological sexuality, the definition of sexual difference, and the social organization of sexual relations are social, not natural phenomena."[17] Thus the social meanings that are associated with being male or female vary cross-culturally and change over time. For the purpose of this study, ideologies of gender are defined as sets of beliefs about men and women, which are characteristic of a class or culture. Gender historian Mary Poovey argues that ideologies of gender "exist not only as ideas . . . [as] they are given concrete form in the practices and social institutions that govern people's social relations."[18] Yet Poovey also argues that although Victorian ideologies may appear cohesive, they were marked with conflict and contradiction. Contained within ideologies of gender are gender ideals, which can be described as the clusters "of traits, behaviour and values that the members of a society believe a person should

---

[15] See for example, Sarah Carter, Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), Anne McClintock, Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest (London: Routledge, 1995), and Adele Perry, On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).
[16] Wendy Mitchinson, The Nature of Their Bodies: Women and their Doctors in Victorian Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1991), 8.
[17] Mary Poovey, Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 3.
[18] Poovey, Uneven Developments, 2.

have as a woman or a man."[19] Gender ideals relate to the so-called standards of perfection that men and women are expected to exhibit.

The main research method employed in this study involves textual analysis of texts that pertain to gender and colonization with relation to the curriculum of the Regina Indian Industrial School. As archival evidence, these texts help us to reconstruct the history of the Regina Indian Industrial School. As well, the texts provide insight into the minds and objectives of the colonizer.[20] Through textual analysis of the records and discourses of the church officials and government representatives who were involved in the Indian industrial schools, we gain insight into how gender was produced and reproduced in the schools.

Some sections of this thesis also employ discourse analysis as a research method. As Vivien Burr explains, discourse analysis is part of a growing trend in social research referred to as "social constructionism" that involves the subjective and interpretive deconstruction of texts.[21] The purpose of discourse analysis is to understand how discourse is constructed to "present particular images of people and their actions."[22] Social constructionists take a critical approach toward taken-for-granted knowledge, striving to understand the historical and social contexts in which knowledge and identities are constructed. Discourse may be defined as a formal speech, narration, or treatment of a subject.[23] Discourse

---

[19] Michael Roper and John Tosh, eds., Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain Since 1800 (London: Routledge, 1991), 35-36.
[20] Pamela M. White, "Restructuring the Domestic Sphere – Prairie Indian Women on Reserves: Image, Ideology and State Policy, 1880-1930." (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 1987), 14.
[21] Vivien Burr, An Introduction to Social Constructionism (New York: Routledge, 1995), 164.
[22] Burr, Social Constructionism, 164.
[23] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies (New York: Routledge, 1991), 70.

may also be explained as the way we speak and create knowledge about a particular topic. Although all people create discourses, those who hold positions of power usually produce the discourses that become dominant. In nineteenth century Canada, the discourses on gender were largely constructed by the Euro-Canadian middle classes; through reinforcement of their own ideologies, they sought to maintain and legitimize their social position over others, such as the working classes, immigrants, and Aboriginal peoples. As Morgan notes, the meanings found in gender discourses may be articulated in language or "material forms of organization", including religious, economic, or legal practices.[24] As this study demonstrates, education, including the curriculum, is another area where gender discourses are produced and reproduced.

Equally important is the manner in which discourses have shaped the representations of colonized peoples. Through discourse on Aboriginal peoples' cultures and social structures, Euro-Canadians created the images of a racially and culturally superior colonizer, juxtaposed with the supposed inferiority of the colonized. Post-colonial theorists Edward Said and Homi Bhabba have argued that the representations of inferiority and superiority serve to justify the exploitation of the colonized and maintain the privilege of the colonizer.[25] Thus, colonial discourses have served to construct the identities of colonized peoples, which are often produced in comparison to the identity of the colonizer.

While this study draws substantially from a number of secondary sources

---

[24] Cecilia Morgan, Public Men Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 15.
[25] Aschroft, Key Concepts, 43.

on Indian industrial schools of western Canada, gender and colonization, and Victorian ideologies of gender, the principle form of information for this thesis has been obtained from primary sources. The primary sources for this study include records from the Department of Indian Affairs, House of Commons debates, Sessional Papers, correspondence and records from the Presbyterian Church of Canada, publications of the National Council of Women, newspapers, and photographs. These primary sources have provided a window for studying the objectives, attitudes, and ideologies of the Euro-Canadian government and church officials who sought to transform Aboriginal gender systems.

Much of the information for this study has been derived from the records of the Department of Indian Affairs, including the RG 10 Collection and the Annual Reports. The RG 10 collection, or Record Group Number Ten, is a collection of microfilm that encompasses various historical records from the Department of Indian Affairs and its predecessors; the RG 10 collection includes reports, letters, files, and correspondence.[26] The two subsections of RG 10 records used in this study include the School Files and the Black series, which contains records of western Canada. The annual reports of the Department of Indian Affairs, which are published in the Sessional Papers of Canadian Parliament, are also a primary source of information. Initially these reports contained accounts of the work of each Indian Agent, school principal and department official.[27] These reports are frequently a reflection of the stated

[26] For a description of the RG-10 series, see National Archives of Canada, "Aboriginal Peoples and Archives, 1995, http://www.archives.ca (2 January 2002).
[27] White, "Restructuring the Domestic Sphere," 14.

hopes and ideals of the officials, reflecting the recorded opinions and objectives of each official with regards to colonization. The records thus should be read as a record of the aspirations of the colonizers as opposed to a representation of the reality of the Indian industrial schools.[28]

Records and publications of the Presbyterian Church have been obtained from the United Church Archives in Toronto, the Special Collections at the University of Saskatchewan Library, as well as the Office of the Treaty Commissioner Collection at the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College in Saskatoon. Materials from the Regina Indian Industrial School have also been acquired from the Saskatchewan Archives Board, including copies of The Progress, a newspaper published by the students at the Regina Indian Industrial School. In addition, a microform copy of the register recording the names of the students who attended the school was also located at the Saskatchewan Archives. Newspaper articles from the Regina Leader, addresses and essays published by the National Council of Women in Canada, and the debates from the House of Commons also contain valuable discourses relating to gender and colonization and are thus valuable sources for textual analysis.

Gender historian Marianna Valverde notes that discourse includes more than just text or words.[29] While most of the discourse in this study is comprised of text, an effort has been made to analyze visual formats of discourse in the form of photographs of the Regina Indian Industrial School. As J.R. Miller

---

[28] White "Restructuring the Domestic Sphere," 14-15.
[29] Mariana Valverde, The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925 (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1991), 10.

observes, piecing together the history of residential schools in Canada requires the amalgamation of many different types of sources; photographs are striking visual images of the residential schools.[30] Similar to textual discourse, the photographs also provide insight into the objectives and ideologies of the colonizer. Photographs of idealized versions of Aboriginal students were frequently included in the Department of Indian Affairs annual reports as a form of propaganda, justifying the expense and promoting the "progress" of the Indian industrial schools. Similar to the written reports, the photographs often capture the objectives of colonizers with regards to their agenda of assimilation.

For this thesis, I have chosen to provide a case study of the Regina Indian Industrial School as opposed to a general overview of the western Indian industrial schools. The Regina Indian Industrial School has not been the subject of detailed research and therefore provides an opportunity to learn new information. The Regina Indian Industrial School also operated within a time frame that reflects many of the shifting policies of the churches and Indian Affairs towards Aboriginal education and assimilation; the closure of the school, for example, is tied to a major shift in Aboriginal education policy. Although archival records indicate that the Regina Indian Industrial School was a significant part of the early years of the growing town of Regina, the school is frequently overlooked or trivialized in local Regina history.

The discussion of Victorian ideologies of gender and the curriculum of the

---

[30] J.R. Miller, "Reading Photographs, Reading Voices: Documenting the History of Native Residential Schools," In Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History, ed. Jennifer S.H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1996), 466.

Regina Indian Industrial School are broken down into six chapters. The first chapter provides an overview of Victorian ideologies of gender, examining the relationships between gender, class, and education in nineteenth-century Canada. This chapter also explores the purpose of industrial schools, including industrial schools in urban Canada and Britain. Chapter One sets the background for the analysis of subsequent chapters, outlining the role of education in socializing children for their socially defined gender and class roles.

Chapter Two examines the discourse of Euro-Canadians around gender and colonization, including settling the west, assimilation of Aboriginal peoples, and nation building. This chapter examines the perceptions held by Euro-Canadians towards Aboriginal gender systems and the desire to reconstruct Aboriginal peoples' gender relations, roles, and identities.

Chapter Three discusses the major steps in the development of the Indian industrial schools in western Canada. Exploring how girls were incorporated into the western Indian industrial schools, this chapter suggests reasons why the institutions became co-educational.

Chapter Four examines the official curriculum, both academic and vocational, of the Regina Indian Industrial School. Drawing on annual reports of the principals of the Regina Indian Industrial School, this chapter presents and analyzes the curriculum and its discourses, arguing that both the government and church wanted to impose the notion of separate spheres, a Euro-Canadian sexual division of labour, and a cult of domesticity upon Aboriginal children. This chapter also explores the attempts of Euro-Canadians to impose a class

structure upon Aboriginal children, in the effort to make many Aboriginal children into a working class subservient to Euro-Canadian settlers. Chapter Four also traces the early development of the Regina Indian Industrial School.

Recognizing that the hidden curriculum of the Regina Indian Industrial School played as significant a role in the social reconstruction of gender as the official curriculum, Chapter Five examines the social messages about ideal forms of masculinity and femininity that were continuously conveyed through recreation, leisure, religious instruction, role models, and the prescriptive literature of the school newspaper.

Chapter Six explores the changes in policy toward Aboriginal education and the closure of the Regina Indian Industrial School. This chapter also examines the discourse surrounding the perceived successes and failures of the industrial schools, students, and graduates, exploring how the Indian industrial schools were closed in an effort to marginalize First Nations of the prairies.

Efforts have been made to exhaust as many sources as possible in piecing together the picture of the curriculum of the Regina Indian Industrial School. However, there are limitations to this study in that the perceptions of the Aboriginal children who attended the school are minimal. Several oral history collections throughout the province were researched in an attempt to locate interviews with former students and graduates. Only one interview was discovered at the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre. The entire interview, recorded with former student Charlie Ryder of Carry-the-Kettle Reserve, was taped in the 1970s and conducted in the Nakoda language. Accounts published

by descendants of the graduates of the Regina Indian Industrial School do provide insights into the perspectives of students who attended the school. However, the records that have been preserved by the Church and government are the documented reflections of the colonizer's perceptions of and attitudes toward Aboriginal peoples. These records should not be always taken as factual evidence, but rather, the way the colonizer represented the Indian industrial schools.

Many of the studies of the relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in Canada have emphasized the experiences of the colonized. Yet I believe it is of equal importance to have a clear understanding of the ideologies of the colonizer, which shaped their objectives and ideals with regards to Aboriginal peoples. In many respects, my research has been inspired by my own position in relation to Aboriginal people. Although I am Euro-Canadian, my partner is Blackfoot and my children are thus of Aboriginal ancestry, which has encouraged me to further explore the historical relationship between First Nations and non-Aboriginal peoples in Canada. I believe that non-Aboriginal peoples of Canada need to develop a greater understanding of their own historical legacy of colonialism. This study attempts to explore one piece of the larger historical relations between the colonizers and the colonized of western Canada.

Chapter One

Education for their Station in Life:

Victorian Ideologies of Gender, Class, and Education

> . . . women's sphere in public work will always be most valuable when it is brought to bear upon the home, and . . . one of the greatest outcomes of the higher education now enjoyed by women will be the transformation which it will gradually make in the organization and performance of domestic duties, in the sanitation of our homes, our schools, our cities, and the education and training of our children. [1]

The Victorian ideologies of gender, class, and education that characterized Canada in the late nineteenth century were the product of several social and economic factors, including industrialization, emergent middle class ideals, and Canada's imperial British heritage. Industrialization resulted in the separation of private and public space, which historians often refer to as separate spheres. In the Victorian era, the metaphor of separate spheres became widely associated with gender, placing women in the private sphere of the home and men in the public domain of employment, politics, and business. Victorian ideals emphasized marriage and the patriarchal family as the most important social unit. Largely associated with the dominant middle classes of England, Victorian ideologies of gender spread to Canada through imperialism and immigration. Yet, Victorian ideals of gender identities, relations, and roles differed along lines of class, ethnicity, and race. The middle classes produced themselves as superior to the lower and working classes and engaged in various benevolent

[1] Countess of Aberdeen, "Preface," Woman: Maiden, Wife and Mother: A Study of Woman's Worth and Work in all Departments of her Manifold Life, Education, Business, Society, Housekeeping, Health, Physical Culture, Marriage and Kindred Matters, ed. B.F. Austin (Toronto: Linscott, 1898), text-fiche.

and social reform activities in attempts to maintain a dominant social position and an ideal social order. Education for the working and lower classes was a part of the social reform movement which strove to produce good citizens who conformed to their ascribed place within the social hierarchy. However, the ideals advocated within the Victorian era presented many contradictions and, by the end of the nineteenth century, events such as the colonization of western Canada and the movement of women into the public sphere, resulted in additional shifts to Euro-Canadian gender ideologies.

In the early nineteenth century, British North America was a colonial and pre-industrial agrarian society. The household was considered the workplace and the family the workers.[2] Men, women, and children all performed labour that was necessary for the survival of the family as an economic unit. Although a gender based division of labour existed, the contributions of men and women were viewed as interdependent. While men engaged in farming and cared for livestock, women were responsible for domestic concerns, including childcare, producing fabric and clothing, and gardening. Children were trained for their respective gender roles within the family.[3] Apprenticeship was a common method of informal education for training boys in trades and agriculture.

As a colony of Britain, Canada was strongly influenced by the social ideologies of the United Kingdom. While the economy remained primarily agricultural in Canada, social ideologies from an industrializing England and

---

[2] Alison Prentice, The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), 88.
[3] Cynthia R. Commachio, The Infinite Bonds of Family: Domesticity in Canada, 1850-1940 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 17.

United States had slowly filtered into Canada throughout the colonial and post-confederation periods, becoming part of the culture.[4] Thus, although Canada was still primarily an agricultural and rural economy in the early and mid-nineteenth century, the gender ideals and concepts of social stratification associated with industrialization were disseminated through British immigration and imperialism.

By the 1870s, Canada had become a self-governing dominion and was expanding west into the prairies. During this period, central Canada was also experiencing a transformation to an industrial economy with increased urban migration. These social and economic factors served to further reinforce Victorian gender ideologies. However, the pre-industrial, agricultural economy continued alongside industrial development and therefore, industrialization in Canada was characterized by continuity as well as transition.[5]

A major development within the Victorian era was the evolution of the middle class. As Epstein notes, the Victorian middle classes of the United States were both a "homogenous" whole and a "disparate" group; comprised of professionals, businessmen, and skilled workers, the middle classes formed a cultural and ideological category as much as an economic class.[6] The efforts of the middle classes were directed toward finding a means to upward mobility, maintaining an economic place above the lower classes. While not as wealthy

---

[4] Cecilia Morgan, Public Men Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 6.
[5] Commacchio, The Infinite Bonds of Family, 15.
[6] Barbara Leslie Epstein, The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth Century America (Middleton: Wesleyan University Press, 1981), Barbara Leslie Epstein, The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth Century America (Middleton: Wesleyan University Press, 1981), 3. 3.

as the upper classes, the middle classes sought to legitimize themselves through the creation of an identity of moral superiority. Thus, in England, the United States, and Canada, the Victorian middle classes endeavoured to assert a lifestyle and ideology based on moral and social values which would preserve their own social status.[7]

The ideologies of gender that became dominant during the Victorian era were primarily produced by the middle classes, who exhibited a shared culture. The middle classes emphasized monogamous marriage as the foundation of society, presenting an idealized vision of the home and family which is often referred to as the cult of domesticity.[8] The home came to be seen as a refuge from the outside world in which each member of the family had a specific role. The ideal family and home, under a women's moral influence, represented a Christian base within the disorderly and profit-based business world:

> . . . a family has an object in life beyond mere existence. The father is not simply the bread-winner, the mother the care-taker, and the children irresponsible individuals concerned only in their own enjoyment. The family is a life-saving institution; thoroughly equipped and properly organized, it is set up by God as one of His mightiest agencies for the rescue of a wrecked world.[9]

Central to the cult of domesticity was the idea of separate spheres, a metaphor that has become "central to our understanding of American, British, and Canadian gender relations in the nineteenth-century, particularly for white,

---

[7] Elizabeth Jane Errington, Wives and Mothers, Schoolmistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790-1840, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 21-22.
[8] Deborah Gorham, The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 4.
[9] B.F. Austin, ed., Woman: Maiden, Wife and Mothers: A Study of Woman's Worth and Work in all Departments of her Manifold Life, Education, Business, Society, Housekeeping, Health, Physical Culture, Marriage and Kindred Matters (Toronto: Linscott Pub., 1898), 126-128.

middle-class men and women."[10] Separate spheres ideology is historically tied to the separation of the home from the workplace through industrialization. However, the concept of separate spheres implied more than just a physical separation of home and work as the ideology of separate spheres also involved an association with gender. Women were identified with the private sphere of the home; they were mothers, daughters and wives, nurturers, and caretakers. Men, on the other hand, were associated with the public realm of business and politics.

A growing body of feminist scholarship in the area of Victorian gender ideologies has greatly enhanced our understanding of separate spheres. Separate spheres is a conceptual framework used by historians to research and explain gender relations of the past. According to Kerber,

> The metaphor of the "sphere" was the figure of speech, the trope on which historians came to rely when they described women's past . . . When exploring the traditions of historical discourse, historians found that notions of women's sphere permeated the language; they, in turn, used the metaphor in their own descriptions.[11]

The trope of separate spheres has been useful to many women's historians, who have examined the historical, systematic exclusion of women from employment, politics, and education. However, some historians question the separate spheres paradigm, arguing that gender ideologies in the Victorian era were far more complex than the simple division of men and women into separate spheres. As Cecelia Morgan points out:

> The "public" and the "private" were not two distinct and separate spheres found in complete isolation from each other. Each sustained the other,

---

[10] Morgan, Public Men, Virtuous Women, 3.
[11] Linda K. Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," Journal of American History 75, no. 1 (June 1988): 10-11.

> and . . . the lines between the two were more than a little blurred. Masculinity was constructed in the home as well as . . . in the workplace . . . Images of femininity were found "in public" as well as in the home.[12]

Thus, although men were generally associated with the public domain, the masculine identities of fathers and sons were produced within the domestic sphere. Public discourses, such as religious sermons, shaped the identities of women, albeit to define their roles for the private sphere. Yet despite the overlap between the spheres, Morgan notes that we cannot dismiss the importance of separate spheres ideology, both as a paradigm in gender history and as a concept which shaped the lives of men and women in the Victorian era.[13]

Separate spheres ideology also involved a distinct sexual division of labour. Social expectations were placed upon men to perform the roles of breadwinner and protector. As Davidoff and Hall note, the identity of men became dependent upon their ability to provide for their families.[14] On the other hand, the feminine identity became tied to the concept of domesticity. Domesticity was also perceived as a space and women were supposed to labour in or near the home. As many Victorians believed that women's purpose was to "complete" the lives of others, women were expected to be homemakers and the intellectual and economic dependents of men.[15]

Victorians attributed the social and spatial division between the sexes to biology. As Mitchinson argues, Victorian Canadians believed that the differences

---

[12] Morgan, Public Men, Virtuous Women, 7.
[13] Morgan, Public Men, Virtuous Women, 9-10.
[14] Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle-Class, 1780-1850, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 229.
[15] Mary Poovey, Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 1.

between men and women were of greater significance than similarities.[16] Increasingly, gender ideals for men and women were viewed in terms of binary oppositions. In other words, men and women were defined in relation to one another as opposites. For example, women were not seen as less strong, but weak in comparison to men. Thus women were viewed to be frail and submissive while masculinity was associated with strength and aggressiveness. Men were perceived to be intellectual and rational, while women were viewed as moral, nurturing, and intuitive. While on the surface binary oppositions appeared to be symbolic, they operated to reinforce a system that prevented women from full and equal participation in most aspects of the public sphere, such as employment, politics, and education. According to Poovey,

> The model of a binary opposition between the sexes, which was socially realized in separate but supposedly equal 'spheres', underwrote an entire system of institutional practices and conventions at mid-century, ranging from a sexual division of labor to a sexual division of economic and political rights.[17]

The concept of binary oppositions applied to class as well as gender, since the middle classes came to define themselves in relation to the working and lower classes. A dual vision came to characterize women in the Victorian period, one that often functioned to distinguish middle-class women from lower-class women. Women were viewed as virtuous but also as having the potential to be promiscuous, immoral, and licentious; Victorian culture provided for both

[16] Wendy Mitchinson, The Nature of Their Bodies: Women and their Doctors in Victorian Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1991), 47.
[17] Poovey, Uneven Developments, 8-9.

the Madonna and the Magdalena, and it was often women of the lower classes who were perceived as the latter.[18] As Davidoff argues,

> These are stereotypes which are deliberately cast in terms of opposites. There cannot be one without the other, and politically one of the key functions of this particular set of oppositions is to separate . . . middle-class ladies from working women to ensure that they relate only through men.[19]

Working-class and poor women were frequently the objects of blame, held responsible for many social problems, including prostitution, alcoholism, illness, infant mortality, and poverty. [20] On the other hand, the image of the "good woman" of the lower classes, who attended Church and did not work outside the home, was promoted as the solution to many social ills.[21]

The nineteenth-century ideals of manhood were the product of the same social forces that produced images of women.[22] Masculinity was a social construct, which was shaped in relation to men's power over women and men of other classes.[23] As Roper and Tosh assert, manliness in the Victorian era was not inherited as much as it was achieved. Men were expected to prove themselves through success in the workplace, sports, military, or politics.[24] Success was viewed as the end result of hard work and industry. Men of the

---

[18] Leonore Davidoff, Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class (New York: Routledge, 1995), 106-107.
[19] Davidoff, Worlds Between, 107.
[20] June Purvis, Hard Lessons: The Lives and Education of Working-Class Women in Nineteenth-Century England (Oxford: Polity Press, 1989), 63 and 66.
[21] June Purvis, A History of Women's Education in England (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1991), 8.
[22] J.A.Mangan and James Walvin, eds., Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 1.
[23] Michael Roper and John Tosh, eds., Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain Since 1800 (London: Routledge, 1991), 2.
[24] Roper and Tosh, Manful Assertions, 1.

lower classes, who did not achieve the status of the middle class breadwinner, were to be blamed for their supposed lack of effort and work ethic.

Thus the middle classes defined themselves by how they differed from the lower and working classes. Yet at the same time, the middle classes endeavoured to impose their own ideologies with respect to gender and other social ideals upon lower and working-class families. Many members of the middle classes believed that the lower and working classes needed to be assimilated in the "thoughts, feelings, and habits of the rich" in order to avoid class conflict.[25] Middle-class women were instrumental in imposing their own domestic ideals upon women of the working classes. Canadian historians Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton note:

> [The notion of] separate spheres has been a powerful cultural tool of middle-class hegemony, and the contribution of middle-class women to the acceptance and elaboration of the ideology has been an important part of garnering middle-class power and credibility. As such, it has also been used to discredit the experience and demands of the great majority of women who did not conform to the Euro-American, middle-class, heterosexual ideal.[26]

For example, working-class women who needed to work outside the home did not conform to the domestic ideal and thus were viewed as a deviation from the rule.

One exception to this rule was the employment of domestic servants, which was perceived to be a suitable occupation for women and girls of the working classes. As middle-class women were expected to be ladies of leisure and not perform menial domestic tasks, most middle-class families aspired to

---

[25] Prentice, The School Promoters, 124.

have at least one domestic servant. For the middle classes, the employment of domestic servants was an indication of social and economic status. Domestic service was also viewed as a stepping stone for working-class girls; through their residence and employment in a middle-class home, they would be exposed to the culture and ideals of the middle classes and thus improve their opportunities for marriage.[27] Domestic service also served to reinforce class divisions between women, placing lower-class women in positions subservient to women of the middle classes.[28]

During the late Victorian era in Canada, a movement for social reform became prevalent. Similar to social reform movements in the United States and England, the middle classes in Canada sought to transform and improve the lower classes.[29] The notion of cleanliness came to symbolize the desire to cleanse society of social ills. Middle-class women were predominant in the social reform movement and came to view themselves as the nation's housekeepers.[30] The social reform movement allowed middle-class women to move out of their homes to take on new roles in the public sphere, including temperance and philanthropic work, as well as occupations such as teaching and nursing.[31] Women's work in the area of social reform was socially accepted as it was viewed as an extension of their roles in the home. For example, the creation of

---

[26] Janet Guildford, and Suzanne Morton, eds. Separate Spheres: Women's Worlds in the Nineteenth-Century Maritimes (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994), 11.
[27] Paula Bartley, The Changing Role of Women 1815 – 1914 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1996), 52.
[28] Errington, Wives and Mothers, Schoolmistresses and Scullery Maids, 120.
[29] Mariana Valverde, The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925 (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1991), 16.
[30] Comacchio, The Infinite Bonds of Family, 49-50.
[31] Comacchio, The Infinite Bonds of Family, 49-50.

the National Council of Women of Canada in 1893 was an expansion of middle-class women's work in the area of philanthropy as well as child and family welfare.[32]

Schools became an important aspect of the middle-class movement for social reform and class preservation. Education was an opportunity for the middle classes to provide the working classes with an education for their station in life. While some historians have viewed the growth of public education in Upper Canada as a movement towards equality, others have argued that public education was a form of social control.[33] Through public schooling, members of the middle classes desired to create a "safe and disciplined" lower class, socializing all children to be good citizens. Victorians developed a new perception of childhood as a formative period requiring education to produce future citizens.[34] In many countries, laws were passed restricting child labour and enforcing education of children.

Education also played an important role in socializing boys and girls for their respective roles as adult men and women. Through formal schooling, Victorians "educationally legitimized and institutionalized" the doctrine of separate spheres.[35] Whereas girls were socialized to become wives, mothers, and servants, working-class boys were trained for their future roles of breadwinners and workers. While historically European societies had largely

---

[32] Comacchio, The Infinite Bonds of Family, 50.
[33] Prentice, School Promoters, 115.
[34] Comacchio, The Infinite Bonds of Family, 34.
[35] Felicity Hunt, ed., Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women, 1850-1950 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), xxii.

excluded girls and women from formal education, the Victorian era generated popular arguments in favour of educating girls and women. In Canada, as elsewhere, many Victorians believed that the "most important and peculiar duty" of women involved "the physical, intellectual and moral education of children."[36] Victorians idealized motherhood and argued that as wives and mothers, women played a central and influential role in society. Education for girls was deemed as essential to prepare them for their important role in raising and influencing future generations.

In England, particular attention was paid to the education of working-class girls, who were given instruction in domestic arts. Members of the English middle classes believed that lower-class families, especially mothers of poor and working families, were incapable of educating their own children and therefore required assistance from the middle classes. Since England did not have a formal public education system until after 1870, most of the schools for poor and working-class children were operated voluntarily by church societies.[37] The church society schools placed significant emphasis on the physical separation of boys and girls as well as gender-specific curricula. Many such schools operated on the half-day system, providing working-class girls with only one-half day of academic instruction. The second half of the school day for girls was reserved for instruction in domestic arts. The focus on domestic education reinforced the

[36] Charles Duncombe, school promoter in Upper Canada, as quoted in Susan Houston and Alison Prentice, Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Toronto: Ontario Historical Studies Series, Government of Ontario, 1988), 102.
[37] Purvis, History of Education of Women, 20-21.

notion that the future role of English working-class girls was to serve others, as mothers, wives, and servants.[38]

The domestic education of working-class girls also included instruction in forms of needlework, which were obsolete due to industrialization. Ann Marie Turnbull has theorized that needlework was symbolically associated with femininity and domesticity and continued to be taught to girls in an effort to inculcate values such as neatness and cleanliness.[39] Many working-class parents opposed the instruction of domestic arts to their daughters, especially skills that proved to be impractical in working-class homes.[40]

In order to prepare working-class boys for employment within the new industrial economy, church society schools in England emphasized routines and punctuality.[41] Springhall has noted that athletics, military drills, and brass bands were incorporated into the education of working-class boys in order to instill middle-class ideals of manliness, as well as to prepare boys for future military roles.[42] In England, boys received more academic instruction than did girls, as manual arts were not introduced until a later date. In Canada, manual and domestic arts were not formally introduced into the public school curriculum until around 1900.[43]

---

[38] Ann Marie Turnbull, "Learning Her Womanly Work: The Elementary School Curriculum, 1870-1914," In Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women, 1850-1950, ed. Felicity Hunt (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 87.
[39] Turnbull, "Learning Her Womanly Work," 88-89.
[40] Purvis, History of Education of Women, 28-29.
[41] Houston and Prentice, Schooling and Scholars, 192.
[42] John Springhall, "Building Character in the British Boy: The Attempt to Extend Christian Manliness to Working-Class Adolescents, 1880-1914," in Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940, eds. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 52-74.
[43] Comacchio, The Infinite Bonds of Family, 54.

Industrial schools were developed for the purpose of educating the most marginalized members of society, including orphans, juvenile delinquents, and poor and neglected children. In Canada, the industrial school movement drew upon precedents from England and the United States.[44] The Victoria Industrial School for boys was opened in 1887 near Toronto and was followed by the Alexandra Industrial School for girls in 1892. The purpose of these industrial schools and those opened elsewhere in Canada was to rehabilitate wayward children and provide them with training that would lead to self-sufficiency and employment. In England, the industrial schools were viewed as a means of removing working-class girls and boys from the "contaminating influences" of their homes.[45] Industrial schools provided a very practical education; girls were taught domestic skills such as sewing while boys were instructed in trades and agriculture.[46]

The education of the middle classes differed significantly from the education of the working and lower classes. The middle classes, lacking the land and wealth of the upper classes, viewed education as a means to their own upward mobility.[47] For the middle classes, the education of boys was viewed as an investment in the financial security of the family. Education for girls was viewed as preparation for marriage and tended to be ornamental in nature, emulating the education of upper-class girls. In order to become a suitable

---

[44] Paul W. Bennett, "Turning 'Bad Boys' into 'Good Citizens': The Reforming Impulse of Toronto's Industrial Schools Movement, 1883 to the 1920s," Ontario History 73, no. 3 (September 1986): 212.
[45] Meg Gomersall, Working-Class Girls in Nineteenth-Century England: Life, Work and Schooling (London: Macmillan Press, 1997), 63-64.
[46] Houston and Prentice, Schooling and Scholars, 38.
[47] Davidoff and Hall, Family Fortunes.

companion for a future husband, middle-class girls were educated in the "accomplishments", including subjects such as music, drawing, and fancy needlework.[48] The education of girls was deemed to be of great importance as women were viewed to be the moral centre of the home and family.

> The principle of education for women is the same as it is for men, and the same in Canada as it is in other countries; the principle of masculine education being to train boys for offices of manhood, and the principle of feminine education to train girls, not for professional life, still less for masculine functions, but for offices of womanhood.[49]

While there was consensus that middle-class girls required an education, debates arose as to whether they should be educated in separate schools or co-educational facilities. As Royce documents in her article on the exclusion of girls from grammar schools in Upper Canada, co-education was viewed as acceptable for elementary school, but was less suitable for girls pursuing higher levels of education, especially girls of the middle classes.[50] Grammar schools were intended as preparation for boys who planned on attending university, which was almost exclusively a male preserve until the 1880s. Some officials contended that boys and girls might have a negative influence on each other schools, as girls could develop "unrefined characteristics" from exposure to boys.[51]

Co-education presented a contradiction; when girls and boys were taught together, many mechanisms were put into place to create strict separation, such

---

[48] Marjorie R. Theobald, "The Sin of Laura: The Meaning of Culture in the Education of Nineteenth-Century Women" Journal of the Canadian Historical Association 1 (1990): 260.
[49] M. Cartwright, "The Education of English-Speaking Canadians" In Women of Canada: Their Life and Work, comp. National Council of Women of Canada (Ottawa: National Council of Women of Canada, 1900; reprint, Ottawa: National Council of Women of Canada, 1975), 109.
[50] Marion V. Royce, "Arguments for the Education of Girls – Their Admission to Grammar Schools in this Province," Ontario History 67 (March 1975): 1-13.
[51] Royce, "Arguments," 5.

as separate entrances, separate playgrounds, and segregated seating in class. Yet some, such as members of the Presbyterian Church, did not oppose co-education in certain contexts, particularly for young children. However, the Presbyterian Church strongly supported the higher education of women through separate ladies seminaries, which offered a distinct curriculum for preparation of women's moral roles:

> [T]here is another branch of work that requires more of our attention than we have yet been able to bestow upon it, namely the higher education of our daughters. Happily the public school, the high school, the academy, the university, are open to girls and young women. But this is not enough. Seminaries for women are indispensable . . . it is certain that the future of our church and country largely depends on the training we give to the rising generation, girls as well as boys, - young women as well as young men.[52]

Although the concept of separate spheres was continuously reinforced through the discourse and institutions of the Victorian era, there were many contradictions within and forms of resistance to Victorian gender ideals. In many respects, the ideals were unachievable and were rarely a reflection of the lived experiences of men and women in the Victorian period. For example, many urban working-class families could not afford to conform to the gender roles dictated by the middle classes. Many poor and working-class men could not fulfill the role of breadwinner and therefore, wives and daughters were often forced to seek employment as factory workers and servants outside of the home. Even middle-class families struggled to attain the ideal; unable to afford servants, many middle-class women were forced to perform menial domestic duties within their own homes, especially in rural areas where there was a shortage of

[52] The Presbyterian Record, V (May 1888), xiii.

domestic servants. As well, the physical labour of women was essential in the establishment of colonial farms in Upper Canada.[53] As Poovey states,

> For some groups of people some of the time, an ideological formulation of, for example, maternal nature might have seemed so accurate as to be true; for others, it probably felt less like a description than a goal or even a judgement – a description, that is, of what the individual should and has failed to be.[54]

The idea that boys and girls required a formal education to attain their supposedly naturally determined roles was also a contradiction.

There were also many forms of resistance to the ideologies of gender within the late Victorian era. The suffrage movement was the result of middle-class women resisting their restricted roles. As Poovey notes, in reality the Victorian era was characterized by many competing discourses, whereby notions of gender were constructed, contested, and debated. For example, Roper and Tosh have distinguished three competing masculine identities, including the Christian gentleman, the masculine achiever, and the masculine primitive. While the Christian gentleman was considered the proper father and husband, the masculine achiever was associated with the successful businessman. The masculine primitive identity developed through imperialism and contact with indigenous peoples; promoting the ideals of physical strength, instinct, and aggression, the masculine primitive identity is also tied to the increase in intercollegiate sports in the United States in the 1850s.[55]

Ideologies of gender in the Victorian era were very complex and have

---

[53] Errington, Wives and Mothers.
[54] Poovey, Uneven Developments, 3.
[55] Roper and Tosh Manful Assertions, 40-42.

been the source of many studies by feminist historians. Largely constructed by the middle classes of industrializing England, Victorian ideologies of gender emphasized and naturalized the separation of men and women. Women and men were defined as opposites of one another and thus were expected to occupy different spheres and occupations in society. In many respects, Victorian gender ideologies served to separate the middle classes from the lower classes. Euro-Canadians eventually were influenced by these notions of gender, even though the ideals were difficult to attain in rural Canada.

Despite the contradictions and resistance to Victorian ideologies of gender, the ideals were perpetuated. When Canada moved west, so did the Euro-Canadian preoccupation with Victorian gender ideals. Gender became an intrinsic part of settling the west and colonizing Aboriginal peoples, despite the fact that many aspects of Victorian ideologies of gender were impractical and unsuited to the territories, peoples, and lifestyles of western Canada. As will be explored in the next chapter, Euro-Canadians further extended their notions of binary oppositions, defining and redefining their own gender ideologies through the process of colonization and in relation to Aboriginal peoples in the west.

Chapter Two

"Woman on the Prairie has a Noble Work to Do":

Gender and Colonization in Western Canada

> Though a continent might be discovered, explored, and to a certain extent exploited for commercial purposes by men alone, it could not very well be colonized without women.[1]

As Canada rapidly expanded westward, the federal government endeavoured to establish a new industrial and agricultural society in the prairies. In 1879, Prime Minister John A. Macdonald devised a national policy for developing the prairies into an agricultural hinterland that would support the industrializing core of central Canada. Thus, as Comacchio notes, the western Prairie Provinces became the site of strategically planned and promoted nation building.[2] The process of nation building in the west involved both physical and social changes, including the acquisition and agricultural development of the land, settlement through immigration, and the subjugation and assimilation of Aboriginal peoples. In short, nation building in the west involved a process of colonization.

Upon Confederation in 1867, Canada became a self-governing nation. At this time, England transferred responsibility for Aboriginal peoples from colonial authorities to the Canadian government. Canadian historian Sarah Carter suggests that many Canadians have difficulty viewing the relationship that

---

[1] National Council of Women of Canada, compiler, Women of Canada: Their Life and Work (at the request of the Honourable Sydney Fisher, Minister of Agriculture for distribution at the Paris International Exhibition, 1900, reprint, 1975), 6.
[2] Cynthia R. Commachio, The Infinite Bonds of Family: Domesticity in Canada, 1850-1940 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 44

developed between the federal government and Aboriginal peoples, as colonial in nature. According to Carter,

> Fundamental features of colonialism were present in Western Canada in the late nineteenth century, including the extension of the power of the Canadian state, and the maintenance of sharp social, economic, and spatial distinctions between the dominant and subordinate population. Colonial rule involved the domination, or attempted domination, of an expatriate group over indigenous people.[3]

The first step in Canada's westward expansion involved the acquisition of land. In their eagerness to develop the region west of Upper and Lower Canada, many Canadian annexationists were reluctant to recognize title to the land claimed by the First Peoples or the Hudson's Bay Company. The Hudson's Bay Company had been granted title to the region known as Rupert's Land in 1670 by the British Crown.[4] However, in 1869, the Hudson's Bay company agreed to sell its title to Rupert's Land to the federal government of Canada, retaining one-twentieth of the land for itself.

Obtaining title to the land from Aboriginal peoples posed a greater challenge to the new Canadian government. Having never surrendered their land to the Hudson's Bay Company, Aboriginal peoples were dismayed that the government had purchased title to the land from the company without consultation of the Aboriginal inhabitants. Both Metis and First Nations pressured the government to resolve their concerns regarding their title to the land. As a result, the government issued scrip[5] to the Metis inhabitants of Red

---

[3] Sarah Carter, Aboriginal Peoples and Colonizers of Western Canada to 1900 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 102-103.
[4] Arthur J. Ray, I Have Lived Here Since the World Began: An Illustrated History of Canada's Native Peoples (Toronto: Lester Publishing, 1996), 196.
[5] Scrip was a piece of paper which entitled the bearer to land or money. Scrip was used as a means of extinguishing Metis title to land in western Canada.

River and negotiated treaties with the First Nations of the west. Between 1871 and 1877, the government of Canada negotiated and signed Treaties One to Seven, which encompassed the territory from western Ontario to the Rocky Mountains. First Nations agreed to share their land with Euro-Canadians in exchange for a land base in the form of reserves. At the request of First Nations, the Canadian government also agreed to provide assistance, including agricultural instruction and implements, as well as schools, to enable them to make the transition to an agricultural economy.

Nonetheless, the government and First Nations had very different views of the future of Aboriginal peoples on the prairies. For Aboriginal peoples of western Canada, the transition involved acquiring new skills for the purpose of physical survival due to the critical decrease of their main food source, the buffalo. The government, on the other hand, envisioned a complete socio-economic metamorphosis, which involved the subjugation and assimilation of First Nations. With the decline of the fur trade and the end of colonial wars, Euro-Canadians no longer required Aboriginal peoples as military or economic allies, and thus began to view the nomadic hunting lifestyle of Aboriginal peoples as an obstacle to progress and a sign of backwardness. The government and missionaries both believed that once First Nations were settled on reserves, they could become ideal Canadian citizens as farmers, workers, and housewives.

Many Victorian Canadians accepted the theory of social Darwinism, which advocated that humans passed through a series of social evolutionary stages from hunters to farmers; industrialization was deemed to be the culmination of

evolution. Victorian Canadians often believed it was their obligation to bring their perceived superior civilization to the Aboriginal peoples of the prairies. From their perspective, they were following a policy of fairness and humanity, unlike their American neighbours who had resorted to war in order to subjugate the Aboriginal peoples.[6] Thus, through the treaties and assimilation, the government hoped to peacefully subjugate First Nations and colonize western Canada.

Colonization is often depicted as a male activity, or at the very least, a genderless process. Yet gender was an intrinsic part of the colonization of the prairies. From the perspectives of Euro-Canadians, Aboriginal gender systems did not fit into the new western socio-economic order any more than indigenous economies, political structures, or spiritual beliefs. Building upon previous colonial discourses and reflecting the concept of binary oppositions, Euro-Canadians produced both negative and romanticized images of Aboriginal people's gender systems. These images of Aboriginal women and men were constructed in relation to the ideals of Euro-Canadians. Euro-Canadians desired to dismantle First Peoples' systems of gender and reconstruct their gender roles, relations, and identities in manners that reflected Euro-Canadian ideologies of gender. Through economic changes, government legislation, and forms of education, Euro-Canadians attempted to transform Aboriginal peoples to fit within a Christian, patriarchal, sedentary, and industrial-agricultural lifestyle. While the ultimate goal was to create nuclear families with male breadwinners and

[6] Carter, Aboriginal Peoples and Colonizers, 105.

housewives on reserves, the processes of colonization and civilization took different forms for Aboriginal men and women.[7]

Determining how gender shaped traditional indigenous societies prior to contact with Europeans is difficult. Most contemporary authors agree that the gender roles of First Nations' societies were complementary; the contributions of both men and women were deemed as valuable and necessary to the survival of the community.[8] Cree-Metis author Kim Anderson observes that the gender systems of First Nations' societies exhibited a great deal of diversity, reflecting the variance of cultures.[9] However, Anderson also argues that as land-based peoples, traditional First Nations societies shared some similarities such as a gender-based division of labour. The division of labour was not strict, but rather flexible, allowing First Nations men and women to fill the roles of the opposite gender when necessary.[10] Traditional indigenous societies used various mechanisms to maintain balance and equality between men and women, preventing discrimination and abuse.

Over the last few decades, several feminist studies of gender and colonization have enhanced our understanding of the perceptions of Europeans and Euro-Canadians towards Aboriginal systems of gender. Research in this area also reveals that Europeans and Euro-Canadians desired to instill their own

---

[7] Pamela M. White, "Restructuring the Domestic Sphere – Prairie Indian Women on Reserves: Image, Ideology and State Policy, 1880-1930." (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 1987), 61.
[8] See for example, Laura F. Klein and Lillian A. Ackerman, Women and Power in Native North America (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1995).
[9] Kim Anderson, A Recognition of Being: The Reconstruction of Native Womanhood (Toronto: Second Story Press, 2000).
[10] See also Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine, The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women (Lanham: University Press of America, 1983).

ideologies of gender within Aboriginal societies. Missionaries, traders, explorers, and both colonial and government officials tended to disregard the cultural diversity among Aboriginal peoples. As well, they generally perceived that Aboriginal systems of gender were problematic in relation to European or Euro-Canadian systems of gender and thus advocated for a restructuring of Aboriginal gender systems.

Gender and colonization has had a long history in North America. Eleanor Leacock's research on colonization and gender examines the accounts of Jesuit priests during their initial encounters with the Montagnais-Naskapi people of Labrador in the 1600s.[11] Leacock argues that the women of the Montagnais-Naskapi people held a high degree of status and autonomy in their traditional egalitarian societies.[12] Through a careful examination of Jesuit journals from the 1630s, Leacock concludes that missionaries held conflicting views of Aboriginal gender relations. On the one hand, the Jesuits believed the Montagnais-Naskapi women were exploited as beasts of burden, due to the labour-intensive work that they performed. But at the same time, Jesuit priests such as Father Le Jeune documented their disapproval at the high status and autonomy that Montagnais-Naskapi women possessed. As a result of these perceptions, the Jesuits embarked on a program of colonization, attempting to transform the egalitarian nature of traditional Montagnais-Naskapi culture into a social structure that reflected the values, family organization, and patriarchal authority of European

[11] Eleanor Burke Leacock, Myths of Male Dominance: Collected Articles on Women Cross-Culturally (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1981).
[12] Montagnais-Naskapi was the name given to the Innu people of Labrador by Europeans.

Christian society.

Feminist history has also contributed to our understanding of the relations of race, gender, and class in the colonial context, such as Sylvia Van Kirk's studies of women in the fur trade.[13] Van Kirk's research demonstrates that First Nations women played an essential role in the early stages of the fur trade, performing tasks necessary for the survival of European fur traders unacquainted with the Canadian wilderness. Increasingly, European traders engaged in marriages with Aboriginal women to secure trading alliances and their own survival. The skills and knowledge of Aboriginal women in processing furs, hunting small game, making canoes, moccasins and snowshoes, and preparing food and shelter, as well as translating and mediating, all ensured the success and survival of European fur traders. Although the traders and explorers of this period tended to portray Aboriginal women as beasts of burden within their own societies, they conveniently overlooked their own exploitation of Aboriginal women.[14]

However, as the fur trade progressed, European fur traders became more independent and relied less on the survival skills of First Nations' women. As a result, marriage patterns shifted over the course of the fur trade. According to Van Kirk, eventually, mixed-blood daughters, more closely resembling European

---

[13] Sylvia Van Kirk, Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society, 1670-1870 (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer Publishing, 1980). See also Jennifer S.H. Brown, Strangers in Blood: Fur-Trade Company Families in Indian Country (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980).

[14] James Axtell, The Indian Peoples of Eastern America: A Documentary History of the Sexes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 118.

women, replaced First Nations' women as the preferred wives of fur traders.[15] In preparation for marriage within fur-trade society, fathers socialized their mixed-blood daughters in European culture, in some cases sending them to schools in England to acquire the ornamental education typical of middle-class girls in England.

Toward the end of the fur-trade era, the arrival of British women in fur trade society resulted in the development of a new marriage trend. British women, exemplifying European Victorian ideals of femininity, became the favoured wives of fur traders, resulting in the development of class and racial distinctions within fur-trade society. However impractical, British traders sought wives with ideal Victorian feminine qualities as opposed to women who possessed survival skills. Within fur-trade society, white women came to be viewed as superior to Aboriginal women and many Aboriginal wives and children were abandoned by their European husbands. Van Kirk's research demonstrates the ways in which economic transformations within the fur trade resulted in shifts in the relations of gender, race, and class.

As Pamela Margaret White argues, the legacy of negative images inherited from fur traders, missionaries, and explorers influenced the perceptions, policies, and legislation of government officials regarding First Nations and gender in the late 1800s.[16] Similar to the missionaries of the 1600s, Canadian government and church officials of the late 1800s believed that First Nations

---

[15] Sylvia Van Kirk, "The Role of Native Women in the Fur Trade Society of Western Canada, 1670-1830." In Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History, 3rd ed., ed. by Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997), 75.
[16] White, "Restructuring the Domestic Sphere."

women were oppressed within their traditional indigenous cultures, performing labour that Euro-Canadians perceived as men's work. Disregarding the cultural diversity among Aboriginal peoples, they embarked on a universal program of restructuring the domestic economy of First Nations on prairie reserves, desiring to transform Aboriginal women into ideal housewives and Aboriginal men into breadwinners, in the form of farmers, farmhands, or tradesmen. This transformation often contradicted the traditional roles of indigenous men and women, especially in cultures where women performed the majority of the work in agricultural production.

Changing the gender roles of First Nations men and women was only one step in the process of colonizing the Canadian west. Expanding on White's research, Sarah Carter demonstrates how bringing white women to the west was also a significant factor in the efforts to transplant Euro-Canadian civilization in the prairies.[17] Prevalent in Victorian Canada was the notion that the west was not settled until white women were present, specifically refined women of the middle classes. As Comacchio notes, increasingly nation building in the west was linked to ideals of domesticity.[18] The burden of bringing culture and civilization to the prairies was associated with white women:

> Home-making anywhere depends greatly upon the character of the mother, and the West has reason to be thankful that so many of her mothers are refined and educated women. That they are brave, intelligent, and self-reliant to a degree is equally true, or they would scarcely have chosen to become pioneers . . . Woman on the prairie has a noble work to do in holding up high ideals of truth and righteousness in everyday life, in teaching her household to love work for its own sake, and

[17] Sarah Carter, Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997).
[18] Comacchio, Infinite Bonds of Family, 50.

> to accept reverently from the Great Giver those bounties of nature which here come so directly and so lavishly from His hand.[19]

Similar to the fur-trade era, Euro-Canadians did not view the Aboriginal women who already lived in western Canada in the same light as the newly arrived Euro-Canadian women. Using binary oppositions, Euro-Canadians constructed negative images of Aboriginal women to create sharp distinctions between Aboriginal and white women. The identity and image of white women came to rely on the negative images of Aboriginal women. As Carter states,

> The particular identity of white women depended for its articulation on a sense of difference from Indigenous women. What it meant to be a white woman was rooted in a series of negative assumptions about the malign influence of Aboriginal women. The meanings of and different ways of being female were constantly referred to each other, with Aboriginal women always appearing deficient.[20]

Through an analysis of captivity narratives, newspapers, and government correspondence of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Carter argues that gender was a fundamental component of the social construction of racial and social divisions used to establish boundaries between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal settlers of the prairies. Carter demonstrates how race and gender discourses were historically utilized to create an inferior identity for Native women in contrast to white settler women. Images of Native women as "dissolute, dangerous, and sinister" were established in contrast to the images of white

---

[19] Jessie McEwen, "Home Life in the West," In Women of Canada: Their Life and Work, comp. National Council of Women of Canada (Ottawa: National Council of Women of Canada, 1900; reprint, Ottawa: National Council of Women of Canada, 1975), 33.
[20] Carter, Capturing Women, 205.

women as fragile and delicate.[21] Carter argues that these dualistic images served to justify the exploitation of Aboriginal peoples.

While settler women may not have been the original source of this imagery, authors such as Myra Rutherdale and Linda Carty suggest that white women benefited from the establishment of dualistic images of Native and white women. In her examination of the role of missionary women in northern British Columbia, Rutherdale concludes that white women gained a sense of superiority through the creation and use of binary oppositions:

> Women missionaries did more than act as role models or attempt to influence native women in matters of domesticity. One of the prevailing images of missionary women . . . was that they were helpmates sent out to . . . teach their disciples how to act like proper ladies, as defined within the context of British society. Implicit in this assumption was the idea that native women were somehow inferior and had to be taught womanly behaviour and domestic arts. Their standards of cleanliness, child-rearing,and family life . . . came under close scrutiny and were found wanting. Power and influence could be gained by missionary women if they projected an idealized image of superior womanhood.[22]

Linda Carty also notes, "white women took it as their mission to save the unfortunate women of the colonies" and therefore were "equal participants" in the creation and promotion of the ideology of "white supremacy."[23] As the wives of missionaries, Indian agents, and farm instructors, Euro-Canadian women, generally sought to teach the domestic skills, values, and behaviour of their own culture to Aboriginal women. Carty argues that white women of the suffrage movement based their right to vote on a premise of racial superiority:

---

[21] Carter, Capturing Women, 159.
[22] Rutherdale, "Revisiting Colonization Through Gender: Anglican Missionary Women in the Pacific Northwest and the Arctic, 1860-1945," BC Studies 104 (1994): 22.
[23] Carty, Linda. "The Discourse of Empire and the Social Construction of Gender," In Scratching the Surface: Canadian Anti-Racist Feminist Thought ed. Enakshi Dua and Angela Robertson (Toronto: Women's Press, 1999), 37.

> When white women began to fight against patriarchal oppression, they capitalized on white privilege and located themselves as being superior to Black women and other women of colour. Patriarchy took on such racial significance in the struggle for women's suffrage in the United States that white feminists of the time argued that, as they were superior to Black men, the franchise should first be extended to white women.[24]

Thus, the use of binary oppositions had multiple purposes in the context of gender and colonization. Binary oppositions effected social divisions between Aboriginal peoples and white settlers while also creating a sense of superiority for white women. Colonists also used binary oppositions to create dual images of Aboriginal people themselves. Before the settler era, romanticized images of Aboriginal women, such as the image of the princess, were used to promote the west and attract Europeans to North America.[25] However, when white settlers came into competition with Aboriginal peoples for land, the "[f]etish and exotic images" of Aboriginal peoples were contrasted with negative representations such as the promiscuous "squaw" or the debased "drudge".[26] For example, in contrast to the princess image, the dominant discourse of the Victorian period frequently described Aboriginal women as prostitutes, with the potential to exert an immoral influence on other members of society:

> The women in a country where servants can scarcely be got, were often pressed into service to scrub and to wash, and thus gave up in great measure their former modes of life, but the almost universal immorality practised [sic] by them made them a menace to the public weal, and Church and Government alike made endeavors to have them removed to a reserve, where they might be taught a more regular and systematic way of making a living and where they would furnish to others less temptation to wrong doing.[27]

---

[24] Carty, "The Discourse of Empire," 41.
[25] Gail Guthrie-Valaskakis, "Sacajawea and Her Sisters: Images and Native Women," Canadian Journal of Native Education 23, no 1 (1999): 121.
[26] Rutherdale, "Revisiting Colonization," 16.
[27] The Presbyterian Record, vol. XIX, no. 2, February 1894, 38.

Similarly, during the fur-trade era, Aboriginal men were depicted in fur-trade narratives as brave, manly, and stoic, symbols of Aboriginal manhood.[28] New ideals of British manhood, similar to the "primitive masculine", developed in relation to the images of Aboriginal men as warriors and hunters; masculinity came to be associated with the qualities of physical strength, survival instinct, and courage.[29] Yet at the same time, colonists expressed a desire to transform Aboriginal men into an ideal of the Christian farmer. As competition for land and resources increased, a new image of Aboriginal men as lazy and unproductive emerged:

> For several years there has been a band of Saulteaux Indians in the skirts of the Riding Mountain in North Western Manitoba. With the westward advance of civilization they lost what little native independence and manliness they had and came to be miserable drunken loafing hangers on about the outskirts of such towns as Minnedosa and Rapid City.[30]

Increasingly, Euro-Canadian discourse reduced the hunting activities of Aboriginal men to a form of sport, similar to the recreation of leisured European gentlemen, denigrating the vital economic contributions of Aboriginal men to their communities.[31]

Drawing upon the work of post-colonial author Albert Memmi, Ashcroft describes the creation of opposing images of Aboriginal peoples as a "paradoxical dualism that existed in imperialist thought between the *debasement*

---

[28] Elizabeth Vibert, "Real Men Hunt Buffalo: Masculinity, Race and Class in British Fur Traders' Narratives," In Gender and History in Canada, ed. Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1996), 50-52.
[29] Anthony E. Rotundo, "Learning About Manhood: Gender Ideals and the Middle-Class Family in Nineteenth-Century America," In Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940, ed. A. Mangan and James Walvin (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 40.
[30] The Presbyterian Record, vol. XIX, no. 2, February 1894, 38.
[31] Axtell, The Indian Peoples of Eastern America, 104.

and the *idealization* of the colonized subjects."[32] As many post-colonial authors have argued, these negative images of Aboriginal men and women were used as justification for taking the land and imposing a new way of life upon Aboriginal peoples. The colonizer portrayed themselves as industrious, while presenting the colonized as lazy and in need of salvation.[33] The creation of negative images of Aboriginal peoples also contributed to the identities of white settlers, which were constructed in relation to the perceived inadequacies of First Nations. As Carter states,

> Those who wished to take advantage of the wealth of these resources had compelling reasons to promote a negative view of those who owned and occupied the land. To introduce private property, to dispossess Aboriginal people of their land, to dominate and colonize, it was important to show, not only the shortcomings of the present owners, but the great superiority of the people who wished to accomplish these tasks. In the course of defining the negative aspects of Aboriginal society, cast as the antithesis of 'civilized' society, Euro-Canadians defined what they perceived as their own ideal virtues.[34]

Thus, Euro-Canadians believed that they were bringing an advanced and superior way of life to First Nations. The relations between Aboriginal men and women, their division of labour, and their gender identities were continuously scrutinized by Euro-Canadians. The following excerpt written by Henriette Forget, wife of A.E. Forget, Lieutenant-Governor of the Northwest Territories, demonstrates the negative perceptions held by Euro-Canadians regarding

---

[32] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies (New York: Routledge, 1991), 201.
[33] Albert Memmi, The Colonizer and the Colonized, expanded edition (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991), 79; quoted in Myra Rutherdale, "Models of G/race and Boundaries of Gender: Anglican Women Missionaries in Canada's North 1860-1945," Canadian Woman Studies/Les Cahiers de la Femme 14, no. 4 (1994): 5.
[34] Carter, Aboriginal People and Colonizers, 82.

Aboriginal gender structures, as well as the belief that white settlers could change the gender systems of First Nations:

> In order to better recognize the present status of Indian women, it will be well to recall their condition before the civilizing influences began to operate, - twenty-five years ago. Their lot was indeed hard. Polygamy was the general practice. The richer an Indian was (his wealth being horses), the more wives he sought, or rather bought, for the maidens were sold by their paternal relatives to become the wives of those who proferred [sic] the greatest number of horses in exchange. The prices ranged from two horses to twenty, according to the attractions of the bride. There might be love on the part of the young couple, and indeed a sort of courtship was common, but the purchase had to be made all the same; and the Indian regards the white people's custom of giving a dowry as a sign of weakness and folly. The attractions, too of a young bride, in the eyes of the red man were not always such as would appeal to the 'pale-faces.' He often preferred quantity to quality . . .
>
> The marriage ceremony was as meagre as the bride's dress – among some tribes nothing but a cedar-bark petticoat. The chief provision was a promise by the woman to be "chaste, obedient, industrious and – silent. After marriage the position of the woman was worse even than before. The lordly husband never worked, or rather his work was sport, hunting, trapping or fishing. The woman did all that had to be done, however laborious the task might be. In the days of the buffalo, the more wives a man had the richer he became, because of the greater number of robes which could be dressed by his squaws. Divorce was as easy as marriage. A man, tired of his wife, could easily sell her to someone else. Whenever there was a death in the family, the women, for some reason unknown, were mutilated by being slashed with a knife, and the bent, decrepid [sic.] and scarred forms to be seen at the present day are the living testimony to a horrible practice which exists no longer. The only compensation for the sad lot of the squaw was that she was queen over all her domestic affairs; that she claimed and received a sort of chivalrous respect, and that, among the Algonquins, of which the Crees are a branch, she had even the sole right of declaring war, or of permitting peace.[35]

While Europeans and Euro-Canadians viewed Aboriginal women as

---

[35] Henriette Forget, "The Indian Women of the Western Provinces", In Women of Canada: Their Life and Work, comp. National Council of Women of Canada (Ottawa: National Council of Women of Canada, 1900; reprint, Ottawa: National Council of Women of Canada, 1975), 435-437. Ironically, Madame Forget, who was elected as the president of the Regina chapter of the National Council of Women of Canada, is described as a woman who promoted racial tolerance. See for example, Margaret Hryniuk, "A Tower of Attraction": An Illustrated History of Government House, Regina, Saskatchewan (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1991), 55.

oppressed, they were also critical of the autonomy, freedom, and independence of Aboriginal women. Fur traders of the northwest coast frequently made note of their objection to Aboriginal men consulting with their wives during trade transactions.[36] Similar to missionaries and traders, the National Council of Women of Canada disapproved of the freedom displayed by women within the Eastern Iroquoian-speaking societies:

> . . . The men of this nation or confederacy of five nations collectively named the Iroquois were the fiercest savages of the New World. For a century they were the scourge of Canada, and the liberty granted by them to their women commended itself no more highly to civilized Europeans than did their other heathen practices.[37]

Although Victorian Canadians believed that women held a higher moral status to men, they also promoted the idea that women should be subservient to the male heads of their households. Euro-Canadians also strongly disapproved of the customs of polygamy and divorce practiced by some western First Nations and sought to make Aboriginal peoples monogamous.

In many respects, the case for transforming Aboriginal systems of gender rested largely on arguments of the perceived cultural superiority of Euro-Canadians versus the so-called inferiority of Aboriginal peoples. But as John S. Milloy notes, Euro-Canadians also possessed a "fear of the unknown Other and of its disruptive potential."[38] The obsession with assimilating Aboriginal peoples

---

[36] Lorraine Littlefield, "Women Traders in the Maritime Fur Trade," In Native People, Native Lands: Canadian Indians, Inuit and Metis, ed. Bruce Alden Cox (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1988), 174.
[37] National Council of Women of Canada, Women of Canada, 6.
[38] John S. Milloy, A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986 (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), 31.

was also influenced by the fear that difference might become a part of Euro-Canadian culture:

> It is necessary to make prominent at the beginning, the fact that the relations in which we stand to the Indians are different from those which connect us with any other heathen. We owe the gospel to them as to others, but in addition they live within the bounds of our land, they are the wards of our Government, and the moral and social ideals that prevail among them must have a bearing by no means remote on the political and social life of Canada. Our young and growing nation cannot harbor within its borders solid masses of heathenism, such as Indian reserves are, without suffering the contamination which must come from the peculiar moral and social ideals entertained in these communities. Possibly we affect to despise their barbarism and their dirt, but we are influenced by it none the less.[39]

The government intended that reserves would be isolated communities where Aboriginal peoples could be assimilated without exposure to certain negative aspects of Euro-Canadian culture, such as alcohol, and where Aboriginal peoples would have little influence on Euro-Canadians.

Indian Affairs officials reveled in reporting on the perceived progress of gender transformation among First Nations. Although the discourse on women and gender in the Department of Indian Affairs records is limited, most accounts equate progress and civilization with women and the domestic environment. Officials believed that Euro-Canadian women, as informal instructors and role models to Aboriginal women, would have a significant impact upon the restructuring of Native women's roles and identities. Once transformed, they believed that Aboriginal women would influence other members of their communities. As Edgar Dewdney reported,

---

[39] Andrew Browning Baird, The Indians of Western Canada (Toronto: Canada Presbyterian, 1895), 5-6.

> Some of the Indian women have also become so skilful in dressmaking, knitting, the manufacture of butter, baking of bread, and in making hats, baskets and mats, that they likewise compete for prizes at the exhibitions.
>
> The wives of the farm instructors on the various reserves act as instructors of the Indian women in these industries, as well as in household duties generally, and some of the former have been very assiduous in the performance of this duty, and that they have been successful with their pupils in many instances is evident from the style of articles and manufactures exhibited by the latter at the fairs, which have won prizes and elicited words of commendation from all parties.
>
> It is also most satisfactory to know that by the instruction of the Indian women in these avocations they are being led to employ themselves in what is not only more profitable to themselves and families, but in what is more becoming to their sex than continuing to be 'hewers of wood and drawers of water,' as they previously were, and too many of them still are.
>
> The work of endeavoring to elevate morally and socially men, women and children, and to stimulate them to aspire to better things, thus goes on.[40]

Yet, the ideals promoted by officials within the Department of Indian Affairs ignored the realities of women's lives in western Canada, such as the demanding physical labour that was undertaken by pioneer women.[41] Similar to the colonial women of Upper Canada, pioneer women of the west performed labour intensive work that did not fit the ideal of the Victorian lady. The typical household chores of a pioneer woman usually included hauling firewood and water and assisting with labour ideally deemed to belong to men's sphere.[42] Very few women in western Canada, Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal, could in fact achieve the ideal, which fit the image of a Victorian or Edwardian lady. As White notes, "it was the societal ideals of the colonizer and not the reality of many

---

[40] Department of Indian Affairs [DIA], Annual Report for 1891, Canada Sessional Papers [CSP] (14), 1892, xxvii.
[41] White, "Restructuring the Domestic Sphere," 84.
[42] Comacchio, The Infinite Bonds of Family, 45.

women's lives . . . which proved to be the yardstick by which the colonized were seen to be deficient."[43] Regardless of the contradictions within their ideals, the Department of Indian Affairs moved forward with goals of restructuring Aboriginal gender roles and the sexual division of labour on reserves.

The Indian Act was another measure employed by the government of Canada to reconstruct the gender relations, roles, and identities of Aboriginal peoples. The Indian Act of 1876 consolidated all pieces of legislation pertaining to First Nations prior to and after confederation. The original purpose of the Indian Act was to define status Indians and protect their rights and land. However, numerous amendments were made to the Indian Act, which were not in the best interests of status Indians, but rather served to benefit the government and non-Aboriginal settlers who coveted reserve land. Enfranchisement and assimilation became the ultimate goals of the Indian Act. Through the Indian Act, the federal government of Canada legalized its policies and objectives regarding First Nations.

In effect, the Indian Act became a primary mechanism for imposing patriarchy and sexual discrimination upon Aboriginal communities.[44] As Kathleen Jamieson notes, the Indian Act of 1876 was based upon British common law and Euro-Canadian social ideals of the Victorian era, which presumed that inheritance was patrilineal. Thus, the Indian Act stipulated that Indian women would obtain or lose their Indian status through their father or husband. As

[43] White, "Restructuring the Domestic Sphere," 84.
[44] Kathleen Jamieson, "Sex Discrimination and the Indian Act," In Arduous Journey: Canadian Indians and Decolonization ed. J. R. Ponting (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1988), 113.

stated in the Indian Act of 1876, a status Indian was defined as any "male" person of Indian blood as well as a child or legal wife of such a person. If an Indian woman married a non-status man, she lost her status. Women were also excluded from participating in band politics and their property rights were restricted. Effectively, the Indian Act ensured that status Indian women had fewer rights than Indian men.[45]

Settling the Canadian west involved processes of nation-building and colonization. Both the government and settlers desired to reproduce their own social, political, and religious systems in western Canada. The reconstruction of Aboriginal gender systems was also a significant objective in the process of settling the west. Colonial discourses by Europeans and Euro-Canadians worked to create barriers between First peoples and Canadian settlers and to reproduce Euro-Canadian ideologies of gender in the west.

Education became a primary means of transforming the gender structures of Aboriginal peoples on the prairies. Methods of educating Aboriginal Peoples were both formal and informal. There were, for example, numerous types of informal adult education for First Nations, such as farm instruction for men and domestic instruction for women on reserves. More significant, however, was the carefully constructed system of formal education for Aboriginal children, which was designed to assimilate children while destroying their traditional cultures. As we shall see, assimilation into Euro-Canadian gender beliefs and

[45] Jamieson "Sex Discrimination and the Indian Act," 117.

practices would prove to be an intrinsic aspect of the formal schooling for First Nations children (See Figure 2).

Figure 2 - Wanda Gilmour, Indian girl, educated and adopted by Reverend Neil Gilmour, teacher at Regina Indian Inudstrial School,1905, SAB, B-1465

Chapter Three

"A School for Indian Girls":

Co-education and the Indian Industrial Schools of Western Canada

> If this scheme is going to succeed at all, you will, unless these Indian bucks are to be veritable bachelors all their lives, have to civilize the intended wives as well as the husbands.[1]

As stipulated in the western numbered treaties and the British North America Act of 1867, the federal government of Canada assumed responsibility for the education of First Nations children. Both the government and First Nations leaders agreed that schools would be necessary for ensuring the survival of Aboriginal peoples in the new agricultural economy of the west. However, the educational objectives of the government differed from the purpose of education envisioned by Aboriginal peoples during treaty negotiations. First Nations saw education as a means to achieve equality with the Euro-Canadian population and therefore they actively negotiated for education as a provision within treaties.[2] While First Nations desired to acquire the new skills necessary for economic transition, the stated goal of the government was to assimilate Aboriginal peoples, eradicating Native cultures in the process. Through the Euro-Canadian objective of assimilation, colonial education produced new dimensions for the idea of separate spheres: First Nations boys and girls were to be segregated within co-educational facilities, and children were to be separated from their parents and communities.

---

[1] Edward Blake, House of Commons Debates, 1883, 1377 (22 May 1883).
[2] Jo-Anne Fiske, "Gender and the Paradox of Residential Education in Carrier Society." In Women of the First Nations: Power, Wisdom and Strength, ed. Christine Miller and Patricia Chuchryk (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1996), 174.

During the latter half of the 1800s, three different types of schools were used by Euro-Canadians for the education of Aboriginal children in Canada, including day schools, boarding schools, and industrial schools. The models of education that were developed on the prairies in the last two decades of the century were drawn from existing methods used for Aboriginal peoples in eastern Canada. All three models used different approaches to accomplish the objective of assimilating Aboriginal children.

Located on reserves, day schools were most likely the type of education envisaged by First Nations leaders during treaty negotiations. Through negotiations and the text of the treaties, the Canadian government led First Nations to believe they would establish schools on reserves. For example, over the course of negotiations for Treaty Four, treaty commissioner Alexander Morris clearly indicated the intention of the government to place schools on reserves: "The Queen wishes her red children to learn the cunning of the white man and when they are ready for it she will send school masters on every Reserve and pay them."[3] With the exception of Treaty Seven, each of the western numbered treaties contains provisions for schools. Treaty Four signed in 1874, states: "Further, Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school in the reserve allotted to each band as soon as they settle on said reserve and are prepared for a teacher."[4] The government and church officials who supported day schools hoped that they

---

[3] Alexander Morris, The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories (Toronto: Belfords Clark, 1880; reprint Toronto: Coles Publishing, 1979), 96 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

[4] Canada, Treaty Number Four Between Her Majesty the Queen and the Cree and Saulteaux Tribes of Indians at Qu'Appelle and Fort Ellicet (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1974; reprint Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966), 7 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

would effect assimilation from within the community, predicting that children would return home at the end of the school day and influence their parents in Euro-Canadian ways.

However, the majority of church and government officials did not find that day schools were an effective means of assimilation. They argued that the children's parents, family, and reserve community had strong influences on the children, which hampered efforts to assimilate them.[5] Since the Department of Indian Affairs wanted to see immediate changes in the First Nations of the prairies, officials began to promote the separation of children from their families and communities in order to speed up the process of assimilation. Thus, the government and churches preferred boarding schools to day schools.

Boarding schools, which were located on or near reserves, removed children from their homes and communities for periods of time. The desire to remove Aboriginal children to boarding schools also reflected the Victorian preoccupation with social control; in the opinion of the government and Churches, Aboriginal parents were incapable of raising their own children. The goal to replace day schools with boarding schools is reflected in the text of the last western numbered treaty, which explicitly provides for teachers, but does not include a provision for schools on reserve. Signed in 1877, Treaty Seven states: "Her Majesty agrees to pay the salaries of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as to her Government of Canada may seem advisable, when said

[5] Milloy, A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986 (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), 54.

Indians are settled on their reserves and shall desire teachers."[6] The wording of Treaty Seven allowed for greater control on the part of the government to establish boarding schools, as opposed to day schools on reserves.

While officials viewed boarding schools as more effective than day schools, the government and churches desired to implement an additional form of education that would provide Aboriginal peoples with skills, hoping to prevent their dependency upon the Canadian government. Thus industrial schools were introduced, providing a third form of education for First Nations children. The industrial schools, which offered practical training in agriculture, trades, and domestic science, were expected to educate Aboriginal children and youth to become self-sufficient, while also contributing to the goal of Christianizing and civilizing First Nations. Ideally, the plan was to educate younger children in day and boarding schools, and then transfer them to the industrial schools as a form of high school.

The industrial school model implemented in western Canada did not develop in isolation, but rather had well-established examples for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in eastern Canada, the United States, and Britain; thus the decision to establish industrial schools in Western Canada grew out of a pre-existing pattern. The establishment of industrial schools for First Nations in western Canada was also promoted by representatives from the Canadian government. However, with the current interest in the residential school era in

[6] Canada. Treaty Number Seven Between Her Majesty the Queen and the Blackfeet and Other Tribes at the Blackfoot Crossing of Bow River and Fort McLeod, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1877; reprint Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966), 5 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

Canada, the distinct legacy of Indian Industrial schools is often overlooked. Yet, industrial schools have a unique history of their own, which had repercussions for the subsequent development of residential schools.

Most of the research on Indian industrial schools attributes the establishment of the schools to a report produced by Nicholas Flood Davin, an MP for the Northwest Territories. In 1879, the Department of Indian Affairs asked Davin to survey the Indian industrial schools of the United States. On March 14, 1879, Davin submitted his findings and recommendations in an official report titled Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Halfbreeds to Lawrence Vankoughnet, the Minister of the Interior. In his report, Davin related that Indian industrial schools were a "principal feature" of the policy of "aggressive civilization" implemented by President Grant and the American government.[7] According to Davin, the American government preferred the industrial school model to the day schools as they found that "the influence of the wigwam was stronger than the influence of the school."[8]

Davin was especially impressed by his visit to the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania. Established by Lieutenant Richard Pratt, the Carlisle school was not the first or only school of its kind. The Carlisle school had an insidious origin as it was shaped by Pratt's previous experiences of running a prisoner-of-war camp in Fort Marion, Florida, where Pratt attempted to convert a

[7] Nicolas Flood Davin, Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Halfbreeds (March 14, 1879), 1.
[8] Davin, Report on Industrial Schools, 1.

group of seventy-two Native American prisoners.[9] Initially Pratt tried to alter the appearance of the prisoners, cutting their hair and changing their clothes. The resistance of the prisoners was met with harsh punishment. Pratt presupposed that the external metamorphosis of the prisoners would lead to their inner transformation. Visitors to the prisoner-of-war camp were both surprised and impressed to witness the apparent conversion of notorious Aboriginal warriors into ideal farmers and gentlemen. Encouraged by his progress, Pratt continued his civilization experiment with Aboriginal children by establishing the Carlisle school. Lieutenant Pratt convinced parents to send their children to the school, arguing that the Euro-American education would be of benefit to them. However, Pratt did not reveal to Native American parents that he aspired to assimilate their children.

Pratt's model of education was not developed in isolation, as he also drew from examples of the Cherokee industrial schools that were already in effect. Gideon Blackburn, a Presbyterian missionary, had introduced the concept of industrial schools to the Cherokee in 1804. The schools were referred to as manual labour schools and allotted equal time to work and study. The primary purpose of the manual labour schools was to provide religion and training in skills for Aboriginal children to assist them in adapting to Euro-Canadian settlement.

The industrial school model advocated by Davin also had many precedents in eastern Canada. At the time that Davin conducted his investigation of industrial schools in the United States, there were already four

[9] Ronald Niezen, Spirit Wars: Native North American Religions in the Age of Nation-Building (Berkeley: University of California, 2000), 56.

similar schools for Aboriginal children operating in Ontario, including Mount Elgin at Muncey Town, the Mohawk Institute at Brantford, the Shingwauk Home at Sault Ste Marie, and Wikwemikong on Manitoulin Island.[10] While some of these schools were operated through a partnership between the government and churches, others were private institutions run by churches or companies. Thus, the industrial schools of western Canada were an extension of an already established policy of civilization and assimilation that existed prior to Confederation.[11]

The manual labour schools of Eastern Canada were endorsed by Reverend Egerton Ryerson, the Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada. In 1847 Ryerson produced a report recommending manual labour schools for the purpose of educating Aboriginal children. Ryerson's report also drew upon existing models of industrial schools, including a school for the poor in Hofwyl, Switzerland, which he had visited in 1845.[12] Ryerson advocated that the manual labour schools should be called industrial schools, as he believed the primary objective lay in inculcating a Christian work ethic as opposed to skills:

> I would suggest that they be called Industrial Schools; they are more than schools of manual labour: they are schools of learning and religion; and industry is the great element of efficiency in each of these . . . I understand them not to contemplate anything more in respect to intellectual training than to give a plain English education adapted to the working farmer and mechanic. In this their object is identical of every good common school; but in addition to this pupils of the industrial schools are to be taught agriculture, kitchen gardening, and mechanics, so far as mechanics is connected with making and repairing the most useful agricultural

[10] Brian Titley, "Indian Industrial Schools in Western Canada," In Schools in the West: Essays in Canadian Educational History, ed. Nancy M. Sheehan, J. Donald Wilson, and David C. Jones (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1986), 134
[11] Milloy, A National Crime, 9.
[12] Jennifer Loretta Pettit, "'To Christianize and Civilize': Native Industrial Schools in Canada" (Ph. D. diss., University of Calgary, 1997), 36.

> implements . . . the necessity of providing for their . . . religious instruction . . . I conceive to be absolutely essential . . . to make the Indian a sober and industrious man.[13]

Although there were numerous precedents of industrial schools, the recommendations of the Davin Report of 1879 were instrumental in convincing the federal government to establish the schools in western Canada. Within his report, Davin emphasized that the education of the young was essential for the assimilation of the Aboriginal peoples of the plains: "if anything is to be done with the Indian, we must catch him very young."[14] Davin suggested that the government adopt the industrial school model in western Canada, but advised that initially only four schools should be built.

The Davin Report did not explicitly outline a plan regarding the education of girls; however there is evidence that he assumed the industrial schools would provide education for girls. Davin's report provided a positive description of the co-educational nature of the American industrial schools: "the boys are instructed in cattle-raising and agriculture; the girls in sewing, breadmaking and other employments suitable for a farmer's wife."[15] Davin also included an appendix in his report, containing recommendations made by E. McColl, an Indian agency inspector, who suggested "the Indian youth of both sexes could be taught the various industries."[16] As well, Davin made reference to the importance of women in the process of education and nation-building: "the influence of civilized

---

[13] Dr. Egerton Ryerson, Report on Industrial Schools, May 26, 1847. A copy of this report may be found in the appendix of Walter Julian Wasylow, "History of Battleford Industrial School for Indians." (Master's thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1972).
[14] Davin, Report on Industrial Schools, 12.
[15] Davin, Report on Industrial Schools, 1.
[16] Davin, Report on Industrial Schools, 16.

women has issued in superior characteristics in one portion of the native population."[17] Yet, the government did not have a clear design for the education of girls and thus initially the schools included only male pupils.

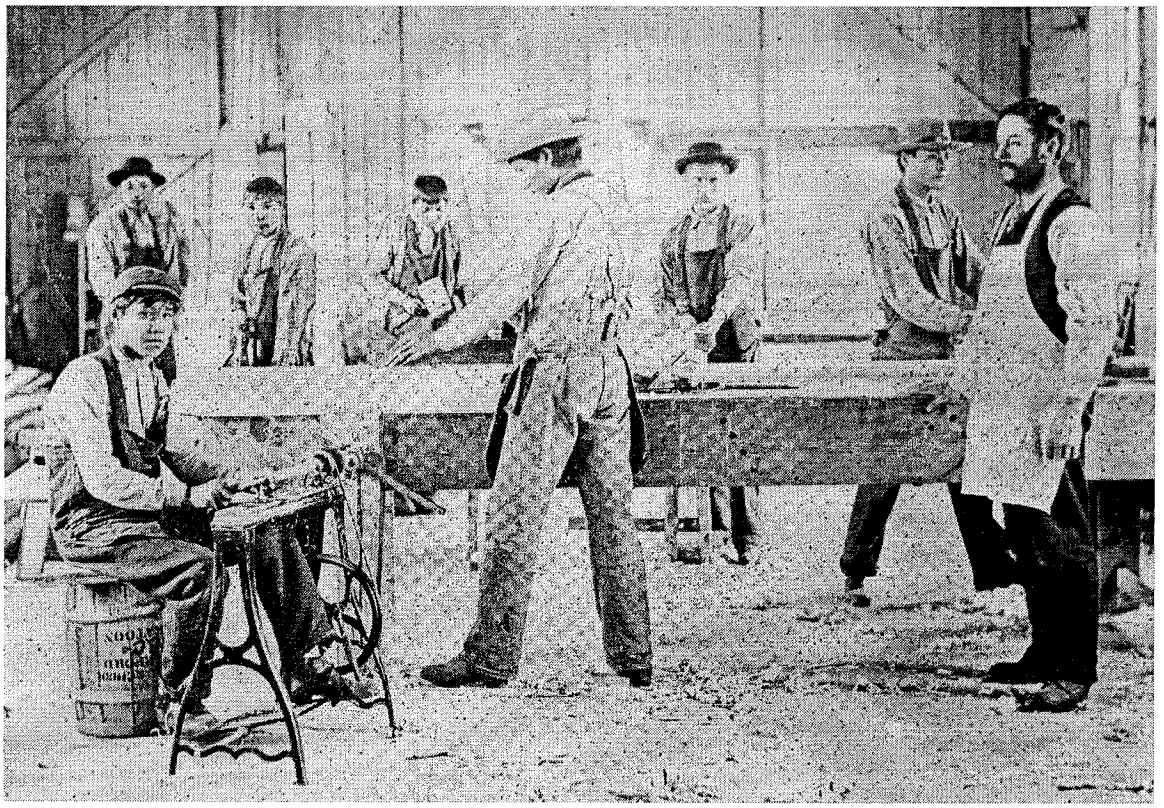


Figure 3 - Photograph of boys in the carpentry shop at Battleford Industrial School, SAB R-B7

Parliament's approval and decision to move forward with the plan to establish Indian industrial schools in western Canada was announced by Sir Hector Langevin in the House of Commons on May 22, 1883: "The intention is to establish three Indian industrial schools in the North-West . . . one at Battleford, another at Qu'Appelle, and a third in another portion of the territory."[18] Shortly after the proposal was announced in the House of Commons, a discussion arose

[17] Davin, Report on Industrial Schools, 12.
[18] Sir Hector Langevin, House of Commons Debates, 1883, 1377 (22 May 1883).

regarding the education of Aboriginal girls. When asked by the opposition if the schools were to include girls, Langevin responded:

> As I understand, these schools will be for male children, and the principle occupation taught them will be the cultivation of the soil . . . They will also be taught the rudiments of education . . . They are taught then, as in the ordinary schools, to read and write, and arithmetic, as well as a trade of some kind-generally the cultivation of the soil; and when they leave the school, they receive a small sum of money to enable them to buy implements and to engage in agriculture on their own account. I have no doubt that we shall find it proper, when these boys come out of the school, to give them a homestead, and try to settle them and make them good citizens.[19]

While Langevin argued that the purpose of the schools was to transform Aboriginal boys into farmers, citizens, and breadwinners, Edward Blake, leader of the Liberal party, argued that Aboriginal girls would also require an education to make them suitable companions for their educated husbands:

> But the hon. gentleman ought to remember that the Indian, as the white man, is likely to have a better half when he becomes an adult. If the hon. gentleman is going to leave the young Indian girl who is to mature into a squaw to have the uncivilized habits of the tribe, the Indian, when he marries such a squaw, will likely be pulled into Indian savagery by her. If this scheme is going to succeed at all, you will, unless these Indian bucks are to be veritable bachelors all their lives, have to civilize the intended wives as well as husbands.[20]

The debate in the House of Commons reflected competing discourses regarding the education of boys and girls in the Victorian era. The neglect of the government to address the issue of girls' education is indicative of the perception that the education of boys was more important than that of girls. On the other hand, Blake drew upon the essential Victorian argument that girls required an

[19] Sir Hector Langevin, House of Commons Debates, 1883, 1377 (22 May 1883).
[20] Edward Blake, House of Commons Debates, 1883, 1377 (22 May 1883).

education to prepare them for their influential roles as wives and mothers.[21] Although Langevin agreed that the government "would have to provide for the education of the girls as well as the boys"[22] the first three Indian Industrial Schools were built only for male pupils. Miller argues that the industrial schools originally excluded girls as they were built to train Aboriginal boys to become breadwinners in the new industrial and agricultural economy.[23] Thus, the government assumed that the purpose of the Indian industrial schools was to educate boys for the public sphere.

However, the case for educating Aboriginal girls continued after the first three industrial schools had opened. Shortly after the opening of the Qu'Appelle Indian Industrial School, the school's principal, Father Hugonnard, wrote a pivotal letter to the government appealing for support for the education of Aboriginal girls:

> A school for Indian girls would be of great importance, and, I may say, would be absolutely necessary to effect the civilization of the next generation of Indians. If the women were educated, it would almost be a guarantee that their children would be educated also and brought up christians [sic], with no danger of them following the awful existence that many of them ignorantly live now. It will be nearly futile to educate the boys and leave the girls uneducated.[24]

Thus, according to Hugonnard, the industrial schools were not just for economic purposes, but overall institutions of Christian Euro-Canadian civilization. Although the Qu'Appelle school did not have facilities for girls,

---

[21] J.R. Miller, Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 218.
[22] Sir Hector Langevin, House of Commons Debates, 1883, 1377 (22 May 1883).
[23] Miller, Shingwauk's Vision, 218.
[24] Department of Indian Affairs [DIA], Annual Report for 1885, Canada Sessional Papers [CSP] (4) 1886,138.

Hugonnard felt strongly that the girls should receive an education and thus admitted a few girls. In his annual report for 1886, Hugonnard expressed satisfaction with the performance of the female pupils in his institution:

> The number of girls has already increased to twenty-two, although they have only inferior accommodation in the garret. I hope that a building will be erected for the girls. Several of them after a few months in the school can read and also make scarfs and do needle and crochet work, which pleases their parents.[25]

Prime Minister Macdonald also soon acknowledged the importance of educating Aboriginal girls within the assimilation scheme, arguing that "every effort should be made to educate and train the young Indian females as well as the male members of the different Bands of Indians scattered throughout the Territories.[26] Macdonald followed through on his convictions by making a request to Parliament to consider funding the education of Aboriginal girls in the industrial schools:

> The original proposal was that these institutions should be devoted exclusively to the education of Indian boys; but it would be a proper subject for the consideration of Parliament at its ensuing session, whether a sufficient amount should not be voted to admit of the buildings being enlarged, and a staff of female teachers employed for the education and industrial training of Indian girls; the same being, in my opinion, of as much importance as a factor in the civilization and advancement of the Indian race, as the education of the male portion of the community.[27]

Additions were thus made to the Qu'Appelle Indian industrial School to provide proper accommodation for female students. Shortly thereafter, female pupils were included at Battleford Indian Industrial School as well. Principal

---

[25] DIA, Annual Report for 1886, CSP (6) 1887, 140.
[26] DIA, Annual Report for 1884, CSP (3) 1885, xi.
[27] DIA, Annual Report for 1884, CSP (3) 1885, xi.

Thomas Clarke also expressed his approval of the inclusion of girls in his annual report of 1887:

> This is the first year in which arrangements were made to receive a limited number of girls into the schools. The idea of educating them into habits of cleanliness, housework, sewing, knitting, washing, ironing, cooking, &c., is a most excellent one. The girls as a general rule are much quicker in apprehension than the boys, and too great importance cannot be attached to their training. Those already in the school have made such wonderful progress, as to warrant increased accommodation at an early date.[28]

However, the classes at Battleford Indian Industrial School were not co-educational. According to the annual report of the principal for 1894, "[c]lasses were regularly conducted both morning and afternoon, the boys and girls having had separate rooms."[29]

In his annual report for the following year, Hugonnard continued to express his content with the inclusion of girls in his school, elaborating on the work and character of the female pupils. Interestingly, Hugonnard was far more concerned with the domestic training of the girls than their progress in the classroom:

> The completion of the girls' school during last winter, enabled us to receive more pupils, and at present we have fifty-six boys and seventy-two girls . . .
>
> During the past year the number of girls has increased more than the number of boys. This is chiefly due to the solicitude of the Reverend sisters in overseeing, teaching and training them in habits of industry and cleanliness.
>
> Parents seem to require their sons at home more often than their daughters, and to appreciate the school for girls more than for boys...
>
> The girls are making remarkable progress in school, sewing, knitting and all kinds of housework. An Indian girl was married here last winter, and is a remarkably good housekeeper.[30]

---

[28] DIA, Annual Report for 1887, CSP (15) 1888, 102.
[29] DIA, Annual Report for 1894, CSP (14) 1895, 149.
[30] DIA, Annual Report for 1889, CSP (12), 1890, 131.

In addition to providing industrial training to boys, officials within the Department of Indian Affairs also advocated that schools would play a role in the social formation of Aboriginal boys. In an 1886 report following up on the early years of Indian industrial schools in western Canada, Ansell Macrae, Department of Indian Affairs school inspector, elaborated on the need to educate Aboriginal boys to associate the Christian work ethic with masculinity. Macrae asserted that Indian children could not learn about citizenship from their own mothers, in the same manner as white children:

> The child of a white man, be it remembered, is educated through his faculty of observation from the cradle, the Indian is not. The white child learns the lessons of citizenship at his mothers' knee, and from his surroundings. The Indian mother and surroundings can only teach "Indianism", - and Indian prejudice is more likely to impress him with the idea that labor is effeminate and superlative, than that it is manly and essential to existence. To understand that it is the latter is the knowledge that he needs.[31]

The curriculum of the newly co-educational Western Indian industrial schools emphasized domestic training for girls and trades and agriculture for the boys. In 1894, the Department of Indian Affairs promoted its separate spheres curriculum with photographs in the Sessional Papers that depicted girls sewing and boys in the carpentry shop and the Qu'Appelle (Lebret) Indian Industrial School (See Figures 4 and 5).

[31] National Archives of Canada [NAC], Records of the Department of Indian Affairs [RG 10], vol. 3647, file 8128, report dated December 18, 1886.

Figure 4 - Girls sewing at Qu'Appelle Indian Industrial School, 1894, SAB, R-B9

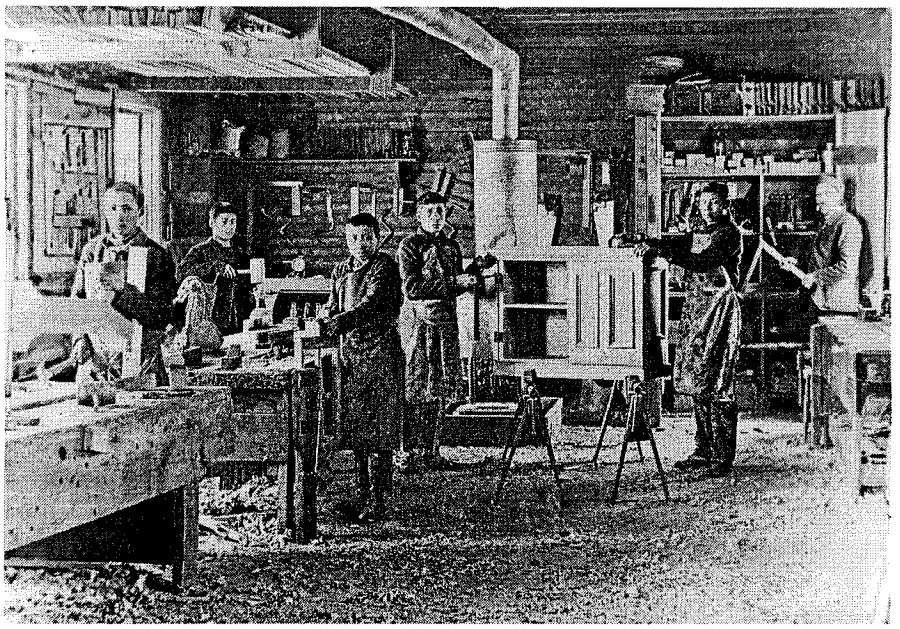


Figure 5 - Boys in the carpentry shop at Qu'Appelle Indian Industrial School, 1894, SAB, R-B10

Given the precedents that existed in the manual labour and industrial schools in eastern Canada, the United States, and Britain, it is interesting that the education of Indian girls in western Canada was initially overlooked. However, not all of the manual labour schools were co-educational; for example, the Shingwauk Home had a separate facility for girls called Wawanosh. The curriculum for Aboriginal girls at Wawanosh was similar to the curriculum of schools for working-class girls in England, in that girls spent more time on domestic arts than academic subjects, although Principal Wilson of Shingwauk claimed this was optional:

> The same subjects are taught at both the homes, and the examinations are conducted so that girls and boys may compete together for the highest places. Girls, however, have the option of putting in laundry work, sewing, knitting, &c., in the place of history and grammar. School hours at the Shingwauk during summer are from 9 to 12 a.m., 3 to 5 p.m., and 7:30 to 8:30 p.m. At the Wawanosh they are somewhat shorter, and special hours are set apart for sewing, knitting, &c.[32]

The arguments for educating Aboriginal girls in the western Indian industrial schools clearly drew upon Victorians ideologies of gender, which implied that girls required a formal education to fulfill their roles as mothers and wives. But the documents preserved by the Department of Indian Affairs and the churches do not provide clear evidence as to why the industrial schools were co-educational. It is possible the government and churches chose to integrate boys and girls in the same institutions based upon existing models of common, manual labour, and industrial schools in eastern Canada, Britain, and the United States. Co-educational institutions would have been far cheaper than building separate

[32] DIA Annual Report for 1884, CSP (3) 1885, 23.

facilities for girls. The decrease in expenses would certainly have appealed to the Department of Indian Affairs, which desired to educate First Nations as cheaply as possible.

Co-educational institutions would also have encouraged Aboriginal students to adopt specific ideals central to Victorian ideologies of gender, such as the monogamous Christian marriage and the sexual division of labour. The government and churches fully expected that graduates of the Indian industrial schools would marry each other and establish households that reflected the Victorian ideal of the male breadwinner and domestic mother and wife. Thus, the co-educational facilities would have encouraged the adoption of the ideologies of separate spheres and the cult of domesticity.

As will be seen in subsequent chapters, girls also provided a large portion of the domestic work in the western Indian industrial schools. In her dissertation, Pamela Margaret White points out that girls in the Qu'Appelle Indian Industrial School became essential to the function and maintenance of the school through their domestic labour. According to Hugonnard:

> . . . the girls . . . do not have as much school as the boys owing to the large amount of housework, sewing, knitting, mending, washing, etc., that has to be done. All of the clothing for the girls and most of that for the boys is made in the institution by the girls . . . washing for the school only taking a little over two one half days per week . . . Cooking the food for so many is quite an undertaking, but the big girls are of great assistance in the kitchen, each having a special duty appointed her for the week.[33]

Prior to including girls in the schools, boys would have been forced to perform

[33] DIA Annual Report for 1894, CSP 1895, 195; quoted in Pamela M. White, "Restructuring the Domestic Sphere – Prairie Indian Women on Reserves: Image, Ideology and State Policy, 1880-1930." (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 1987), 172.

work that was deemed to belong to women's sphere. As well, White argues that girls may have been included in the industrial schools due to the demand for domestic workers in rural western Canadian homes.[34]

A textual analysis of the records of church and department officials regarding the early development of the Indian industrial schools of western Canada assists with piecing together how and why First Nations girls were included in the schools. Although the education of First Nations girls was originally overlooked, debates among government and church officials demonstrate their desire to educate girls as part of the process of transforming First Nations' social and belief systems, including their gender ideologies. Thus, the education of both boys and girls was viewed as central to reproducing Euro-Canadian culture and society in western Canada.

The Qu'Appelle, Battleford, and High River Indian Industrial Schools established the foundation for the expansion of the industrial school system across the Prairie Provinces and British Columbia. Based on the apperent success of the schools, decisions were made to establish seven more schools across western Canada, including an Indian industrial school for both boys and girls near Regina.

[34] White, "Restructuring the Domestic Sphere," 172.

Chapter Four

"Relations of the Sexes as to Labour":

The Curriculum of the Regina Indian Industrial School

"When I am a man I am going to be a Farmer."[1]

By the time the federal government and the Presbyterian Church began planning for an Indian industrial school to be built at Long Lake near Regina, the education of Aboriginal girls in a co-educational institution was a given. The intention to establish a co-educational facility near Regina is evident in correspondence from the assistant Indian Commissioner, Hayter Reed, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in 1887. In the letter, Reed expressed concerns that the early design of the building did not meet the standards for a co-educational building of the time:

> The general plan of the building is not well adapted for the separation of the sexes. There are no separate means of ingress and egress provided, and accidental or desired, opportunities for communication between boys and girls would constantly occur . . . The plan of the building is not favourable to separation of the play-ground of the pupils of different sexes.[2]

Initially, the Department of Indian Affairs planned to locate the school at Long Lake, approximately forty miles north of Regina and twenty-five miles west of the Piapot Reserve.[3] The vicinity was viewed as suitable for an industrial school due to the potential for employment of Aboriginal graduates and apprenticeship of Aboriginal students as farm hands and domestic servants with

---

[1] Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), Robert Campbell, student at the Regina Indian Industrial School in The Progress (October 1908), 2.
[2] National Archives of Canada [NAC], Records of the Department of Indian Affairs [RG 10], V. 3927, file 116, 836-5, letter from Hayter Reed dated 31st of January 1887.

local farmers.[4] However, in 1887, the government determined that they were unable to obtain title to the land near Long Lake and decided to locate the school closer to Regina. Construction of the school began in 1889, at a cost of $40,000. The school was ready for operation by the spring of 1891 with a capacity for up to 200 children.[5]

The Presbyterian Church appointed the Reverend A.J. McLeod, a graduate of Knox College and the University of Toronto, as the first principal. McLeod served as principal of the school for nine years, until his unexpected death in 1900. McLeod was replaced by the Reverend J.A. Sinclair early in 1901. Sinclair, along with his children and wife Laura, took up residence in the principal's house near the school, where they became an active part of the Regina Indian Industrial School.[6] Sinclair passed away in 1905 and was followed by the Reverend Heron, who served as the principal of the Regina Indian Industrial School until its closure in 1910.

Evidence demonstrates that the Regina Indian Industrial School was a significant part of the early years of the town of Regina. Events and activities at the school were often mentioned in the local newspaper, the Regina Leader. Dignitaries and officials of the town of Regina were frequent guests at the school to attend graduation ceremonies or musical performances by the students. The students were also frequent visitors to the town of Regina, to apprentice, attend

---

[3] Long Lake is presently called Last Mountain Lake.
[4] Jennifer Loretta Pettit, "'To Christianize and Civilize': Native Industrial Schools in Canada" (Ph. D. diss., University of Calgary, 1997), 128.
[5] SAB, Greg C. Goulden and Danen S. Connell, "Paul Dojack Youth Centre: Historical Essay," (1985), unpublished paper.
[6] Goulden and Connell, "Paul Dojack Youth Centre."

church and exhibitions, and participate in sporting competitions.

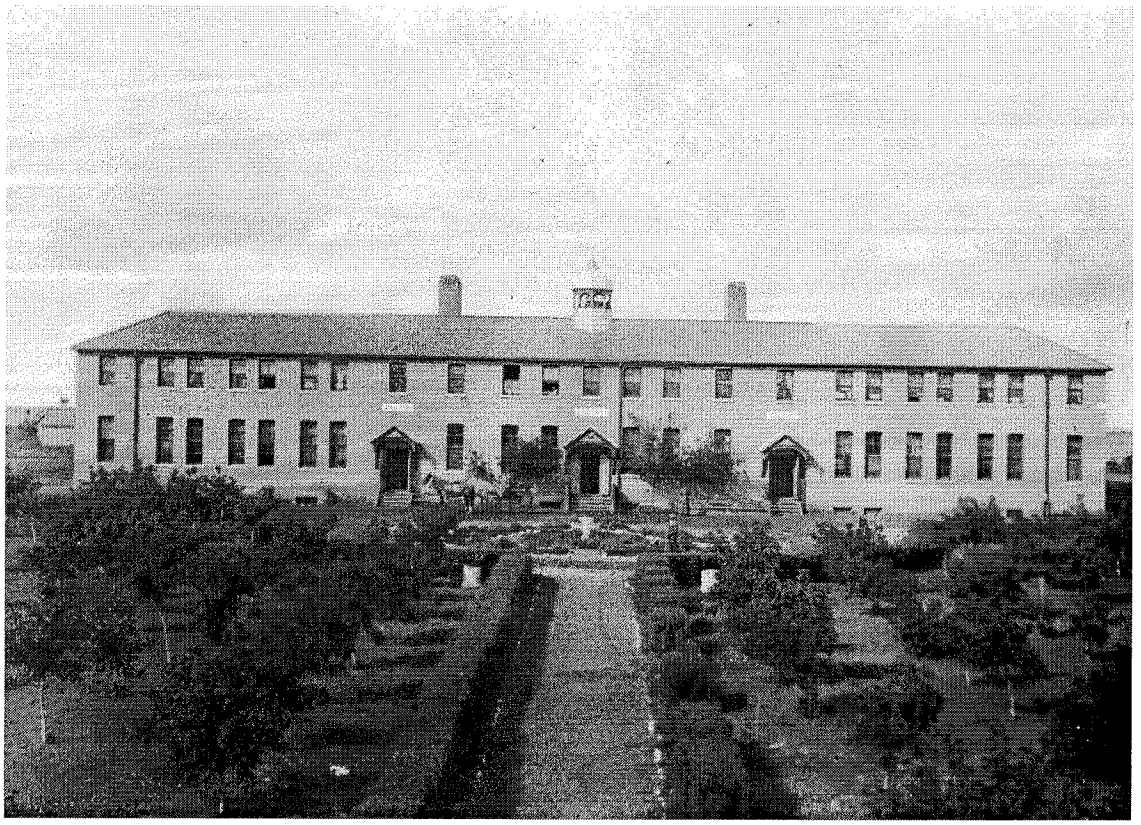


Figure 6 - The Regina Indian Industrial School, 1905, SAB, R-A21262-3

The buildings and grounds of the Regina Indian Industrial School were designed to provide accommodation for the students, teachers, and principal, with additional buildings and land to serve the program of studies offered. While the main building was fairly plain, efforts were made to enhance the grounds with trees and an ornate band shell (See figure 6). In his annual report for the Regina Indian Industrial School in 1897, McLeod provided an elaborate description of the school:

> This school is situated about four miles west of Regina. The total area of land is three hundred and twenty acres, all of which is inclosed [sic] by a substantial wire fence. Other fences separate the farm lands from the grounds immediately surrounding the school buildings. The waters of the Wascana run through the eastern portion of our half section, and by the

construction of a dam we have given some additional beauty to the grounds.

The buildings are erected on high lands, and, everything considered, the school is admirably situated. The main building, constructed of brick, is one hundred and eighty eight feet in length. From garret to basement its rooms are utilized. In the rear of this building are the laundry, the bake-house and a small ice-house; also a small crusher-house near the wind-mill. The large building for instruction gives accommodation for carpentry, painting, shoemaking and harness-making. In addition to these buildings, there are two large stables, an implement shed, a principal's residence and a cottage under construction for the carpenter.

The grounds are beautified by trees and numerous flower-beds. On the flats beyond the river the boys have a very suitable field for their athletic exercises.[7]

George Cappo, of Muscowpetung, was the first male student registered on April 15, 1891 and Sawin Snow of Carry the Kettle, or Jack's Reserve, was the first female pupil registered on April 27, 1891. A register of the students enrolled at Regina Indian Industrial School demonstrates that students were recruited from many different reserves, including Muscowpetung, Carry the Kettle, Pasqua, Cote, and Piapot among others.[8] Since the Regina Indian Industrial School was the only industrial school operated by the Presbyterian Church, students who desired to attend a Presbyterian industrial school were forced to travel from distances as far as Manitoba. According to McLeod, there were seventeen boys and fifteen girls enrolled in the school by June of 1891.[9]

Similar to other western Indian industrial schools, the curriculum of the Regina Indian Industrial School was designed to provide a basic English education combined with training in domestic arts for girls, and agriculture and

---

[7] Department of Indian Affairs [DIA], Annual Report for 1896, Canadian Sessional Papers [CSP] (14) 1897, 349.
[8] SAB, Register of the Regina Indian Industrial School, 1891-1910.
[9] DIA, Annual Report for 1891, CSP (14) 1892, 110.

trades for boys. As in other industrial schools at the time, students were allowed a half-day for their academic studies, while the other half was allotted to vocational instruction and work. As McLeod noted in his annual report for 1892, "[u]nder the half-day system in vogue in the school, the children spend half the day in the school-room and the other half in some employment helpful to both themselves and the school."[10]

Both the academic and vocational curriculum of the Regina Indian Industrial School were designed to educate Aboriginal children for their 'station in life', with respect to race, gender, and class. The sexual division of labour was continuously reaffirmed through the vocational training and work of the school, as well as in the classroom through the subject of ethics. The Indian industrial schools were also intended to shape Aboriginal children into a working class who would then be employed by Euro-Canadian settlers as farmhands and domestic servants. Others would be encouraged to become farmers.

Initially the standard course of study for the Indian industrial schools was based upon the curriculum of the Ontario public schools. Subsequently, principals were asked to conform to the curriculum of each province. Originally, the curriculum included the subjects of English, arithmetic, geography, music, religion, writing, reading, and recitation. Over time, additional subjects were added to the curriculum, including ethics, history, calisthenics, and general knowledge. By 1897 there were twelve subjects in the official programme of

[10] DIA, Annual Report for 1892, CSP (14) 1893, 208.

studies of the western Indian industrial schools.[11] The curriculum included six standards or grade levels. As Mcleod stated "[t]he programme of studies authorized by the department is adhered to . . . Quarterly written examinations are held, after which promotions, when desirable, are made."[12] Eleanor Brass, whose parents were among the first graduates of the Regina Indian Industrial School, suggested that the teaching methods were similar to those of common schools of the day, which involved rote forms of learning. According to Brass, "[t]he system of teaching the English language was organized in drills of words and phrases, illustrations gathered from various sources and common objects."[13]

The official programme of studies of the Indian industrial schools excluded most aspects of Aboriginal culture and history.[14] As one of the purposes of the schools was to assimilate children, emphasis was placed on studying elements of Euro-Canadian society. For example, the subject of religious studies focused only on Christianity. General knowledge was designed to impart a knowledge of Euro-Canadian institutions and practices, including government, money, and law. Even vocal music was expected to be "patriotic". An exception to the rule was the subject of history, which included the study of the "[s]tories of Indians of Canada and their civilization" in Standard Three.

Of particular interest is the subject of ethics, which overtly laid the foundation for the assimilation of Aboriginal students. Under ethics, students

---

[11] See Appendix B for Department of Indian Affairs, Programme of Studies, DIA, Annual Report for 1897, CSP (14) 1898, 396-399.
[12] DIA, Annual Report for 1898, CSP (14) 1899, 312.
[13] Eleanor Brass, "Indian School's Fine Record," Regina Leader Post (July 8, 1955), 15.
[14] Brian Titley, "Indian Industrial Schools in Western Canada," In Schools in the West: Essays in Canadian Educational History, ed. Nancy M. Sheehan, J. Donald Wilson, and David C. Jones (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1986), 142.

were taught the "practice of cleanliness, obedience, respect, order, [and] neatness" in Standard One, "right and wrong" and "proper appearance and behaviour" in Standard Two, independence and self-respect in Standard Three, industry, honesty, and, thrift in Standard Four, and patriotism, charity, pauperism, as well as "citizenship of Indians" in Standard Five. Standard Six contained "Evils of Indian isolation: Enfranchisement", "labour the law of life" and "home and public duties." A topic entitled "relations of the sexes as to labour" provided academic instruction regarding the sexual division of labour to complement the vocational instruction and work of the school. Clearly, the ethics component of the academic curriculum was designed to impart aspects of Euro-Canadian, Victorian, middle-class ideologies with respect to race, gender, work, and class.

Ideally, boys and girls were treated equally within the classroom and followed the same academic curriculum. As McLeod stated in the Annual Report of 1898, "[t]he classes are mixed, boys and girls competing together."[15] However, the vocational component of the curriculum often created inequities with regards to the academic programme; due to the demands of agricultural work, boys frequently spent less time in the classroom than girls. As Eleanor Brass recalls,

> The older boys were in the classroom but very little . . . the boys spent their time working in the fields or barns. Therefore, they did not get very high grades; one boy spent ten years in schools and out of that time only four were in the classroom.[16]

However, Sinclair stated in his annual report for 1901 that boys spent all day in school during slack times to make up for spending all day at work during busy

[15] DIA, Annual Report for 1898, CSP (14) 1899, 312.
[16] Eleanor Brass, I Walk in Two Worlds (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1987), 45.

seasons.[17] And, as previously mentioned in Chapter Three, girls at Qu'Appelle school spent less time in class as a result of domestic work.

While in theory boys and girls were treated equally within the academic curriculum, the lines were clearly divided in the vocational curriculum. Boys and girls at the Regina Indian Industrial School were taught only to do the work associated with their respective gender, enforcing the strict sexual division of labour central to Victorian ideologies of gender. Similar to working-class girls of England, Aboriginal girls were clearly trained to serve others, in their roles as wives, mothers, and domestic servants. Boys on the other hand were socialized to become breadwinners, as farmers, farmhands, or skilled workers.

In keeping with the Victorian ideology of separate spheres, girls were taught the domestic arts. As McLeod reported in 1900,

> The girls have been taught in all branches of household duties. The larger ones have been assigned to responsible places in the kitchen, sewing room, laundry, and directly under the matron's care. We have endeavored to make them thorough housekeepers.[18]

The practical instruction of girls was sometimes complemented by theory:

> . . . the girls have instruction in the dairy and laundry. For the present year we are promised periodical lectures, and practical lessons, by Government Creamery Inspector Wilson, through his generous interest in the school, and the courtesy of the Department of Agriculture.[19]

As time went on, new subjects were introduced for girls, such as dressmaking, house-painting, and gardening. Girls were also provided with basic nursing,

[17] DIA, Annual Report for 1901, CSP (27) 1902, 373.
[18] DIA, Annual Report for 1899, CSP (14) 1900, 359.
[19] DIA, Annual Report for 1901, CSP (14) 1902, 374.

which included "instruction in the care of the sick, bandaging and dressing sores or wounds."[20]

Figure 7 - Dietician and helpers in kitchen of Regina Industrial School, 1905, SAB, RA-2677

When examining the Department of Indian Affairs Annual Reports, it is apparent that the principals did not provide the same elaboration and detail in their descriptions of the vocational training for girls as boys. As Miller notes, the tasks of girls were generally referred to as housework, while reports of boys' duties provided greater detail.[21] Descriptions also varied from principal to principal. Principals may have overlooked the details of girls' training because as men they were unfamiliar with the actual subjects themselves. As well, boys were actually offered more vocational subjects. However, the principals indicated a strong concern over the necessity of girls' education, as evident in

[20] DIA, Annual Report for 1908, CSP (27) 1909, 359.

comments by McLeod: "the only cause of our regret is that the number of our girls is not greater."[22]

Figure 8 - Harvesting at Regina Indian Industrial School farm, 1905, SAB, R-A2673

Although a greater variety of vocational subjects were offered for boys than girls, agriculture was deemed to be the most important subject for boys. The government and churches expected that the majority of the boys who attended the Regina Indian Industrial School would become farmers or farm hands. For the most part, the instruction of specific trades was intended to supplement farming:

> Farming is regarded as the most important industry in the school. It is assumed that the vast majority of educated Indians, for some years to come, will make their living by mixed farming. Other industries, such as carpentry work and harness-repairing, are found to be of great value in this connection. If the graduate, in after years, be more or less isolated,

---

[21] J.R. Miller, Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 220.
[22] DIA, Annual Report for 1894, CSP (14) 1895, 149.

> he must do as much of his own repairs, both in wood and leather, as he possibly can.[23]

Similar to the girls, the practical instruction in agriculture for boys was occasionally enhanced with lectures, as stated in one report "[d]uring the winter months the older boys received talks on the theory of farming, and during the summer months they saw farm work in its more practical aspect."[24]

Yet there was also the intention that some male graduates would obtain employment as skilled tradesmen, forming a prairie working class. Thus, over time, the boys of the Regina Indian Industrial School were taught a variety of trades such as blacksmithing, cabinet-making, carpentry, harness-making, shoemaking, steam-engineering, printing, and baking. The types of trades offered at the Regina Indian Industrial School ensured that male pupils would have viable skills to secure employment in the new agricultural and industrial economy.

The trades offered depended upon the resources and expertise of the staff and the needs of the surrounding community. For example, the Regina Indian Industrial School received a generous donation of a traction engine, allowing the school to provide instruction in steam engineering. The traction engine was rather advanced for its location and was beneficial to both the school and the local farming community. According to Indian Commissioner David Laird, the traction engine allowed the boys at the Regina Indian Industrial School to "run steam threshing outfits, thus causing their services to be in demand" by local

---

[23] DIA, Annual Report for 1899, CSP (14) 1900, 358.
[24] DIA, Annual Report for 1893, CSP (14) 1894, 99.

farmers.[25] Heron also noted that the training of Aboriginal boys in steam engineering would be helpful to their reserves and provide future employment:

> Those who are studying steam engineering, will, we are sure, be able to put their knowledge to good use when they go back to their homes.
> Two different Indian agents have written this spring asking that some of the boys from their reserves be taught engineering, as they had bought steam threshing outfits for their reserves, but thus far they had to hire outsiders to run their engines.[26]

In addition, Heron believed the traction-engine was "also of great value in interesting some of the bright boys in the school work."[27]

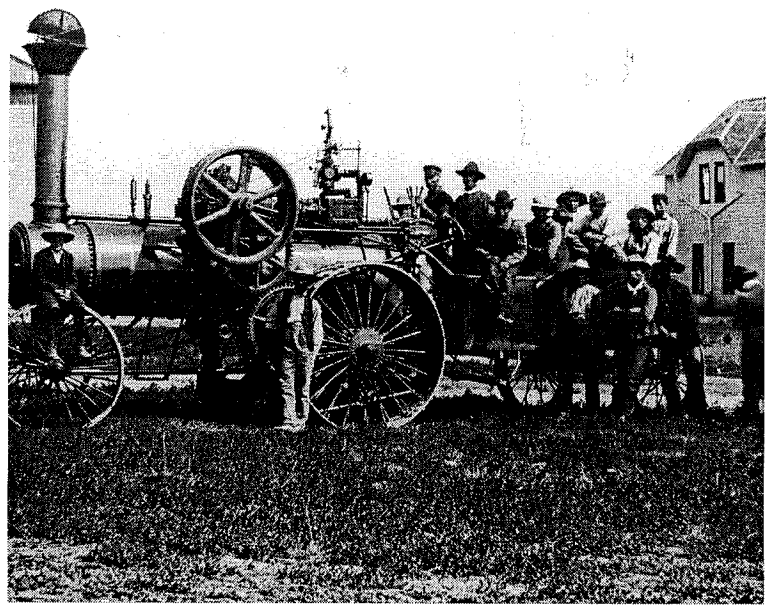


Figure 9 - Regina Industrial School – Tractors, steam, c. 1907, SAB, R-A 2674

Manual training in other trades was also perceived to have a greater educational value beyond merely imparting practical skills. In the late Victorian era, manual arts were viewed as a learning experience in and of themselves as

[25] DIA, Annual Report for 1906, CSP (27) 1907, 192.
[26] DIA, Annual Report for 1906, CSP (27) 1907, 382-3.
[27] DIA, Annual Report for 1906, CSP (27) 1907, 382-3.

well as a way to instill a work ethic. Sinclair believed that manual training should also "develop as highly as possible all their powers of hand and head and heart."[28] In 1892, Sinclair noted,

> Besides the farm and garden work, instruction is given in carpentry, painting, glazing, baking, and printing. The instruction in these lines is followed in such a way as not only to teach those so disposed to learn trades, but so as to utilize the educational function of manual work. An effort is made to get pupils to think as much as possible by means of tools and materials. This often means loss of time and materials, for the boy thinks harder over his mistakes and failures than over instruction volunteered. To allow trades boys to make mistakes often means loss in money, but gain in thoughtful boy, a commodity beyond value. Recognizing that it is only the very small minority of the boys who will follow trades in this distinctively farming country, the industrial instruction is shaped rather toward making thoughtful 'handy' farmers than tradesmen. Of course, at the same time, any pupil showing special mechanical genius is encouraged to follow his bent, and we have at present one of last spring's graduates on the carpenter staff at the Mounted Police headquarters giving good satisfaction.[29]

The school newspaper was also seen to have a purpose beyond simply learning a trade in preparation for employment. In 1909, Heron commented that work on the school newspaper enhanced the language development of pupils:

> A monthly paper, Progress, is printed at the school. The typesetting and mechanical work is done by the boys. Some of the ex-pupils who have learned typesetting in this office are earning good wages in newspaper printing offices. The work is useful in connection with the class-room, as the printer boys are found to make most rapid progress in spelling and English composition.[30]

[28] DIA, Annual Report for 1904, CSP (27) 1905, 386.
[29] DIA, Annual Report for 1901, CSP (27) 1902, 374.
[30] DIA, Annual Report for 1908, CSP (27) 1909, 359.

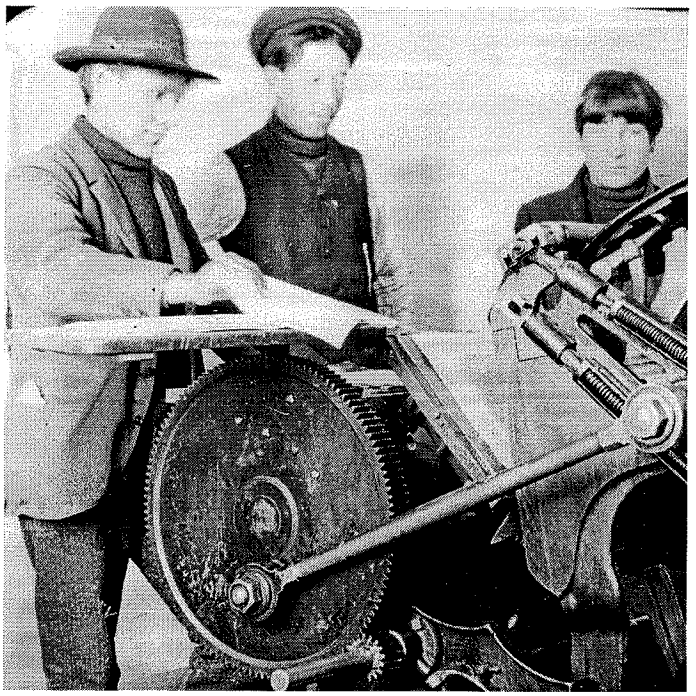


Figure 10 - Boys at printing press, Regina Indian Industrial School, c. 1905, SAB R-A2679

While the sexual division of labour was strict, there were areas that overlapped. For example, both boys and girls performed gardening. Boys and girls were taught baking, but the goals differed for the respective genders. Girls were taught baking as part of their repertoire of domestic skills as future wives and mothers. Boys, however, were taught baking as a trade. For boys, the purpose of learning to bake bread related to their future role as breadwinner. Within the Regina Indian Industrial School, the bread baked by students contributed to the diet of the institution. As noted by Heron, "[b]oys do the baking for pupils, the bread for the staff is made by the girls."[31]

There is no record of an official programme of studies for the vocational curriculum of the Regina Indian Industrial School. It is likely that students of the

[31] DIA, Annual Report for 1906, CSP (27) 1907, 382.

industrial schools received limited instruction with regards to domestic science, manual arts, or agriculture. In reality, the vocational curriculum was comprised mostly of physical labour on the part of the students, which was essential to the maintenance and upkeep of the schools. As mentioned already, the labour that students were required to perform often interfered with their class-work.[32]

The reliance on child labour in the Regina Indian Industrial School can be traced to a change in funding the industrial schools in 1892. Prior to 1892, the federal government assumed all financial responsibility for the schools, including capital costs, teachers' salaries, and supplies. However, in 1892, Duncan Campbell Scott, Chief Accountant with the Department of Indian Affairs, recommended a per-capita system for funding the industrial schools. Concerned about the expense of the schools, Scott desired to decrease spending and increase the revenue of the western industrial schools. Scott advocated that the schools should produce goods for their own consumption as well as for sale.[33] As Miller points out, in reality, the government shifted some of the burden of operating the industrial schools onto the students.[34]

Within the Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs, there is ample evidence to demonstrate the reliance on the labour of students at the Regina Indian Industrial School. Boys, for example, were responsible for the agricultural work, maintenance of the grounds, and construction and repair of buildings:

---

[32] Jacqueline (Gresko) Kennedy, "Qu'Appelle Industrial School: White 'Rites' for the Indians of the Old North-West." (Master's thesis, Carleton University, 1970), 150.
[33] Titley, "Indian Industrial Schools," 136.
[34] Miller, Shingwauk's Vision, 125-126.

> Mr. McGregor, the farmer, and his boys have constructed half a mile of wire fence in the rear of the house to secure our grain fields. Besides considerable general freighting, they have teamed from Regina all the lumber required for our new buildings, all the wood and some of the coal needed for fuel. Much labour has been spent on the grain and vegetables, all of which promise a fair yield. In addition to four acres of potatoes and other vegetables, some barley, rye, millet, nine acres of wheat, nineteen of oats and twenty-seven of a mixture suitable as a substitute for hay, were under crop . . .
>
> Mr. Maguire, the carpenter instructor, has had eight boys under his instruction. They have constructed a substantial three-truss bridge over the Wascana, an icehouse, and an underground roothouse, twenty by forty, with a capacity of three thousand bushels. A laundry...has been brought near completion, and a building to comprise carpenter shop, paint shop, shoe shop, two bed-rooms for male employees and two store-rooms, is well under way. In addition, many things in connection with the house, such as fire escape ladders, office desk, medicine chest, lockers, benches, tables, window screens, &c., were constructed.[35]

Boys were also responsible for "a great deal of repairing of the farm implements and machinery . . . making tables, chairs, sashes, doors, whiffle-trees, neck-yokes, wagon-axles and poles, gates, stairs, ladders and numerous small articles."[36]

Girls performed the domestic duties that contributed to the upkeep of the school, such as laundry, cleaning, sewing, and cooking. For example, McLeod stated that girls were responsible for sewing the clothing worn by the students: "[g]irls, after some experience, are expected to make up all their own clothing, and as much other work as they can overtake."[37]

---

[35] DIA, Annual Report for 1892, CSP (14) 1893, 209.
[36] DIA, Annual Report for 1908, CSP (27) 1909, 359.
[37] DIA, Annual Report for 1892, CSP (14) 1893, 209.

Figure 11 - Boys maintaining the grounds of the Regina Indian Industrial School, c. 1905, SAB, R-A 2688

In addition to contributing to the maintenance of the institution, students provided much of the food that was consumed in the school, through cooking, baking, gardening, and farming. Heron noted that in 1908 the school farm "produced 3,660 bushels of grain, including wheat, oats and barley. The garden produced all the vegetables used on the school tables."[38] Thus the necessity of the produce was equal to the educational value of the work : "The farm and garden contributed very much to the maintenance of the school; and also gave the boys a practical training of the kind they will need in after years."[39]

The school also relied on the sale of produce to bring in revenue. Sinclair stated in an annual report that in addition to "furnishing vegetables in season for the school tables, the garden brought in considerable revenue from the sale of

[38] DIA, Annual Report for 1908, CSP (27) 1909, 359.

vegetables."[40] Other items produced by the students, such as harnesses, were sold for profit. As noted by McLeod, "besides work for ourselves, [the boys] have made up and sold three pair of heavy double harness, three sets of light harness, and ten set pony harness."[41]

The students of the Regina Indian Industrial School were also expected to assist the principal and the staff with the upkeep of their personal residences. According to Sinclair, the girls were "taught housekeeping in doing the school housework under efficient instruction, and in taking turns in private cooking and housekeeping in the residences of married members of the staff."[42] Boys also contributed to the maintenance of the staff residences, as recorded by Heron, "They have also helped in the painting of the principal's residence, school floors, and on many of the repairs."[43] In addition to working for the school and school staff, the students assisted with threshing for local farmers. Sinclair noted that students received payment "at the rate of a dollar and a half per day, for all work done at threshing outside of the regular half day due the school."[44] In his annual report for 1906, Heron mentions that "the threshing for the school, and the threshing for many of the neighbours, has been done for the past three years by the pupils and ex-pupils with the steam thresher owned by the school."[45]

---

[39] DIA, Annual Report for 1906, CSP (27) 1907, 382.
[40] DIA, Annual Report for 1905, CSP (27) 1906, 350.
[41] DIA, Annual Report for 1894, CSP (14) 1895, 149.
[42] DIA, Annual Report for 1903, CSP (27) 1904, 403.
[43] DIA, Annual Report for 1908, CSP (27) 1909, 359.
[44] DIA, Annual Report for 1904, CSP (27) 1905, 385.
[45] DIA, Annual Report for 1906, CSP (27) 1907, 381.

Figure 12 - Principal's residence at Regina Indian Industrial School, with Mrs. Laura Sinclair, wife of Reverend Sinclair and children in buggy, SAB, R-A21260

Working for local farmers, businesses, and families was viewed as a form of apprenticeship for industrial school students. Referred to as the "outing system" by the Department of Indian Affairs, apprenticeship was heralded as the final component to the curriculum. Through the outing system, students were placed with local families, farmers, or businesses to put their skills to use in a practical environment. Hayter Reed, who served as the Superintendent of Indian Affairs from 1893 to 1896, was an advocate of the outing system as it promoted assimilation as well as practical experience:

> The outing system is one of the marked features of industrial institutions. This is, in a few words, the hiring out of the children, both male and female (and while they are still retained upon the rolls) in any direction in which employment can be found. During the harvesting season, the demand for boys cannot nearly be met, and at all times many more girls could be placed as servants if the numbers and work at the

> institutions permitted. Owing to the sparsity [sic] of population in the North-west, the time for being able to procure work for the boys is limited, being confined, in the main, to that of harvesting.
>
> On the whole, most gratifying reports are received from employers as to the conduct, honesty and good work of the pupils.
>
> Various wages are received; much of these has to be paid to parents – otherwise they would not consent to their children going out to work in this manner. Boys have received from $6 to $20 per month, and girls from $5 to $10.[46]

Although students were paid for their work during apprenticeships, it is difficult to determine if they were adequately paid or used as a source of cheap labour. Titley argues that the students were paid the going wage for the time; however, parents of the students believed their children were being exploited.[47]

Similar to other Indian industrial schools, the Regina Indian Industrial School adopted the outing system. Although placements were found for boys, the school had difficulty securing placements for girls "principally for the reason that none could well be spared from the work of the school."[48] However, eventually some apprenticeships were found for girls of the Regina Indian Industrial School. The placing of Aboriginal girls in Euro-Canadian households as domestic servants had other purposes beyond experience and employment. Domestic service reinforced subordinate race and class relations between Aboriginal girls and their employers. The government also used placements and domestic service to extend control over girls who had completed their studies, discouraging female graduates from returning to their reserves where they might

[46] DIA, Annual Report for 1896, CSP (14) 1897, xxxix.
[47] Titley, "Indian Industrial Schools," 146.
[48] DIA, Annual Report for 1895, CSP (14) 1896, 201.

go back to a traditional lifestyle.[49] Ultimately, the purpose of the outing system was to expose Aboriginal youth to ideal Euro-Canadian homes and influence. As stated by McLeod,

> The adoption of the outing system has been attended by many beneficial results. It accustoms the pupils to the white man's ways. It is our aim to select only helpful homes where our pupils will have a number of home comforts.[50]

For the most part, the Indian industrial schools were the highest level of education open to the majority of First Nations students. There was no equivalent of a grammar school for Aboriginal youth, and they were rarely encouraged to attend university or aspire to anything beyond becoming farmers, farmhands, farmwives, domestic servants, or skilled tradesmen. As J.R. Miller notes, not "far below the surface of the day-to-day instruction in academic or vocational/technical subjects lay competing notions of the Aboriginal student's social potential."[51] It is important to explain that the possibilities to pursue higher education were also limited for most Euro-Canadian children in the late Victorian era. However, Aboriginal children were further restricted from educational opportunities because of their race. Only a few graduates of the Indian industrial schools, male or female, were able to pursue a higher level of education. As Roxana Ng argues, the education of Aboriginal peoples is a clear example of

---

[49] Pamela M. White, "Restructuring the Domestic Sphere – Prairie Indian Women on Reserves: Image, Ideology and State Policy, 1880-1930." (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 1987), 182-3.
[50] DIA, Annual Report for 1896, CSR (14) 1897, 351.
[51] Miller, Shingwauk's Vision, 152.

how race, class, and gender in Canada were used to subordinate specific groups of people both during colonization and nation building.[52]

Educational historian Jean Barman notes that in many other respects, Aboriginal children were "schooled for inequality."[53] Although the academic curriculum of conventional provincial schools was similar to the curriculum of the Department of Indian Affairs, First Nations children were only allotted a half day in the classroom at the industrial schools. Most strikingly, the difference rests in the fact that Aboriginal students were expected to contribute to the maintenance of the industrial schools through their own labour. At a time when labour laws were restricting child labour in Canada and England, Aboriginal children were exploited daily for the operation of the industrial schools.

Despite the restrictions of class, boys were offered some diversity of options for their future, unlike girls who were limited to the domestic sphere. While the government intended that boys would attain life-long employment as tradesmen or farmers, domestic service for girls was seen as only an interim step, prior to marriage and family. The curriculum of the Indian industrial schools was clearly meant to reproduce the Victorian ideologies of separate spheres, the sexual division of labour, and class distinctions. The government intended that many graduates of the industrial schools would form the proletariat of Canadian prairie society; as domestic servants, farmhands and skilled tradesmen, they would assist Euro-Canadian settlers to establish their farms and businesses in

---

[52] Roxana Ng, "Racsim, Sexism, and Nation Building in Canada," In Race, Identity and Representation in Education, ed. by Cameron McCarthy and Warren Crichlow (New York: Routledge, 1993), 52.

the west. Yet we will also see that the government and church endeavoured to instill middle-class values in Aboriginal children through the hidden curriculum of the Indian industrial schools.

[53] Jean Barman, "Schooled for Inequality: The Education of British Columbia Aboriginal Children," In Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia, eds. Jean Barman, Neil Sutherland, and J. Donald Wilson (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1995), 62-64.

Chapter Five

"The Moral Value of Manly Games as Educators":

The Hidden Curriculum of the Regina Indian Industrial School

> The Government Industrial School continues to grow . . . it is with pleasure one can say that the Christian tone of the institution is no less marked than its industrial activity. This year, like the last, has seen several of the pupils declare their faith in Christ and the religious life of the place seems to be strong and well sustained . . . Each Thursday there is a missionary meeting of a devotional character and the girls also have a prayer meeting and a mission band of their own. The boys are formed into a company under the constitution of the Boys' Brigade, and they have a literary society which does its work with much spirit.[1]

The official curriculum of the Regina Indian Industrial School, both academic and vocational, did not hide the values or objectives of the colonizers with regards to assimilation of Aboriginal students. While the official curriculum was overtly designed to instill aspects of Euro-Canadian society, such as the Victorian sexual division of labour and work ethic, the purpose of the hidden curriculum was to inculcate these and other Euro-Canadian social mores, codes of conduct, and values. Living within the environment of the Regina Indian Industrial School, Aboriginal students were exposed daily to values of Euro-Canadian society, such as ownership of private property, individualism, competition, routine, and industry. Victorian ideologies of gender, such as separate spheres and the cult of domesticity were reinforced along with other Euro-Canadian values. Thus the construction of particular gender identities occurred through other mechanisms as well, including appearance, recreation and extra-curricular activities, music, gender segregation, role models, and

[1] United Church Archives [UCA], Records of the Presbyterian Church [PC], Acts and Proceedings of the Twenty-First General Assembly, 1895, x.

prescriptive literature. Through the hidden curriculum of the Regina Indian Industrial School, students were to learn about Euro-Canadian gender identities, gender roles, and gender relations.

Canadian historian John S. Milloy has noted that colonial education was an attack on the very "ontology" of Aboriginal children.[2] Schools were an "all encompassing environment of resocialization in every aspect" including schoolwork, routines, and religion.[3] Students were expected to abandon all forms of their traditional culture and adopt the values and systems of Euro-Canadian society. The Indian industrial schools were an induction into the totality of English-Canadian culture, including civic and religious holidays, recreation, and music.[4] The schools encouraged values that were prevalent in Euro-Canadian culture, such as competition, individualism, obedience, and ownership of private property. Through the Indian industrial schools, the federal government and churches wanted Aboriginal students to learn to emulate the social and value systems of white Canadians.[5]

In its Annual Report of 1904, the Department of Indian Affairs published promotional photographs of a young Aboriginal boy named Thomas Moore, "before and after tuition" at the Regina Industrial School. Milloy describes the pictures as symbolic images of the primary objective of late Victorian government

---

[2] John S. Milloy, A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986 (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), 37.
[3] Milloy, A National Crime, 33.
[4] Brian Titley, "Indian Industrial Schools in Western Canada," In Schools in the West: Essays in Canadian Educational History, ed. Nancy M. Sheehan, J. Donald Wilson, and David C. Jones (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1986), 142.
[5] Joan Scott-Brown, "The Short Life of St. Dunstan's Calgary Industrial School, 1896-1907," Canadian Journal of Native Education 14, no. 1 (1987), 42.

policy. The Aboriginal child in the photographs represented the past and the future of western Canada. The photograph of young Thomas "posed against a fur robe, in his beaded dress, his hair in long braids, clutching a gun" denoted the symbols of the past, including Aboriginal clothing and culture, warfare, hunting, and the fur trade. The second photograph symbolized the future of western Canada, with "settlement, agriculture, manufacturing, lawfulness, and Christianity."[6] Milloy further notes,

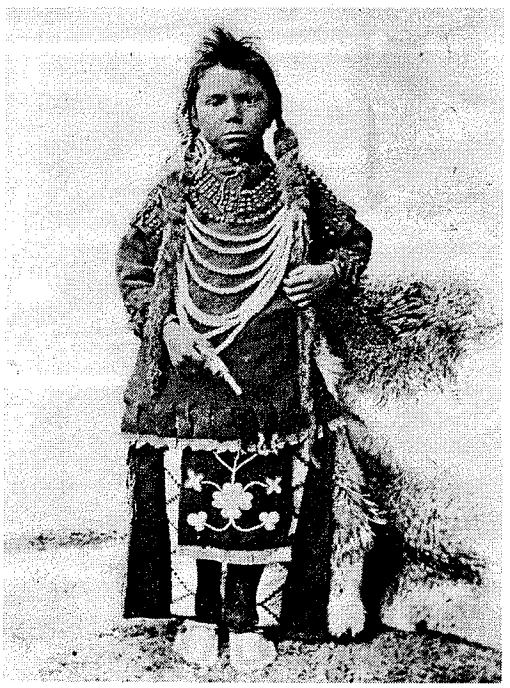
> Thomas, with his hair carefully barbered, in his plain, humble suit, stands confidently, hand on a hip, in a new context. Here he is framed by the horizontal and vertical lines of wall and pedestal – the geometry of social and economic order; of place and class, and of private property the foundation of industriousness, the cardinal virtue of late-Victorian culture. But most telling of all, perhaps, is the potted plant. Elevated above him, it is the symbol of civilized life, of agriculture. Like Thomas, the plant is cultivated nature no longer wild. Like it, Thomas has been, the Department suggests, reduced to civility in the time he has lived within the confines of the Regina Industrial School.[7]

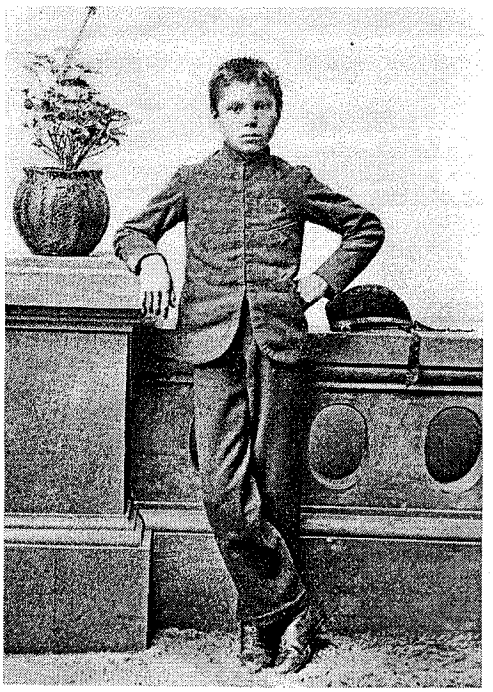
The before and after photographs of Thomas Moore have additional dimensions, one of which is the issue of appearance. Through the carefully contrived photographs, Indian Affairs and church officials endeavoured to create the impression or "appearance" of the transformation of students. As Brian Titley argues, cutting students' hair and dressing them in Euro-Canadian clothes created the illusion of a metamorphosis.[8] The purpose of such photographs was to justify the expense of the elaborate schools through promoting images of success and progress in assimilating students.

---

[6] Milloy, A National Crime, 3-4.
[7] Milloy, A National Crime, 5-6.
[8] Titley, "Indian Industrial Schools," 141.

Figure 13 - Photographs of Thomas Moore, Before and After Tuition at the Regina Indian Industrial School, 1904, SAB R-A8223-1 and R-A8223-2





Another way that missionaries and government agents projected an image of assimilation was through references to whiteness. Whiteness also became synonymous with cleanliness, giving the impression that the industrial schools were cleansing children of their past. Increasingly, Aboriginal people and their traditional ways of life came to be described in derogatory terms that associated them with dirt. Numerous descriptions of the appearance of Aboriginal children dressed like "white" children are made by principals of the Indian industrial schools as well as government officials such as Ansell Macrae:

> The children are very happy and at all times look very neat. They are rapidly acquiring an interest in the ways of white people in their modes of dress and thought. The dormitories are very well kept. No greater contrast can well be imagined than that between the unwashed Indian of the reserve, sleeping in his clothes, folded in a ragged, dirty blanket, and

> the children of this school, who nightly retire in clean white nightshirts, into comfortable beds, neatly made, with sheets that are changed weekly.[9]

The photographs of young Thomas Moore and other children of the Regina Indian Industrial School are also evidence of the desire of the colonizer to transform the gender identities of Aboriginal students. The photographs capture the social reconstruction of gender and the social construction of a Euro-Canadian masculine identity. Although men and boys in many Aboriginal societies frequently wore long braids, short hair was the norm for men in Euro-Canadian society. In the after photograph, Thomas Moore also stands in an assertive stance, with his hand on his hip, prepared for the aggressive public sphere of politics and business. Thomas' Plains Indian clothing with flowered beadwork is replaced by a conservative military tunic and hat. However, it is doubtful that the clothing worn in the first picture is authentic, as Thomas Moore most likely wore Euro-Canadian clothing at the time the photograph was taken (See Figure 14). Through the photographs, we are led to believe that Thomas Moore has relinquished the past identity of the nomadic buffalo hunter, adopting instead the Euro-Canadian formulation of manhood.

Euro-Canadians viewed the physical appearance of Aboriginal students as the first step in the process of assimilation. Similar to Lieutenant Pratt's experiments with Native American prisoners-of-war in the United States, the Indian industrial schools in Canada began their process of transformation by altering the appearance of students, often on the first day of school. The boys'

---

[9] Department of Indian Affairs [DIA], Annual Report for 1888, Canadian Sessional Papers [CSP] (16) 1889, 146-7.

hair was cut and all children were provided with Euro-Canadian clothing, often in the form of a standard uniform. Constance Deiter shares her grandfather Fred Dieter's experience of having his braids cut on his first day at the Regina Indian Industrial School:

> My grandfather's memories of his first day of residential school were of losing his braids and wearing white man's clothes . . . [he] felt very sad for his lovely hair. It must have been traumatic for him because in his story to me, he repeated his sorrow at the loss of his braids.[10]

An informal photograph, taken of Tommy Notawasquitaway with his family on his first day at the Regina Indian Industrial School, encapsulates this experience; wearing long braids, he is juxtaposed next to Jimmie Keepness, bearing short hair who has already attended the school for one year (See Figure 14). It is likely that Tommy's braids were cut after the picture was taken.

Figure 14 - James Keepness, Jessie Keepness, Jimmie Keepness, Thommy Notawasquitaway, Tomas Notawasquitaway, 1904, Jessie and Tommy had just arrived, Jimmie had been there for a year, SAB, R-B990

[10] Constance Deiter, From Our Mother's Arms: The Intergenerational Impact of Residential Schools in Saskatchewan (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1999), 20.

The church and the Department of Indian Affairs reveled in comparison photos, especially those that contrasted the younger and older generations.[11] Comparison photographs were intended to capture the "success" of the industrial schools in assimilating children. In the picture of Two Horns and his children, an obvious comparison is made between the father and mother and their children dressed in Euro-Canadian clothes (See Figure 15). As well, Euro-Canadian children, possibly the children of a teacher or staff member, are present in the photograph.

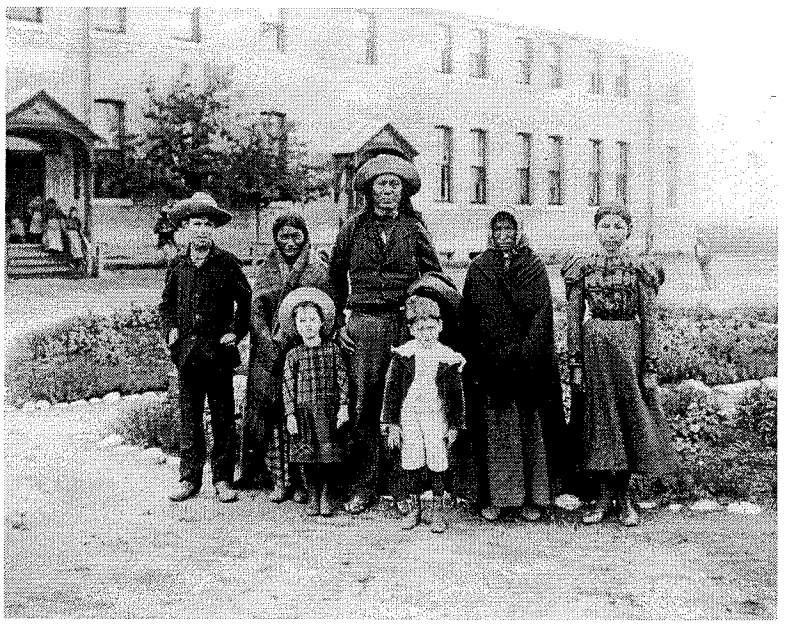


Figure 15 - Two Horns with his wife and family and children of staff c. 1905, SAB, R-A2690

Another informal photograph of a young woman, a student at the Regina Indian Industrial School, and her parents, marks the contrast between the clothing of the daughter and the blanket worn by the mother. Officials within the

[11] J.R. Miller, Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 197-198.

Department of Indian Affairs frequently voiced their disapproval regarding the clothing of Aboriginal women, especially the wearing of the blanket.[12] In contrast to her mother, the daughter is wearing clothing and a hairstyle typical of a young woman in the late Victorian, early Edwardian period (See Figure 16). Members of the Department of Indian Affairs saw the change in Aboriginal women's appearance as a sign of progress.

Figure 16 - Senior girl student with parents at Regina Indian IndustrialSchool, c.1905, SAB R-A2693

Yet physical appearance was only considered to be the first step in the process of assimilating Aboriginal youth and children. The Department of Indian Affairs and the churches demanded evidence of the students' inner change as well as their external conversion. As part of a deeper transformation, children

[12] Pamela M. White, "Restructuring the Domestic Sphere – Prairie Indian Women on Reserves: Image, Ideology and State Policy, 1880-1930." (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 1987), 116.

were expected to adopt the worldview of Euro-Canadians, including beliefs, values, behaviour, and ideologies. For example, as Titley points out, children of the Indian industrial schools were "forcibly initiated into the social and occupational patterns of white life."[13] The objective was to instill Euro-Canadian notions of time, including routines, schedules, and punctuality, preparing Aboriginal students for a new industrial order. Through the routine of the industrial schools, the government and church attempted to replace the seasonal concept of time synonymous with a nomadic lifestyle with a rigid order of the capitalist economy. The following quote from Edgar Dewdney describing the rhythm of Indian boarding schools demonstrates the Euro-Canadian pre-occupation with time:

> [In] the boarding schools, . . . they are . . . taught . . . the value of time (a most important factor in the instruction of Indians), and that there should be an object for the employment of every moment; even therefore, the routine of rising, dressing and washing themselves daily, reading the word of God, receiving instruction in the great truths of Christianity [sic], the recurrence of the hours for meals, classwork, outside duties, such as gardening, wood cutting, watering and feeding livestock, when any such are kept, recreation, studying their lessons for the next day-are all of great importance in the training and education, with a view to the future usefulness of children, who would as a rule, never have received the benefit of the same at their homes.[14]

Schedules and routines were frequently mentioned in the principals' accounts of the Regina Indian Industrial School. For example, according to McLeod,

> Pupils attend school only half a day, and are appointed to suitable labour for the other half. The school hours are from 9 a.m. to 12 o'clock, and from 1:30 p.m. to 4:30 p.m. The work hours are from 7.45 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. with an hour and a half for dinner. Each pupil attends school for three hours for five days of the week.[15]

---

[13] Titley, "Indian Industrial Schools," 144.
[14] DIA, Annual Report for 1891, CSP (14) 1892, xii.
[15] DIA, Annual Report for 1898, CSP (14) 1899, 312.

As Coleman notes, colonial education was "one long lesson in Western concepts of fragmented time."[16]

The internal change of students also involved the adoption of notions of private property, competition, and individualism. For instance, students at the Regina Indian Industrial School were encouraged to establish savings accounts for their earnings. In order to impart values of private property and competition to the students, the Regina Indian Industrial School adopted a garden plot system from the Hampton Institute of Virginia (See Figure 17). Through the use of individual garden plots, Sinclair encouraged students to compete with one another:

> On my visit last March to Hampton industrial institute for Indians and negroes in Virginia – the oldest Indian industrial school on the continent – I was struck with the success of the garden-plot system, which is extended to even the kindergarten pupils in that institution.
>
> On a small scale we tried it here this season, selecting twelve of the best pupils – six boys and six girls – and assigning to each a garden-plot 23 x 40 feet. Each plot was prepared and planted by hand by its owner, under instruction. Each plot contained twenty-three kinds of vegetables, and was surrounded by a border of flowers a foot in width. Each plot-owner was promised one-third the market value of whatever stuff was raised on the plot, and in addition three prizes were offered for the three best boys' plots and three for the three best girls'. The result has been most satisfactory. Stimulated by a sense of ownership and stirred by competition, these pupils have learned more about gardening this season than they would during many seasons in the common garden. Besides the contrast between the appearance, progress and yield of the plots, as compared with the adjacent common garden was a most striking object lesson on the value of keeping the soil moved about plants especially in dry weather. Every visitor in July and August fancied that the plots must have been planted at least a month earlier. As a matter of fact they were not put in a week earlier, but the owners were on them for a little while – time stolen from play – almost every day. We hope to extend the system next season.[17]

---

[16] Michael C. Coleman, Presbyterian Missionary Attitudes toward American Indians, 1837-1893 (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1985), 101.
[17] DIA, Annual Report for 1901, CSP (14) 1902, 373-374.

Subsequently, Sinclair implemented the Hampton garden plot system on a regular basis, and frequently mentioned the success of the program in other annual reports.

Figure 17 - Gardens and Gardening at Regina Indian Industrial School, SAB, R-A21261

Officials also saw the need to change the "character" of children, and teach them middle-class, Euro-Canadian, Christian concepts of charity, through extending the study of ethics with extra-curricular activities. For example, the staff of the Regina Indian Industrial School established societies such as missionary and temperance societies. That children of the Regina Indian Industrial School supported missions of colonized peoples overseas is an illustration of attempts on the part of school staff to inculcate white middle-class values in Aboriginal students:

> In the missionary meetings the knowledge of the customs and manners of foreign lands, and deeper sympathies with other people, have been among the advantages gained . . . pupils have money of their own to donate to religious work. They have, with the co-operation of members of the staff, now for nearly two years had the pleasure of entirely supporting five native missionaries in India, China and the New Hebrides.[18]

Thus character development took place outside the classroom and outside the formal curriculum.

> In every possible way, efforts have been made in the direction of true character- building. By public and private talks with pupils, the necessity of truthfulness, diligence, faithfulness and all those other qualities that enter into true character, have been dwelt upon.[19]

Work was not just viewed as physical labour, but also a lesson in character and moral development:

> . . . an effort is made by every member of the staff to inculcate religion and morals in connection with every department of work. Constant emphasis is laid on the moral and religious significance of the work done, showing for example the tendency of careless and inaccurate manual work to produce looseness of morals, such as untruthfulness, unreliability, unfaithfulness, &c.[20]

Gender was another area where students were expected to exhibit internal and external transformations. The hidden curriculum of the Regina Indian Industrial School was pertinent to the goal of instilling Euro-Canadian gender ideologies. The separation of male and female students and the co-educational nature of the school were also a means of imparting Euro-Canadian ideologies of gender relations. Male and female pupils were brought together in the same institution in the hopes that they would form future marriages, yet they were continuously separated unless under supervision:

---

[18] DIA, Annual Report for 1896, CSP (14) 1897, 351.
[19] DIA, Annual Report for 1899, CSP (14) 1900, 359.
[20] DIA, Annual Report for 1904, CSP (27) 1905, 385.

> Discipline and general good order has been greatly promoted by the appointment of pupil officers among boys and girls, who by virtue of the stripes they wear, at all times and everywhere represent the staff in the absence of any member of the latter. The placing of boys and girls at the same tables in the dining-room and allowing them to mix freely on a limited part of the playground for an hour or so every evening has improved the conduct of both.[21]

Similar to Euro-Canadian schools of the time, the Regina Indian Industrial School had been designed for the purpose of segregating boys and girls, through separate entrances, playgrounds, and dormitories; the very physical plan of the building exemplified the hidden curriculum. Even when posing for photographs, boys and girls were often separated (See Figure 18).

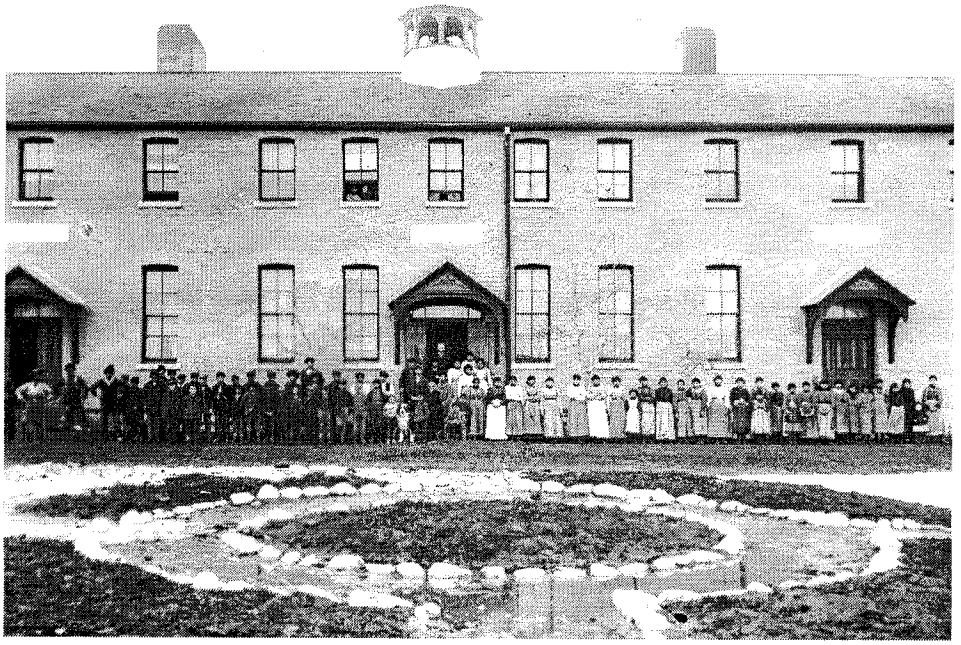


Figure 18 – Students at the Regina Indian Industrial School, SAB, R-A21262, 1901

Recreation was a good example of differential treatment of male and female pupils in the residential schools.[22] Recreation was also a means through

[21] DIA, Annual Report for 1902, CSP (27) 1903, 370.
[22] Miller, Shingwauk's Vision, 224.

which gender identities were socially constructed, as it provided an opportunity for missionaries to teach Euro-Canadian ideals of manliness and masculinity to Aboriginal boys as well as notions of femininity to girls. As Milloy points out, recreation in the residential schools was truly "re-creation" and was instrumental in the socialization of pupils. Principals and teachers at the schools regarded the "recreation of the pupils . . . as important."[23]

Similar to the vocational curriculum, boys in the Regina Indian Industrial School appear to have more options than girls with regards to recreation and extra-curricular activities. For the most part, the recreation of Aboriginal boys included athletics and was oriented toward rugged and aggressive activities. In their annual reports, the principals of the Regina Indian Industrial School described the athletic sports of boys frequently and in great detail. Efforts were made to encourage "all manner of manly sports" for the boys.[24] According to Sinclair, "[n]ot only for the sake of the outdoor exercise involved, but because of the moral value of manly games as educators, we give such sports all possible encouragement."[25]

For the most part, the western Indian industrial schools limited recreation to activities that reflected Euro-Canadian culture. For example, the principal at Battleford Indian Industrial School endeavoured to instill Euro-Canadian notions of gender through recreation:

---

[23] DIA, Annual Report for 1896, CSP (14) 1897, 351.
[24] DIA, Annual Report for 1895, CSP (14) 1896, 135.
[25] DIA, Annual Report for 1901, CSP (27) 1902, 375.

> A noticeable feature of this school is its games. They are all thoroughly and distinctly 'white'. The boys use the boxing gloves with no little science, and excellent temper, and play good games of cricket and football, with great interest and truly Anglo-Saxon vigor. The girls dress dolls, make fancy articles of dress, and play such games as white children do. From all their recreations, Indianism is excluded.[26]

In contrast, the Regina Indian Industrial School allowed the boys to play lacrosse, a First Nations' sport. Eventually, however, football replaced lacrosse as the prominent sport.

Figure 19 - Boys' lacrosse team, Regina Indian Industrial School, c. 1905, SAB R-A2685

In addition to sports, the Regina Indian Industrial School also included a brass band and military drills for the recreation of male pupils. The recreational activities of Aboriginal boys at the Regina Indian Industrial School did not differ significantly from the kinds of amusement arranged for working-class boys in England. In a similar fashion, the recreational activities at the Regina Indian

[26] DIA, Annual Report for 1888, CSP (16) 1889, 146-7.

Industrial School were supposed to indoctrinate middle-class values of masculinity in Aboriginal boys: "[t]he playing of the brass band is a very refining and pleasing recreation for all engaged."[27] Boys' activities were also aimed toward military preparation and learning to be soldiers:

> Instruction in military drill is given regularly by the regular drill instructor at the North-west Mounted Police Barracks. Many of the boys are becoming dexterous in the different evolutions, and take great pride in their marching. It is a common sight to see a squad of boys somewhere in the grounds being drilled by one of the larger boys, some of whom naturally take their place as commanders.[28]

Figure 21 - Rugby football team for Regina Indian Industrial School, 1901, SAB, R-A21257

The principals of the Regina Indian Industrial School recorded less information regarding their goals for the recreational activities of the female students, although principals' reports do indicate that girls' recreation was

[27] DIA, Annual Report for 1898, CSP (14) 1899, 312.
[28] DIA, Annual Report for 1893, CSP (14) 1894, 99.

generally supposed to cultivate Euro-Canadian ideals of femininity. The most significant illustration is the elaborate description of lace-making by Sinclair. Similar to the education of working-class girls of England, lace-making in the Regina Indian Industrial School was utilized as a means of conveying Victorian ideals regarding femininity and cleanliness:

> Lace-making has also been introduced and has proven to be very popular under the instruction of Miss Cornelius, (who gives lessons in this, vocal music, and in gardening, in addition to her regular school-room work). Some of the girls have become quite expert in pillow lace-making, one girl having in one case earned $1.50 in ten hours. This industry is peculiarly adapted to be an educational factor. It requires small outlay for equipment and little for material, while the product commands a good price. It can be successfully carried on in a teepee, but it cannot be successfully carried on without clean fingers, and this means clean clothes and clean surroundings. It demands accuracy, a most important thing to cultivate among our pupils, and is a peculiarly good means of developing artistic taste. Most of the girls are very fond of it and in a wonderfully short time become adepts. We have one little girl of twelve, Annie Seeseequasis, who watched the work for a short time, asked to be allowed to try a difficult pattern being worked on by one of the older girls, and without the preliminary lessons in the various stitches, went right on doing almost perfect work.[29]

Thus, the recreation of female students was also practical in nature. Girls appear to have been more involved in charitable activities, such as the mission and Sunday schools; in the 1895 annual report, the Presbyterian Church recorded that the "girls have a prayer meeting and a mission band of their own."[30] Most notably, the girls' activities were in contrast to the ruggedness of boys' recreation. Although the girls were permitted to play some basketball, for the most part, the activities of female pupils conveyed messages about the supposedly delicate and weak nature of girls. McLeod recorded that the "girls

---

[29] DIA, Annual Report for 1902, CSP (27) 1903, 369.

take great pleasure in long walks, accompanied by one of the lady members of the staff"[31] as opposed to engaging in sports. Girls were also taught to assume characteristics of femininity, such as "patience and willingness to serve" in the dispensary.[32]

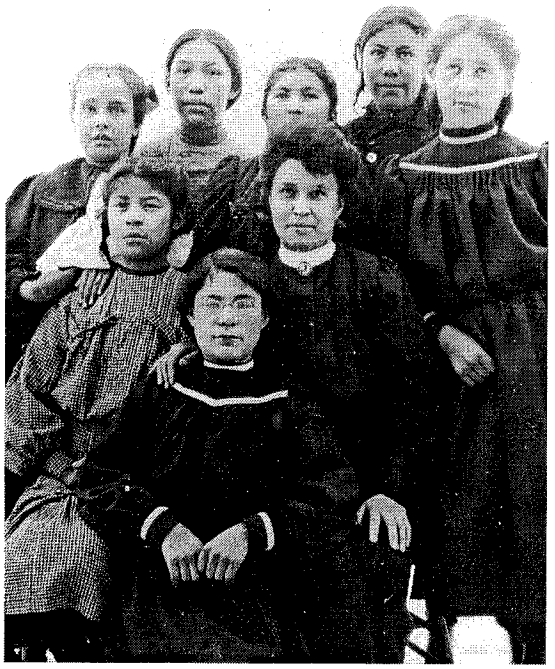


Figure 22 - Sunday school class of older girls at Regina Indian Industrial School, c. 1905, SAB R-A2684

Recreation also imparted messages about gender along class lines, as in the case of music. Students at the Regina Indian Industrial School were taught forms of music that demonstrated values of the Euro-Canadian middle class. For example, an annual report of the Presbyterian Church noted that in "addition to the ordinary branches of education, music, instrumental and vocal, is taught, so

[30] UCA, [PC], The Acts and Proceedings of the Twenty-First General Assembly, 1895, p.x.
[31] DIA, Annual Report for 1899, CSP (14) 1900, 359.
[32] Saskatchewan Archives Board [SAB], The Progress (October 1905), 1.

that several of the girls are now qualified to act as organists at the school services."[33] Thus the girls at the Regina Indian Industrial School were provided with elements of the accomplishments curriculum that was normally reserved for middle-class girls. Although the objective was to shape the students of the industrial schools into farmers and workers, efforts were also made to encourage the students to adopt the values of the Euro-Canadian middle classes. The music that was taught at the Regina Indian Industrial School was also gender-specific:

> . . . It might be safe to state that the organ on the girls' side, and the two violins on the boys' side have furnished more music per day than any other 'musical instruments' in existence. A brass band seems to be the only thing needed to complete the sum total of the boys' happiness.[34]

Teachers, missionaries, and graduates of the Regina Indian Industrial School acted as role models for students, illustrating Victorian gender ideals. The government and churches recognized the possible influences that teachers and missionaries could have on Aboriginal peoples and encouraged them to display elements of Victorian domestic ideals:

> As in the past, the influence of the missionaries, school teachers and our own employees has continued to have a very marked bearing on the molding of the character of the Indians with whom they are in daily contact; especially is this true in the case of the younger men and women. The effect of the neat premises and well ordered establishments of the missions, agencies and farms on the reserves, in keeping ever before the Indians models which it is desirable they should copy, is very noticeable in the increased attention of the better class of the Indians to the smaller details of house ornamentation, neatness of premises . . . and this influence has been an important factor in the elevation of the moral and social standards of the Indians.[35]

---

[33] UCA, PC, The Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth General Assembly, 1908, 187-8.
[34] DIA, Annual Report for 1893, CSP (14) 1894, 98.
[35] Report of A.E. Forget, DIA, Annual Report for 1895, CSP (14) 1896, 200.

Figure 23 - Ernest Goforth, graduate of the Regina Indian Industrial School and the Hampton Institute, Virginia, SAB, R-A2507

Aboriginal role models who exemplified Euro-Canadian gender ideals were viewed as equally important in conveying those ideals, as in the case of Miss Cornelius, an Oneida woman who had graduated from the Hampton Industrial and Normal Institute in Virginia. As the junior teacher at Regina Indian Industrial School, Miss Cornelius was deemed to be "duly qualified and thoroughly trained in the most modern methods", and had a "very high reputation given her by the staff" of the Hampton Institute.[36] Sinclair noted that "the presence among our pupils of an Indian girl, with all the refinement and capacity of the best white ladies, has been a great inspiration."[37] Ernest Goforth and Agnes Thompson,

[36] DIA, Annual Report for 1902, CSP (27) 1903, 368.
[37] DIA Annual Report for1903, CSP (27) 1904, 402.

graduates of the Regina Indian Industrial School, also completed further studies at the Hampton Institute, where they received training to become teachers. Prescriptive literature, published in the school newspaper, was also a prominent means of expressing Euro-Canadian discourses of gender to Aboriginal students at the Regina Indian Industrial School. Although male pupils were responsible for the mechanical aspects of producing the newspaper, a teacher was always placed in charge of editorial control. The Progress often copied articles that had been published in mainstream newspapers elsewhere. A noticeable feature of The Progress was the prescriptive literature, which provided advice based upon Euro-Canadian ideals. For example, students were once again taught about the work ethic in a piece titled "Advice to a Young Man":

> Remember you have to work. Whether you handle a pick or a pen, a wheelbarrow or set of dishes, digging ditches, editing a paper or ringing an auction bell, you must work.[38]

Discourses on Euro-Canadian gender ideologies, such as Victorian ideals of masculinity, were also present in The Progress, as illustrated in the article entitled "The Ideal Boy":

> The ideal boy is a boy; not a girl boy, nor a prig, but a genuine boy, as nature intended him to be . . . He exults in his height and weight, proudly exhibits his muscle . . . The ideal boy is a manly boy . . . He does not think it necessary to manliness to smoke and chew tobacco . . . He is the champion of the poor and oppressed everywhere . . . The ideal boy is a boy with an aim. He means to make the most of himself . . . [39]

---

[38] SAB, The Progress (February 15, 1897), 3.
[39] SAB, The Progress (January 16, 1897), 2.

As shown in an article entitled "Indian Women", the school's newspaper also conveyed messages regarding ideals of femininity, such as passivity for women:

> The following picture of Indian women in the Western States is taken from the Indian Friend: What I like about the Indian woman is that she is so womanly. The Indian woman is intensely feminine, but she develops the characteristics of her sex in three quite distinct stages of her life. She begins as a butterfly. She goes on as a loving drudge, and she ends as autocrat. The Indian young girl is not expected to work, or, to do much work. She is expected only to adorn herself and enjoy the brief summer of her life. When she becomes, as she usually does at an early age, a wife and mother, the conditions of her life are reversed. She is then the last served at the table of life. She thinks of her husband, children, guests and everyone before herself. She is a most devoted, self-effacing mother. The third period is that of old age. The grandmother is the tyrant of the Indian community, sharp, shrill-voiced, and determined always to have the last word, and if that last word is not for progress, but as it usually is, for the old time thought, she becomes a barrier, a real hindrance and obstacle in the way of civilization. It is the grandmother who almost invariably predicts an early death for the child who goes to school, and who prophesies every misfortune for those who accept the new way. She is invariably suspicious of the white man and takes no pains to hide her dislike of him. She revives some of the worst features of the old Indian life in her death dirges and songs upon every possible occasion. Indian women are beginning already to feel the value of organization. Although they are conservative still they are approachable and receptive. In the churches nearly all the Indian women with whom I am best acquainted are organized into women's societies connected with their churches. They meet regularly and by the labor of their hands they raise the great bulk of the funds given by native churches for the support of their pastors and charitable purposes. These poor, ignorant women, by their own work, denying themselves even the necessaries of life, that they may give to their missionaries and to Foreign Missions. It is through the women that we can reach the hearts of the people.[40]

Thus, the hidden curriculum was also instrumental in the attempts of the church and government to produce and reproduce Euro-Canadian, Victorian ideologies of gender. Through the hidden curriculum of the Indian industrial

[40] SAB, The Progress (March 1, 1897), 1.

schools, the government and church attempted to reconstruct the gender roles, identities, and relations of First Nations students. In the case of the Regina Indian Industrial School, ideologies relating to gender were interwoven with other Euro-Canadian values, such as industry, philanthropy, and domesticity. Through the gender discourses in the hidden curriculum, the church and government attempted to instill Euro-Canadian values in the students of the Regina Indian Industrial School. Government and church officials were hopeful that ex-pupils of the Indian industrial schools would retain Euro-Canadian, middle-class values after leaving the schools, applying them to their lives after graduation.

Chapter Six

"To Fit Them for Civilized Life in Their own Environment": The Closure of the Regina Indian Industrial School

> To educate children above the possibilities of their station, and create a distaste for what is certain to be their environment in life would be not only a waste of money but doing them an injury instead of conferring a benefit upon them.[1]

The purpose of the curriculum of the Regina Indian Industrial School was to effect a change within the students, reshaping their economic practices, social structures, religion and world view, as well as gender ideologies. Over the course of the 1890s and early 1900s, the Department of Indian Affairs and the churches began to turn their attention to the graduates of the industrial schools, to determine whether or not the industrial schools had been effective in achieving the goal of assimilation. In order to ensure the ex-pupils would put their education into practice after leaving school, policies were put in place by the government to assist ex-pupils with establishing themselves. Thus, the educational influence of the schools did not end with graduation.

Many of the published accounts of the Department of Indian Affairs and the churches promote the perception that many graduates had met the expectations of the colonizer in establishing monogamous, Christian marriages and fulfilling the gender-based roles of breadwinner and housewife. Success, as determined by the churches and government, was measured in terms of the

---

[1] Department of Indian Affairs [DIA], Annual Report for 1897, Canadian Sessional Papers [CSP] (14) 1898, xxvii; quoted in J.R. Miller, Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 158.

progress of the graduates in assimilating. However, this discourse of success was always in competition with a discourse of failure, which became dominant after the election of the Liberal government in 1896. The change in government would lead to a distinct turning point in Indian education policy. Using the discourse of failure as a lever, officials within the Department of Indian Affairs chose to phase out the elite industrial schools and replace them with revised boarding schools that blended the curriculum of both institutions. This new policy of education would serve to marginalize First Nations people from mainstream western Canada, through a program of segregation and deliberate discouragement.

The early 1890s appear to be the height of the industrial school era, during which time the department of Indian Affairs and missionaries used various promotional methods to publicize their perceptions of the success of the schools, the students, and the graduates. As Kennedy notes, the Indian industrial schools became "showpieces" of missionary "zeal" and government "benevolence."[2] Those who had a vested interest in the success of the schools had good reason to promote them.

Reports from the principals of the schools and Indian Agents, which were published yearly in the Department of Indian Affairs Annual Reports, generally painted a positive picture of the Regina Indian Industrial School, as did reports from the Presbyterian Church of Canada. However, they often made vague and

---

[2] Jacqueline (Gresko) Kennedy, "Qu'Appelle Industrial School: White 'Rites' for the Indians of the Old North-West." (Master's thesis, Carleton University, 1970), 83.

superficial statements such as: "[t]his is probably the most successful Industrial School in Western Canada"[3] or "[v]ery creditable progress has been made by many of the pupils in the industries taught at the school."[4]

More specifically, principals repeatedly compared Aboriginal students with white children in an effort to demonstrate how Aboriginal industrial school students could measure up to Euro-Canadian ideals. For example, McLeod noted that visitors to the Regina Indian Industrial School were surprised by "the favourable way in which neatly dressed Indian children compare with the average white child."[5] Heron also stated, "[m]any of the older girls cut, fit and make their own clothing with quite as much taste and neatness as white girls would do."[6]

Public exhibitions were another common method of displaying the progress in assimilating First Nations. At local fairs, such as the Regina Exhibition, students of the Indian industrial schools demonstrated their new skills, handicrafts, and agricultural products. Students of the Regina Indian Industrial School also competed for and won prizes for their work, which was featured at the Regina Exhibition. But it was not just the students who were on display; the industrial schools, government policy, and the curriculum were also on exhibit. Hayter Reed was an advocate of including First Nations, especially the students of industrial schools, in international exhibitions to promote the work of the federal government in overcoming the "Indian Problem":

---

[3] United Church Archives [UCA], Records of the Presbyterian Church [PC], The Acts and Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth General Assembly, 1900, 121.
[4] DIA, Annual Report for 1892, CSP (14), 1893, 209.
[5] DIA, Annual Report for 1892, CSP (14), 1893, 209.
[6] DIA, Annual Report for 1906, CSP (27), 1907, 382.

> The occasion of the World's Fair and Columbian exposition at Chicago gave this department an opportunity of demonstrating to the public the results of the policy of education which has been pursued among the Indians of the Dominion. Side by side with an interesting collection of native dresses, specimens of ornamentation in bead, quill and silk work, domestic utensils, canoes, saddles, sledges, skins and many other articles, were to be seen specimens of penmanship and original composition produced at Indian schools, and samples of grain, roots and fruits grown on Indian farms. But the most attractive feature of the Indian exhibition was the section devoted to the industrial schools. The most important trades and employments taught at the institutions were carried on by Indian boys and girls who had been for some time inmates of the schools. These children were born in tepees amid savage surroundings, and during the continuance of the Fair, day after day, they could be seen printing, making shoes, sewing, knitting, weaving and spinning.[7]

Dignitaries, tourists, and other guests frequently visited the Regina Indian Industrial School where they observed the students in the process of transformation. Graduation ceremonies were important events, which drew guests and a great deal of local attention. Earl Grey, the Governor General of Canada, visited the school in 1910.[8] During these visits, students were asked to perform for their guests, including the boys in the brass band (See Figure 24). As Heron commented in his annual report for 1909, the progress of the schools and the accomplishments of the students generally impressed the visitors:

> The school has many visitors during the summer months. People from Eastern provinces, and also from Europe, who chance to stop off in Regina, take advantage of the nearness of the school to see Indians, and also to note the educational work that is being done among them. Most of these visitors express surprise that our pupils speak English so well, and that they are so apt in their studies.[9]

A visit by Miss Bolton, Principal of the Normal Kindergarten School in Ottawa, was highlighted in Hayter Reed's report for 1894. Miss Bolton was not only

[7] DIA, Annual Report for 1893, CSP (14), 1894, xviii.
[8] DIA, Annual Report for 1910, CSP (27), 1911, 453.
[9] DIA, Annual Report for 1909, CSP (27), 1910, 348.

impressed by the school and the students, but also expressed her approval of the curriculum of the Indian industrial schools:

> . . . allow me to say that I was amazed and delighted at the educational advance made in your schools. Certainly, from a scientific standpoint, your schools will be on a very solid basis. There is no doubt in the mind of educators generally that there is no true education given which does not combine technical and intellectual training, and your half-day system seems to me to be the height of perfection. In many of the schools in Europe and the United States they have long had a somewhat similar course, but I do not think the half-day system prevails here as yet.[10]

The students were also frequent visitors to the town of Regina, to participate in sporting competitions, fairs, to perform public functions, or to attend church. These visits also served to promote the success of the school.

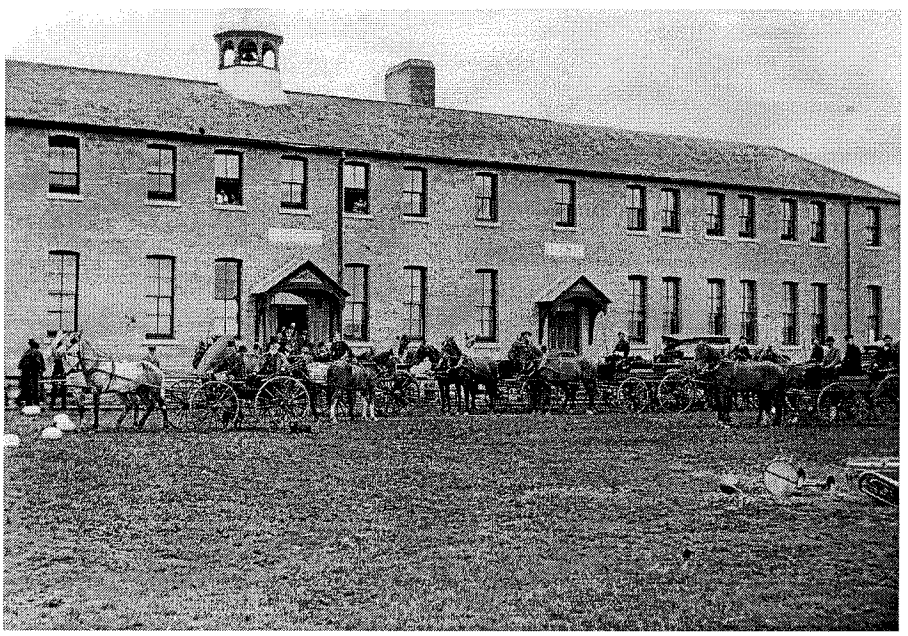


Figure 24 - Carriages, carts and visitors at Regina Indian Industrial School, with brass band instruments in foreground SAB, R-B1406

[10] DIA, Annual Report for 1894, CSP (14), 1895, xxi.

The Regina Leader, the local town newspaper, reported often on the activities and events of the Regina Indian Industrial School. The Progress, the monthly school newspaper, provided the most consistent source of information on the Regina Indian Industrial School. Several of the Indian industrial schools published newspapers, which were exchanged with other schools. As well, the newspapers were distributed to a wider body of subscribers, including graduates, missionaries and other members of the churches, and donors among others. Thus, the school newspaper accomplished more than providing students of the Indian industrial school with printing skills and prescriptive literature. Another purpose of school paper was to promote the achievements and progress of the school, the students, and the graduates to the greater public. For example, the caption on the front page of The Progress read as follows:

> Published monthly at the Regina Industrial School to further the interest of the Indian work of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and to give to the public information regarding the race and its advancement.[11]

Reports on the graduates were a prominent feature of the Regina Indian Industrial School newspaper. The Progress frequently highlighted the marriages and employment activities of ex-pupils of the Regina Indian Industrial School, praising the students who had attained the gender ideals relating to the sexual division of labour and the cult of domesticity. For example, the marriage ceremony of Mary Ellen Gaddie and Felix Brown, graduates of the Regina Indian Industrial School, was described in detail:

> At the home of her grandfather on the Crooked Lakes Reserve, on Wednesday, the 13th June, one of our graduates, Mary Ellen Gaddie, was

[11] Saskatchewan Archives Board [SAB], The Progress (March 1905), 1.

married to Felix Brown of Broadview. The Rev. Hugh McKay of Round Lake, officiated. The bride's maid was Isabelle Gaddie and the groom was supported by Alex Flamand. The bride looked very handsome in a sky blue voile dress, made Princess effect, and trimmed with cream lace. The brid's [sic.] maid wore navy blue, trimmed with all-over lace.

After the ceremony about a hundred invited guests sat down to a sumptuous wedding breakfast. The bride received a large number of presents.

The young couple have taken up their home in Broadview; and we wish them happiness, long life and prosperity.[12]

The Progress also reported on the employment of many ex-pupils, as for example in the October 1905 issue. John Hunter and William Kasto were reported to be farming near Pipestone. The newspaper related that Joseph Paul had his own threshing machine in Manitoba, stating that the "training in engineering received at the school is proving useful." Other students had obtained employment as carpenters and ranch hands, while George Raymond had found work as a printer with The Moosomin World. Several female graduates had also found employment, such as Maggie Cote who was working as a nurse at File Hills, based upon her training in the dispensary at Regina school. Sawin Snow, the first female pupil at the Regina Indian Industrial School had married another student named Herman Nowekeswape and was reportedly in charge of the laundry at the school, where her young daughter Gladys had become the school "pet". A few students, such as Agnes Thompson, had pursued further education at the Normal Institute in Hampton, Virginia (See Figure 25).[13]

[12] SAB, The Progress (June 1906), 1.
[13] SAB, The Progress (October 1905), 2-3.

Figure 25 - Agnes Thompson, Graduate of Regina Industrial School and Hampton Institute, Virginia, SAB, RB 992

The perceived success of the graduates of the Regina Indian Industrial School was also frequently promoted by principals in their annual reports, as well as by the Presbyterian Church in their publications. As Sinclair stated on more than one occasion, "[i]t is again my great pleasure to report very favourably on many of our graduates whom I have visited on the reserves."[14] In his annual reports, Sinclair praised the ex-pupils for their endeavours after graduation. All three principals of the Regina Indian Industrial School noted the various pursuits

[14] DIA, Annual Report for 1902, CSP (27), 1903, 370.

of graduates: while some ex-pupils had obtained employment with the school, others had established farms, served as soldiers overseas, married, and found employment relating to their industrial training. Through donations from Scotland, Sinclair was also able to establish a fund for the higher education of a few graduates of the Regina Indian Industrial School to pursue future careers as "preaching missionaries, teaching missionaries, medical missionaries or industrial instructing missionaries."[15]

Of all the endeavours of the graduates, the establishment of Christian marriages was seen as most important. After all, one of the purposes of the school was to bring young, educated First Nations men and women together to form marriages:

> In not a few cases young men who have been trained in these schools have married young women who have enjoyed similar advantages, and these young people have established households where God is honored and served by an industrious, regular and self-denying life.[16]

Sinclair made frequent mention of specific couples, such as Mary Belle Cote and Fred Dieter, who had established his view of an ideal household and farm:

> Fred Dieter and Mary Belle Cote, two of our graduates, were married last March, and are comfortably settled on their own farm at File Hills. Fred has a comfortable two-room log house, a fine team of large horses, a wagon, sleighs, &c., and last year raised over a thousand bushels of wheat. He has over a hundred acres of crop in again this year. Mary Belle had saved enough money to furnish her house nicely when they were married. Many others, too numerous to mention individually, are doing well and are a great encouragement to the work.[17]

---

[15] DIA, Annual Report for 1902, CSP (27), 1903, 370.
[16] Presbyterian Record, v. XVIII, no. 6 (June 1893), 147.
[17] DIA, Annual Report for 1903, CSP (27), 1904, 405.

Although many officials promoted a perception that the schools were successful, they felt a need to develop a policy that would assist the ex-pupils to establish themselves after graduation. There was concern on the part of the government and churches that graduates would return to the reserves and lapse into their traditional practices such as the Sundance, which was perceived to interrupt farming. Although some officials hoped that graduates would be an elevating influence upon their communities, others felt that their parents and communities would exert a stronger influence on the graduates. Hayter Reed was especially concerned with retrogression of ex-pupils:

> The policy of the department, as to the retention of pupils, has been that boys should remain at the industrial schools until they attain an age at which, in addition to their having obtained a rudimentary education and some trade or calling, or at least some knowledge of carpentry, their characters shall have been sufficiently formed as to ensure as much as possible against their returning to the uncivilized mode of life. In the event of a boy returning to his reserve – and for the majority, for the present at least, there appears to be no alternative – leave of absence is granted: a suitable location of land is selected, if proper provision is not otherwise made, a house is built by the boy himself, and some simple furniture, made while he is still a member of the institution is given him. In addition to this, if these are not had through the parents, cattle and implements are provided to enable the young fellow to continue in the course followed at the institution from which he comes. It is considered advisable, where pupils are advanced in years and considered capable of providing for themselves, to bring about a matrimonial alliance, either at the time of being discharged from the school or as soon after as possible; this course commends itself for various reasons.
>
> Officials are constantly directed to have especial watchfulness over such discharged pupils, and to encourage them in every way possible, and to exert all their influence to counteract any tendency to revert to the old mode of living. In this way they have met with varying success.[18]

[18] DIA, Annual Report for 1896, CSP (27), 1897, xxxviii-xxxix.

In particular, efforts were made to help young male graduates establish their farms through the provision of horses and lumber by the Department of Indian Affairs.[19]

In 1901, the Department of Indian Affairs decided to create a farming colony on the Peepeekeesis Reserve. The purpose of the File Hills Colony was to provide a place for the best graduates of the Indian industrial schools to establish independent farms. The colony was a contrived experiment, the point of which was to demonstrate the success of the graduates from the local industrial schools and create an Aboriginal middle class.[20] The settlers on the File Hills Colony were separated from their families and communities to avoid retrogression. The government also provided the farmers on the colony with additional assistance to establish their farms. The success of the colony was frequently promoted in the Department of Indian Affairs Annual Reports:

> That we are succeeding in this direction in a very fair measure is evidenced by the progress of the colony of ex-pupils established some years ago at File Hills. These young Indians are now practically in the position of white farmers. If one were not aware that he had crossed the boundaries of an Indian reserve, it would never occur to him that the cleanly and comfortable homes presided over by tidy housewives, the well-tilled fields, the domesticated cattle, hogs, and barn fowl, the work horses, implements, and wagons, belonged to young Indian people whose fathers hunted the buffalo and despised the settled ways of the white man.[21]

The colony was promoted not just for its economic success, but also for the ability of the graduates to attain social ideals as well. Sinclair noted that he "was

[19] DIA, Annual Report for 1906, CSP (27), 1907, 192.
[20] Sarah Carter, "Demonstrating Success" Prairie Forum 16, no. 2 (Fall 1991): 157-183.
[21] Report of David Laird, DIA, Annual Report for 1908, CSP (27) 1909, 198-9.

also greatly impressed with the happy results produced in industry and manly conduct among such graduates . . . on the File Hills reserve."[22]

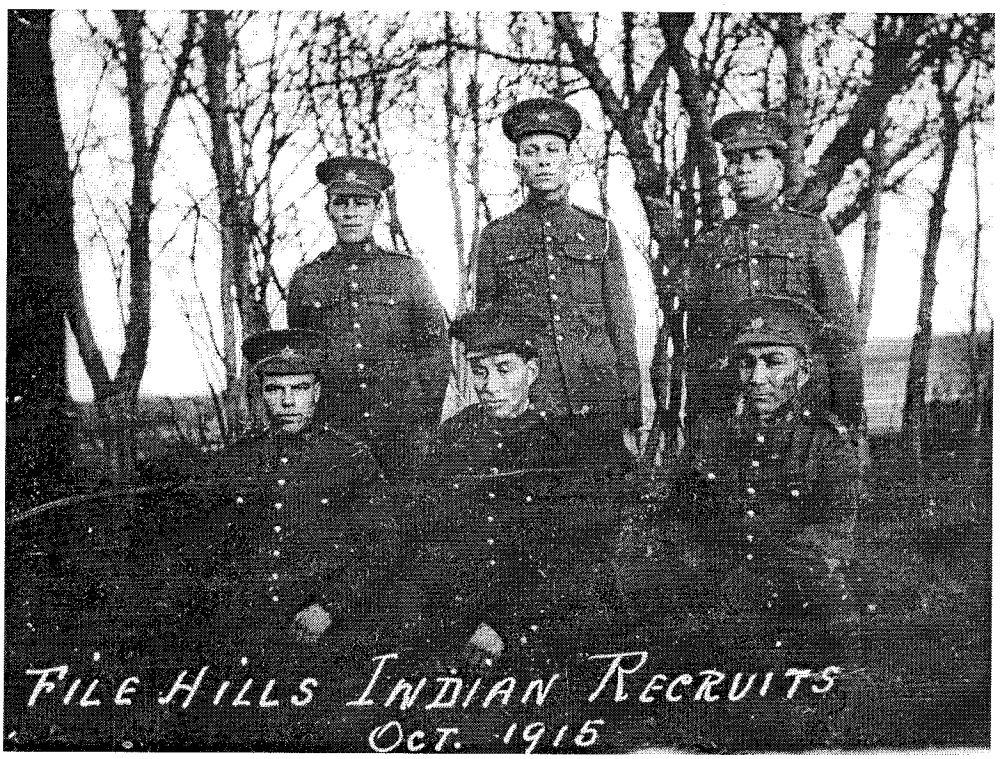


Figure 26 – File Hills Recruits, including Harry Ball and Ernest Goforth, graduates of the Regina Indian Industrial School, 1915, SAB RA 16

Despite the discourse of success, there was no consensus regarding the effects of the Indian industrial schools. There were those who were less certain of the success of the schools and those who advocated that the schools had altogether failed in their objective to assimilate the younger generation. The competing discourses of success and failure also had implications for gender. While advocates of the industrial schools argued that many Christian marriages had been successfully created through the schools, others believed the schools had failed to completely transform the gender systems of Aboriginal peoples. For

[22] DIA, Annual Report for 1902, CSP (27), 1903, 370.

example, Madame Forget, who had presented the certificates to the first graduates of Regina Indian Industrial School, argued that to a certain extent, the industrial schools had served to remedy some of the aspects of Aboriginal gender systems with which she objected. Yet at the same time, Forget argued that Aboriginal men and women tended to revert to old habits:

> And now, after twenty-five years – what of the women? The visitor to the Canadian West sees bright-eyed, chubby, happy-looking damsels; though it must be admitted the matrons are still haggard and worn. The Industrial Schools, which have been established for the training of the young Indians, and the efforts of missionaries have had their effect. Horses, cattle, or other wealth are still sometimes given in exchange for a wife, but polygamy exists no longer, except among a few of the least civilized tribes. Most marriages are now sanctified by a religious ceremony, and just as the agricultural pursuits of the men are leading them to substitute houses for tepees (tents), so the cedar bark petticoat is being supplanted by the neat dress of modern make.
>
> The Indian man has now an adequate inducement to work; but that has not relieved the squaw from any of her burdens. She has still to bear her share of the toil, and more than her share. The Indian, going to fish on the frozen lake, stands by while his squaw digs the hole in the thick and compact ice; and returns home on horseback, unencumbered by any impedimenta, followed by his wife on foot, heavily laden with the results of his skill. The Indian kills a steer, but it the squaw who skins the carcase [sic.], carries it home, dresses the meat and cures the hide. The Industrial Schools are quietly giving the death blow to this sort of thing by teaching civilized methods of housekeeping. The Indians still enjoy boiled dog or roasted gopher, but the cooking is none the worse for the school training of his daughters; while sewing, knitting and even fancy work (to say nothing of the artistic productions of pen and pencil) are revolutionizing the home of the more civilized, where sewing machines, clocks, organs and other musical instruments are now to be found.[23]

A distinct turning point in Indian education policy occurred with the election of the Wilfred Laurier Liberals in 1896. While in opposition, the Liberals

---

[23] Henriette Forget, "The Indian Women of the Western Provinces", In Women of Canada: Their Life and Work, comp. National Council of Women of Canada (Ottawa: National Council of Women of Canada, 1900; reprint, Ottawa: National Council of Women of Canada, 1975), 435-437.

frequently voiced their objections with regards to the spending of the Conservative government. Clifford Sifton, who was appointed to the conflicting roles of Minister of the Interior and Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, was determined to decrease government spending, as well as increase immigration to Western Canada. As Carter notes, the Liberals came into power at the beginning of an economic boom; during Clifton's tenure as Minister of the Interior, the prairies which became the site of a land rush. However, policies of the new Liberal government ensured that Aboriginal peoples on the prairies would be excluded from participating in the prosperity of western Canada.[24]

Sifton had also been a long-time critic of the education policy of the Macdonald government, especially of the Indian industrial schools of Western Canada. On June 14, 1897, members of the new federal government voiced their opinions on the matter of the Indian industrial schools in the House of Commons. Frank Oliver, who later replaced Sifton as the Minister of the Interior and the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, opened the discussion on Indian education by arguing that the industrial schools were a waste of money, as, in his opinion, Aboriginal people were unable to compete with Euro-Canadian settlers:

> I wish to call attention to this item of Indian education . . . The position is this-that we are educating these Indians to compete industrially with our own people, which seems to me a very undesirable use of public money, or else we are not able to educate them to compete, in which case our money is thrown away.[25]

---

[24] Sarah Carter, Aboriginal Peoples and Colonizers of Western Canada to 1900 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 172-3.
[25] Frank Oliver, House of Commons Debates, 1897, 4076 (14 June 1897).

Oliver's now famous words also express concern over the potential competition that Aboriginal farmers, tradesmen, and domestic servants posed for new white settlers, a point which would resurface in future discussions on Indian education. In fact, John A. Macdonald's vision of settling the prairies had not been realized during the last two decades of the century. Instead, many settlers had emigrated to the United States, unable to overcome the obstacles of farming in the Canadian prairies. Sifton and the Liberal government were determined to increase immigration, especially through attracting Anglo-Canadian and British settlers to establish farms. Instead, they found that there was a surplus of unskilled labourers among British immigrants, as opposed to farmers.[26] Thus, the trained Aboriginal graduates of the Indian industrial schools were viewed as a threat to newcomers. Slippages in the discourse of failure revealed this fear of competition held by the new government.

Clifford Sifton also joined in the debates in the House of Commons, repeating a viewpoint he had expressed while in opposition. Sifton argued that the industrial schools were not the "best", the most "effective", or the most "economic" means of educating and assimilating First Nations. Sifton advocated that the system was an "artificial" one, and that many students had been kept in the schools until they were in their early twenties.[27] Thus, Sifton argued for a new system of education in the form of boarding schools, where more children could be educated in less time and for less money:

---

[26] D.J. Hall, Clifford Sifton: Volume One: The Young Napolean, 1891-1900 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1981), 260.
[27] Clifford Sifton, House of Commons Debates, 1897, 6947 (14 June 1897).

> What we desire to do is not to give a highly specialized education to half a dozen out of a large band of Indians, but if possible to distribute over the whole band a moderate amount of education and intelligence so that the general status of the band would be raised.[28]

Through a discourse of failure, Sifton demonstrated the objectives of the new government:

> The result of my observation and study in connection with the industrial schools was this, that the attempt to give a highly civilized education to the Indian child, keeping him in a school until he was 22 or 23 years of age and attempting to teach him a trade, was practically a failure. I have no hesitation in saying – we may as well be frank – that the Indian cannot go out from a school, making his own way and compete with the white man . . . an Indian cannot succeed in competition with other people.[29]

Sifton called for an inquiry into the Indian industrial schools of Western Canada. The result of the inquiry was a report issued by Martin Benson in July of 1897. In the report, Benson advocated that the industrial schools were too elaborate and expensive. Benson criticized the extravagance and superficiality of the industrial schools when he stated that , "[t]he chief ambition of an Industrial school is to possess a Brass Band and a printing press...enough money has been expended upon brass bands...The Brass Band and newspaper are for outward show and help to advertise the school."[30] Benson also argued that the schools had also produced poor academic results. For example he noted that at the Regina Indian Industrial School, there were 34 students who were over the age of 18. Of those students, Benson reported that only 7 were in Standard Six.

---

[28] Clifford Sifton, House of Commons Debates, 1897, 6948 (14 June 1897).
[29] Clifford Sifton, House of Commons Debates, 1897, 6948 (14 June 1897).
[30] National Archives of Canada [NAC], Records of the Department of Indian Affairs [RG 10], V. 6039, file 160-1, part 1, report from Martin Benson dated 5 July 1897.

Benson advocated that the Indian industrial schools required a change in the curriculum, whereby fewer trades were offered with a greater emphasis on agricultural instruction. According to Benson, the only difference between the boarding schools and the industrial schools was the cost. Echoing Sifton's preference for boarding schools, Benson stated that he did, "not see that it is called upon to make them all mechanics, merchants, teachers or clerks. The first thing to do is to teach them how to get their living from the soil."[31]

Benson's argument that the Indian industrial schools were a failure did not take into account other factors, which prevented First Nations children from achieving the goals that were expected of them by the colonizer. It is debatable that the accomplishments of the students of the Regina Indian Industrial School were as poor as mentioned by the Liberal government, or as successful as promoted by missionaries and some officials of the Department of Indian Affairs. However, there were numerous shortcomings to the Indian industrial schools that hampered the efforts of students. For example, it is likely that students at the Regina Indian Industrial School devoted more time to physical labour than study; hence their academic success was limited. The ideals of the colonizer were also unrealistic, given the circumstances that existed on many reserves. For example, many of the domestic skills taught to Aboriginal girls in the industrial schools would not have been practical in their home communities given the housing conditions on reserves.[32] Rather than acknowledging these factors, the

[31] NAC, RG 10, V. 6039, file 160-1, part 1, report from Martin Benson dated 5 July 1897.
[32] Pamela M. White, "Restructuring the Domestic Sphere – Prairie Indian Women on Reserves: Image, Ideology and State Policy, 1880-1930." (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 1987).

government adopted an approach that blamed the victim, which served to justify the change in curriculum. As Sifton stated, "[t]o educate children above the possibilities of their station, and create a distaste for what is certain to be their environment in life would be not only a waste of money but doing them an injury instead of conferring a benefit upon them."[33]

Parents of Indian children were frequently the objects of blame. Government officials and missionaries argued that parents exerted a negative influence on their children. Parents were accused of encouraging students to run away from school and of influencing graduates to return to traditional ways upon their return to the reserves. Once again, the government overlooked the reasons why parents resisted sending their children to the schools, including separation, disease, and high mortality. The government also blamed the churches and principals of the schools for failing to provide employment opportunities for the graduates. Martin Benson stated in his report that he believed the "religious denominations do not bestir themselves so far as I am aware, to secure employment for ex-pupils of their schools."[34] Benson was especially concerned with the future of female graduates:

> . . . what is to become of the educated Indian maiden . . . is she to be provided with a civilized husband by a fostering Government, or is she to return to the Reserve and become the bride of some uncivilized savage.[35]

The financial problems of the schools were also laid upon the churches. For example, the Regina Indian Industrial School accumulated a deficit of

---

[33] DIA, Annual Report for 1897, DIA, CSP (14), 1898, xxvii; quoted in Miller Shingwauk's Vision, 158.
[34] NAC, RG 10, V. 6039, file 160-1, part 1, report from Martin Benson dated 5 July 1897.
[35] NAC, RG 10, V. 6039, file 160-1, part 1, report from Martin Benson dated 5 July 1897.

$5941.62 by 1903 under the management of Principal Sinclair.[36] While the government was quick to assign the blame for the deficit to the principal, an investigation revealed that the per capita system imposed upon the school was also at fault. The Regina Indian Industrial School had experienced a steady decline in enrollment between 1900 and 1904, as the result of high illness and mortality rates, parents refused to send their children to the Regina industrial school. The result of low enrollment was a reduction in the per capita grant, translating into less money to run the school. Reluctantly, the Department of Indian Affairs agreed to cover the deficit; however, they also advocated that the Regina school should be closed. When the Presbyterian Church lobbied to keep the school open, Sifton granted a stay of execution for the Regina Indian Industrial School. The government also agreed to pay for the cost of the repairs to the school and increase the per capita grant. The school continued to accumulate deficits until Sinclair's death in 1905.

Finally, the ex-pupils of the schools were criticized for failing to successfully establish themselves after graduation. A memo from Martin Benson to J.D. MacLean in 1902 provided a rather ambiguous report on the graduates of the industrial schools. According to Benson, of the 1700 students that had been discharged from the schools, 506 were deceased, 249 "lost sight of", 139 were in poor health, 86 had been transferred to other schools, 121 had "turned out badly"

[36] E. Brian Titley, A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1986).

and only 599 were "said to be doing well".[37] A missionary with the Presbyterian Church noted in a letter that the graduates were unable to adjust to the reserve:

> . . . when these pupils return in a few years their ideas of life are so different from what they must meet at home that they too often sit down in despondency and do nothing. They come home inflated with such ideas of their own importance that they are unwilling to come down to plain hard work. The first few years are spent usually in such idleness that the habits thus formed are hard to remove.[38]

Thus it was the attitudes of the graduates that were portrayed as the problem. Clifford Sifton echoed the sentiment in the House of Commons, arguing once again that the graduates lacked the "physical, mental or moral get-up" to compete with Euro-Canadians.[39]

Once again government officials neglected to address other issues which affected the ability of the graduates to successfully establish themselves in Euro-Canadian society. For example, many settlers desired domestic servants, but preferred that government make arrangements to bring the "surplus supply of trained house servants in older lands" to Canada.[40] Racism and fear of competition were impediments to Aboriginal graduates obtaining employment.

Concerns over the Indian industrial schools intensified over the decade, culminating in policy changes which took effect in 1910. Duncan Campbell Scott, who was appointed as the Superintendent of Education in 1909, officially decided to slowly phase out the Indian industrial schools. Prior to Scott's appointment,

---

[37] NAC, RG 10, V. 3964, file 149, 874, memo from Martin Benson to J.D. MacLean dated 24 March 1902.
[38] UCA, PC, Foreign Mission Committee (FMC), Western Section (WS), box 3 file 53, 16 September 1903, McWhinney to R.P. MacKay; quoted in Miller, Shingwauk's Vision, 137.
[39] Clifford Sifton, House of Commons Debates, 1904, 6956, (18 July 1904).
[40] Jessie McEwen, "Home Life in the West", In Women of Canada: Their Life and Work, comp. National Council of Women of Canada (Ottawa: National Council of Women of Canada, 1900; reprint, Ottawa: National Council of Women of Canada, 1975), 33.

some of the least efficient schools, such as Calgary and St. Boniface, had already been closed down. The decision to phase out the Indian industrial schools marked a drastic shift in Indian educational policy. While previously the goal of Indian education had been to integrate Aboriginal peoples into the lower rungs of Euro-Canadian society, the new objective became one of segregation, exclusion, and marginalization. Contradicting years of government policy, Duncan Campbell Scott stated that it "was never the policy, nor the end aim of the endeavour to transform an Indian into a white man." Rather, Scott argued that the purpose of Indian education should be to "develop the great natural intelligence of the race and to fit the Indian for civilized life in his own environment."[41]

Sarah Carter argues that the Canadian government had become "obsessed" with segregating the Euro-Canadian and Aboriginal populations around the turn of the century.[42] This separation was accomplished physically through isolating First Nations on reserves. For example, the government implemented policies, such as the pass system, which excluded First Nations from participating in the prosperity of western Canada.[43] Carter points out that despite the efforts and aspirations of First Nations people to adapt to the new

[41] DIA, Annual Report for 1910, CSP (27), 1911, 273.
[42] Sarah Carter, Aboriginal Peoples and Colonizers of Western Canada to 1900 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 173.
[43] Although not officially implemented in the Indian Act, the Pass System was enforced by the Indian Agents and Mounted Police, preventing First Nations people from leaving their reserves unless they obtained permission.

agricultural economy, the government consistently preventing their success.[44] In effect, the closure of the Indian industrial schools was part of the process of excluding and marginalizing Aboriginal peoples.

Separation of First Nations and Euro-Canadians was also accomplished ideologically through the creation of negative imagery of Aboriginal peoples. The negative imagery and the discourse of failure, served to justify the marginalization of First Nations. Gender was also a focus of the discourse of failure as the government frequently depicted Aboriginal men and women as falling short of Euro-Canadian gender ideals of breadwinner and housewife. For example, Carter and White both argue that the government portrayed First Nations women as poor housekeepers.[45] In essence, First Nations women were compared to white Euro-Canadian women, who were purported to be better housekeepers than First Nations women. In reality, the government was shifting the blame for poor living conditions on under-funded reserves onto Aboriginal women. In a similar manner, the government described Aboriginal men as incapable of adapting to a sedentary, farming lifestyle. Yet research by both Carter and Buckley has demonstrated that many Aboriginal men were successful and dedicated farmers.

Ideologically, the negative discourses about Aboriginal peoples, including

---

[44] For elaborations of this argument, see for example Sarah Carter, Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990) and Helen Buckley, From Wooden Ploughs to Welfare: Why Indian Policy Failed in the Prairie Provinces (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

[45] Sarah Carter, "First Nations Women of Prairie Canada in the Early Reserve Years, the 1870s to the 1920s: A Preliminary Inquiry," In Women of the First Nations: Power, Wisdom and Strength, ed. Christine Miller and Patricia Chuchryk (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1996), 51-76 and White, "Restructuring the Domestic Sphere."

the graduates of the Indian industrial schools, created a sense of superiority for the colonized. Drawing upon post-colonial theorists Homi Bhabba and Albert Memmi, Rutherdale demonstrates a similar pattern in her research; when Aboriginal peoples have attempted to achieve the ideals of the colonizer, Euro-Canadian discourses have portrayed their efforts as inadequate.[46] Threatened by the image of the colonized emulating the colonizer, the colonizer creates an ideological distance between the colonizer and the colonized as a means of maintaining power.[47] The successful graduates of the Indian industrial schools were disconcerting to Euro-Canadians, who viewed themselves as superior to Aboriginal peoples.

The Regina Indian Industrial School, which had been under scrutiny for almost a decade, was closed in March of 1910, before Scott had even announced the change in policy. Arrangements were made for the students of the Regina Indian Industrial School to be sent to various boarding schools. Ironically, after the closure of the Regina Indian Industrial School, the building was used as a jail. Eventually, the facility would become the Paul Dojack Centre, a home for 'delinquent' boys, until it burnt down in the 1950s. A new building was eventually constructed on the grounds of the Regina Indian Industrial School which currently houses the Paul Dojack Youth Centre.

After 1910, the distinctions between the Indian industrial schools and the boarding schools became unclear, as both schools came to follow a similar

---

[46] Rutherdale, "Revisiting Colonization through Gender: Anglican Missionary Women in the Pacific Northwest and the Arctic, 1860-1945," BC Studies 104 (1994): 11.
[47] Albert Memmi, The Colonizer and the Colonized, expanded edition (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991), 70; quoted in Rutherdale, "Revisiting Colonization", 5.

curriculum. In 1923, the government phased out the terms boarding schools and industrial schools and replaced them with the name residential schools. In some respects, the curriculum of the residential schools continued the pattern established by the official and hidden curricula of the Indian industrial schools. The residential schools still endeavoured to instill Euro-Canadian values such as the work ethic and Christianity. The residential schools also continued to enforce Euro-Canadian gender ideologies such as the sexual division of labour and separation of boys and girls.[48] Boys continued to learn manual arts and instruction in agriculture while girls learned domestic skills. And as J.R. Miller notes, graduates of the residential schools were rarely encouraged to pursue a higher level of education after graduation.[49]

---

[49] J.R. Miller, Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 160.

Conclusion:

In the late Victorian era, the social construction of gender was an intrinsic part of the colonization of western Canada. Euro-Canadians desired to reproduce aspects of Victorian society and culture as part of nation building in the west. Transforming the gender roles, identities, and relations of First Peoples to mirror those of Euro-Canadian Victorian ideologies of gender became an instrumental aspect of the process of colonization and nation building. Formal education, such as the Indian industrial schools, was viewed as a means of assimilating First Nations.

Euro-Canadian gender ideologies of the late Victorian era had a profound influence on the curriculum of the Indian industrial schools of Western Canada. A case study of the official and hidden curricula of the Regina Indian Industrial School, which operated from 1891-1910, demonstrates ways in which Victorian gender ideologies shaped the curriculum. Through the curriculum, Euro-Canadians endeavoured to produce and reproduce their own ideologies of gender, as a means of reconstructing Aboriginal systems of gender.

Euro-Canadian ideologies of gender were largely derived from the middle classes of industrial England and were transplanted in Canada through imperialism and immigration. Euro-Canadians adopted Victorian ideologies of gender, even though they often did not fit in with the reality of the British colony, which was largely rural and agricultural. Thus, there were many contradictions in Victorian ideologies of gender.

A prominent characteristic of Victorian ideologies of gender was the cult of domesticity. The cult of domesticity projected an image of an ideal Christian marriage, family, and home, whereby men and women each had specific roles. One of the main goals of the Industrial schools was to educate First Nations boys and girls so that they would replicate the cult of domesticity. Government and church officials hoped that graduates of the Indian industrial schools would form monogamous Christian marriages and establish ideal Victorian families and households. Church and government officials of Canada believed that girls required a Christian Euro-Canadian education to become suitable companions to male graduates of the Indian industrial schools.

The ideal of separate spheres was also reproduced through the curriculum of the Indian industrial schools. Separate spheres originally related to the separation of the home and workplace during industrialization in England. However, separate spheres came to be largely associated with gender, even in contexts where industrialization had little influence. Both the curriculum and the hidden curriculum of the Indian industrial schools ensured that First Nations students were continuously exposed to this ideal. As co-educational institutions, the industrial schools kept boys and girls separate from each other most of the time. The structural design of the Regina Indian industrial school, for example, ensured that the students had separate entrances and playgrounds. As well, the male and female students engaged in separate vocational and recreational activities.

The sexual division of labour was thus another aspect of Euro-Canadian Victorian ideologies of gender that was enforced through the curriculum of the Indian industrial schools of western Canada. Through the half-day system, boys and girls were taught that they were expected to fulfill different social and economic roles. Boys were trained in agriculture and various trades such as carpentry, blacksmithing, and printing to prepare them for future roles as breadwinners. Girls, on the other hand were socialized to serve others as housewives, mothers, and domestic servants. The sexual division of labour was emphasized through the vocational as well as through the subject of ethics within the academic component of the official curriculum.

The hidden curriculum of the Indian industrial schools also worked to socially construct Euro-Canadian, Victorian ideals of masculinity and femininity. Through recreational activities such as military drills and sports, boys were taught to be assertive and aggressive. Boys were expected to prove themselves through sports and hard work; their masculine identity was to centre on their ability to support their future families as husbands, fathers, and workers. Victorians associated women were physically weak in comparison to men, and thus the girls of the Indian industrial schools were not permitted to engage in most of the same recreational activities as boys. Instead, girls were encouraged to participate in religious and charitable activities as well as activities such as lace making, which cultivated patience, cleanliness, and domesticity.

Victorian ideologies of gender were largely produced by the middle class, who sought to preserve their own identities and positions of power though

creating both a physical and ideological division between themselves and the lower classes. At the same time, the Euro-Canadian middle class desired to assimilate those groups of people who were different, including Aboriginal peoples, immigrants, and the poor among others. Education was used by the Euro-Canadian middle class as a tool for changing any group that did not conform to middle-class standards and ideals.

The Indian industrial schools of western Canada were modeled after the industrial schools for juvenile "delinquents" and orphans of England and Aboriginal children in eastern Canada and the United States. The curriculum of the western Indian industrial schools was designed to transform Aboriginal students of the prairies into skilled worker who would support Euro-Canadian settlers in establishing themselves in the west. Yet at the same time that Euro-Canadians wanted many Aboriginal peoples to form a prairie proletariat, they also endeavoured to impose their own middle-class values on Aboriginal students. For example, girls of the Regina Indian Industrial School were taught elements of the middle-class accomplishments education. Boys engaged in brass bands, rugby, and military drills, activities which stem from education for middle-class boys in England. These activities were also to prepare First Nations boys for war; in fact, after graduation, several former male students of the Regina Indian industrial school served as soldiers in the Boer War and World War I.

Last but not least, a fundamental trait of Victorian ideologies of gender was binary oppositions. Victorians defined men and women in opposition to one another; men for example were viewed as rational while women were seen as

intuitive. The concept of binary oppositions was also applied to colonization, when Euro-Canadians created images of colonized peoples as inferior to whites. These images served to justify the exploitation and assimilation of Aboriginal peoples. However, if the colonized people showed signs of success, such as many of the graduates of the industrial schools, the colonizer became threatened and endeavoured to create a physical and an ideological distance between the colonizer and the colonized.

This study has provided an opportunity to further explore gender and colonization within the context of the Indian industrial schools of western Canada. Previous studies of Indian industrial schools of western Canada have not focused specifically on the topic of gender. Yet the Indian industrial schools were developed and operated during the late Victorian era, a time when gender ideals and ideologies were experiencing dramatic shifts due to colonization, resistance, and economic change. Thus, a study of Victorian gender ideologies and the curriculum of the Regina Indian industrial schools offers an opportunity to enrich our understanding of gender and colonization.

An area of future research and study relates to the success of the graduates of the Indian industrial schools. Analysis of archival documents pertaining to the Regina and other Indian industrial schools demonstrates that many graduates were very successful at farming and skilled occupations. This evidence contradicts the assumptions that industrial schools were largely failures at educating First Nations students. These records need to be further analyzed to determine how the negative imagery of the schools and the graduates may

have been falsely constructed in order to justify closing the industrial schools, thereby contributing further to the marginalization of First Nations in western Canada.

Repositories of Primary Sources:

National Archives of Canada, Ottawa
Record Group 10 - Records of the Department of Indian Affairs
Red series and School Files

Office of the Treaty Commissioner Collection, Saskatchewan Indian Federated College Library, Saskatoon
Annual reports of the Presbyterian Church of Canada

Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina and Saskatoon (SAB)
Photograph collection
Paul Dojack Youth Centre: Historical Essay (1985) SAB E1982
The Progress
Register of Students who attended the Regina Indian Industrial School
Presbyterian Church Records – Women's Home Mission Society

Special Collections, University of Saskatchewan Library
The Presbyterian Record

United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto
Records of the Presbyterian Church in Canada Papers
Foreign Missions Committee, Western Section, Indian Work in Manitoba and the North West

University of Saskatchewan Library – Government Publications
Hansard, House of Commons Debates
Canada Sessional Papers, Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Reports

Bibliography:

Albers, Patricia, and Beatrice Medicine, eds. The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women. Lanham: University Press of America, 1983.

Anderson, Kim. A Recognition of Being: Reconstructing Native Womanhood. Toronto: Second Story Press, 2000.

Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies. New York: Routledge, 1998.

Austin, B.F., ed. Woman: Maiden, Wife and Mother: A Study of Woman's Worth and Work in all Departments of her Manifold Life, Education, Business, Society, Housekeeping, Health, Physical Culture, Marriage and Kindred Matters. Prepared for the Canadian Council of Women and Victorian Order of Nurses. Toronto: Linscott, 1898. Text-fiche.

Axelrod, Paul. The Promise of Schooling: Education in Canada, 1800-1914. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.

Axtell, James, ed. The Indian Peoples of Eastern America: A Documentary History of the Sexes. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Baird, Andrew Browning. The Indians of Western Canada. Toronto: Canada Presbyterian, 1895.

Barman, Jean. "Separate and Unequal: Indian and White Girls at All Hallows School, 1884-1920." In Indian Education in Canada: Volume 1: The Legacy, ed. Jean Barman, Yvonne Hebert, and Don McCaskill, 110-131. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986.

Barman, Jean. "Schooled for Inequality: The Education of British Columbia Aboriginal Children."In Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia, ed. Jean Barman, Neil Sutherland, and J. Donald Wilson, 57-80. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1995.

Bartley, Paula. The Changing Role of Women 1815 – 1914. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1996.

Bennett, Paul W. "Turning 'Bad Boys' into 'Good Citizens': The Reforming Impulse of Toronto's Industrial Schools Movement, 1883 to the 1920s." Ontario History 73, n. 3 (September 1986): 209-232.

Brass, Eleanor. "Indian School's Fine Record." Regina Leader Post (July 8, 1955): 15.

Brass, Eleanor. I Walk in Two Worlds. Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1987.

Brown, Jennifer, S.H. Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Families in Indian Country. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980.

Buckley, Helen. From Wooden Ploughs to Welfare: Why Indian Policy Failed in the Prairie Provinces. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

Burr, Vivien. An Introduction to Social Constructionism. New York: Routledge, 1995.

Burstyn, Joan N. Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood. London: Croom Helm, 1980.

Canada. Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples: Volume One: Looking Forward, Looking Back. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1996.

Canada. Treaty Number Four Between Her Majesty the Queen and the Cree and Saulteaux Tribes of Indians at Qu'Appelle and Fort Ellice. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1874. Reprint, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966.

Canada. Treaty Number Seven Between Her Majesty the Queen and the Blackfeet and Other Indian Tribes at the Blackfoot Crossing of Bow River and Fort McLeod. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1877. Reprint, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966.

Carter, Sarah. "Demonstrating Success: The File Hills Farm Colony." Prairie Forum 16, no. 2 (Fall 1991): 157-183.

Carter, Sarah. Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990.

Carter, Sarah. "First Nations Women of Prairie Canada in the Early Reserve Years, the 1870s to the 1920s: A Preliminary Inquiry." In Women of the First Nations: Power, Wisdom and Strength, ed. Christine Miller and Patricia Chuchryk, 51-76. Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1996.

Carter, Sarah. Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.

Carter, Sarah. Aboriginal People and Colonizers of Western Canada to 1900. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

Cartwright, M. "The Education of English-Speaking Canadians: Some General Considerations." In Women of Canada: Their Life and Work, comp. National Council of Women of Canada, 109-111. Ottawa: National Council of Women of Canada, 1900. Reprint, Ottawa: National Council of Women of Canada, 1975.

Carty, Linda. "The Discourse of Empire and the Social Construction of Gender." In Scratching the Surface: Canadian Anti-Racist Feminist Thought, ed. Enakshi Dua and Angela Robertson, 35-47. Toronto: Women's Press, 1999.

Coleman, Michael C. Presbyterian Missionary Attitudes Toward American Indians, 1837-1893. Jackson, University Press of Mississippi, 1985.

Comacchio, Cynthia R. The Infinite Bonds of Family: Domesticity in Canada, 1850-1940. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1999.

Cook, Ramsay, and Wendy Mitchinson, eds. The Proper Sphere: Women's Place in Canadian Society. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976.

Curtis, Bruce. "The Normalization of Educational Relations in Ontario, Canada." In Handbook of Educational Ideas and Practices, ed. N.J. Entwistle, 143-153. London: Routledge, 1990.

Danylewycz, Marta. "Domestic Science Education in Ontario." In An Imperfect Past: Education and Society in Canadian History, ed. J. Donald Wilson, 67-121. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, 1984.

Davidoff, Leonore, and Catherine Hall. Family Fortunes, Men and Women of the English Middle-Class, 1780-1850. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Davidoff, Leonore. Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class. New York: Routledge, 1995.

Davin, Nicholas Flood. Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Halfbreeds. (March 14, 1879).

Deiter, Constance. From Our Mothers' Arms: The Intergenerational Impact of Residential Schools in Saskatchewan. Etobicoke, ON: United Church Publishing House, 1999.

de la Cour, Lykke, Cecilia Morgan, and Mariana Valverde. "Gender and State Formation in Nineteenth Century Canada." In Colonial Leviathon: State Formation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Canada, ed. Allan Greer and Ian Radforth, 163-190. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.

Devens, Carol. Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Devens, Carol. "Separate Confrontations: Gender as a Factor in Indian Adaptation to European Colonization in New France." In Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History, 3d ed., ed. Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman, 11-32. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Dickason, Olive Patricia. Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times. 2nd. ed. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Dyhouse, Carol. Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981.

Epstein, Barbara Leslie. The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America. Middleton, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1981.

Errington, Elizabeth Jane. Wives and Mothers, Schoolmistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790-1840. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.

Etienne, Mona, and Eleanor Leacock, eds. Women and Colonization: Anthropological Perspectives. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1980.

Fiske, Jo-Anne. "And Then We Prayed Again: Carrier Women, Colonization, and Mission Schools." Master's thesis, University of British Columbia, 1981.

Fiske, Jo-Anne. "Gender and the Paradox of Residential Education in Carrier Society." In Women of the First Nations: Power, Wisdom and Strength, eds. Christine Miller and Patricia Chuchryk, 167-182. Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1996.

Forget, Henriette. "The Indian Women of the Western Provinces." In Women of Canada: Their Life and Work, comp. National Council of Women of Canada, 435-437. Ottawa: National Council of Women of Canada, 1900. Reprint, Ottawa: National Council of Women of Canada, 1975.

Freire, Paulo. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York: Continuum Press, 1970.

Friesen, Gerald. The Canadian Prairies: A History. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.

Ginzberg, Lori D. Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.

Gorham, Deborah. The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982.

Gomersall, Meg. Working-class Girls in Nineteenth Century England: Life, Work and Schooling. London: Macmillan Press, 1997.

Goulden, Greg C. and Danen S. Connell. "Paul Dojack Youth Centre: Historical Essay." 1985, unpublished paper.

Grant, Agnes. No End of Grief: Indian Residential Schools in Canada. Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1996.

Grant, John Webster. "Two-Thirds of the Revenue: Presbyterian Women and Native Indian Missions." In Changing Roles of Women within the Christian Church in Canada, ed. Elizabeth Gillan Muir and Marilyn Fardig Whiteley, 100-116. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.

Gresko (Kennedy), Jacqueline. "White 'Rites' and Indian 'Rites': Indian Education and Native Responses in the West, 1870-1910." In Western Canada: Past and Present ed. A.W. Rasporich, 163-181. Calgary: McLelland and Stewart West, 1975.

Guthrie-Valaskakis, Gail. "Sacajawea and Her Sisters: Images and Native Women." Canadian Journal of Native Education 23, no. 1 (1999): 117-135.

Guildford, Janet, and Suzanne Morton, eds. Separate Spheres: Women's Worlds in the Nineteenth-Century Maritimes. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994.

Haig-Brown, Celia. Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School. Vancouver: Tillacum, 1988.

Heap, Ruby, and Alison Prentice, eds. Gender and Education in Ontario. Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press, 1991.

Hall, D.J. "Clifford Sifton and Canadian Indian Administration 1896-1905." Prairie Forum 2, no. 2 (1977): 127-150.

Hall, D.J. Clifford Sifton. Volume I: The Young Napoleon, 1861-1900. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1981.

Houston, Susan, and Alison Prentice. Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario. Toronto: Ontario Historical Studies Series, Government of Ontario, 1988.

Hryniuk, Margaret. "A Tower of Attraction": An Illustrated History of Government House, Regina, Saskatchewan. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1991.

Hunt, Felicity, ed. Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women, 1850-1950. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1987.

Jamieson, Kathleen. "Sex Discrimination and the Indian Act." In Arduous Journey: Canadian Indians and Decolonization ed. J. R. Ponting (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1988), 112-136.

Kennedy (Gresko), Jacqueline. "Qu'Appelle Industrial School: White 'Rites' for the Indians of the Old North-West." Master's thesis, Carleton University, 1970.

Kerber, Linda K. "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History." Journal of American History 75, no. 1 (June 1988): 9-39.

Kirkness, Verna J. First Nations and Schools: Triumphs and Struggles. Toronto: Canadian Education Association, 1992.

Klein, Laura F., and Lillian A. Ackerman. Women and Power in Native North America. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1995.

Leacock, Eleanor Burke. Myths of Male Dominance: Collected Articles on Women Cross-Culturally. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1981.

Light, Beth, and Alison Prentice, eds. Pioneer and Gentlewomen of British North America, 1713-1867. Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1980.

Littlefield, Lorraine. "Women Traders in the Maritime Fur Trade." In Native People, Native Lands: Canadian Indians, Inuit and Metis, ed. Bruce Alden Cox, 173-185, Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1988.

McClintock, Anne. Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest. London: Routledge, 1995.

McDonald, Neil. "Egerton Ryerson and the School as an Agent of Political Socialization." In Egerton Ryerson and His Times, ed. Neil McDonald and Alf Chaiton, 81-106. Toronto: MacMillan, 1978.

McEwen, Jessie. "Home Life in the West." In Women of Canada: Their Life and Work. National Council of Women of Canada, compiler, 31-33. Ottawa: National Council of Women of Canada, 1900. Reprint, Ottawa: The National Council of Women of Canada, 1975.

McKillop, A.B. A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979.

McPherson, Kathryn, Cecilia Morgan, and Nancy M. Forestell. eds. Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada, eds. Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan, and Nancy M. Forestell, 1-11. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Mangan, J.A., and James Walvin, eds. Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.

Martin, Jane Roland. Reclaiming a Conversation: The Ideal of the Educated Woman. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

Memmi, Albert. The Colonizer and the Colonized. Expanded edition. Boston: Beacon Press, 1991.

Miller, J. R. "Reading Photographs, Reading Voices: Documenting the History of Native Residential Schools." In Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History, ed. Jennifer S.H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert, 460-482. Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1996.

Miller, J. R. Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.

Milloy, John S. A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999.

Minh-ha, Trinh T. Woman, Native, Other: Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989.

Mitchinson, Wendy. The Nature of their Bodies: Women and their Doctors in Victorian Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

Moran, Bridget. Stoney Creek Woman: The Story of Mary John. Vancouver: Tillacum Library,1988.

Morgan, Cecilia. Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.

Morris, Alexander. The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories. Toronto: Belfords Clark, 1880. Facsimile, Toronto: Coles Publishing, 1979.

National Council of Women of Canada, comp. Women of Canada: Their Life and Work. Ottawa: National Council of Women of Canada, 1900. Reprint, Ottawa: National Council of Women of Canada, 1975.

Nelson, E.D., and Barrie W. Robinson. Gender in Canada. Scarborough: Prentice Hall, Allyn and Bacon, 1999.

Ng, Roxana. "Racism, Sexism, and Nation Building in Canada." In Race, Identity and Representation in Education, eds. Cameron McCarthy and Warren Crichlow, 50-59. New York: Routledge, 1993.

Niezen, Ronald. Spirit Wars: Native North American Religions in the Age of Nation-Building. Berkeley: University of California, 2000.

Parr, Joy. The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.

Parr, Joy, and Mark Rosenfeld, eds. Gender and History in Canada. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1996.

Parr, Joy. "Gender History and Historical Practice." In Gender and History in Canada, eds. Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld, 8-27. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1996.

Perkin, Joan. Victorian Women. New York: New York University Press, 1995.

Perry, Adele. On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.

Pettit, Jennifer Loretta. "'To Christianize and Civilize': Native Industrial Schools in Canada." Ph. D. diss., University of Calgary, 1997.

Phillips, Charles E. The Development of Education in Canada. Toronto: W.J. Gage and Company Ltd., 1957.

Pierson, Ruth Roach, Nupur Chaudhuri, and Beth McAuley, eds. Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998.

Poovey, Mary. Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988.

Potter, Jonathon, and Margaret Wetherell. "Social Representations, Discourse Analysis, and Racism." In The Psychology of the Social, ed. Uwe Flick, 138-155. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Prentice, Alison L., and Susan E. Houston, eds. Family, School and Society in Nineteenth-Century Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975.

Prentice, Alison. The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977.

Purvis, June. A History of Women's Education in England. Buckingham: Open University Press, 1991.

Purvis, June. Hard Lessons: The Lives and Education of Working-Class Women in Nineteenth-Century England. Oxford: Polity Press, 1989

Ray, Arthur J. I Have Lived Here Since the World Began: An Illustrated History of Canada's Native People. Toronto: Lester Publishing, 1996.

Roper, Michael, and John Tosh, eds. Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain Since 1800. London: Routledge, 1991.

Rose, Sonyo O. Limited Livelihoods: Gender and Class in Nineteenth-Century England. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Rotundo, E. Anthony. "Learning About Manhood: Gender Ideals and the Middle-Class Family in Nineteenth Century America." In Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940, eds. J. A. Mangan and James Walvin, 35-51. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.

Royce, Marion V. "Arguments for the Education of Girls – Their Admission to Grammar Schools in this Province." Ontario History 67 (March 1975): 1-13.

Rury, John L. "Historical Inquiry." In Qualitative Research in Education: An Introduction to the Major Traditions, ed. David F. Lancy, 247-269. White Plains, NY: Longman Publishing, 1993.

Rutherdale, Myra. "Revisiting Colonization through Gender: Anglican Missionary Women in the Pacific Northwest and the Arctic, 1860-1945. B.C. Studies 104 (1994): 3-23.

Rutherdale, Myra. "Models of G/race and Boundaries of Gender: Anglican Women Missionaries in Canada's North 1860-1945." Canadian Woman Studies/Les Cahiers de la Femme 14, no. 4, (1994): 44-47.

Scotland, James. The History of Scottish Education, Volume One: From the Beginning to 1872. London: University of London Press, 1969.

Scott, Joan Wallach. Gender and the Politics of History. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.

Scott-Brown, Joan. "The Short Life of St. Dunstan's Calgary Industrial School, 1896-1907." Canadian Journal of Native Education 14, no. 1 (1987): 41-49.

Selles, Johanna M. Methodists and Women's Education in Ontario, 1836-1925. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996.

Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Springhall, John. "Building Character in the British Boy: The Attempt to Extend Christian Manliness to Working-Class Adolescents, 1880-1914." In Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940, ed. J. A. Mangan and James Walvin, 52-74. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.

Stoler, Laura Ann. Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things. Durham: Duke University Press, 1995.

Sutherland, Neil. Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus. Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier Press, 2000.

Theobald, Marjorie R. "The Sin of Laura: The Meaning of Culture in the Education of Nineteenth-Century Women." Journal of the Canadian Historical Association 1 (1990): 257-271.

Titley, Brian E. "Duncan Campbell Scott and Indian Education Policy." In An Imperfect Past: Education and Society in Canadian History, ed. J. Donald Wilson, 141-153. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, 1984.

Titley, Brian E. "Indian Industrial Schools in Western Canada." In Schools in the West: Essays in Canadian Educational History, ed. Nancy M. Sheehan, J. Donald Wilson, and David C. Jones, 133-154. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1986.

Titley, Brian E. Duncan Campbell Scott A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986.

Titley, Brian E. "Red Deer Indian Industrial School: A Case Study in the History of Native Education." In Exploring our Educational Past: Schooling in the Northwest Territories and Alberta, ed. Nick Kach and Kas Mazurek, 55-72: Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1992.

Tobias, John L. "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy." Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology 6, no. 2 (1976): 13-30.

Tosh, John. A Man's Place. Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Tozer, Malcolm D.W. "That Humpty Dumpty World: Manliness in the Victorian Era." Vitae Scholasticae: The Bulletin of Educational Biography 10, no. 1 and 2 (Spring/Fall 1991): 75-84.

Turnbull, Ann Marie. "Learning Her Womanly Work: The Elementary School Curriculum, 1870-1914." In Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women, 1850-1950, ed. Felicity Hunt, 83-100. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1987.

Tyack, David, and Elizabeth Hansot. A History of Coeducation in American Schools. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.

Valenze, Deborah. The First Industrial Woman. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Vallery, H. J. A History of Indian Education in Canada. Master's Thesis, Queen's University, 1942.

Valverde, Mariana. The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991.

Van Kirk, Sylvia. Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870. Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer Publishing Ltd., 1980.

Van Kirk, Sylvia. "The Role of Native Women in the Fur Trade Society of Western Canada, 1670-1830." In Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History, 3d ed., eds. Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman, 70-78. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Vibert, Elizabeth. "Real Men Hunt Buffalo: Masculinity, Race and Class in British Fur Traders' Narratives." In Gender and History in Canada, eds. Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld, 50-67. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1996.

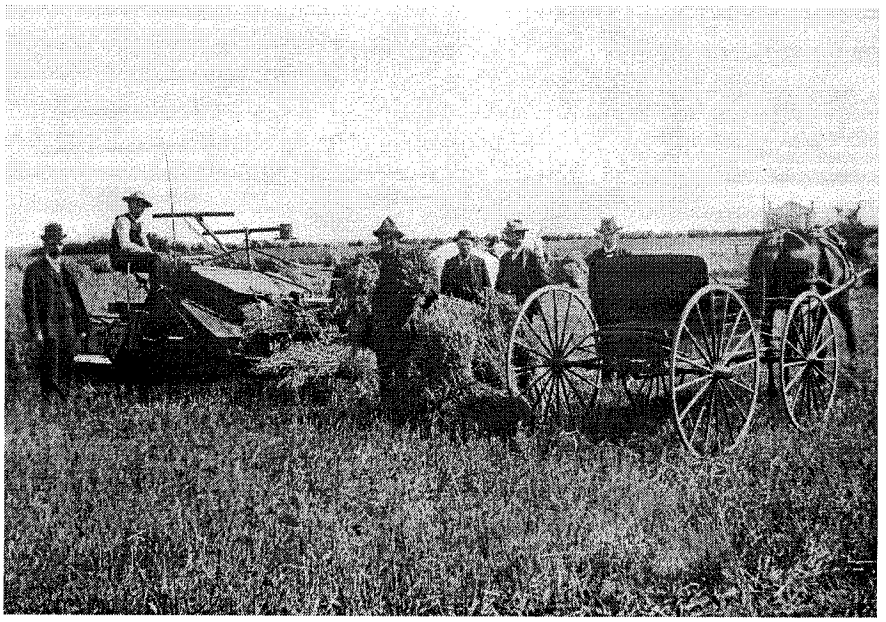
Wasylow, Walter Julian. "History of Battleford Industrial School for Indians." Master's Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1972.

White, Pamela Margaret. "Restructuring the Domestic Sphere – Prairie Indian Women on Reserves: Image, Ideology and State Policy, 1880-1930." Ph. D. diss., McGill University, 1987.

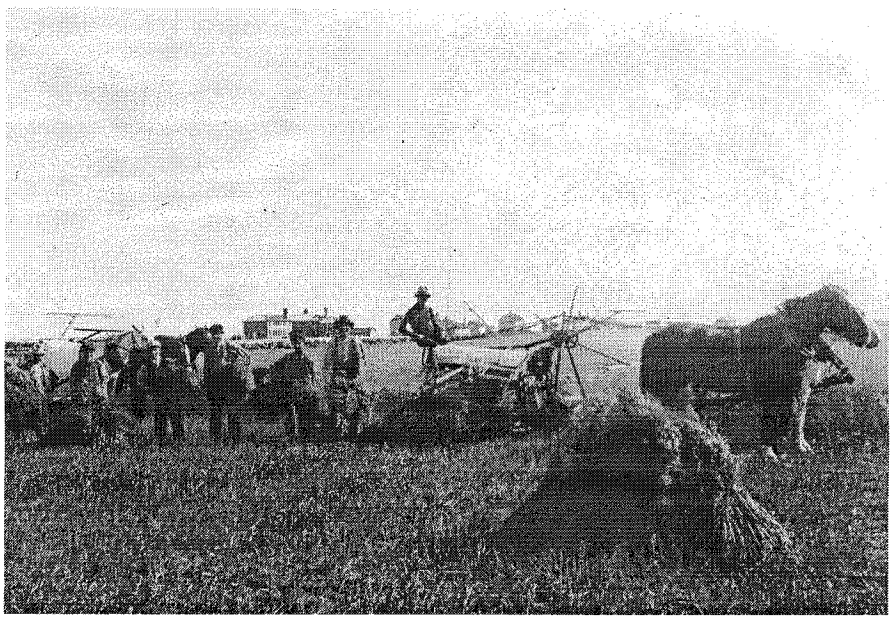
Wilson, J. Donald, Robert M. Stamp, and Louis-Phillipe Audet. Canadian Education: A History. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970.

Appendix A:

Additional photographs of the Regina Indian Industrial School

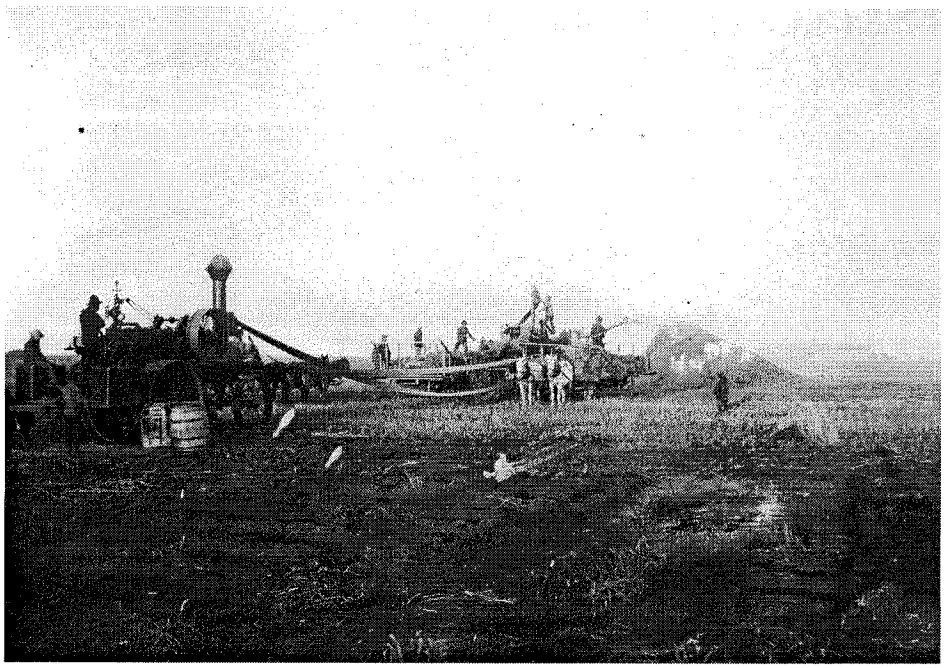


Harvesting, SAB R-A21264-2

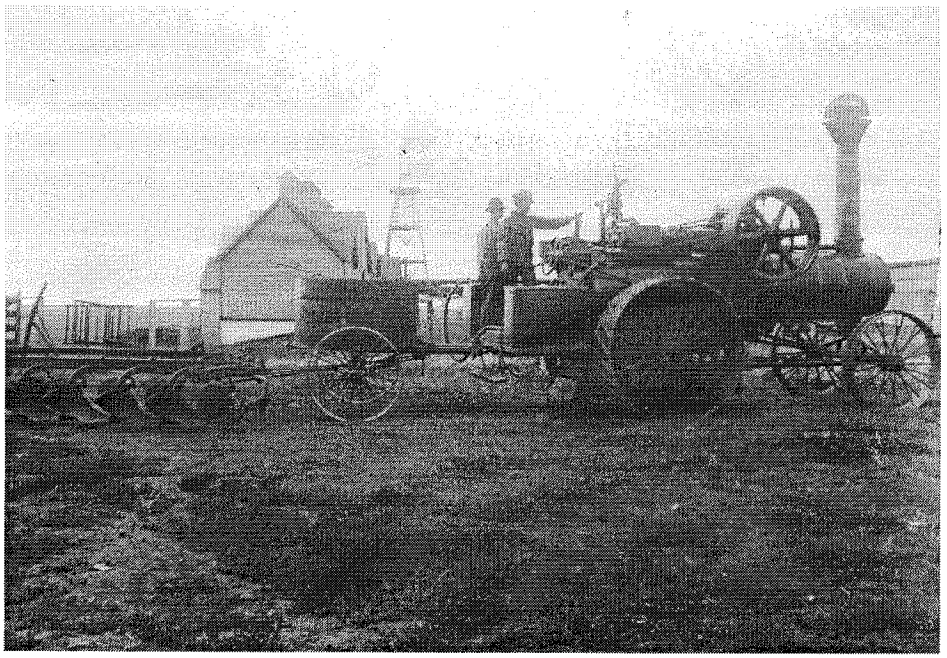


Harvesting, SAB R-A21264-1

Harvesting, SAB R-A21264-5



Harvesting, SAB, R-A21264-3



Harvesting, SAB, R-A21264-4

Girls at the school, c. 1905, SAB R-A2686

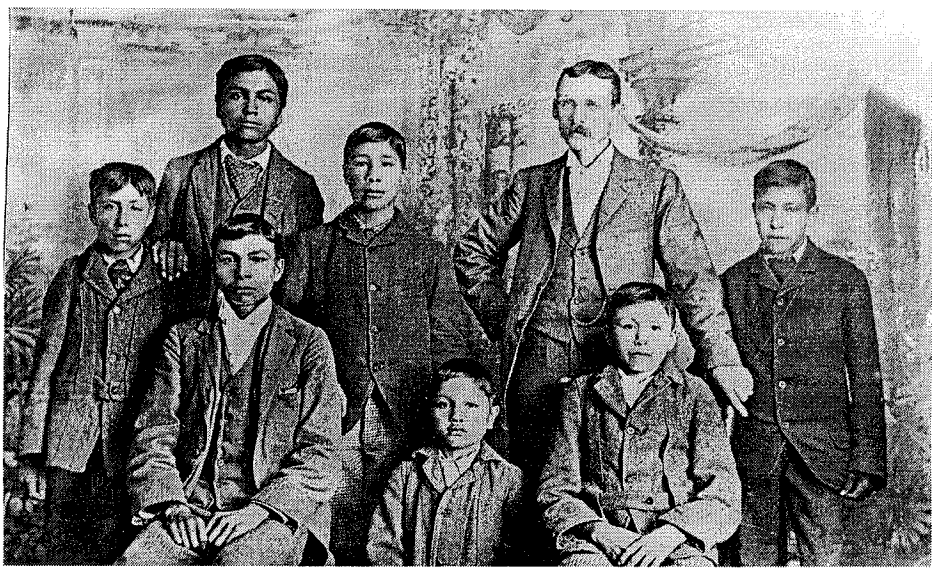
Sewing room, c. 1905, SAB, R-A2678

Dietician and helpers in kitchen of school, SAB R-a2677

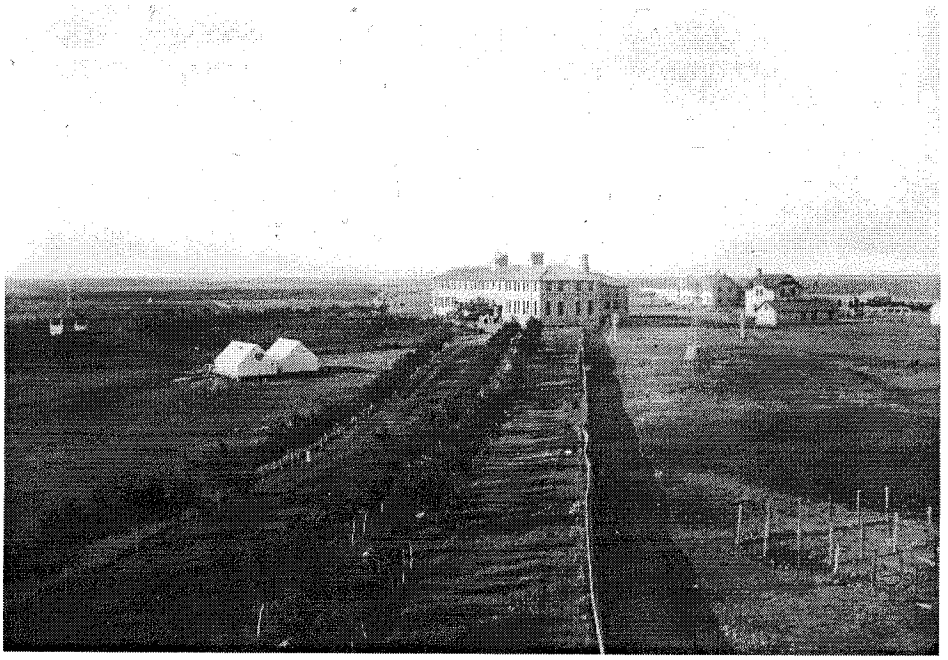
Yellow Shield, small boy, pupil at RIS, c. 1905, SAB, R-A2691

Gladys Nowekeswape, daughter of Herman Nowekeswape and Sawin Snow, first graduates of RIS, SAB, R-B991

Group of pupils and teachers, SAB, R-a1877-2

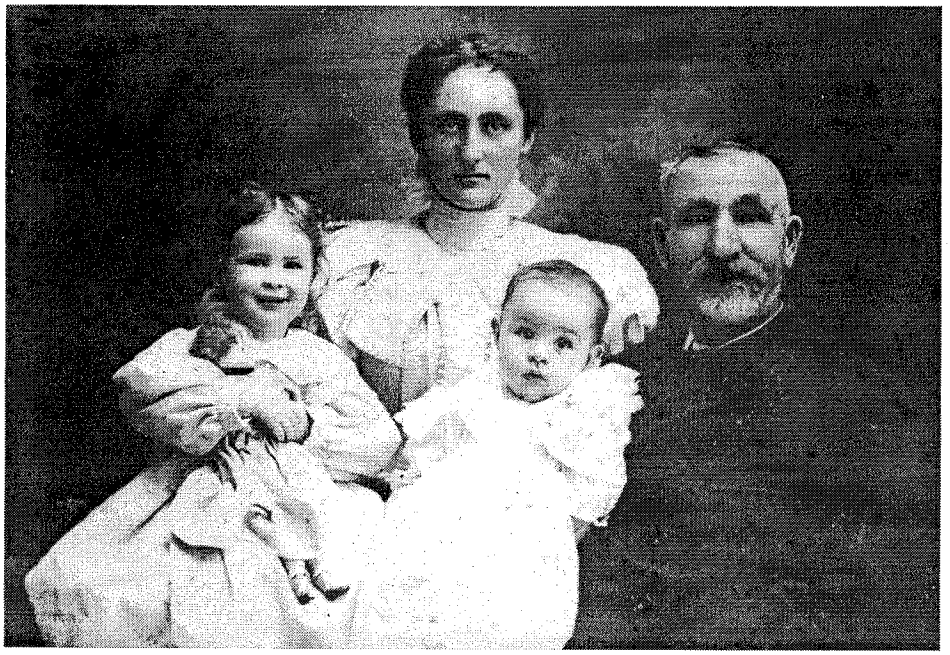


Class of printers with instructor, 1897, SAB, R-A1877-1



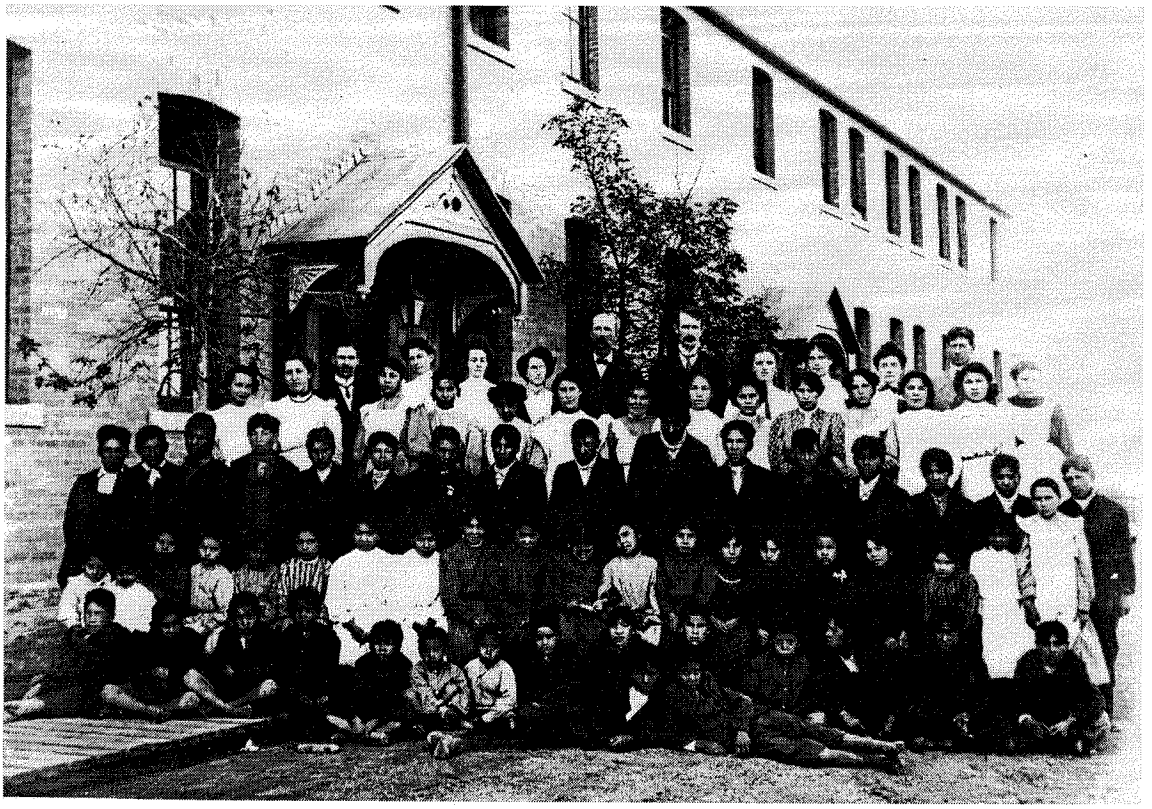
Tents for children suffering from TB, SAB, R-A21262-1

Reverend John A. Sinclair, Principal, RIS, 1900-1905, SAB, R-A21258



Mrs. John A. Sinclair,(nee Laura McCuthcheon), with father and children, SAB, R-A21250

Visiting day, RIS, SAB, R-A21263



Indian Industrial School Regina, SAB, R-B2507

PROGRAMME OF STU

THE Programme of studies herein prescribed shall be followed by the te[a]cher as far
shall be made only with the

SUBJECT.	STANDARD I.	STANDARD II.	STANDARD III.
English.	Word recognition and sentence-making. Simple sounds of letters of alphabet. Copying words.	Sounds continued. Sentence-making continued. Orthography, oral and written. Dictation of words learnt and of simple sentences.	Sounds complete[d]. Simple homonyms exp[l]ained. Sentence-making co[n]tinued. Orthography, oral and written. Sentences dictate[d]. Compose sentences about objects and actions.
General knowledge.	Facts concerning things in school. Develop what is already known. Days of week, month.	The seasons. Measures of length and weight in common use. Colours. Commence animal and vegetable kingdoms, their parts and uses, cultivation, growth, &c. Things in and about the school and their parts.	Animal and vegeta[b]le kingdoms continued. Mo[n]ey. The useful metals.
Writing	Elementary strokes and words on slates. Large round hand.	Words, &c., on slates. Large round hand.	Slates and copy book No. 1. Medium round h[a]nd.
Arithmetic. ..	Numbers 1 to 10: their combinations and separations, oral and written. The signs +, −, ×, ÷. Count to 10 by ones, twos, threes, &c. Use and meaning one-half, one-third, one-tenth. Making and showing one-half, one-fourth, one-eighth, one third, one-sixth, one-ninth, one-fifth, one-tenth, one-seventh (no figures). Simple problems, oral.	Numbers 10 to 25: their combinations and separations (oral and written.) Count to 25 by ones, twos, threes, &c. Use and meaning of one-half, one-third, one-fourth, &c., to one-twenty-fifth (no figures). Relation of halves, fourths, eighths, thirds, sixths, twelfths, ninths (no figures). Simple problems, introducing gallons in peck, pecks in bushel, months in year, inches in foot, pound, current coins up to 25c. Addition in columns, no total to exceed 25.	Numbers 25 to 10[0]: their combinations and separations, oral and writte[n]. Count to 100 by ones, two[s], threes, &c., to tens. Use a[n]d meaning of one-twenty-sixth, one-twenty-seventh, &c., t[o] one-one-hundredth (no fig[u]res). Addition, subtraction division and partition of frac[t]ions of Standard II. Roma[n] numerals I to C. Simple problems, introducing second[s] in minutes, minutes in hours, hours in day, pounds in bush[e]l, sheets in quire, quires in r[e]am.
Geography....	.....	.....	Development of geographical notions by ref[e]rence to geographical featu[r]es of neighbourhood. El[e]mentary lessons on direct[i]on, distance, extent.

as the circumstances of his school permit. Any modifications deemed necessary concurrence of the department.

Standard IV.	Standard V.	Standard VI.
Sounds reviewed. Sentence enlargement. Orthography, oral and written. Letter-writing. Simple composition, oral and written, reviewing work on general knowledge course.	Enlargement and correction of sentences continued. Orthography, oral and written. Letter-writing continued. Easy, oral and written, composition, reviewing general knowledge course.	Analysis of simple sentences. Parts of speech. Orthography, oral and written. Letter-writing continued. Oral and written composition, reviewing general knowledge course.
Animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms continued. Uses of railways and ships. Explain manufacture of articles in common use. The races of man.	Same enlarged. Laws regarding fires, game, &c., of daily use.	Social relations. Seats of Government in Canada. System of representation and justice. Commerce and exchange of products.
Copy-books Nos. 2 and 3. Medium round hand.	Copy-books Nos. 4 and 5. Small round hand.	Copy-books Nos. 6 and 7. Small round hand.
Numeration and notation to 10,000. Simple rules to 10,000. Addition, subtraction, division and partition of fractions already known (figures). Introduce terms numerator, denominator, &c. Roman notation to 2,000. Graded problems, introducing remaining reduction tables. Daily practice in simple rules to secure accuracy and rapidity.	Notation and numeration completed. Formal reduction. Vulgar fraction to thirtieths. Denominate fractions. Daily practice to secure accuracy and rapidity in simple rules. Graded problems. Reading and writing decimals to thousandths inclusive.	Factors, measures and multiples. Vulgar fractions completed. Easy application of decimals to tenthousandths. Easy application of square and cubic measures. Daily practice to secure accuracy and rapidity in simple rules. Easy application of percentage. Graded problems.
(*a*) Review of work of Standard III. Lessons to lead to simple conception of the earth as a great ball, with surface of land and water, surrounded by the air, lighted by the sun, and with two motions. (*b*) Lessons on natural features, first from observation, afterwards by aid of moulding-board, pictures and blackboard illustrations. (*c*) Preparation for and introduction of maps. (Review of lessons in position, distance, direction, with representations drawn to scale.) Study of map of vicinity drawn on blackboard. Maps of natural features drawn from moulded forms. Practice in reading conventional map symbols on outline maps.	Simple study of the important countries in each continent. Province in which school is situated and Canada to be studied first. The position of the country in the continent; its natural features, climate, productions, its people, their occupations, manners, customs, noted localities, cities, &c. Moulding-boards and map-drawing to be aids in the study.	(*a*) The earth as a globe. Simple illustrations and statements with reference to form, size, meridians and parallels, with their use; motions and their effects, as day and night, seasons, zones, with their characteristics, as winds and ocean currents, climate as affecting the life of man. (*b*) Physical features and conditions of North America, South America and Europe, studied and compared. Position on the globe; position, relative to other grand divisions, size, form, surface, drainage, animal and vegetable life, resources, &c. Natural advantages of the cities.

PROGRAMME OF STU

THE Programme of studies herein prescribed shall be followed by the

SUBJECT.	STANDARD I.	STANDARD II.	STANDARD III.
Geography.....	.....	.....	Development of geographical notions by reference to geographical features of neighbourhood. Elementary lessons on direction, disease, extent.
Ethics.....	The practice of cleanliness, obedience, respect, order, neatness.	Right and wrong. Truth. Continuance of proper appearance and behaviour.	Independence. Develop the reasons for proper appearance and behaviour. Self-respect.
Reading.....	First Primer.....	Second Primer.....	Second Reader.....
Recitation....	To begin in Standard II, are to be in line with what is taught in English, and developed into		
History.....	.....	.....	Stories of Incidents of Canada and their civilization.
Vocal Music..	Simple Songs and Hymns. The subjects of the former to be interesting and patriotic.		
Calisthenics...	Exercises, frequently accompanied by singing, to afford variation during work and to		
Religious Instruction.	Scripture Reading. The Ten Commandments. Lord's Prayer. Life of Christ, &c., &c.		

NOTE.—ENGLISH.—Every effort must be made to induce pupils to speak English, and to teach them to
READING.—Pupils must be taught to read loudly and distinctly. Every word a sentence must
sentence, in their own words, in English, and also in their own language if the
GENERAL.—Instruction is to be direct, the voice and blackboard being the principal agents. The
N.B.—It will be considered a proof of the incompetency of a teacher, if pupils are found to read in
mark applies to all teaching, viz.:—Everything must be thoroughly understood, before a pupil

DIES FOR INDIAN SCHOOLS.

teacher as far as the circumstances of his school permit, &c.—*Continued.*

STANDARD IV.	STANDARD V.	STANDARD VI.
(*d*) General study from globe and maps. The hemisphere, continent, oceans and large islands, their relative positions and size. The continents: position, climate, form, outline, surroundings, principal mountains, rivers, lakes; the most important countries, productions, people, interesting facts and associations.	Simple study of the important countries in each continent, &c., &c.	(*c*) Observation to accompany the study of geography—apparent movements of the sun, moon and stars, and varying time of their rising and setting; difference in heat of the sun's rays at different hours of the day; change in the direction of the sun's rays coming through a school-room window at the same hour during the year; varying length of noon-day shadows; changes of the weather, wind and seasons.
Industry. Honesty. Thrift.....	Citizenship of Indians. Patriotism. Industry. Thrift. Self-maintenance. Charity. Pauperism.	Indian and white life. Patriotism. Evils of Indian isolation: Enfranchisement. Labour the law of life. Relations of the sexes as to labour. Home and public duties.
Third Reader.....	Fourth Reader.....	Fifth Reader.
pieces of verse and prose which contain the highest moral and patriotic maxims and thoughts.		
History of province in which school is situated.	Canadian History (commenced)..	Canadian history (continued.)
The tunes bright and cheerful.		
improve physique.		

understand it; unless they do, the whole work of the teacher is likely to be wasted.
be fully explained to them, and from time to time they should be required to state the sense of a lesson or teacher understands it.
unnecessary use of text books to be avoided.
"parrot fashion" only, *i.e.*, without in the least understanding what they read. And the following re- is advanced to further studies.