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Tsuu T'ina: A History of a First Nation's Community

1890-1940

by

Elizabeth Churchill

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

GRADUATE DIVISION OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

CALGARY, ALBERTA

JUNE 2000

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Abstract

Contemporary First Nations' historiography in Canada emphasizes an "agential" approach in which native individuals are seen to resist the imposition of European hegemony. Framed within a narrow Marxist-inspired context of reproduction and resistance, such studies reveal a paucity of social theory in which agency and structure are treated as dichotomous factors in history. The agency/structure dichotomy, however, is very often equated with the opposition between tradition and modernization. The central difficulty from a theoretical perspective is that these types of formulations leave the historian unable to conceptualize change and modernization in native cultures through time.

This study, in contrast, presents a revised conceptual framework for the historical development of the Tsuu T'ina reserve community near Calgary, Alberta. It is intended as a critique of cultural-based perspectives and economic reductionism. The issue of community identity is not treated as a "given" but rather as a problem to be addressed in analysis. Using the structural history approach of Marshall Sahlins, the analysis focuses on the dialectical relationship between external forces of change and internal factors within Tsuu T'ina reserve society which resulted in new forms of community solidarity and identity.

The formation of the Tsuu T'ina reserve community is traced in relation to three generations of individuals between 1890 and 1940. The generational approach provides a means to compare transformations in religious, political, economic and social dimensions of Tsuu T'ina culture for the time period selected.

Acknowledgments

The idea to write a history of the Tsuu T'ina Nation first was suggested by Tsuu T'ina Elders, Mary and Frank Onespot, who feared their history was being lost and wanted the story of the boarding school era told. It is to their memory that I dedicate this dissertation.

I am indebted for support, friendship and mentorship to many others. Dr. David Jones, my advisor, provided unflagging encouragement throughout this project. Dr. V. Bohac Clarke, Dr. D. Marshall, Dr. D. Francis and Dr. B. Titley stimulated intellectual discussion regarding the nature of community, intellectual history and the philosophy of history during the preparation of this dissertation. Dr. Nigel Waters of the Department of Geography, University of Calgary, provided valuable input regarding the statistical applications used in this study. Dr. Laurie Meijer-Dress of Malispina College provided a constant anchor point for discussion regarding the history of First Nations in Western Canada.

Many individuals helped me during my research. Dorothy Kealey of the Anglican Archives of Canada in Toronto, Doug Cass of the Glenbow Archives in Calgary and the archivists at the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa always were gracious in providing their assistance. I would like to thank the Chief and Council of the Tsuu T'ina Nation and the Tsuu T'ina Nation Elders who supported the project.

Many good friends supported me and offered inspiration: Doug Cass, Jeannette Starlight, Helen Meguinis, Paula Big Plume, Laurie Meijer-Drees, V. B. and Jack Clarke, Carol De Gruchy, Lisa Sattenspiel Tanner and Saul and Tracy Zackson. This dissertation is for my husband, James Helmer.

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Chapter Thirteen: Remembering The Past: The Tsuu T'ina Community During The Great Depression 1930-1940...497

Chapter Fourteen: Conclusions: Past And Present And Writing A History Of The Tsuu T'ina 1890-1940...527

APPENDICES
REFERENCES

**PART I:
IMAGINING THE RESERVE COMMUNITY -
PEOPLE, SPACE AND TIME**

*INTRODUCTION - THE TSUU T'INA AND WRITING
THE HISTORY OF A FIRST NATIONS COMMUNITY*

“We are of one mind not to sell or give up any of our Reserve ... The Reserve is just big enough for ourselves, the whitemen are bothering us to give up our land. The treaty was made.”¹

Chief Bullhead, 1904

“[I]n physique, mentality, dress and customs they seem hardly distinguishable from the Blackfoot, although they have preserved their Athapaskan tongue almost unchanged.”²

Diamond Jenness, 1938

“We need a sense of history, especially of our own critical history, which will get beyond the notion that we have somehow ‘gotten beyond’ all previous paradigms.”³

W. J. T. Mitchell, 1982

INTRODUCTION - LAND AND PEOPLE

In 1904, Chief Bullhead of the Tsuu T'ina Nation refused to comply with pressures brought to bear by government officials to sell reserve lands (Plate 1).⁴ His remarks appear to reveal more than astuteness in dealing with the needs of the “Whiteman.” They contain hints of a new sense of community based on an ideology of reserve land tenure defined by Treaty obligations. The emergence of a geopolitical Tsuu T'ina identity that associated sovereignty with territorial boundedness was inconsistent with the orientation of a pre-reserve nomadic tribal adaptation. It was, however, the definitive hallmark of a new reserve-based culture developed by the Tsuu T'ina after 1877.

Constant change and adaptation to new circumstances mark the history of the people described as “Sarcee Indians” and, in their own language, as *Tsuu T'ina*. Their past is not a matter of the staticity of an enduring, obdurate pre-contact tradition. The history of the people who now call themselves the Tsuu T'ina is characterized by a fluidity of social movement, cultural plurality and inter-group cohesion. This brings the very question of treating *them* as a discrete historical entity through time into question.

Originating in the Canadian Subarctic as an Athapaskan-speaking people, the Tsuu T'ina later allied with Blackfoot tribes of the southern plains. Changing ideologies of land were in keeping with the societal and cultural transformation that characterized the Tsuu T'ina past. The Tsuu T'ina first were granted reserve lands near Fort Calgary in the North-West Territories in 1883. The new Tsuu T'ina Reserve provided a new grid upon which cultural differences could be expressed and historical memory and societal organization inscribed.⁵

Diamond Jenness, like many ethnographers of his time, viewed non-industrialized cultures such as the Tsuu T'ina as assemblages of traits that were either modified through time due to inter-group alliances or lost completely in the course of modernization. This was a form of “ethnographic holism” derived from a European scientific philosophy of history rooted in the notions of human progress and perfectibility. Jenness, in keeping with the views which dominated the academic study of societies of his time, was able to construct an image of the Tsuu T'ina as an example of a “primitive society” in his *The Sarcee Indians of Southern Alberta* based on his research in 1921. His study preserves the ideal of progress by creating an image of the Tsuu T'ina that was antithetical to a rapidly changing modern society. Jenness' work, at the same time, omits the elements of modernization and the tragic population decline that had occurred prior to his arrival on what was then known as the Sarcee Indian Reserve.⁶

Jenness' presence on the reserve occurred at the midpoint of the period, 1890 to 1940, in which this dissertation is anchored. He would have been surprised, perhaps, by its central argument that the Tsuu T'ina created a new sense of community building upon their distinctive reserve-based culture by 1890. Diamond Jenness, like many ethnographers of his time, reconstructed traditional pre-contact cultures on the basis of memory culture accounts



Plate 1: Chief Bullhead, c. 1901 (PAA #P.132)



Plate 2: Chief Bullhead and his wife, 1911 (GA #NA 26-8)

of his informants. His concern was with the “beginning” or origin of the Tsuu T’ina. This study, in contrast to Jenness’ imaginative account, is concerned neither with the origins nor the description of pre-contact or pre-reserve Tsuu T’ina culture *per se*.

First, it should be stated that the historical recognition of the Tsuu T’ina is not equated with their origin. The period between their initial settlement on reserve lands at Blackfoot Crossing in 1877 and later on a new reserve near Calgary, Alberta, between 1881 and 1890 is taken, instead, as the formative period of a new reserve-based cultural adaptation based on a changing ideology of land (Figure 1). Second, the issue of “traditional culture” is considered in this study in the broader framework of how the “past” came to be recognized by the Tsuu T’ina during the reserve period between 1890 and 1940. An understanding of the Tsuu T’ina past (or pasts), following these lines of argument, is part of the unfolding *problématique* of “change” and “continuity” developed in the following study.⁷

This study closely follows the tenets of the “new history” in treating Tsuu T’ina historical experience as fundamentally discontinuous, open-ended and unpredictable in its outcome.⁸ The emphasis in this analysis is that the historical development of the Tsuu T’ina community is understandable primarily in relation to factors internal to everyday reserve life. The limitations imposed by the physical environment of their reserve lands, in turn, mediated Tsuu T’ina responses to the imposition of State and Church ideals of community. This means therefore that no single factor, event, or historical personality - missionary, agent or other individual - ultimately controlled the course of what occurred within the confines of the reserve and the fate of the people who passed across its landscape. The presence or absence of such individuals and events, however, serve as chronological markers in the unfolding of Tsuu T’ina history during the period of study (Table 1).

The emphasis in this study is that Tsuu T'ina should, for analytical purposes, be considered as much a process of persons constructing “community” as it is of a culturally-constructed *place*. A revised conceptual framework is employed around which the discussion of Tsuu T'ina history is organized. This study does not assume that the Tsuu T'ina community can be understood with reference to either a fixed geographical space or to a bounded culturally-homogenous group. Understanding the history of a “community” in this manner involves looking at the changing groups of people who occupied the Tsuu T'ina Reserve, their connections with other people and places and the implications of these interactions for issues of Tsuu T'ina identity and cultural change.⁹

The overall approach presented here is fundamentally a critique of culturally-based explanations of historical change among groups such as the Tsuu T'ina based on the interactions between racial or cultural groups that emphasize the “survival” of cultural traditions. It is, moreover, a critique of narrow Marxist or neo-Marxist historicism in which the survival of native cultures is found in resistance or opposition to agents and forces of Euro-Canadian hegemony. Native cultures cannot be understood solely in relation to a paradigm of “resistance” because their historical development is far more complex. While the reifications of cultural traditions may appear to be constructed in opposition to a perceived “other,” their meanings within a given group may be perceived entirely differently. Representations of “self” and “community” in a native society do not stand in isolation but with reference to an ongoing interaction with some externality or difference. Nicholas Thomas in *The Inversion of Tradition* suggests that what is important then is not that difference provides a “foil for identity” as much as how processes of accommodation or confrontation determine which “specific practices, manners, or local ethics are rendered explicit and carry the burden of local identity.”¹⁰

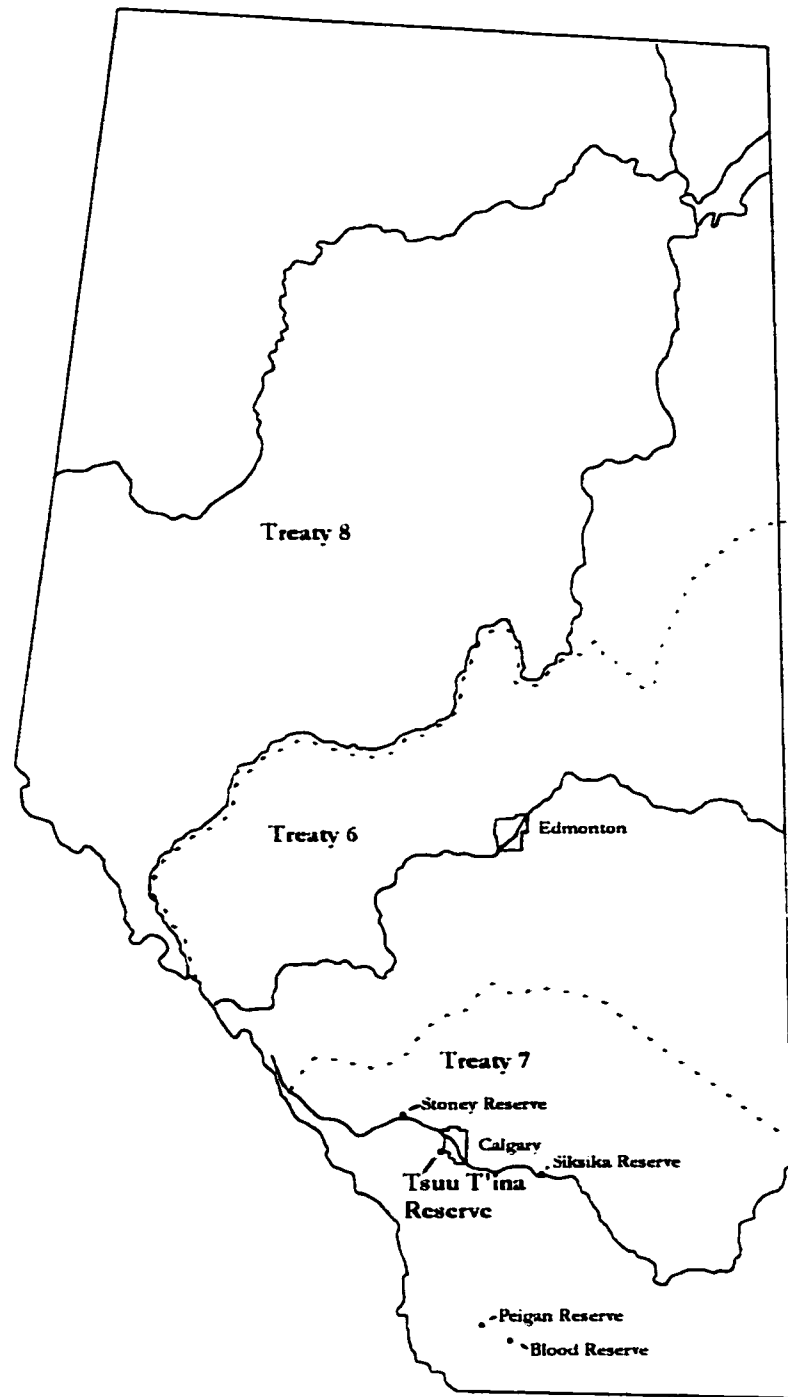


Figure 1: Treaty Boundaries (dotted lines) and Treaty 7 Reserves in Alberta

The use of a comparatively wide time frame in this analysis eliminates an overemphasis on long-term continuities and the dichotomization of Indian and White statuses. It is less easy to view Indian-White relations simply in terms of native opposition or reactivity based on the retention of “fixed” ideas of tradition to state hegemony or even state conspiracy. These simplistic distinctions break down in the *longue durée* and refocus attention on the impact of internal dynamics and local and regional factors in historical change in Native communities.¹¹ It is, moreover, important in historical analysis to re-examine the nature of change in native cultures. This requires an understanding of the manner in which local affirmations or assertions of identity are based on changing perceptions of what constitutes the “local” and “traditional” as well as an understanding of negative or ambivalent attitudes toward the customary dimensions of cultural practices.¹²

This dissertation demonstrates three themes in its development. The first is that understanding modernization and historical change in the Tsuu T'ina community must accommodate a variety of factors - frontier, environmental, demographic, cultural and political. These factors interact in extremely complex ways through time with no one factor assuming priority as the primary causal mechanism in historical change.¹³ This perspective also emphasizes that emergent forms of cultural production are understandable with reference to internal forces of change and regional dynamics as much as they are to forces of State power or hegemony.

The second theme revealed in this study is that the historical changes among the Tsuu T'ina are based on processes of cultural dualism. The concept of cultural dualism, derived from the structural history approach of Marshall Sahlins, refers to the adoption and modification of social mores and practices according to an underlying native logic or cultural frame of understanding. Old and new practices are held in common, existing side by

side, and modifying each other in the process of change. This does not, however, attribute a determinist property to a static Tsuu T'ina traditional culture. Native strategies of adaptation, even if they were intended to preserve the status quo, contributed to the process of ongoing cultural change.¹⁴

The third theme of transformation is used to describe more clearly the cultural changes that did occur among the Tsuu T'ina. The problem is not one of explaining the persistence of Tsuu T'ina tradition but rather in the manner Foucault suggests of transformations in Tsuu T'ina culture "that serve as new foundations."¹⁵ Agency and structure are not antithetical dimensions of native historical change in this approach. Each is inherent in the other and each affects the other in the ongoing processes of historical development.¹⁶ Native participants created new rules, roles and relations - that were the emergent results, objects and conditions of human choice, action and thought in Tsuu T'ina history.¹⁷ These new "structures" formed a discontinuous set of cultural adaptations that overlapped and intersected with the ideas, customs and values introduced to Tsuu T'ina society during the reserve era.

Dissertation Architecture and Chapter Outline

This dissertation examines 50 years or roughly three generations of social and cultural change in the Tsuu T'ina community. A generation is defined here as the length of time it took individuals to reach adulthood and leave the boarding or day school system. This period of time, more or less, was sixteen years during which most individuals spent ten years in school. The three generations include Tsuu T'ina individuals schooled between: 1. 1893-1909, 2. 1909 to 1925 and 3. 1925 to 1940 with some overlap.

This dissertation is divided into four parts. It preserves a narrative chronological framework in order to describe the complexity of change and modernization in the Tsuu

T'ina community through time and to act as a counterpoint for the comparison of general policy at the state level and differing community responses. Part I, "Imagining The Reserve Community - People, Space and Time," includes three chapters. The introduction contained in Chapter One, "The Tsuu T'ina and Writing The History of a First Nation's Community," sets forth the theoretical and methodological framework for this study.

Chapter One, "People, Church and State: Models of The Tsuu T'ina Community 1890-1910," describes the interaction of three spheres of power in the Tsuu T'ina community: one, the State represented by the Indian Agency, two, the Church of England by the St. Barnabas Mission including the school and mission and three, the Tsuu T'ina people. This chapter describes the changing national policies of Church and State with regard to ideas of community and the concomitant process of creating an ideal native citizenry. The conflicts which occurred as a result of an emergent secularism in state policy and the impact of these changing ideas on the Tsuu T'ina people are discussed with reference to internal cultural and regional dynamics.

Chapter Two, "The Formative Period of Tsuu T'ina Reserve Culture, 1890 to 1900," examines the social dynamics of Tsuu T'ina reserve life, the development of a Tsuu T'ina labour force and the complexities of a developing reserve economy based on market exchange, barter and trade. This chapter describes the realignment of political power which occurred among the Tsuu T'ina people and the characteristics of the reserve-based population. The dominant theme of this chapter is that it is not possible to compare a pre-contact Tsuu T'ina past with the ongoing developments in their unique adaptation to reserve life.

Part II, "Building The Reserve Community 1890-1910," contains four chapters. Chapter Three, "The Reserve Community, 1890-1900," documents the realities of the

developing reserve economy for the Tsuu T'ina and their interpretations of the particular ethos of agriculture that was introduced. Chapter Four, "The Costs of Progress and The Tsuu T'ina Working Class," traces the development of a working class ideology in Tsuu T'ina Reserve society and the human costs of the vision of progress advocated by government officials.

Chapter Five, "A Community Apart: Education and The First Generation of Tsuu T'ina Students, 1900-1910," and Chapter Six, "Life After The Boarding School: Generation One," draw comparisons between the first generation of Tsuu T'ina boarding school students and their parents. Intergenerational differences in beliefs, values and language are traced in relation to changing concepts of land and identity. These chapters demonstrate that Tsuu T'ina formal education was an overwhelming success in producing a group of adept workers who formed a sub-class of wage-earning labourers.

Part III, "The Tsuu T'ina Community in Crisis," documents the manner in which the introduction of an emergent scientism in the Tsuu T'ina community coincided with a medical crisis which ultimately threatened the entire reserve population. Chapter Seven, "Scientific Ideas of Land and Community, 1910-1920," examines the impact of new scientific concepts of agriculture, education and community. Chapter Eight, "A Community in Crisis 1910-1920," traces the meanings and impact of secularization and an emergent science of medicine for the Tsuu T'ina community and the second generation of boarding school students. Chapter Nine, "Generation Two and The Spanish Influenza Pandemic, 1918 to 1919, which follows, describes the effects of the Spanish Influenza Pandemic on Generation Two and the broader Tsuu T'ina community. Chapter Ten, "The Medicalization of The Tsuu T'ina Community," details the transfer from Church to State control of Tsuu T'ina health, welfare and education between 1920 and 1930 and the redefinition of

community boundaries that resulted.

Part IV, “Community Survival, Recovery and Growth 1920-1940,” describes the aftermath of the medical crisis faced by the Tsuu T’ina in the second decade of reserve life. Chapter Eleven, “Rebuilding The Reserve Community 1921-1930,” documents the restructuring of the reserve economy and the beginnings of the internalization of new values based on science in Tsuu T’ina society. Chapter Twelve, “Commemorating The Past and Celebrating The Present 1930-1940,” and Chapter Thirteen, “Remembering The Past: The Tsuu T’ina Community During The Great Depression 1930 to 1940,” explore the experiences of the third generation of Tsuu T’ina students, the meanings of modernization for the Tsuu T’ina and the manner in which new forms of ritual were developed to celebrate community identity in the face of overwhelming sorrow, hardship and loss.

Chapter Fourteen, “Conclusions: Past and Present and Writing A History of The Tsuu T’ina 1890-1940,” presents an overview of the dissertation design, its strengths and limitations and applications for future research. This dissertation emphasizes the contemporary designation of the Tsuu T’ina as a First Nation in Canada while preserving their identification as “Sarcee Indians” as they are referred to in historical documents. Most of the quotations used in this study, particularly those of Tsuu T’ina individuals, have been preserved in their original form without corrections to preserve the speech patterns and nuances of the languages of the time. The Tsuu T’ina Nation with the endorsement of the Tsuu T’ina Elders granted permission to write this history and to use the materials it contains in 1995.¹⁸

LITERATURE AND METHODOLOGICAL REVIEW

Post-Colonial History, Discourse And First Nations’ Histories

The separation of structure and agency, most-often equated with an external

hegemony and an internal counter-hegemony, forms the basis for the writing of most post-colonial histories of societies such as the Tsuu T'ina. Gyan Prakash, in *Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of The Third World: Perspectives From Indian Historiography*, refers to the development of this new philosophy of history writing as an “emancipation from previously submerged colonial histories and identities.” It reflects, in his view, post-modernist and post-structuralist concerns with “decentralizing discourse” and a “re-conceptualization of the writing of post-colonial histories.”¹⁹

In the Canadian context, the existence of native history writing as a distinctive genre challenges the validity of a nationalist historiography and any form of “universalizing historicism.” Hastrup notes in this regard, “the duality or multiplicity of history cannot be overlooked.”²⁰ A respect for multiple perspectives in history writing, however, does not mean that contemporary history written from the “native point of view” is inherently more accurate or that it represents the only true native history.²¹ This is why Mitchell (above) suggests that post-modern history writing is but one form, albeit new, of history-writing.

Contemporary writing of First Nations' histories in Canada has inherited and reproduced the central assumptions and techniques of representation of Said's *Orientalism*. Said repudiates the ethnocentrism of traditional history writing in the Western World and critiques the characterization of non-western peoples and the creation of knowledge of “the Orient” by European scholars.²² The so-called “Orientalist” approach has now, become virtually synonymous with the “post-modernist” school in Canadian native historiography.

The Orientalist approach, however, has been criticized for employing monolithic, static constructions of State and pre- and post-colonial cultures. Clifford, for example, suggests instead that a dynamic model of these cultures be used in historical explanation. He views post-colonial cultures, as forms of “collectively constituted difference, in a constant

state of local invention carried out in relation to recent colonial histories and new national identities.”²³ Prakash, further, proposes that non-Western cultures be viewed as “a multiplicity of contingent and unstable identities which are the effects of changing power relationships.”²⁴ Projected into the past, these refinements of Said’s original formulation provide the historian with the basic constructs – cultural pluralism and cultural invention - to begin to unravel the complexity of First Nations’ community formation through time.

Writing the history of First Nations in Canada also presents the fundamental challenge of explaining modernization and its meanings in the localized context of reserve life. Proponents of postmodernist history, however, appear to be unreflective about their own cultural categories in this regard. Strathern, for example, argues that the object constituted in Said’s concept of “Orientalism” is a fabrication of precisely the sort that he claims to discover in Western constructions of “Oriental” cultures.²⁵ In the context of native historiography, the opposition of traditional native cultures with modern white cultures – “agency” versus “structure” in the broadest sense - ultimately represents an irresolvable paradox. The paradox is that such approaches “reproduce or reaffirm the forms of the very discourse they attempt to delegitimize” in ultimately applying the evaluative concepts and values of the Western ideologies of linear progress and reason.²⁶ Analysts, who follow Said inadvertently reaffirm the values and “the hegemonic rhetoric of domination and legitimacy, power and authority - they claim to subvert.”²⁷

The difficulties encountered in the historical analysis of modernization in First Nations’ communities are further complicated by the politicization of this form of history writing. There is a striking “millennial tone” and often an infusion of native nationalist sentiment in some recent native histories. This form of native history writing is, as Strathern argues for another context, “grounded in [*the*] millennial structures” of the discourse of

native nationalism.²⁸ These types of conceptual problems, which cloud the writing of native and other histories of colonial peoples, derive directly from a paucity of social theory. As Valverde succinctly states, “while in cultural circles structuralism had largely given way to post-structuralism, many social historians and sociologists currently advocate what one might call “the new humanism” often linked to the political struggles of oppressed groups. While it does acknowledge subjectivity and agency, it is generally unable to theorize it.”²⁹

The central difficulties encountered in writing First Nations’ histories from an analytical perspective revolve around the relationship between the native past(s) and the native present(s). The meanings of “tradition” and “change” for *groups* such as the Tsuu T’ina in relation to the processes of broader-scale modernization are rarely addressed. These fundamental conceptual problems are often obscured in the attempt to view First Nations’ histories solely in terms of native “agency” versus state “structure.” The result is, invariably, that native peoples are viewed as “victims” of history and their contemporary cultures depicted as deficient or degraded examples of a past ideal.

The conceptualization of the Canadian “state” in structuralist theories, which emphasize the origins and homogenizing effects of state structures, is equally problematical in the analysis of native history. The validity of images of colonialism and of state formation as coherent, monolithic processes seem to be wearing thin. There is equal evidence to suggest that state structures are fragmented and, in turn, augment or create, heterogeneity and diversity in recipient cultures.³⁰ The basic coherence of the policies of the Canadian state based on the presumed interests of the capitalist class and the organization of class power through the state by dominant capitalist class groups as a constant therefore is suspect. The use of State power to manipulate, control and repress subordinated native groups cannot be taken for granted just as capitalism itself is not a coherent or a unified force.³¹

The following study, in contrast to such approaches, situates the history of the Tsuu T'ina as an integral component of the broader history of the Canadian nation-state. The study of the formation of what is abstractly referred to as the Canadian State requires the identification of shifting ideologies and practices promulgated by agencies of the state in different places at particular points in times when looking at the process of historical change and modernization. The basis of native/non-native interactions following this line of reasoning is primarily a political one of continuous struggle, accommodation and negotiation between different, powerful and overlapping interests (and not groups) over the ways in which decisions are made.³²

The current conceptual isolation of native history ultimately means that it lacks a truly integrative focus in the broader context of Canadian history writing. The overarching themes in Native historiography of creating "true" native history and the moral evaluation of Federal Government policies have had the net result of displacing Indian people from the center of their own history - much in the same way "Orientalists" inadvertently accomplished this in their own work according to Strathern. Treating "structure" as internalized ruling ideology and "agency" as the impulse to resist leads to problems in conceptualizing native histories and cultures. The maintenance of structure/agency as dichotomous factors in historical analysis inevitably results in viewing native cultures purely in oppositional terms of a perceived hegemonic order.³³

Meta-History And First Nations' Histories In Canada

The oppositional model of structure and agency predisposes the historian to interpret native histories in a manner constrained by the model itself. This is readily apparent if one accepts the postmodernist perspective that there are no firm boundaries separating literary from other forms of writing. All history writing including native history is amenable

to analysis as a form of discourse following this perspective.³⁴ The discourse of native history in Canadian historiography appears to preserve what historian C. Vann Woodward refers to as an “obsession with guilt.”³⁵ The perpetuation of an oppositional model of structure and agency preserves a tragic emplotment of native history that precludes other possibilities for viewing the dynamic components of these changing cultures through time.³⁶

James Clifford, in *The Predicament of Culture*, proposes an alternative approach for analyzing discourse of native history writing. He draws on Prakash's depiction of post-colonial societies as “collectively constituted difference” to examine the invention of colonial and post-colonial cultures through time. Clifford suggests what emerges at the local level are: “new and inventive efforts of cultural difference and subversion, mockery, syncretism and revival, which challenge all efforts to construct any single master narrative of global historical change.”³⁷ Indeed, modern ethnographic histories are condemned in Clifford's view, “to oscillate between two meta-narratives: one of homogenization, the other of emergence; one of loss, the other of invention.”³⁸

Clifford maintains that there is no master narrative that can reconcile the tragic and comic plots of global cultural history. What he proposes is a new framework for narrating global histories, one that employs a double plot to reconcile the antinomies of the post-colonial world. The history of the interaction between European colonialism and indigenous cultures, in his view, demands dual narratives in which cultural differentiation and cultural modernization “go hand in hand.”³⁹

Clifford's formulation of a native meta-history is crucial to the approach to writing the past histories of First Nations such as the Tsuu T'ina proposed in this study. First, his suggestion that history can be written as a “double plot” provides an overall heuristic framework for examining the interactions of all colonizer/colonized peoples as part of a

global historical process. Second, Clifford's argument that these interactions created mutual transformations in the cultures of the colonizer/colonized through time suggests a revised integrative approach to the writing of the history of indigenous peoples. His latter assertion, in particular, lends credence to the basic theme explored in this study; namely, that Tsuu T'ina history requires a dynamic model of social change. This model must account for the processes of modernization outside paradigms of "resistance" and "victimization." This is the compelling challenge of writing this form of history.

Clifford's approach falls short of providing the social theory with which to write the histories of indigenous peoples based on the polarities of homogenization and of differentiation he describes. His model over-emphasizes the homogenizing effects of colonial rules on indigenous cultures. Clifford also conveniently omits that fact that these histories often are written from the perspective of a highly-politicized present.

The "new history," advocated by Clifford and others, emphasizes the discontinuities, diversity, fragility and ambiguity of indigenous cultures. The analyst finds himself or herself invariably at odds with proponents of other histories constructed around a contemporary rhetoric, native and non-native, which attempts to foreclose discussion around any other interpretations but those of an idealized Indian past. There is, moreover, a profound irony in writing native history that attempts to rid itself of the categories of values of modernism while, at the same time, accounting for the incorporation of elements of modernity and linear progress among the people under study. The permutations of this irony remain an implicit part of debate about writing the histories of First Nations in Canada.

Social Theory And The Study Of Tsuu T'ina History

Historical Anthropology

This study, although not displaying an over-concern with issues of meta-history, is

concerned with community development and modernization based on a strong framework of social theory. It draws on a range of approaches including intellectual history to explore ideas of community and themes of modernization and secularization, the structural history described by Marshall Sahlins, cultural geography and well as aspects of social history methodology. It is not a social history *per se* because it does not take the Tsuu T'ina community and the continuity of Tsuu T'ina culture as assumed "givens." Understanding modernization without adopting its categories is the essence of the analytical approach that is applied in this study. The *problématique* identified for the Tsuu T'ina community is placed within the context of the developing Canadian nation-state and with the emergence of other "imagined" communities under colonial and post-colonial rule.⁴⁰

This study, in its theoretical orientation, is a critique of cultural and culture-conflict models focusing on race and nationality as the basis for social relations and ultimately for historical explanation. Culture-based explanations tend to minimize the role of overarching economic factors, which are crucial in shaping social and cultural forms, and overemphasize the autonomy of cultural groups.⁴¹ Tsuu T'ina history in this study, instead, is seen as a complex, conflictive, shared and intertwined set of interactions between Euro-Canadian and Tsuu T'ina peoples rooted in a "prevalent economic organization of society."⁴²

This dissertation uses a structural history approach derived from the work of Marshall Sahlins to address the conceptual difficulties often contained in colonial and post-colonial history writing. These difficulties arise when processes at the macro-level of the State are equated with imposed "structure" while those at the micro- or local level are treated synonymously with "agency." Sahlins' work as a whole suggests that the separation of structure and history, stability and change is wholly arbitrary. The relationship between structure (internal and external to a given "interest group") and agency then is not only

dialectical but mutually transformative.

The clarification of the agency/structure problem in this manner means that colonial encounters did not invariably lead to resistance and the politicization of native groups such as the Tsuu T'ina. Thomas argues that not all “cultural elements” carry the capacity as vehicles for resistance and not all actions may be regarded as resistance or reactive process in this regard. New cultural forms - emblematic activities, dispositions or material artifacts - provide arenas for cultural conflict as much as cohesion.⁴³ The symbolic representation of the Tsuu T'ina past, one of the central elements in their transition to modernization and partial incorporation in modern society, was one arena in which both conflict and cohesion were expressed.⁴⁴

All histories, in Sahlins' view, are grounded in structures, which he defines as “systematic orderings of contingent circumstances.”⁴⁵ The strength of Sahlins' approach is that it becomes possible to view stability and change in Tsuu T'ina society as “historically-generated under specific conditions.”⁴⁶ Sahlins, moreover, asserts that there is a discernible native cultural logic of collective innovation. The “structured transformation” on the native side of historical encounters are part of the same forms of culture change, “*externally induced yet indigenously orchestrated* (emphasis mine) present everywhere in human experience.”⁴⁷

Tsuu T'ina culture will be construed therefore as a changing framework of underlying principles that filtered and mediated new information presented by the external systems of the Canadian State and other agencies.⁴⁸ The emphasis will be on how interactions between Tsuu T'ina and others were ordered by their respective cultures and what modernization meant in Tsuu T'ina terms. This analysis argues that religious, political and economic forces of colonialism and modernization did not transform native peoples such as the Tsuu T'ina in their own image. Their communities acculturated in some aspects

but not in others according to an underlying native logic as Sahlins argues.

The Concept of “Class” and The Tsuu T’ina

The concept of “class” and the process of class formation are central to the history of Tsuu T’ina society. Eric Wolf, in *Europe and The People Without History*, argued that no society is self-contained and that a proper understanding of societal linkages must start from an analysis of the material processes in which all social groups are necessarily involved. The production, circulation and consumption of wealth and the “world hegemony of capitalism” recruits working classes from a wide variety of social and cultural hierarchies in Wolf’s interpretation. The new working classes change these hierarchies by their presence and, are themselves changed by the forces to which they are exposed.⁴⁹

Wolf’s arguments raise significant questions about the formation of a native working class and the manner in which class *per se* is to be understood in the context of developing reserve cultures. Wolf’s dialectical thesis of “class” anticipates the development of what has been mistakenly referred to as the “agential” approach of E. P. Thompson. Thompson explicitly rejected what he perceived as orthodox Marxism, which he felt reduced life to a mechanistic model.⁵⁰ Thompson instead emphasized the “agential” nature of individual and collective life in tracing the origins of a highly organized and self-conscious working class.

Thompson’s explicit concern was that there was little agreement on how to conceptualize the state. The “State,” in classic Marxist theory, is ill-defined according to Thompson. The fundamental conceptual problems of defining the State apparatus and its power through time are equally applicable to the Tsuu T’ina case.⁵¹ Thompson’s solution was to look at the internal dynamics of the social group he studied. He described the creation of a working-class community based on a shared artisan code, a common language of religious brotherhood and collective values of mutual aid, self-discipline and civic

responsibility. This new community ethos was reinforced by political ideology, new forms of secular social organization such as unions and participation in public ceremonies and rituals.

The issue of “class” formation is an essential component of this study with reference to how constructions of the Tsuu T’ina community were formed around work, land, and economic exchange. This study, like Thompson’s, *The Making of The English Working Class*, emphasizes that factors internal to Tsuu T’ina society are as important in the formation of class hierarchy, as those deriving from an external nationalist capitalist polity. Thompson’s construction of “class” and its attendant collective sentiments, however, are subject to the same forms of criticism levied at historical studies that presume to understand the collective “consciousness” or “mentalite” of a given group of people. The following analysis, in contrast, does not presume that a common “consciousness” or “mentalite” existed among the people of the Tsuu T’ina reserve. This study, instead, attempts to trace where, when, by whom and in what manner localized rituals of community identity are expressed and the manner in which the Tsuu T’ina understood their history.

Religion, Modernization and Secularization in Reserve Societies

Max Weber, one of the earliest theorists of the emergence of the modern nation-state, traces its development involving the transition from leadership from traditional domination (sacredness) to rational-legal domination based on abstract principles and regulations.⁵² Weber’s analysis emphasizes the capacity of religion to transform society rather than to reinforce social stability and order.⁵³

Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff explore the complex relationship between economic factors, politics and religious ideology in *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance*. The themes of religious dualism, the incorporation of both agency and structure - applied in this study - are used by the Comaroffs to explicate the manner in which conversion to

Christianity and the introduction of a new religious ideology provided a symbolic and institutional framework for the building of new forms of community identity and limited political power in South Africa.⁵⁴

This study, following Weber and the work of the Comaroffs, emphasizes the transformative potential of religion as a force of change in the Tsuu T'ina community. It explicitly rejects the cultural replacement theme, missionary domination, the passive native acceptance of Christianity and the subsequent destruction of native cultures. Its orientation is more in keeping with recent studies of how native people interpreted, controlled and manipulated their relationships with Christian missionaries.

The interpretation of the complex process of either conversion or the rejection of Christianity is interpreted in this study with reference to Tsuu T'ina indigenous belief, cultural values and intentions.⁵⁵ This study, in the spirit of Sahlins' structural history, argues "that native people reinterpreted Christian ideas, rituals and institutions to make them compatible with their own cultural context and/or created an indigenized Christianity."⁵⁶ The development and expression of religious plurality was part of the ongoing process of Tsuu T'ina community development.

Towards An Integrative Approach

Tsuu T'ina History, Native Histories and Canadian History

The overarching framework of Canadian historiography is the formation of the modern secular nation-state. Fulbrook suggests, the nation state provides the "taken-for-granted parameters for the writing of [all] history."⁵⁷ Writing the history of a First Nation's community such as the Tsuu T'ina could not be accomplished without the modern polity being its ultimate reference point. The integration of native history into Canadian historiography requires the reconciliation of histories written at the local level with the ever-

present processes of modernization and power involved in the generation of the nation-state.

There is a concern among some historians, however, that a preoccupation with the local level of inquiry results in the fragmentation of the discipline and a loss of a “holistic” sense of the past.⁵⁸ Hunt suggests, “the result of the pursuit of new topics in the absence of any clear theoretical agenda ... has led to fragmentation and division rather than to the building of a new social theory.”⁵⁹ Concerns with social theory in native history writing are virtually absent and remain unstated. The persistence of an implicit narrow-based Marxism and a rigid social control model has created an artificial separation of native history from mainstream history writing.

The liberation of native history writing from a moribund Marxism requires a basic re-conceptualization of the structure and agency. This study will attempt to achieve this goal using a selective “post-modernist approach” to build a transformational model of Tsuu T’ina community history. Post-modernist approaches incorporating “other histories” offer exciting potential as historical critiques of the themes of progress and “advancement” as an inevitable linear process and experience. The restoration of a “holistic” sense of Canadian history is possible but requires a less celebratory view of the processes of modernization and the adoption of the “dual perspective” that Clifford suggests.

An integrative approach to the study of native history entails an understanding of what modernity and historical experience means for native peoples in terms of their own cultural understandings. Prakash makes a similar argument about the writing of post-nationalist foundational histories. He suggests that the use of irreducible categories such as class, gender and structure as themes of capitalist transition lead the historian to see his/her subject matter as “instances of aborted capitalist modernity.”⁶⁰ The adoption of categories

and approaches which only in the end legitimate the structures of the capitalist modernity they describe invariably lead to the interpretation of native histories in terms of failure. This strategy cannot historicize the emergence of a modern, colonial capitalist nation because it does not displace the categories framed in and by that history.

Prakash argues that post modernist history explores and exposes the alternate experiences of modernization in colonial societies. He rejects the typification of colonial societies as pre-capitalist and pre-industrial as opposed to capitalist and as traditional in contrast to modern. Prakash also takes issue with the assertion that indentured forms of labour characterized colonial society and that free labour is the norm in modern, industrialized society. He proposes, in refutation of privileged claims of modernity and global capitalism, to refocus analysis on histories of the subordinate, the construction of new identities based on but not exclusively a matter of difference, how subordinates concern themselves with relationship of domination and self-consciously make their own histories.⁶¹

The history of the Tsuu T'ina following this line of reasoning, could be interpreted within the broader themes in Canadian historiography including industrialization and development, secularization, metropolis/hinterland relationships and the limited identities of region, gender, class and culture. This study selects themes of industrialization and class formation, religiosity and secularization, education and social development to build an integrative approach to Tsuu T'ina history. This approach is based on a reconstruction of Tsuu T'ina cultural logic, a dialectical reformulation of structure and agency and by tracing the changing ideologies of community as they were applied to reserve populations.

Issues of “Native” Agency and Structural Constraints

The recognition of Native agency is well-established in Canadian historiography. Scholarly works such as A. J. Ray's, *Indians in The Fur Trade*, J. S. H. Brown's, *Strangers in Blood*

and B. G. Trigger's, *Natives and Newcomers*, are all examples of earlier attempts to apply the new methodology of ethnohistory to describe the role of native agency and the modifying role of native worldview. More recent examples such as, *An Iron Hand Upon The People: The Law Against The Potlatch on the Northwest Coast* by Cole and Chaikin and Loo's *Don Crammer's Potlatch*, have come under attack for an over-emphasis on "agency" and a glossing "over the suffering of First Nations under wardship."⁶²

Kelm and Brownlie, who make the charges, suggest the work of Cole, Chaikin and Loo provides a "colonialist alibi." They, however, appear to miss the main points of the arguments presented - that of native cultural institutions transforming themselves and being transformed in the process. This is particularly salient in Loo's strong analysis, which examines ambivalent attitudes to the reification of native customs and practices. The argument presented by Kelm and Brownlie reveals a number of contradictory assertions, which clearly illustrate the conceptual problems addressed in this study. Their work preserves the structure/agency dichotomy based on the ethnographic holism of idealized West Coast native cultures of the past. Ironically, they call for recognition of the right to self-determination before the impact of what they term the "Federal wardship system" can be assessed.⁶³ Such sentiments demonstrate a confused and rigid historical determinism and what Peel refers to as "an historical presentism rooted in contemporary political concerns."⁶⁴

The consensus among historians of native cultures is that there was an initial phase of mutual Indian-European dependency during the Fur Trade era. This was followed by increasing economic dependency and the destructive impact of European settlement and ultimately a period of confrontation and resistance after World War II.⁶⁵ The adaptation to reserve life, however, is left in a conceptual lacunae between an Indian "past" of increasing dependency and an Indian "present" based on developing politicization and autonomy.

This study, in contrast, argues for the recognition of a developing reserve-based Tsuu T'ina culture. This “new” culture is situated between the “traditional” past and the present. A careful examination of dependence/independence is made based on tracing the development of a highly complex Tsuu T'ina reserve economy involving barter, trade and market exchange. The central issue of understanding incorporation (or not) of the community into the modern industrial nation-state includes profound issues of how industrialism, secularization, regionalism and the formation of class, ethnicity, gender and cultural identities may be conceptualized in relation to the local and regional contexts and well as the broader national scheme.

The role of historical geography in this study is essential to trace the role of geographical factors as part of the intricate unfolding of Tsuu T'ina history.⁶⁶ This includes an examination of the physical constraints imposed by the reserve environment primarily with reference to the development of a reserve economy. It also focuses on the changing ideology of Tsuu T'ina reserve lands through time and the implications of new cultural constructions of “place” for the development of new forms of political leadership and hierarchy in Tsuu T'ina society.⁶⁷ This view of the reserve lands as a physical environment as well as the meanings imputed to this space, in turn, forms the basis for examining the genesis of new ideas of production time, family time and community ideals.

Histories of Reserves and Reserve Economies

There are a number of significant studies of reserve communities, which are important precedents to the following analysis. Most studies, however, focus on either economic or cultural factors to explain historical change in native societies. There are very few comprehensive studies of reserve histories, of native economics or the economics of First Nations' reserves.

Ethnographies of the 1960s and 1970s did, however, include a large number of studies of contemporary First Nations' communities in the United States and Canada. These studies describe the internal dynamics of modern reserve societies. They therefore differed from their earlier counterparts such as Jenness' *The Sarcee Indians of Southern Alberta*, based on salvaging the vestiges of pre-reserve cultural adaptations. The later ethnographies included economic data. They were intended, however, to be synchronic analyses of contemporary Indian communities restricted to limited time periods. There was a strong functionalist bias in these works, which precluded the detailed analysis of historical change through time.

Loretta Fowler's, *Shared Symbols, Contested Meanings: Gros Ventre Culture and History 1778-1984*, is an important study for the purposes of analyzing Tsuu T'ina history. She employs a broad timeframe to depict pre- and post-reserve periods. Fowler's approach, derived from the Interpretive Anthropology of Clifford Geertz, stresses the primacy of cultural determinants and the manner in which historical participants make sense of their changing world. She views these practices as irreducible to issues of power and control over resources. The strengths of her study are that she examines the internal workings of a reserve community across a broad sweep of time and constructions of personal identity involving symbols of both tribal and community identity. Fowler's focus is on variability and change, transitions in culture, generational differences based on cultural loss and attempts at cultural revival.

Recent approaches to understanding the development of native economies in Western Canada suggest early attempts at agriculture failed because of Government mismanagement and the setting of unrealistic goals. Dyck argues in *An Opportunity Lost: The Initiative of the Reserve Agricultural Programme in the Prairie West*, that native people took an active interest in reserve agriculture under the unrelenting tutelage of government officials or

pursued a determined passive resistance.⁶⁸ Carter, similarly, in *Two Acres and a Cow*, asserts that native peoples in the Canadian West initially responded positively to the introduction of agriculture. The failure of native agriculture, however, was brought about by government insistence on an unworkable peasant model of subsistence agriculture, which was further complicated by a philosophy of anti-mechanization and administrative ineptitude.⁶⁹

The significance of the relationship between economic change, class formation and new forms of collective identity have been explored in a number of studies of the native cattle industry. Iverson's *When Indians Became Cowboys: Native Peoples and Cattle Ranching in the American West*, describes how the business of cattle ranching emerged as a new symbol of tribal identity and individual self-esteem.⁷⁰ Russel Barsh argues, in *Plains Indian Agrarianism and Class Conflict*, that the introduction of ranching on Plains Reserves at the turn of the century triggered the formation of social classes and the emergence of class conflict based on the differential ownership of land and cattle.⁷¹ His study, based on social stratification and functional definitions of social classes of labor and capital, does not fully account for the causal mechanisms behind class antagonism on the Fort Berthold Reservation.

The second edition of Rolf Knight's *Indians at Work* develops an argument that Native workers played a significant role as wage labourers and independent producers in the early industrial economy of British Columbia. Knight's work is a critique of previous histories, most notably, Robin Fisher's *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia 1774-1890*, for minimizing the role of Native people in the industrial economy. Knight argues that until the Depression industrial wage labour was an important source of income for Native people.⁷² The possibility that a new Native identity emerged which was based on "class consciousness" is only hinted at and not elaborated upon in Knight's work.

An understanding of the basis for the formation of a Native working class is central to an understanding of the internal changes in Tsuu T'ina reserve society. This study draws upon the work of Castle McLaughlin *et al*, who apply the “agential approach” of E. P. Thompson in their studies of the agricultural and ranching economies of the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota.⁷³ McLaughlin develops a relational concept of social class to describe the effects of agrarian transformation at Fort Berthold. This model describes how social class dynamics became a motivating force in reserve politics. Her study draws on the internal dynamics of community in contrast to the dichotomies of “tribe” and “nation-state” to illustrate the complexity of regional and local factors of discerning class in reserve societies.

The Tsuu T'ina, like other First Nations in the Canadian West, did not develop a “working class” in the traditional Marxist sense. The development of forms of market exchange for native labour-power and wages are the preconditions of capitalism in Marxist theory. The Tsuu T'ina, however, were primarily employed as seasonal labourers within the hierarchical reserve structure. The failure of an introduced system of individual land tenure, new forms of individual and collective ownership together with a system of restrictive wardship failed to produce a self-sustaining body of wage labourers integrated into capitalist society. Tsuu T'ina workers, however, did form a variant of the working class in Canadian society. This dissertation describes the nature of class formation in Tsuu T'ina society in response to local and regional factors.

De-Schooling First Nations' Histories

Educational histories of First Nations remain at odds with developments in mainstream educational historiography. Celebratory views of native education and the consensual nature of Canadian society clearly now are primarily artefacts of past missionary

literature. Although the majority of native students were schooled in day schools, the residential school is the archetypal example of the detrimental effects of Euro-Canadian contact in native cultures in contemporary writing. The overemphasis on the school as an institution of state coercion in native communities and the abuse of power within these institutions has eclipsed significant questions about culture change in native communities, the role of the school as part of the community structure, strategies of survival, and an understanding of how factors such as gender, ethnicity, and culture were transformed in the process of change.

The definition of education in the context of native historiography is still rooted in what Wilson terms the fundamental tenet of “social control.” The school is viewed primarily as an agent of cultural reproduction within this paradigm.⁷⁴ Native education, following this line of argument, is viewed as one of “the keystones of [an] assimilationist policy.”⁷⁵ The persistence of native cultural practices outside and inside the school are interpreted as instances of “resistance” without considering the possibility that these activities were perceived in an alternative manner by participants. This raises further questions as to whether native cultural practices may be seen merely as instances of opposition to a given political hegemonic order, which reproduces itself in terms of class and social categories through the vehicle of the school. The history of native education still remains rooted in the dichotomous stance of paradigms of resistance and reproduction and a narrowly-based historicism.⁷⁶

There are a number of identifiable approaches in the interpretation of native educational experiences. The interrelated themes of cultural persistence and the inevitability of political resistance derive from the orthodox but unacknowledged Marxist-based theory of “social control.” Gresko, for example, suggests “natives persisted in their traditional

patterns of life and resisted the industrial schools programs with their own educative program. [*This*] encouraged native involvement in traditional social and religious institutions and encouraged the generation of modern Indian rights movements.”⁷⁷

Wilson, also argues, that native schooling experiences, “sowed the seeds of pan-Indian consciousness and protest by bringing native people of diverse background together for the first time so public school students often found uses for the literacy and social consciousness learned in schools of which the authority did not approve.”⁷⁸ Miller, in *The Irony of Residential Schooling*, argues a similar point about the inevitability of student politicization and the early emergence of a pan-Indian awareness.⁷⁹

The consensus among historians therefore appears to be that the experiences of residential schooling had a negative impact upon First Nations. Axelrod, for example, argues:

“there can now be little uncertainty about the distinctive, discriminatory and frequently devastating conditions under which Canada’s aboriginal people were educated. From the seventeenth century to the 1960s, Christian missionaries, government agents and committed teachers, whose attitude ranged from racist to paternalistic to self-sacrificing, participated in a system designed to erase all manifestations of aboriginal culture.”⁸⁰

The central issue to be addressed, however, is not only the deleterious effects of native education but also the placement of the school at the center of native communities and of native historical experiences. Histories of residential schools, in particular, have become virtually synonymous with the histories of native communities. There are, however, a number of studies, which now suggest a less monolithic approach. Some studies suggest that there were a variety of student responses to residential schooling. D. Wallace, in *Education For Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875-1928*, examines how native students chose to blend “selection, resistance and conjoinment in a creative process” to actively participate in the shaping of their identities.⁸¹ Haig-Brown’s study of the

Kamloops Industrial School between 1907 and 1967, suggests that the struggle for power and control by natives in residential school represented a microcosm of the strategies available to Native people under Euro-Canadian colonial rule.⁸²

Miller's *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* is the most comprehensive account of residential schooling in Canada that has been written. It juxtaposes a period of highly-idealized traditional native education with the era of Euro-Canadian formal education based on "assimilation through evangelization, educational and agriculture."⁸³ Miller suggests that the application of "the Bible and the plow" as the basis for native education policy was rooted in a Victorian ideology based on ideas of social evolution and progress rooted in racist ideology.

Problems with this wide-angled chronological view of native schooling lie precisely in the forms of generalizations that are made. The evaluation of native education as a "structural failure so far as their pedagogical role was concerned" is, at face value, a "given" but this assertion exposes other deeper issues in interpreting experiences of other cultures. Who and what failed and in what manner? The ultimate referent for this evaluation is the very progressive ideology, which the critics of native education attack. Moreover, it is inconceivable that native education can be regarded as the "same thing" over a three hundred year period.⁸⁴ A careful periodization of educational processes is therefore needed within new evaluative frameworks.

In native educational historiography, the structure versus agency problem clearly is expressed in terms of a simplified paradigm of reproduction and resistance.⁸⁵ In the first instance, the emphasis is on a "social control" model in which the school functions merely to reproduce social inequalities and the norms and values of the privileged members in society. The school is treated as an external controlling reality in native communities instead

of as an implicit part of a developing community. Instances of presumed “resistance” to the forces of political hegemony are, on the other hand, invariably linked as a dialectical response to the rigid constraints the school embodied. This study attempts to de-school Tsuu T’ina educational experience. It looks beyond the “social control” paradigm to examine the role of the school in the Tsuu T’ina community, the position of the school as part of a reserve-based mission and parish and the inter-generational differences between students in the Tsuu T’ina community.

The recent work of Chad Gaffield in *Language, Schooling and Cultural Conflict*, marks a sharp break with structure/agency as dichotomous statuses. This perspective allows for a more mediated or dialectical way of construing the complex and reciprocal nature of power relations.⁸⁶ Gaffield’s work sets a new course of Canadian educational historiography. He maintains that “rather than a simple dichotomy of powerful/powerless, certain historians now argue that actual power is distributed in unequal proportions among all social groups. The object of historical analysis is therefore to explore the range of power and to identify the specific circumstances with which agency can be exercised.”⁸⁷

The process of Tsuu T’ina schooling, following Gaffield’s work, in this study is viewed as an inherent part of the organizational divisions of Tsuu T’ina reserve society consisting of Parish, Indian Agency and Band.⁸⁸ The inherent tensions between “state” levels of church and state which constructed models of native citizenry and the processes of community formation at the Tsuu T’ina reserve form the basis for the analysis that follows. The definition of education employed in this study follows Bailyn’s revisionist formulation. Bailyn uses the term education to refer to, “the entire process by which culture transmits itself across the generations.”⁸⁹ Education *per se* is regarded, in this analysis, as a contingent set of beliefs and practices surrounding teaching and learning in formal and informal

contexts..

Processes of family formation in relation to formal schooling are viewed as significant but not central in this work.⁹⁰ The broader chronological focus of the Tsuu T'ina study is on the ever-present changing constructions of community. Tsuu T'ina expressions of community are interpreted in relation to the complex interaction of a fluid model of Tsuu T'ina kinship based on extended family units and underlying band structure with other factors. These factors include changing ideas of land, community and citizenship and differing educational contexts.

The latter, following Bailyn's formulation, extend to informal methods of socialization and institutionalized schooling in the form of day and residential schools.⁹¹ "Pedagogical space" therefore is extended out into the broader Tsuu T'ina community. It is not just "state space" as some proponents of Marxist theory propose.⁹² De-schooling the history of the Tsuu T'ina, in this study, removes the school as the central determining agent in Tsuu T'ina historical development and recasts the process of formal schooling as but one form of socialization present in the Tsuu T'ina community.

The History of Missions and of Missionaries

Recent historical studies of the interaction between First Nations or colonial peoples and European missionaries treat the nature of religious change primarily in terms of cultural reproduction or cultural synthesis and dualism. A model of cultural reproduction is followed in J. W. Grant's *The Moon of Wintertime*. Grant's analysis is really an overview history of Christianity in native cultures in Canada.⁹³ He sees a distinctive form of Native Christianity replacing traditional religion in native communities. The limitations of his study are the presentation of an essentially static and homogenous external view of religious change based on the opposition between "native" and "Christian" religions. Grant does not refer to the

significance of internal factors in native societies or the problematical issues of why native religions appear to “persist” or what constitute native and native Christian beliefs and practices.

The model of cultural synthesis contains the idea of religious dualism in which elements of white and native cultures have blended to form a new set of religious customs and practices.⁹⁴ Brightman argues for a careful periodization of the development of Indian religions in which phases of accommodation, destruction, revitalization and rejection are examined.⁹⁵ Syncretism or the practice of adopting beliefs which are incompatible with a pre-existing belief-system also have been examined.⁹⁶ Blanchard, in *Patterns of Tradition and Change: The Re-creation of Iroquois Culture at Kahnawake*, describes how early converts perceived Christianity more in terms of their own religious and social concepts and the persistence of syncretic versions of Christianity that combined elements of native and non-native beliefs into the 19th century.⁹⁷

The role of the missionary in native educational historiography is treated almost exclusively as the archetypal agent of imposed political control and forced assimilative practices. MacKenzie argues that missionary education cannot be regarded as a singular historical entity and the roles of missionaries should be “demythologized” with reference to broader chronological studies of changing contexts and circumstances.⁹⁸ The majority of studies of native-missionary interactions in North America has focused on the exploitative nature of the cultural hegemonic practices of church officials and missionary rhetoric rather than on ways missions functioned within communities.⁹⁹ They do not treat the issue of conversion to Christianity or the role of the missionary as problematical.

Whitehead argues, in *Christianity: A Matter of Choice*, that conversion was a “matter of choice” and not coercion for native peoples.¹⁰⁰ She bases her evidence of conversion,

however, on the external appearances of church attendance and participation in religious exercises and prayers. Studies including, “Nishga Perceptions of Their First Resident Missionary: The Reverend R. R. A. Doolan, 1864-1867, examine native perceptions and the divergence between missionary intent and native reality.”¹⁰¹ Nock's *A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy: Cultural Synthesis vs. Cultural Replacement*, describes how missionary response may include opposition to official state policy. Two studies by Elizabeth Furniss explore the motives for religious conversion as native people emerge from an indigenous system of values, beliefs and interests. *Victims of Benevolence: Discipline and Death at the Williams Lake Indian Residential School 1891-1920*, is based on a careful periodization to examine the long term effects of residential schools on a community and the degree of dependency which existed.¹⁰² Furniss describes the complex intersection of problems arising from a mission-based economy and a sustained mission ideology based on a racist belief that all Natives were “childlike” and “primitive” and incapable of managing their own lives and that Euro-Canadian society had the responsibility of raising them to a level of “civilization” enjoyed by Europeans.¹⁰³

Furniss' *Resistance, Coercion and Revitalization: The Shuswap Encounter with Roman Catholic Missionaries 1860-1900*, traces three periods in the missionization of the Shuswap people. These include: the imposition of a new religious hierarchy, its ultimate rejection by political groups in the host communities and the retrenchment of Roman Catholicism as part of an overall societal revival. Her study examines native motives for conversion and the strategic uses to which Christianity was put with reference to the changing economic base of Shuswap culture and the realignment of political roles in the community. This type of approach suggests that an understanding of mission schooling must take into account the manner in which the school was a part of the community economy and community rather than being a

vehicle for strict imposition of European beliefs and values in a native cultural context.

A more encompassing study of how community participants responded and an examination of the changing role of missionaries and missions in a given community are explored by Langer and Jackson in *Colonial and Republican Missions Compared*. The authors argue that the differences between these types of missions in California and Bolivia were based on changes within the dominant societies, the internal dynamics of the established missions as well as the terms upon which the Indians accepted the missions.¹⁰⁴ LaGrand's *The Changing Jesus Road, Protestants Reappraise American Indian Missions in the 1920s and in the 1930s*, examines how the Social Gospel Movement influenced Protestant missionary ideology but falls short of interpreting how the native peoples and their communities were changed by the introduction of these new ideas.¹⁰⁵

The strengths and weaknesses of studies of religious missions, regardless of their context and chronology, rest on the definition of religion that is employed. Themes of the sacred and secular are based on the presence or absence of institutionalized Western religion. The incorporation of new religious rites and practices and how they functioned in relation to the ongoing development of native beliefs is scarcely understood. The significance of changing state and church ideologies and their mediation by local and regional factors is part of the new history applied in this study.

Conclusions

The limitations of a study which stresses an integrative focus for native history derive from that fact that such an approach carries the burden of linking themes of nation-building, industrialization and secularization at the macro-level with the ever-present processes of cultural invention at the local level. It, therefore, must select only certain themes of modernization as they are seen to be most pertinent in application to the case study selected.

This dissertation traces two of these meta-themes in the course of its development. The first is the emergent industrialization of Canadian society and the development of a Tsuu T'ina working class within that process. The second is the theme of secularization and the meanings that secularization had in the Tsuu T'ina community in relation to forms of Church and State control.

This study of the Tsuu T'ina history cannot propose to be a community history *per se* because it is not grounded in the precepts of social history nor does it contain the degree of detail required of microhistorical analyses. It attempts to highlight the evolution of Indian policies with reference to the rise of scientism, secularism and the Social Gospel and the theme of social regeneration with reference to the development of Tsuu T'ina Reserve culture.

The nature of most of the records used in this study could be said to predispose the writing of a certain form of native history which emphasizes the coercive power of the state and the intrusive nature of agencies of the state in Indian communities in Canada.¹⁰⁶ These records are most often taken as the objective records of Indian administration without considering that the records contain their own self-referential properties linking them to the contexts in which they were written and the administrative cultures in which they were created. The "self-referential" property of official records brings the validity of reading "morality" into these records into question.¹⁰⁷ There is moreover an asymmetrical distribution of the records that contribute to this study with well over fifty percent relevant to the period before 1900. Historical processes of change therefore, at times, can only be inferred through secondary sources such as newspapers, letters, photographs and personal accounts.

This form of history writing therefore strains to reconcile the vagaries of policy at the state-level with the ongoing processes of history at the local level and invariably leads to breaks in style and in narrative structure. That it is speculative in nature barely needs to be admitted but certainly no more so than other histories of First Nations which are grounded in idealized mythologies created in the present.¹⁰⁸ It does not claim a higher truth value; it merely offers one more possible interpretation.

TABLE 1: CHRONOLOGY OF TSUU T'INA HISTORY

1877

Treaty 7 assigns Tsuu T'ina reserve lands with Blackfoot and Blood Indians

1881

-Tsuu T'ina move to present reserve at Fish Creek

1883

-Nelson Survey of Sarcee Reserve

1886

-C. de Balinhard later F. C. Cornish appointed as Indian Agents

-Rev. R. Inkster starts Church of England mission and school

1888

-Chief Bullhead's Band moves north of Agency; Chief Big Wolf's Band five miles west

1889

-69,120 acres set aside for Sarcee Reserve

1890

-Father Lestanc holds Roman Catholic services in farm instructor's house

1891

-S. B. Lucas appointed as Indian Agent

1893-4

-Sarcee Boarding School completed

1895

-Bullhead charges Agent/Interpreter are enriching themselves through his people's work

-Reverend J. W. Tims transferred to Sarcee Agency

1896

-Agent Lucas found guilty of irregularity in dealing with money at Sarcee Agency

-Dr. J. D. Lafferty appointed as physician to Blackfoot, Sarcee and Stony Reserves

1897

-J. D. McNeill appointed as Indian Agent

-Indian Advancement Act passed

1898

-All children of school age in the Boarding School

1900

-Surrender of Land For Priddis Road

-First transfer of students to Calgary Industrial School

1901

-Ranching Fund established by Department of Indian Affairs

1904

-P. H. Bryce appointed as medical inspector

-Construction of reserve fence begins

1905

-Ethnologist, Pliny E. Goddard conducts research

1907

-Report by Dr. P. H. Bryce Chief Medical Officer of Indian Department

-Death of Minor Chief, Jim Big Plume

1908

-CMS transferred to Anglican Church of Canada

-St. Barnabas Church and first frame house built for Chief Bullhead

-Paget Report on Indian Conditions

1909

-Chief Bullhead and headmen refuse to surrender land

1910

-CMS announces withdrawal of financial support from Western Canada missions

1911

-T. J. Fleetham appointed as Indian Agent

-Winifred Tims begins 19 year career as teacher in Sarcee School

-Chief Bullhead dies and Big Belly becomes Chief

1912

-Resolution passed to build Roman Catholic Church on Tsuu T'ina Reserve

1913

-Dr. H. W. McGill appointed as medical attendant to Sarcee Reserve and School

-Surrender of 1,650 acres for sale to Department of Militia and Defense

1914

-World War I begins and Dr. J. V. Follett replaces McGill during War years

-Surrender of most of T23 R4 for grazing leases

-New Boarding School erected

1915

-Government appoints full-time nurse to Sarcee Reserve

1916

-John William Tims takes over parishes of Glenmore, Fish Creek and Red Deer Lake

-Boarding School closed temporarily due to poor sanitation

1917

-William Gordon appointed as Acting Indian Agent

1918

-Spanish Influenza epidemic

1919

-MSCC controls residential schools; day schools under Anglican Diocese of Calgary

1920

-DIA policies of Greater Production Farms and Compulsory School Attendance

-Chief Big Belly dies

-Dr. Corbett's Report on The Sarcee School

-Approval granted to erect new Mission House on Reserve

1921

-T. F. Murray appointed as Indian Agent turns Boarding School turned into hospital

-Ten year lease of NE corner of Reserve to Department of Militia and Defence

-Ethnologist Diamond Jenness conducts research on Tsuu T'ina Reserve

1922

-Temperance Society started at Sarcee Reserve Mission

-Linguist Edward Sapir conducts research

1923

-Joe Big Plume elected as chief

1930

-J. W. Tims and Winifred A. Tims Retire from Sarcee Mission

-Sale of 593.5 acres land for Glenmore Reservoir to City of Calgary

1939

-World War II begins

¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1628, Chief Bullhead, Tsuu T'ina Nation, quoted in J. J. McNeill, Indian Agent, Sarcee Reserve to Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, 2 June 1904.

² D. Jenness, *The Sarcee Indians of Southern Alberta* (Ottawa, 1938), 9.

³ W. J. T. Mitchell, "Critical Inquiry and The Ideology of Pluralism," *Critical Inquiry*, 8, (Summer), 1982, 618.

⁴ Chief Bullhead is wearing a warrior's shirt in the traditional style but it is made from cloth and not hide. In the early days of reserve life, it was very difficult to obtain hide. Based on interview with Mary and Frank Onespot, 19-20 March 1991.

⁵ See: A. Gupta and J. Ferguson, "Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity and the Politics of Difference," *Cultural Anthropology*, 7, 1992, 6-23.

⁶ See A. Kuper, *The Invention of Primitive Society* (London, 1988), 8.

⁷ Problem-oriented history is described by the second generation of Annals historians. The framework of research is the problem and not the region, political order, society *etc.* In the Tsuu T'ina study, the community is not the object of research but the construction of the Tsuu T'ina community as a problem (or problematic) in history *is*. See: P. Burke, "The Age of Braudel," in *The French Historical Revolution, 1929-1939* (Stanford, 1990), 38-39.

⁸ The third generation of analysts rejected any form of structural determinism in favour of agency and political ideology as factors in historical change. See Burke, *ibid.*, 88-89. The discontinuous nature of historical experience is emphasized in L. Hunt, Introduction, in L. Hunt (ed.) *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, 1989), 7-9.

⁹ The question is succinctly put in another way: "How does the identity of place and people get affirmed in the midst of the growing homogeneity and fragmentation of Space?" See: A. M. Alonso, "The Politics of Space, Time and Substance: State Formation, Nationalism, and Ethnicity," *Annual Reviews in Anthropology*, 25, 1994, 383.

¹⁰ N. Thomas, "The Inversion of Tradition," *American Ethnologist*, 19, (2), 1991, 213-214.

¹¹ See: I. K. Steele, "Exploding Colonial American History: Amerindian, Atlantic and Global Perspectives," *Reviews in American History*, 26, 1998, 70-95.

¹² N. Thomas, *ibid.*, 214.

¹³ P. Voisey makes a similar argument regarding prairie communities in *Vulcan, The Making of a Prairie Community*, (Toronto, 1988), 5.

¹⁴ K. Hastrup, *Culture and History in Medieval Iceland* (Oxford, 1985), 230. Hastrup notes that the "social reactions to disruptive developments themselves contributed to disruption."

¹⁵ M. Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, tr. A. M. S. Smith (New York, 1972), 5.

¹⁶ Ohnuki-Tiernay, E. "The Historicization of Anthropology," in E. Ohnuki-Tiernay (ed.), *Culture Through Time: Anthropological Approaches* (Stanford, 1990), 24. The reciprocal nature of "structure" and "agency" is the basis of the Structuration Theory proposed by Anthony Giddens. Structures consist of rules and resources and agency is defined as subjective configurations of social experience in his formulation. See: A. P. Giddens, *The Constitution of Society* (Oxford, 1984), 18. Also: A. P. Giddens, *Central Problems in Sociology* (London, 1979), 66.

¹⁷ This argument is clarified in C. Lloyd, *The Structures of History* (London, 1993), 95-96.

¹⁸ All photographs used in this study have undergone minor editing using Adobe Photoshop 4.0.

¹⁹ What Lyotard calls the "incredulity toward metanarratives." J-F Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition* (Minneapolis, 1984), 330. Also: G. Prakash, "Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of The Third World: Perspectives From Indian Historiography," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 32, (2), 1990, 383-408.

²⁰ K. Hastrup, "Introduction," in K. Hastrup, (ed.) *Other Histories* (London, 1992), 2.

²¹ Martin maintains that non-natives misrepresent what Indians themselves thought about issues because of the tendency to project an "alien thought world" onto the past. C. Martin, "The Metaphysics of Writing Indian-White History," *Ethnohistory*, 26, (2), 1979, 154.

- ²² The emphasis in Said's work is a Foucauldian analysis of "knowledge was provided by the Orientalist construction of the Indian as an external object knowledge through representations." See: G. Prakash, "Writing Post-Orientalist Histories," 387.
- ²³ J. Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture* (Cambridge, 1988), 274.
- ²⁴ R. O'Hanlon and D. Washbrook, "After Orientalism: Culture, Criticism and Politics in The Third World," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 52, (2), 1992, 387.
- ²⁵ M. Strathern, "Rhetoric and The Authority of Ethnography," *Current Anthropology*, 29, (3), 1988, 406.
- ²⁶ Ibid.
- ²⁷ Strathern suggests that postmodernism: "appropriate[s] important relativising insights from the very disciplines it subverts." Adherents thus reproduce the forms of the very discourse they attempt to delegitimize. By maintaining the rhetoric of authority in [history] the object of analysis, critics draw attention to their own use of rhetoric." In *ibid.*, 406-407.
- ²⁸ Ibid., 408.
- ²⁹ M. Valverde, "As if subjects existed - analysing social discourses," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 28, (2), 1991, 181-182.
- ³⁰ John Comaroff, "Images of Empire, Contests of Conscience: Models of Colonial Domination in South Africa," *American Ethnologist*, 5, (2), 1998, 662.
- ³¹ P. Miller, "Education and The State: The Use of Marxist and Feminist Approaches in The Writing of Histories of Schooling," *Historical Studies in Education*, 1-2, (Fall), 1986, 288.
- ³² Ibid., 289-290.
- ³³ Miller notes that "objectivity is not constructed through ideology nor is it consistent in meaning but it is always fragmented and always in flux ... not due simply to the coexistence of domination and discourse converging on a particular subject with varying degrees of effectiveness." In *ibid.*, 182.
- ³⁴ J. E. Toews, "Review Article: Intellectual History After The Linguistic Turn: The Autonomy of Meaning and The Irreducibility of Experience," *American Historical Review*, 92, 1987, 879-907.
- ³⁵ Vann Woodward, *C. The Old World's New World* (New York, 1991).
- ³⁶ H. White, *Metahistory* (Baltimore, 1973), 7-11.
- ³⁷ The tragic loss of cultural difference and the comic creation of new ways of being native 'oscillate,' each denying Hegelian mastery to the other. Clifford, *ibid.*, 17.
- ³⁸ Ibid.
- ³⁹ K. L. Klein, "In Search of Narrative Mastery: Postmodernism and The People Without History," *History and Theory*, 34, (4), 1995, 275-298.
- ⁴⁰ E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, "Introduction," in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), 1.
- ⁴¹ See: G. G. Gonzalez and R. Fernandez, "Chicano History: Transcending Cultural Models," *Pacific Historical Review*, 63, (4), 1998, 469-498.
- ⁴² Ibid., 471. This approach is more in keeping with Interpretive Anthropology that attempts to understand cultures from within and emphasizes the creativity of human agency in negotiating and manipulating culture. See: C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973).
- ⁴³ "It is possible to take a variety of stances towards such reifications." In: N. Thomas, "The Inversion of Tradition," 214.
- ⁴⁴ Sahlins was interested in the ways cultural models organize and are influenced by the larger social arena in which they are implemented. Culture, in his view, is: "precisely the organization of the current situation in terms of a past." Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago, 1985), 155.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid., 144. See also F. Braudel, *On History*, tr. S. Matthews (Chicago, 1980), 34.
- ⁴⁶ In Sahlins' work, "old dichotomies such as structure versus individual and external versus internal causal agents are no longer tenable. Structure and agency are not antithetical. Each is inherent in the other and each affects the other in the ongoing processes of historical development." Ohnuki-Tierney, "The Historicization of Anthropology," 24.
- ⁴⁷ Sahlins, *Islands of History*, viii.

- ⁴⁸ Sahlins describes how the Spiritual superstructure of a culture stands Marxism on its head in terms of the relationship between base and superstructure. See, M. Sahlins, "Other Times, Other Customs: The Anthropology of History," *American Anthropologist*, 85, 1983, 520.
- ⁴⁹ E. Wolf, *Europe and The People Without History* (Berkeley, 1982), 383.
- ⁵⁰ E. P. Thompson, *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays* (London, 1978), 346.
- ⁵¹ P. Miller, "Education and The State," 283-305.
- ⁵² In: B. S. Turner, *Max Weber: From History To Modernity* (London, 1992), vii-viii.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, 27.
- ⁵⁴ J. Comaroff and J. Comaroff, *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People* (Chicago, 1985), 261.
- ⁵⁵ Patterson II, P. E., "Kincolith, B. C.: Leadership and Continuity in A Native Christian Village, 1867-1887," *Canadian Journal of Anthropology*, 3, 1982, 45-55. C. R. Bolt, *Thomas Crosby and the Tsimshian: Small Shoes For Feet Too Large* (Vancouver, 1992).
- ⁵⁶ E. Furniss, "Resistance, Coercion and Revitalization: The Shuswap Encounter with Roman Catholic Missionaries, 1860-1900," *Ethnohistory*, 42, 2 (Spring), 1995, 233-234.
- ⁵⁷ M. Fulbrook, "States, Nations and the Development of Europe," in M. Fulbrook (ed.), *National History and European History* (Boulder, 1993), 13. Also, Furet maintains, "History remain a discipline inseparable from the nation, essential to the meaning of nationhood." F. Furet, *In The Workshop of History*, tr. J. Mandelbaum (Chicago, 1984), 1
- ⁵⁸ L. W. Levine, "Clio, Canons and Culture," *The Journal of American History*, 80,(3), 1993, 854.
- ⁵⁹ L. Hunt, "History Beyond Social Theory," in D. Carroll (ed.), *The States of Theory* (New York, 1990), 96.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 399.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.* Prakash refers to the delineation of the experiences of the "alterity" as the basis for post-colonial history writing.
- ⁶² R. Brownlie and M-E Kelm, "Desperately Seeking Absolution: Native Agency as Colonialist Alibi?," *Canadian Historical Review (CHR)*, 85, (4), 1994, 545. Also: D. Cole and I. Chaikin, *An Iron Hand Upon the People: The Law Against The Potlatch on The Northwest Coast* (Vancouver, 1990) and T. Loo, "Dan Cranmer's Potlatch: Law as Coercion, Symbol and Rhetoric in British Columbia, 1884-1951," *CHR*, 73, 2, (1992), 125-165.
- ⁶³ Brownlie and Kelm, *ibid.*, 556.
- ⁶⁴ Peel, J. "Re-presenting History in The Ishewa Past," *Man*, 52, 1989, 200.
- ⁶⁵ One of the first publications to introduce this triadic division of First Nations History is found in: M. McFee, *Modern Blackfeet: Montanians on a Reservation* (New York, 1972). Also: J. R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide The Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto, 1989).
- ⁶⁶ R. Butlin, *Historical Geography: Through The Gates of Space and Time* (London, 1993), 46.
- ⁶⁷ The thesis that we experience nature in cultural terms is explored in: S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York, 1995).
- ⁶⁸ N. Dyck, "An Opportunity Lost: The Initiative of the Reserve Agricultural Programmes in the Prairie West," in F. L. Barron and J. B. Waldram (eds.), *1885 and After: Native Society in Transition* (Regina, 1986), 133-134.
- ⁶⁹ S. Carter, "Two Acres and A Cow," *CHR*, 70, (1), 1989, 27-52.
- ⁷⁰ P. Iverson, *When Indians Became Cowboys: Native Peoples and Cattle Ranching in the American West* (Norman, 1994).
- ⁷¹ R. L. Barsh, "Plains Indian Agrarianism and Class Conflict," *Great Plains Quarterly*, 7, (2), 1989, 83-90.
- ⁷² R. Knight, *Indians at Work: An Informal History of Native Indian Labour in British Columbia, 1858-1930* (Vancouver, 1996) orig. 1978; R. Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890* (Vancouver, 1992) orig. 1977. The importance of wage labour in Indian economies is described in: F. Tough, *As Their Natural Resources Fail: Native Peoples and the Economic History of Northern Manitoba, 1879-1930* (Vancouver, 1996).

- ⁷³ C. McLaughlin, "Nation, Tribe and Class: The Dynamics of Agrarian Transformation on the Fort Berthold Reservation," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 22, (3), 1998, 101-138. This edition is devoted solely to farming and ranching in reserve-based economies. Also: T. Biolsi, "The Birth of The Reservation: Making The Modern Individual Among The Lakota," *American Ethnologist*, 22, (1), 1995, 28-53 explores the inculcation of individualism and a new work ethic among the Lakota.
- ⁷⁴ The culture reproduction thesis is the argument that "the equality of treatment and opportunity eluded marginalized groups." In: J. D. Wilson, "From Social Control To Family Strategies: Some Observations on Recent Trends in Canadian Educational History," *History of Education Review*, 13, (5), 1984, 1-2.
- ⁷⁵ R. A. Trennert Jr., "Corporal Punishment and The Politics of Indian Reform," *History of Education Quarterly*, 29, (4), 1989, 601. This is also the main argument in an earlier work, R. J. Berkhofer, R. Jr. *Salvation and The Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response* (New York, 1976).
- ⁷⁶ H. A. Giroux, "Theories of Reproduction and Resistance in the New Sociology of Education: A Critical Analysis," *Harvard Educational Review*, 53, (3), 1983, 257-293.
- ⁷⁷ J. Gresko, "White 'Rites' and Indian 'Rites': Indian Education and Native Responses in The West, 1870-1910," in A. W. Rasporich (ed.), *Western Canada Past and Present* (Calgary, 1975), 164.
- ⁷⁸ J. D. Wilson, "The New Diversity in Canadian Educational History," *Acadiensis*, 19, (2), 1990, 153.
- ⁷⁹ J. R. Miller, "The Irony of Residential Schooling," *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 14, (2), 1987, 3-14.
- ⁸⁰ P. Axelrod, "Historical Writing and Canadian Education From The 1970s to The 1990s," *History of Education Quarterly*, 1, 1996, 28.
- ⁸¹ D. Wallace, *Education For Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875-1928*, (Lawrence, 1995), 301.
- ⁸² C. Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving The Indian Residential School* (Vancouver: 1988). Other studies include: D. W. Adams, "Fundamental Considerations: The Deep Meaning of Native American Schooling 1880-1900," *Harvard Educational Review*, 58, (1), 1988, 5-28.
- ⁸³ J. R. Miller, *Shinguzuk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto, 1996), 75.
- ⁸⁴ J. D. Wilson suggests the link between industrial capitalism and manipulation of social systems usually made by social control theorists is invalid when applied to 19th century Canadian systems. See: J. D. Wilson, "Some Observations on Recent Trends in Canadian Educational History," in C. Berger, (ed.), *Contemporary Approaches To Canadian History* (Toronto, 1989), 222-237 and J. D. Wilson, "Introduction," in J. D. Wilson (ed.), *An Imperfect Past* (Vancouver, 1984), 11.
- ⁸⁵ Mazurek refers to this as our "fetish with macro forces." In K. Mazurek, "Interpreting Educational History: With comments on the Social Context of Early Public Schooling," in N. Kach *et al* (eds.) *Essays on Canadian Education*, (Calgary, 1986), 29.
- ⁸⁶ A. Green, "Education and State Formation Revisited," *History of Education Review*, 23, (3), 1994, 4.
- ⁸⁷ C. Gaffield, "Coherence and Chaos in Educational Historiography," *Interchange*, 17, (2), 1986, 119.
- ⁸⁸ See: G. Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, tr. A. Goldhammer (Chicago, 1980).
- ⁸⁹ B. Bailyn, *Education in The Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities to Study* (Chapel Hill, 1960), 46.
- ⁹⁰ This follows Gaffield's assertion, we can "no longer perceive a smooth transition from family to school but rather a 'messy' historical process in which families and schools interact in complex ways." C. Gaffield, "Coherence and Chaos in Educational Historiography," 115.
- ⁹¹ The fluid nature of family formation is discussed in: T. K. Hareven, "The History of The Family and the Complexity of Social Change," *American Historical Review*, 96 (1), 1991, 95-124.
- ⁹² J. D. Wilson, "The New Diversity in Canadian Educational History," 153.
- ⁹³ J. W. Grant, *The Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534* (Toronto, 1984).
- ⁹⁴ C. Jaenen, *Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Toronto, 1976).

- ⁹⁵ R. Brightman, "Toward a History of Indian Religion: Religious Change in Native Societies in C. G. Calloway, (ed.), *New Directions in American Indian History*, (Norman, 1988), 46-52.
- ⁹⁶ See: H. M. Vroom, "Syncretism and Dialogue: A Philosophical Analysis," in J. Gort *et al* (eds.) *Dialogue and Syncretism: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, (Amsterdam, 1989), 33.
- ⁹⁷ D. Blanchard, "Patterns of Tradition and Change: The Re-Creation of Iroquois Culture at Kahnawake," Ph.D. *dissertation*, University of Chicago, 1982. Also: W. G. McLaughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839* (New Haven, 1984).
- ⁹⁸ C. G. MacKenzie, "Demythologizing The Missionaries: A Reassessment of The Functions and Relationships of Christian Missionary Education Under Colonialism," *Comparative Education*, 29, (1), 1993, 45, 48.
- ⁹⁹ M. Coleman makes the latter point in, *Presbyterian Attitudes Toward American Indians, 1837-1893*, (Jackson, 1985), 3. Other studies in this tradition include: J. Usher, *William Duncan of Metkakatla: A Victorian Missionary in British Columbia* (Vancouver, 1974) and N. Thomas, "Colonial Conversions: Difference, Hierarchy, and History in Early-Twentieth Century Evangelical Missions," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 34, (2), 1992, 366-389. Studies of missionary discourse are represented by: M. Harkin, "Power and Progress: The Evangelic Dialogue Among The Heiltsuk," *Ethnohistory*, 40, (1), 1993, 1-33 and M. Harkin, "History, Narrative and Temporality: Examples From The Northwest Coast," *Ethnohistory*, 35, (2), 1988, 100-129.
- ¹⁰⁰ M. Whitehead, "Christianity: A Matter of Choice," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 72, (3), 1981, 98-106.
- ¹⁰¹ E. Palmer Patterson II, "Nishga Perceptions of Their First Resident Missionary, The Reverend R. R. A. Doolan (1864-1867)," *Anthropologica*, 30, 1988, 119-135.
- ¹⁰² E. Furniss, *Victims of Benevolence: Discipline and Death at the Williams Lake Indian Residential School 1891-1920* (Williams Lake), 1992.
- ¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 44.
- ¹⁰⁴ E. D. Langer and R. H. Jackson, "Colonial and Republican Missions Compared: The Case of Alta California and Southeastern Bolivia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 30, (2), 1988, 310.
- ¹⁰⁵ J. B. LaGrand, "The Changing 'Jesus Road,' Protestants Reappraise American Indian Missions in the 1920s and the 1930s," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 27, (4), 1996, 479-504.
- ¹⁰⁶ J. Appleby, L. Hunt and M. Jacob, *Telling The Truth About History*, 255-256.
- ¹⁰⁷ Bender states that "[W]hat are termed structural processes are culturally situated practices and the analytical focus should be on the transformations of community by forces of modernity not the moral evaluation of this process." T. Bender, *Community and Social Change in America* (New Brunswick, 1978).
- ¹⁰⁸ S. Schama, *Dead Certainties* (New York, 1992) suggests that this type of approach demands a certain revealed "self-consciousness" in its construction or the simple acceptance of the role of the narrator as interpreter.

*CHAPTER ONE: PEOPLE, CHURCH AND STATE-
MODELS OF THE TSUU T'INA COMMUNITY 1890-1900*

“... no island of history is unconnected to the rest of the world: every historical study must be situated in the context of the world.”¹

E. Obruski-Tiemay, 1990

Introduction - A Letter

On April 27, 1899, Peter Manywounds, a twelve-year old student in the Sarcee Boarding School wrote to members of the Women's Auxiliary of the Anglican Church of Canada in Toronto to thank them for sending him a new suit of clothes:

“I am going to write a short letter to you. I had my hair cut on 17th of April. I am going to send my photo to you. One of my friend have been baptized on last Sunday, his name is David Wolf Carrier. I am trying to be a good boy and obey my teacher, too and learn about my Great Father in heaven. Some of these weeks I am going to be baptized. Now I must close my letter, I have nothing more to say to you.”²

The emergence of “reserve English,” represented in the letter, was a distinctive development of the reserve era.³ Tsuu T'ina English mixed the Tsuu T'ina language with the highly formalized English spoken by mission staff in the Sarcee Boarding School. Even though it was written in the mission setting, the short letter by Peter Manywounds, with its subtleties and nuances of expression, represents the power of Tsuu T'ina culture expressed through language to shape historical experience. The development of Tsuu T'ina English was more of an attempt to make sense of changing circumstances rather than a means to resist or even accept the changes that were occurring.⁴ The letter therefore is a key symbol of historical change and historical process in the Tsuu T'ina community.

The letter, published in the monthly *Leaflet* of the Women's Auxiliary of the Anglican Church of Canada, perhaps, was perceived as “quaint” by its readers and as an example of the “progress” that had been made in the missionization of the Tsuu T'ina people. Tsuu T'ina English, however, became the dominant linguistic code used by members of the Tsuu T'ina community. The use of English in a tribally-specific way conveyed a sense of new

identity while, at the same time, it marked inter-generational differences in the Tsuu T'ina community and the flexible boundaries of the "Indian" and "White" worlds.⁵ The underlying properties and meanings of the Tsuu T'ina language, represented in the letter of Peter Manywounds, provided an organizational framework for interpreting the ongoing changes occurring in Tsuu T'ina culture.

The life of Peter Manywounds, along with other Tsuu T'ina individuals, form connecting threads through the following history of the Tsuu T'ina community. Peter Manywounds was the son of Many Wounds, a respected warrior and medicine man, and a woman whose name is lost to posterity.⁶ It was Many Wounds who recounted his memories of the terrible smallpox epidemic of the 1870s to ethnologist, Diamond Jenness in 1921. Peter Manywounds was among the first generation of students to graduate from the Sarcee Boarding School. He went on to spend four years in the Calgary Industrial School and was married to Jane Potts, a graduate of the Red Deer Industrial School in 1909. They had two children, one of whom, died at age ten. His wife died in 1919 and he subsequently remarried a Cree woman.

There were eight children born to Peter Many Wounds and his second wife between 1922 and 1939. Five survived to adulthood. Throughout his life, he worked hard as a farmer, rancher and a labourer drawing food rations only when needed. He participated in the annual traditional religious ceremonies of the Tsuu T'ina and became a warden at St. Barnabas Church founded by the Church Missionary Society on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve. His school friend, David Wolf Carrier, like many others of his generation, died of tuberculosis in 1912.

Models of Community -The Tsuu T'ina People

Indian Commissioner Hayter Reed described the parents of Peter Manywounds and

others of their generation in 1888, as “the hardest to induce to take up manual toil.”⁷ These individuals experienced the extreme cultural dislocation that occurred among Northern Plains Indians between roughly 1850 and the first decade of reserve life before 1890. The destruction of the buffalo herds effectively removed the economic base of the Plains Indian adaptation and fundamentally undermined the cultural ethos of these short-lived equestrian cultures.

The introduction of the horse increased the mobility of the Tsuu T’ina and other Plains Indians and became the main standard for measuring wealth. The infusion of new forms of material culture during the Fur Trade era created new networks of social exchange and an increasing dependency on items of non-native manufacture. The cultures of the Northern Plains region, in which horse raiding and the cult of inter-tribal warfare formed a central part, were comparatively recent and short-lived adaptations that arose during a period of dramatic and accelerating change.⁸

The short-lived equestrian culture to which the Tsuu T’ina belonged prior to their settlement on a reserve on the southwest edge of the city of Calgary, Alberta, commenced with the introduction of the horse and new forms of trade goods and guns. The horse culture flourished for perhaps a century before being irrevocably changed by the cumulative effects of white settlement, social upheaval and the cumulative effects of European-introduced diseases.⁹

The Tsuu T’ina have their own idea regarding their origins:

“There was no land, only water. Old Man called muskrat and said “I am going to make land.” He gave muskrat a bit of dirt and said, “be very careful with this, run around it, and as it grows larger, keep running around it, so muskrat ran around it. But the bit of dirt did not grow. Old Man said, ‘I know the trouble, I shall have to get different dirt.’ He sent muskrat to dive into the depths of the water and said, ‘try hard to get a bit of mud from the bottom.’ Muskrat dived three times and the fourth time he touched bottom and got a bit of mud under his nails. When he came up Old Man took the mud, rolled it between his palms and it began to swell.

When it was large as he could handle, he called muskrat, and said, 'keep going around this earth. Do not stop, because it must be large earth, there will be many people.' Muskrat started to run around and around the swelling disc, which became constantly larger. Soon it was as large as Old Man desired it. He thought of making a man. He took a piece of clay and created people. He made birds and animals of different clays. The crow was among the last. He said, 'I have no good clay. I forgot you.' He took charcoal and made the crow. He said 'you will be in every Society.' He took a long stick and as he walked he struck the earth in various paces, and formed streams. He told humans, beasts and birds how they should do. When he was ready to leave the earth he remembered that he had not created the Sarcee. He rolled up some red clay and made them."¹⁰

The Tsuu T'ina are identified in the historical records as either "Sarcee Indians" or "Sarsi Indians." They were first recognized as a "distinct band of equestrian Indians" or Plains Indians by Matthew Cocking, a trader with the Hudson Bay Company, in 1770-1771.¹¹ Tsuu T'ina means "many people" and suggests the Tsuu T'ina were once more numerous. Chief Bullhead informed members of the British Association For The Advancement of Science in the late 1880s, when he was a child the Tsuu T'ina were, "in number like the grass."¹² Early 19th century estimates of the Tsuu T'ina population range from between 720 and 1200 individuals.¹³

Historical records indicate the Tsuu T'ina followed a shifting pattern of allegiance throughout the first part of the 19th century: first, with the Cree of central and northern Alberta and, later with the Blackfoot Indians further south (Figure 2).¹⁴ The result of prolonged contact with the Blackfoot tribes resulted in the borrowing of many customs and practices. Diamond Jenness maintained in 1921, that although "in physique, mentality, dress and customs they seem[ed] hardly distinguishable from the Blackfoot, the Tsuu T'ina [had] preserved their Athapaskan tongue almost unchanged."¹⁵

Their linguistic affiliation together with shared oral traditions of separation provides the basis for inferring the Tsuu T'ina were once Beaver Indians or "*Tsattine*" of the Peace River country. There are a number of different legends, shared by the Tsuu T'ina and the

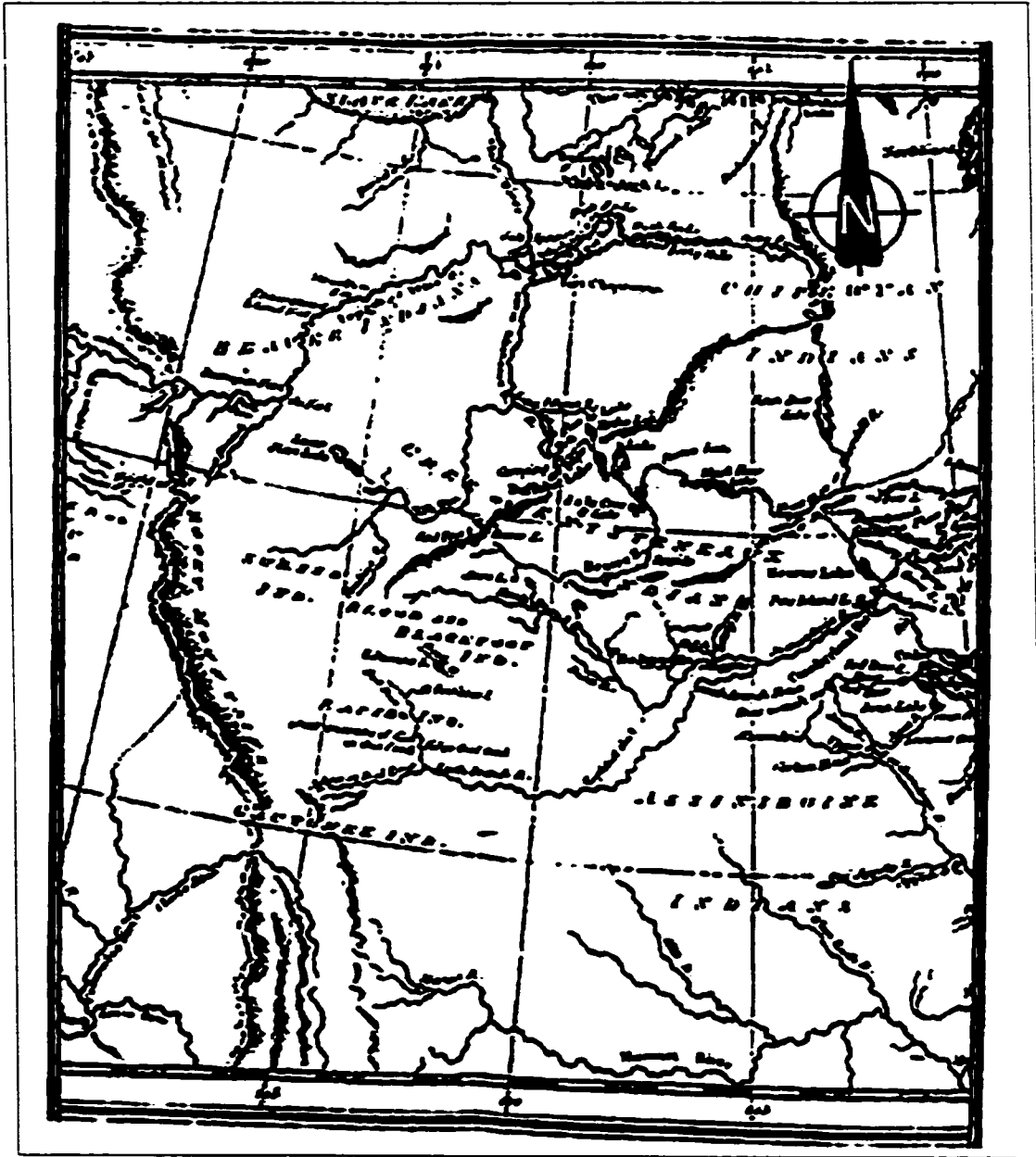


Figure 2: Location of Indian Territories, c. 1810 (Harmon 1911)

Tsattine, that account for the division. One account describes the split occurring as the result of a quarrel between two chiefs. Another legend recounts how a woman pulled on a horn frozen in the surface of a lake the tribe was crossing. The ice split and the two groups, who would later become the Tsuu T'ina and the Beaver or Tsattine, were formed.¹⁶ The Tsuu T'ina probably severed affiliation with the Beaver Indians before or during the mid-eighteenth century when Cree trappers penetrated the Peace River area.¹⁷

Regardless of the sharing of certain customs and extensive intermarriage with Blackfoot and Cree Indians during the historic period, the Tsuu T'ina continued to assert their political autonomy following the assignation of reserve lands in common with the Blackfoot under the terms of Treaty 7 in 1877. The Tsuu T'ina, due to continuing disputes with the Blackfoot, moved to their present location on a reserve at the southwest corner of what was then Fort Calgary in 1881. Chief Bullhead, the Head Chief of the Tsuu T'ina and chief signatory of Treaty, had petitioned Edgar Dewdney, the Indian Commissioner, for reserve lands at the new location. The population at the time of their move to the new reserve on Fish or Wolf Creek was estimated at less than 500.¹⁸

There were five band groupings among the Tsuu T'ina recorded on the first treaty payrolls (Table 2).¹⁹ Jenness described Tsuu T'ina bands prior to the Treaty era as consisting of bilateral-extended family units. Bands consisted of several brothers and their wives or several sisters and their husbands and their children.²⁰ It is not known how Tsuu T'ina population decline due to the cumulative effects of disease, malnutrition and social upheaval in the early and mid-19th century later affected band composition or size. The "band," rather than the "tribe," was the local residential or territorial unit and the basic social, political and economic entity in Tsuu T'ina culture.²¹

The social and political organization of the Tsuu T'ina prior to Treaty 7 was reconstructed by Diamond Jenness in 1921 based on the memory-culture accounts of his Tsuu T'ina informants. He characterized the Tsuu T'ina band system as a fluid form of social organization, highly flexible in composition with both kin and band affiliation a matter of individual choice. Inter-band relationships were established through networks of kinship, marriage, friendship and territorial ties.²²

Table 2: Tsuu T'ina Bands 1877 and 1921

Treaty Paylists 1877-1878*		Jenness 1921
Big Plume's Band	287	Big Plume's Band
Bullhead's Band	134	Crowchild's Band
Painted Otter's Band	43	Crow Chief's Band
Little Drum's Band	145	Old Sarcee's Band
Many Horses' Band	63	Many Horses' Band

*including number of members

There is some indication Tsuu T'ina bands differentiated themselves on the basis of tribal origins. Reverend E. F. Wilson, for example, in his report of 1886 described two bands of Sarcee - the "Blood Sarcee" and the "Real Sarcee."²³ Jenness described five local settlements of family groupings in 1921 in which some were identified as "pure" Sarcee while others were described as "mixed-bloods" of Cree, Blackfoot and Blood Indian origins (Table 2).

The economic and social underpinnings of Tsuu T'ina society in the pre-reserve era was strongly "egalitarian." There was collective ownership of the means of production, a reciprocal right of access to resources, generalized reciprocity and lack of emphasis on accumulation together with universal access to all the "forces" of production.²⁴ There was, however, a clear-cut division of labour and power determined along age and gender lines. The political power of the male heads of households, based on an earlier pattern of control over reciprocity and the redistribution of goods, was augmented and strengthened during the

early reserve years. The underlying principles of a highly-flexible kin-based society with elements of egalitarianism and marked social stratification and hierarchy based on age and gender provided the basic organizational framework for the development of early Tsuu T'ina reserve-based culture.²⁵

Band leadership among the Tsuu T'ina similarly reflected the presence of elements of social hierarchy and stratification prior to the settlement of the Tsuu T'ina on their reserve near Calgary. Leadership was based on prestige gained through wealth in horses and other material possessions and bravery in warfare. Eagle Rib, a highly-respected warrior and spiritual leader, informed ethnologist Pliny Goddard in 1905 that leaders were also expected to be generous, to give advice and to settle disputes. Chiefs were often owners of Sacred Pipes. They had earned the right to wear scalp shirts and to wear certain regalia.²⁶ Medicine Men or religious leaders, on the other hand, were responsible for diagnosing illness and for healing the sick. They were believed to have the power of prophecy and used this power to “look for enemies” during war campaigns.²⁷ Healers were paid in horses, clothing and other goods for their services.²⁸

There is clear evidence of a patrilineal bias in leadership carried forward into the reserve period. Leadership was often passed from father to son, father to nephew or from brother to brother. Chief Bullhead's immediate predecessor was his brother who went by the same name. The transfer of leadership was conferred when the older brother passed his name and his gun to his younger brother naming him as head chief.²⁹ Band leaders were often close relatives. This custom functioned to consolidate the political power of certain family groups. From 1879 to 1890, the minor chiefs included Painted Otter and Big Plume who were brothers of Bullhead, the Head Chief of the Tsuu T'ina. Band leaders representing four bands of the Tsuu T'ina appear as signatories of Treaty 7. They included: Chief

Bullhead's Band and those of three minor chiefs: Eagle Robe, Many Horses and The Drum. The consensual basis of decision-making and the shifting nature of band membership reinforced the informal nature of band leadership.

During the first two decades on the reserve, the Tsuu T'ina people lived in either four or five band groupings. There were also small settlements of Metis families who lived on the west side of the reserve and with several Tsuu T'ina families at the northeast crossing of the Elbow River. The Tsuu T'ina bands initially formed scattered groupings around the site of the Indian Agency buildings and mission located on the southeast corner of the reserve. The earliest inhabitants of the reserve designated this site as "Old Agency."

The Tsuu T'ina model of kinship based on their Athapaskan heritage, as reconstructed by Diamond Jenness, was a bilateral system in which kinship relationships for the purposes of marriage, inheritance and descent were traced on both the mother's and the father's side. A bilocal pattern of post-marital residence was followed in which a married couple would live with either the bride's or the groom's parents. The Tsuu T'ina kinship system closely followed that of the Tsattine or Beaver Indians.³⁰ Relatives among the Tsuu T'ina, in one's own and adjacent generations fell into two categories: "mothers" and fathers" or "sons" and "daughters." Potential spouses, for example, fell in the first category.³¹ These terms, however, did not reflect solely biological relationships between individuals but rather provided an organizational framework within which Tsuu T'ina social organization and the regulation of marriage were organized. This form of kinship reckoning reinforced the close relationships between individuals and generally favoured band exogamy.

Marriages between Tsuu T'ina individuals and persons from other tribes were commonplace. The levirate was practised whereby a man might marry his brother's widow and look after his children. Polygamy also was practised by men of high rank and wealth.

This custom was marked by sororal polygamy whereby a man often would marry sisters. Marriages between either parallel cousins who were the children of same-sex siblings and cross-cousins who represented the offspring of brothers and sisters were prohibited.

The most desirable marriage partners for young men were the daughters of wealthy chiefs or warriors. Horses were the main standard of wealth in Tsuu T'ina society. A man could share in his father-in-law's excellent horses in hunting, and successful war records brought prestige to a family including its daughters. The daughters of parents who had given a Sun Dance and gained wide respect in Tsuu T'ina society also fell into the category of desired marriage partners. Honigmann suggests a degree of class endogamy based on material wealth characterized Tsuu T'ina marriage practices.³² A large marriage settlement, which might include horses, clothing, buckskin and weapons paid to the father of the bride, conferred great prestige on a man.

While the role of males in Tsuu T'ina society was augmented following the imposition of European customs and practices, traditional methods for determining kinship, marriage partners and status were more slowly undermined. Distinctions were made between older and younger individuals in Tsuu T'ina kinship terminology. Honigmann suggests these distinctions had been dropped by the 1940s because there was less control over younger children by older siblings.³³ It appears the underlying Athapaskan-pattern of Tsuu T'ina kinship was supplanted prior to the reserve era by an increasing tendency towards a patrilineal system that emphasized patrilocal residence. The patrilineal/patrilocal pattern and the existence of age-graded Religious Societies to which most Tsuu T'ina males belonged at some point in their lives, were quite possibly a result of intermarriage and contact with the Blackfoot tribes. Chief Bullhead and his brothers, for example, were of Blood-Sarcee descent.

The replacement of what was originally a bilateral and bilocal system by a patrilocal and patrilineal structure among the Tsuu T'ina and new requirements for the communal redistribution of food and new forms of goods by band leaders were important cultural determinants in the later development of a reserve-based economy.³⁴ This may have predisposed the Tsuu T'ina to the acceptance of certain European ideas of land tenure and male power. The centralization of political power for men had not been present in the Tsuu T'ina past but derived from the European concept of vesting severality or individualized land holding in the hands of the male heads of family units.

State Models of Community - Creating an Indian Citizenry

Individual ownership of land was the cornerstone of late 19th century Canadian Government Indian policies. The discourse of Government officials stressed citizenship as the ultimate goal for the Tsuu T'ina and other native people. The numbered treaties, the consolidated Indian Act of 1876 and its subsequent amendments, all were written in the language of British jurisprudence based on the principle of land severalty. The initial plan of the Federal Government was to subdivide Indian reserves into lots with each male family head receiving a location ticket covering the land to which he was entitled.³⁵ The documents that framed Indian policy emphasized enfranchisement as a form of reward for Indian acceptance of "civic responsibility."³⁶

As early as 1879, John A. Macdonald, then Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, suggested the "old tribal system" and government "state of tutelage" prevented Indians from "assimilating with the rest of the population and assuming all the rights, privileges and immunities of citizens."³⁷ The "roaming life" the Tsuu T'ina had followed was believed to be incompatible with civilization and the requirements of citizenship. Government policies

from the Riel Rebellion of 1885 to the turn of the century were based on restrictions, rewards and encouragement intended to inculcate the values of self-sufficiency, free enterprise and individualism among groups such as the Tsuu T'ina.

Ideas regarding the development of a native citizenry were guided by the ideologies of progress and rationalism. Progress itself was not a uniform concept in the Victorian consciousness. McPherson in *Between Two Worlds: Victorian Ambivalence About Progress*, suggests the Victorian world, from which Canadian Indian policy derived, was caught between two views of progress—the first, a “cyclical” search for the perfect civil society; the second, a continuous “linear” idea of progress as the “definitive law of human nature” and development.³⁸ The Victorians created an image of the past to fit their ideology of progress. The projection of these models of “perfection” onto native communities was an implicit part of State and Church strategies of Indian management in the late 19th century.

McPherson further suggests the struggle to reconcile ideal and material dimensions of linear views of industrial progress infused mid- and late Victorian debate. This struggle was reflected directly in attempts to measure Indian progress. The degree to which “material” versus “ideal” dimensions of social change should be emphasized contributed to the inherent tension between Church and State. The external signs of material advancement of Indians were often confused with the internalization and acceptance of the values and beliefs which agents of the Church and State attempted to instill.

In the late 19th century discourse of representatives of the Department of Indian Affairs, the category “Indian” provided a vehicle upon which a utopian vision of an ideal agrarian community could be projected.³⁹ Ideas of the “Indian” were created based on a set of European standards values that vacillated between an idealized Indian past and the perceived degradation of the Indian present. Indians were depicted as an impoverished

category of individuals who were deficient in the arts of civilization.⁴⁰ Native individuals were classified according to their respective economic statuses: *destitute* if they were “aged, “feeble” or “sickly” or *able-bodied*” if they were deemed able to work.⁴¹ The Indian Department maintained a dual focus on the amelioration of the social and environmental conditions of native people and on fostering their mental enlightenment. Officials believed the progress of the Indian towards complete civilization would be rapid with, “his eventual emancipation from the [*present*] state of ignorance, superstition etc.”⁴²

There was a shift in the overarching policies of Church and State between 1890 and 1900 from a concern with creating moral communities on Indian reserves to a new goal of integrating native peoples into the modern industrial Canadian state as a subgroup of working class society. It was not a consistent policy through time of “protection, civilization, and assimilation,” as Tobias argues in *Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy*.⁴³ The overarching scheme of native citizenship derived first from a reworking of the Indian character grounded in the religious eschatology of the Evangelical movement. The supplanting of this model of citizenship by a more secular orientation, which sought to improve the external conditions of Indian life, characterized the transition from late 19th to early 20th century Indian policies in Canada.

The duties of employees of the Department of Indian Affairs within the goals of creating a native citizenry essentially were to teach native people to become “self-supporting” by both “deed and example.”⁴⁴ Employees were expected to be honest, to have good moral principles and not to live “improperly with Indian women.”⁴⁵ A circular in 1886 required all Indian Agents to report examples of “immorality” on Indian Reserves directly to the Indian Commissioner.⁴⁶ Government employees, particularly the Indian Agent and his family, were to act as role models for Indian people. The Indian Commissioner reported

improvements in the Tsuu T'ina condition in 1885 because they had “before them a white family ... who showed them sympathy and take an interest in their improvement.”⁴⁷

The presumption on the part of government officials was that policies embodying a strong work ethic and entrepreneurial individualism made “inherent sense” to native persons. It is clear, however, that such policies often were impractical and untenable in practice. This was particularly evident in the inconsistencies and contradictions in the system of rewards and punishments that were imposed. Federal policies were interpreted, modified and acted upon at the reserve level according to cultural factors and indigenous forms of hierarchical leadership and social control. Constraints imposed primarily by environment, demography and extra-societal factors affected the successful realization of government plans for native people. The management practices employed by individual Indian Agents and missionaries also were significant factors in the development of a Tsuu T'ina reserve-based culture.

The Church Model of a Moral Christian Community

The development of a Christian mission on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve originated with the establishment of a Church Missionary Society (CMS) settlement by Reverend Robert Inkster in 1885. A mission house, school and church formed the organizational components of the St. Barnabas Parish. The parish was under the direct control of the Anglican Church which rigorously defended its ecclesiastical control of the Tsuu T'ina territory from the incursions of other churches. The establishment of the CMS mission began the long process of introducing a formal system of institutionalized education and a new methods of socialization to the Tsuu T'ina.

Initial attempts to convert the Tsuu T'ina were unsuccessful. The Indian Commissioner reported their general lack of progress was because the Tsuu T'ina were “the

least civilized of any in the North-West Territory.”⁴⁸ The first Tsuu T’ina baptism of an infant took place in 1894.⁴⁹ The first record of adult baptisms was in 1896 when two adult men who were ex-pupils were baptized by Reverend John William Tims.⁵⁰

The Tsuu T’ina mission was founded on the same theological tenets that characterized the 19th century transatlantic Evangelical revival. Proponents of this movement generally held to the Wesleyan view that “even the most poorly endowed had a duty to seek self-improvement and that idleness was a sin from which Man (writ large) could be saved.”⁵¹ The Christian Bible, a central tool of English literacy training in the Tsuu T’ina community, was seen as a popular and accessible source of religious truth and for conduct in everyday life. Evangelicalism rejected both formalized systems of theology and traditional hierarchies of religious authority in favour of an intense stress on the conversion of individuals, the experiential nature of religious life and of God’s dynamic presence in the human and natural worlds.⁵²

Proponents of the evangelical movement stressed “otherworldliness” and emphasized Christian practice as a form of “atonement for human sin.”⁵³ The evangelical revival was intimately associated with the progressive advance of human knowledge and social improvement. The general objectives of Church Missionary Society (CMS) representatives in the Tsuu T’ina community - to “Christianize” and “civilize” the native - were very much in keeping with the central tenets of the evangelical movement and its strong individual work ethic. The process of converting the Tsuu T’ina to Christianity was part of a worldwide evangelical revival. The supreme objective of CMS movement was to convert the entire world to their form of Christianity. The Honorary Secretary of the Church Missionary Society identified this goal on the hundredth anniversary of its founding in 1896, “to preach the Gospel to every creature, to make disciples of all nations.”⁵⁴ Church

Missionary Society officials assumed that converts would emerge within native populations and continue the work of proselytizing.

CMS Missionaries appointees to the Tsuu T'ina Reserve and other native communities sought to change not only the ways of work and politics of native people but also their innermost feelings, beliefs and deepest held values. These missionaries, as Beidelmann argues in "Contradictions Between The Sacred and The Secular," may be considered the most ambitious and cultural pervasive of all colonialists.⁵⁵ Such individuals viewed themselves apart from the Tsuu T'ina. Missionaries used a special language and were markedly different in their material goods and possessions.

The Establishment of St. Barnabas Mission

Emissaries of the evangelical movement to the Tsuu T'ina Reserve included Reverend Stanley Gibbon-Stocken appointed after Inkster in 1888 and Reverend John William Tims, who succeeded Gibbon-Stocken in 1895. These individuals, like many of their 19th century counterparts, were "not quite gentlemen." They came from lower middle class backgrounds and aspired to higher middle class standing in their roles as missionaries outside the immediate contexts of their missions.⁵⁶ The training of CMS missionaries stressed the heroic nature of the missionary enterprise and the heavenly rewards of a life of sacrifice in the cause of their assigned duties..

The ideals of the wider evangelical movement clearly were reflected in the instructions delivered to John William Tims upon his first assignment to the Blackfoot Reserve in 1883:

"[T]he encouragement the source of strength is the conviction that the Lord is employing you as His servant and that you are always in His Presence upheld by the Power. You have yourself been made to partake of redemption through the blood of the Lamb. Forgive, accepted, adopted, under preparation for an eternity of unselfish love in conscious union with the Lord Jesus and with the Church which is His Body, you wish to begin upon earth a self-renouncing life of ministering love to Him to those whom He died to save."⁵⁷

Indian reserves for such individuals were perceived as moral landscapes in which missionaries were to play an essentially heroic role fighting the forces of evil. The necessity of personal conversion and sacrifice were an implicit part of the missionary orientation. The 1890 instructions to J. W. Tims upon his return to the mission field underscored this: “you will soon have the further joy of welcoming into Christian fellowship those who have believed in Christ and have openly conferred Him by baptism.”⁵⁸

CMS missionaries such as Tims employed a special language. Their discourse, used to impose a dominant conception of the world through the school and in church services, included a close highly-codified pattern of speech in which biblical references, maxims and aphorisms provided the dominant sources of metaphor. The virtues of industriousness, responsibility, respectability and temperance formed the building blocks of CMS teaching.⁵⁹ The missionary message was about thrift, character and duty and what was appropriate. Tims, like many missionaries of the time, equated the external representations of Victorian ideals - cleanliness, Western dress, tidy and comfortable homes and church involvement - with spiritual conversion and cultural assimilation.

John William Tims was the CMS missionary in the Tsuu T'ina community between 1895 and 1930. He often referred to the retrogressive influences of camp life and of native traditions. Tsuu T'ina children were the prime focus of Tim's mission and the school was viewed the central agent of moral reform in the Tsuu Tina community. Moral and religious training were stressed in the Sarcee Boarding School. In his annual report for 1897, Tims stated:

“The discipline exercised is kind but very firm, both in the classroom and at industrial work. This is entirely wanting in the camplife of the Indians and it was difficult at first to persuade the parents that it was necessary. The real gentlemanly behavior of some of the children has attracted the Indians and been a help to us. In the moral and religious training every effort has been to appeal to the children individually. The intellect and

conscious have been awakened in some at least and they act, from a knowledge of what is rather than fear of punishment.”

Tims' mission, despite his assertion otherwise, included corporal punishment for children in the classroom. There was a strong element of forcefulness in his approach. The evangelical work, which Tims determined for himself involved, in his words, “the effort to get hold of the heathen and teach him Christianity, the sinfulness of sin and the need of a saviour.”⁶⁰ Teaching the “sinfulness of sin” directly to Tsuu T’ina children included strong negative evaluations of their parents, their home lives and Tsuu T’ina cultural traditions. Tims only saw that the beginning of Indian salvation was baptism; the march to civilization a matter of “the invigorating action of Christ.”⁶¹ The educational philosophy of John William Tims, which he applied both at the Blackfoot Mission and on the Tsuu T’ina Reserve and from which he never deviated during his life, involved a belief in the inherent superiority of Europeans and of European culture. This belief together the certainty of the triumph of Christianity over pagan beliefs were the foundations of his personal mission.

Forms of mission-derived knowledge, regardless of how strong the message and how rigidly it was enforced, were not part of a “fixed system of beliefs and practices” imposed upon Tsuu T’ina individuals. Rather, the Tsuu T’ina developed new definitions and ways of thinking about themselves.⁶² They selectively chose from new parameters surrounding life rites, sickness and death and new forms of material culture, food and feasting, language, vocabulary and ritual introduced into their community. Mission-based schooling created new categories of childhood, maturity, and marriage. Church-based activities formed new ways of viewing the sacred and profane, of opposition and concordance. The Tsuu T’ina chose from a series of possibilities and applied new religious knowledge in social interactions within the constraints of the reserve environment and in relation to the outside world.⁶³

Models of Indian Schooling and Childhood

The Evangelical Movement also fostered a new set of beliefs and practices surrounding childhood. The basic societal ideal underlying CMS attitudes was the belief in the essential unity of the human family. The perceived degradation of native peoples was due only to their state of isolation and ignorance.⁶⁴ The belief that there was the potential for “psychological” progress in the transition from childhood to adulthood had profound consequences for the development and shaping of a system of Indian education. The transition from the world of childhood to that of adulthood was held to be inseparable from the “civilizing process.” The history of the child was viewed as a history of progress and of the control of human instincts.⁶⁵ These underlying tenets would frame the basis for changing educational policies pertaining to native children in the ensuing decades.

Cunningham suggests the construction of childhood is a continuous process and that “childhood” is never fixed and constant.⁶⁶ The flexibility of what constituted Tsuu T’ina childhood in the relatively short era of day schooling prior to 1894 contrasted with the institutionalizing of a boarding school system between 1894 and 1921. Tsuu T’ina students were removed from the production process for longer periods of time without regular breaks once a boarding school system was established. Children in the boarding school system were treated in much the same way as the “destitute,” in all reserve communities. Government officials viewed individuals classified in this manner as an impoverished and dependent class. After 1921, the Sarcee Boarding School became a combined hospital and day school with a different set of meanings constructed around childhood and health in the Tsuu T’ina community.

The early educational philosophy of the Department of Indian Affairs included the view that education would have little benefit for Indian adults. Indian Commissioner Edgar

Dewdney stated in 1883, “little could be done which will have a permanent effect with the adult Indian ... we must take charge of the youth and keep him constantly within the circle of civilization.”⁶⁷ Adolescence was not recognized as a separate stage of childhood. The ability to participate in the “work” of the school, however, clearly separated older and younger children in the minds of school officials. The extent to which individual students were able to contribute to production in the school was equated with the degree of progress achieved on the road to adulthood.⁶⁸ The institutionalization of day and boarding schools therefore imposed a new set of meanings of “childhood” and “adulthood.” These meanings were no longer intrinsically related to either the native production process or the early reserve economy.

Indian schooling, from the start, resembled the factory with its strong emphasis on regimentation and its uniformity. Titley, in *Canadian Education: Historical Themes and Contemporary Issues*, suggests “no institution can be comprehended without resort to its origins.”⁶⁹ The vocabulary of Indian schooling, in this regard, was that of the workplace. Students were referred to as “earners” of the per annum grant. There was little provision for either vacation time or for recreation in the first decades of government-sponsored Indian schooling. Hayter Reed, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, assumed all students were lodged and maintained at the boarding school for the duration of the year.⁷⁰ Reed opposed their returning home but endorsed camping and other outdoor activities with staff members.

The objectives of early native education were influenced by the ideas of educational reformer, Edgerton Ryerson. Ryerson did not foresee native education resulting in a group of highly-trained technical workers who would be integrated into white society. His objectives for Indian people, were to make “them equal to whitemen by the process of

education ... better prepared to go back to their reserves and set an example to other members of the band.”⁷¹ The Indian Department, however, followed a contradictory policy between 1880 and 1910 as to whether “segregation” or “integration” was to be the ultimate goal of native education in relation to broader Canadian society.

The “Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half Breeds” prepared for the Department of Indian Affairs by Nicholas Flood Davin in 1879 advocated a policy of “aggressive civilization” for citizenship based on industrial school training and the development of individual land tenure.⁷² Indian Department officials promoted a “plain English education adapted to the needs of the working farmer and mechanic” at the turn of the century. Like Ryerson, Davin did not endorse higher education for native students.⁷³ Ebenezer McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, who was responsible for writing the curricula for native schools, noted that once students had completed, “the prescribed courses laid down in the Program of Studies saving in very exceptional cases they will have received a good serviceable education.”⁷⁴ Curricula designed for Indian Schools therefore made the limitations of Indian schooling quite clear.

Models of Time and Space

The successful realization of the utilitarian goals of education described by government officials and the building of an autonomous agrarian-based reserve community were constrained by the limits of the agricultural potential of the Tsuu T’ina reserve lands.⁷⁵ The reserve lands are the “other” presence in Tsuu T’ina history. At the time of its original designation, the reserve included Township 23 Range 2, 3 and 4 West of the 5th Meridian. It formed part of an open range land that was continuous with surrounding white settlement prior to the construction of a reserve fence in 1905.

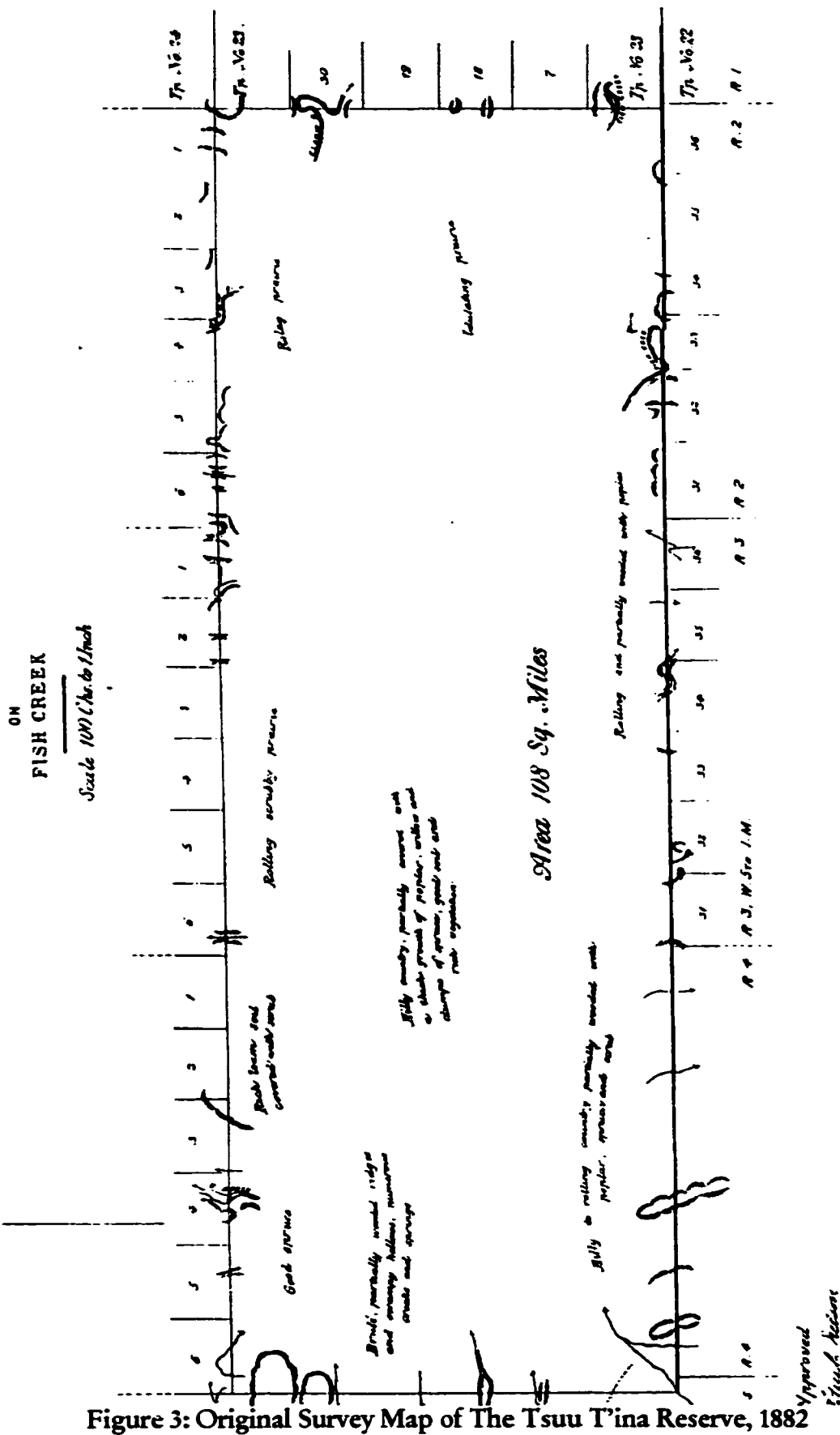


Figure 3: Original Survey Map of The Tsuu T'ina Reserve, 1882

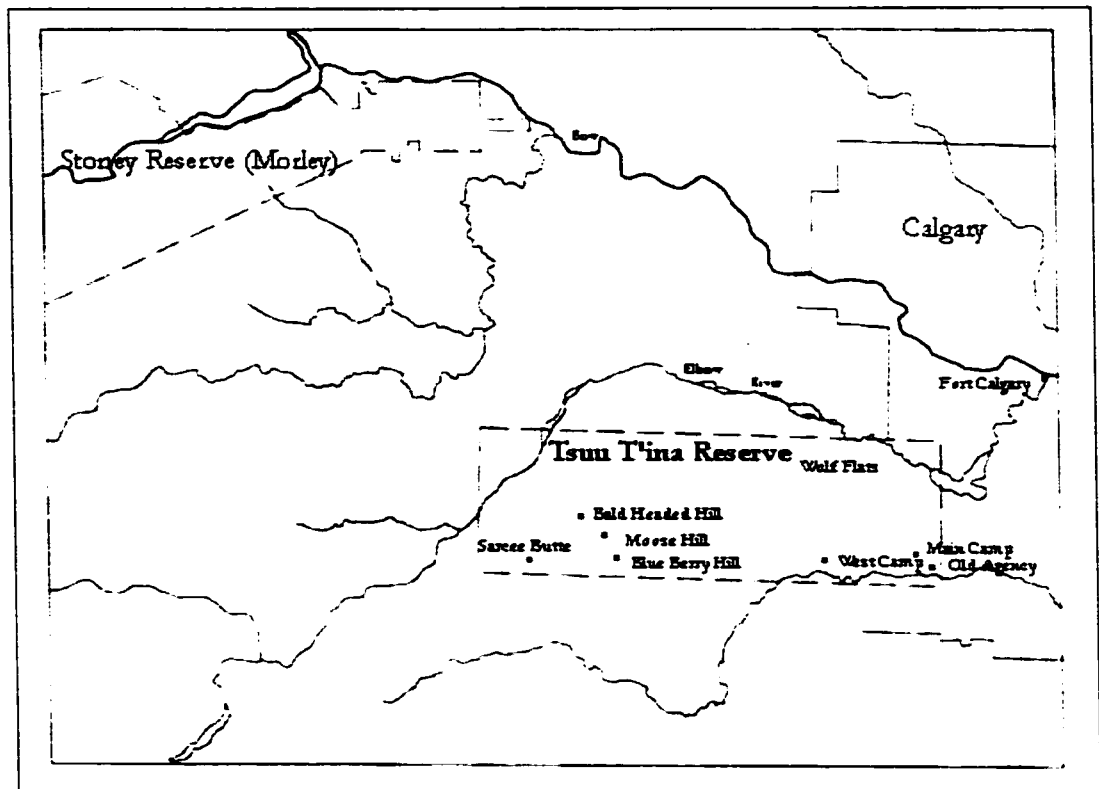


Figure 4: Original and Current Boundaries Tsuu T'ina Reserve

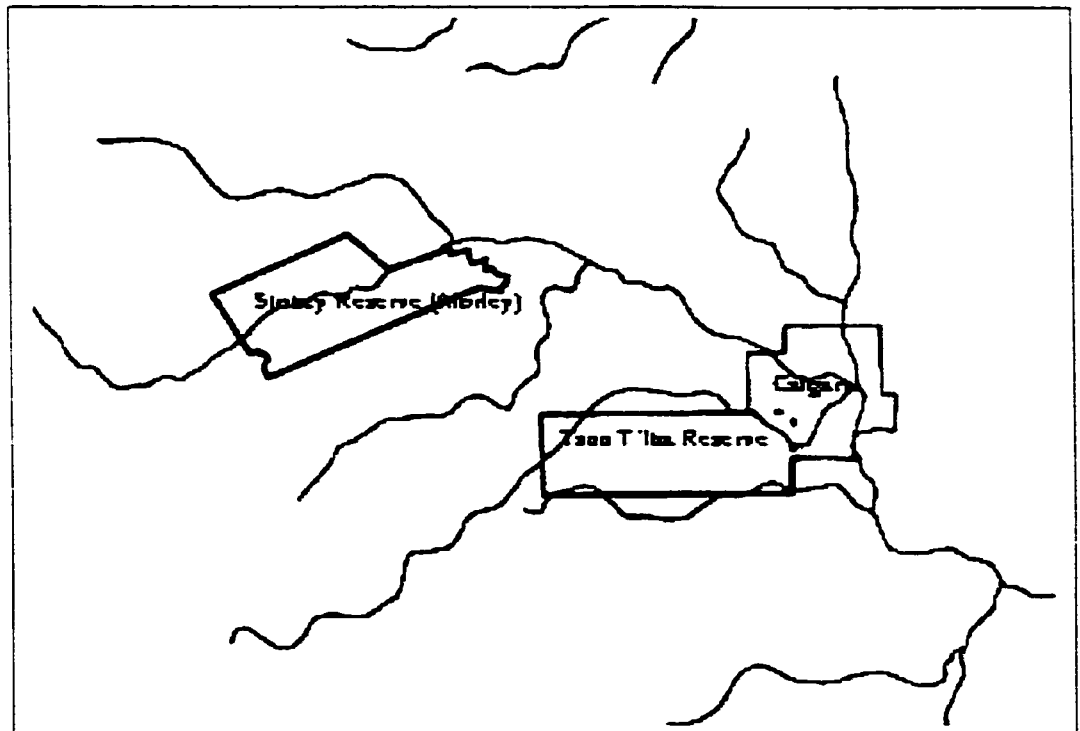


Figure 5: Position of Tsuu T'ina Reserve

There was originally a total of approximately 69,826 acres set aside as reserve land. The initial survey of the reserve described the land as “well-watered” with “black loam soil suitable for agriculture” (Figure 3).⁷⁶ This description, however, was at variance with later findings indicating only fifty-two percent of the soils on the reserve fell into the Canadian Land Inventory Classes 2 to 4 for agriculture. There were no areas of Class No. 1 land regarded as excellent for agriculture.⁷⁷ Very little No. 2 land lay on the reserve and all of it was located at the east side.⁷⁸ The west side of the reserve included considerable stands of poplar and willow.

The main problems encountered in agricultural development were the limitations imposed by climate, topography and soil moisture-holding capability. Only 9,700 acres of the total reserve lands were suitable for agriculture and most of these fell into the category of 90 frost free days or less.⁷⁹ The rest of the arable land was subject to early frosts or was wet or both and so ranked lower than Class No. 2. Annual rainfall was about 17 inches annually in the east township, 18 or 19 inches in the central township and about 24 inches on the west side of the west township. Frost was a constant hazard to crop production on the Tsuu T’ina Reserve from the outset. The east side of the reserve had 90 to 100 frost-free days, the west 60 frost-free days or less.

The Tsuu T’ina Reserve was bounded by the Elbow River in the northwest and northeast corners and Fish Creek, known by the Tsuu T’ina as Wolf Creek, in the south. The reserve lands were crosscut by a series of trails providing the major transportation and communication links with other reserves and the city of Calgary (Figures 4 and 5). The main trail on the reserve ran in a northerly direction from the Old Agency site, crossed the Elbow River at the Weaselhead Crossing and changed its course to a more northwesterly direction to the city limits. The city of Calgary was between seven and eight miles away from the

reserve between the 1880s and 1940.

The Tsuu T'ina Reserve land provided the physical setting for the establishment of a hierarchical colonial administrative structure. This structure was established firmly in the Tsuu T'ina community by the time the first generation of Tsuu T'ina students were enrolled in the St. Barnabas Boarding School in 1893. Power within the new administrative structure was defined according to three domains: The Agency, The Parish and The Tsuu T'ina Band structure. St. Barnabas Parish, named for the patron saint of missionaries, operated under the auspices of a Church Missionary representative. The Indian Agent, and to a lesser extent, his clerk and a farm instructor, controlled the operations of the Sarcee Indian Agency. The Agency and The Parish were the local forms of State and Church control.

Symbolic expressions of Church and State domains of power were reflected in the architecture and spatial layout of the mission/agency site. Such loci were modeled after village communities and were intended to be the prototypes of all future Indian settlement patterns. The Assistant Indian Commissioner had made this quite clear in his instructions to Indian Agents in 1889. Local officials were told to use the term "village" and not "camp" to refer to Indian settlements so as to avoid the impression that people were still living in their "primitive condition."⁸⁰

The Agency site provided the focal point for the direction of economic training for the adult population and for the distribution of food rations and other supplies including agricultural implements and clothing. The purpose of the mission and the school was to attend to the spiritual welfare of the Tsuu T'ina people. By 1889, the Mission included a church and school. The Indian Agency consisted of a ration house, a slaughter house, a stable and an office as well as a wagon shed. There were separate houses for the farming instructor, the ration issuer and the interpreter.

The formality of the agency-mission site contrasted with the loosely-scattered encampments of the Tsuu T'ina bands. These encampments, that expressed a different concept of social order, were first located along Fish Creek to the south of the Agency with small fields cleared for grain and roots crops. There was also a "Home Farm" maintained by the Agency staff. The term, "home farms," were used in Great Britain to refer to the main farm on a large estate usually worked by the landlord.⁸¹ By 1889, there were five encampments of Tsuu T'ina; four had moved north of the agency with Chief Bullhead, and one, under Big Wolf, a Minor Chief, had relocated five miles west of the Agency on Fish Creek.⁸² The location of the Tsuu T'ina camps was determined by availability of firewood required to heat their newly-built log houses and a ready supply of water to meet daily requirements.

The first log houses were very cold in the winter. Inspector McGibbon's report for 1888 mentioned one man had obtained a stove manufacturer's catalogue and covered the walls of his house with pictures of stoves to give the impression of heat.⁸³ Cracks in the walls of the log houses were filled with hay and mud or even theater posters. The mud floors were covered with gunny sacks.⁸⁴ The small stacks of firewood outside the houses were taken by the Inspector as evidence that Indians did look ahead and that the Tsuu T'ina were "making steady progress in becoming civilized" by planning for a future need.⁸⁵ The location of the church, mission and school between the two settlements was determined by where the Tsuu T'ina chose to settle and not by either Agency or State representatives.⁸⁶

Conclusions - Five Bags of Flour, Two Cows, Two Acres and Manual Toil

Native and non-native ideas of community together with the physical setting of the Tsuu T'ina Reserve provided the basis for the development of a new reserve-based culture. Although the typical reserve community did not exist, the Tsuu T'ina shared many traits with

other reserve communities and Euro-Canadian settlements despite differences in culture, circumstances and environment.⁸⁷ Tsuu T'ina language and culture provided the foundations upon which a new reserve culture could be generated. The Tsuu T'ina kinship system was flexible and adaptable to societal changes that occurred during their early settlement on the reserve near Calgary. The continuation of native practices and customs did not impede the attempts by the combined efforts of agencies of Church and State to establish an ideal Christian agrarian community as the basis for Tsuu T'ina reserve life.

The clearest expression of this “imagined” village community was contained in a directive sent by Hayter Reed, the Indian Commissioner to Indian Agents in 1889. Reed suggested all Agents should be able to clearly discern when to give and when to withhold “factitious aid” to Indians. Indians were to be directed to find useful occupations manufacturing wooden ox-collars, horse neck straps, back bands, fork handles, harness etc. Reed further maintained individual farmers should be able to sustain themselves and their families on two acres of land. The first acre, in his view, should yield at least 18 bushels. This, in turn, would provide at least 5 bags of flour to meet the annual requirement of each family. The planting of a portion of a second acre with roots and vegetables could further supply a family with their needs for a year. The addition of a cow or two would together with other measures mark a “long stride to independence.”⁸⁸

Reed felt mechanization discouraged Indian participation in agricultural labour and prevented Indians from learning agricultural methods and practices. He emphasized the inherent “values” of manual labour. Reed’s view was that “the necessary use of these implements can never be acquired by the Indian[s] being encouraged to contemplate the performance of their work by such labour saving machinery.”

Reed further recommended the removal of Indian control of monies earned and that the money used by Indians to purchase “labour saving implements ... be invested in other directions for making them self-supporting.” In the next two decades, the ideal community founded on Reed’s ill-founded ideas of self-efficiency, individual initiative and a strong work ethic would be tested on many reserves in Canada. The irony of his view was that the success of the economic viability and self-sufficiency he endorsed for the Tsuu T’ina Reserve clearly depended upon the continuation of a native economy.

There was a further irony in the presumption of Church and State that Tsuu T’ina culture was based on a homogenous set of principles, customs and practices that would be replaced by the “civilizing” forces of Euro-Canadian society. This presumption overlooked the creative impulses within Tsuu T’ina society that contributed to a developing community. The developing Tsuu T’ina reserve identity involved a multiplicity and heterogeneous set of meanings and not a uniform set of beliefs.⁸⁹ The faith that officials of the Department of Indian Affairs and the Church Missionary Society had in the success of their plans would be challenged by alternate conceptions of what constituted survival in the often unpredictable environment of the Tsuu T’ina Reserve.

- ¹ E. Ohnuki-Tiernay, "The Historicization of Anthropology," in E. Ohnuki-Tiernay, (ed.), *Culture Through Time* (Stanford, 1990), 24.
- ² WA, *Letter Leaflet*, X, (9), July 1899, 291. Untitled Contribution to the Women's Auxiliary of the Anglican Church of Canada.
- ³ Tsuu T'ina influenced English was one of thousands of forms of Indian English that developed in the historic period. Forms of Indian English qualify as creole languages because it is possible to establish a point in time at which they came into existence. See: P. Muysken and N. Smith, "The Study of Pidgin and Creole Languages," in J. Arends, P. Muysken and N. Smith, (eds.), *Pidgins and Creoles: An Introduction* (Amsterdam, 1994), 3.
- ⁴ See: S. P. Jasper, "Mohave English and Tribal Identity," in G. Bartelt *et al* (eds.), *Essays in Native American English* (San Antonio, 1982), 23-25. Also, K. Basso, *Portraits of The Whiteman: Linguistic Play and Cultural Symbols Among The Western Apache* (Cambridge, 1979), 3-6.
- ⁵ The development of "Reserve English" also is described, for example, in: R. Ridington, "In Doig People's Ears: Portrait of a Changing Community in Sound," *Anthropologica*, N. S., 25, (1), 1983, 11. Also: J. Wild, C. Nakonechny and B. Saint-Jacques, "Sociolinguistic Aspects of Native Indian Speech," *Sociolinguistics*, 14, (1), 1983, 6-8.
- ⁶ "Many Wounds" is the name used in the Treaty Paylists. "Manywounds" is the name recorded in the school register and also reflects contemporary usage.
- ⁷ Canada. House of Commons (CHC), *Sessional Papers*, 52, Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year ended 31st December 1888 (A1889), Hayter Reed, Indian Commissioner, 125.
- ⁸ See: C. G. Calloway, "The Inter-tribal Balance of Power on The Great Plains 1760-1850," *American Studies*, 16, (1), 1982, 28.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, 25.
- ¹⁰ TTNA, SPA#190, "The Creation," n. d.
- ¹¹ In Jenness, *The Sarcee Indians of Southern Alberta*, 1.
- ¹² See: British Association For The Advancement of Science, *Report of The Committee For Investigating and Publishing Reports on The Physical Characters, Languages, Industrial and Social Conditions of the North-Western Tribes of The Dominion of Canada 1886-1889*, Reprint (Moscow, 1974): 243. The Tsuu T'ina Elders state that they were once more numerous and all part of the Athapaskan peoples until they were split up. An alternate explanation of the meaning of Tsuu T'ina is to refer to occupation of areas which were "lower down" or of less elevation than surrounding groups. Bruce Starlight, personal communication, June 1999. Also: D. A. Harmon, *Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America* (New York, 1911).
- ¹³ In Jenness, *The Sarcee Indians of Southern Alberta*, 6.
- ¹⁴ D. A. Harmon, *Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America* (New York, 1911).
- ¹⁵ Jenness, *The Sarcee Indians of Southern Alberta*, 9.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.
- ¹⁷ J. G. E. Smith, "On The Territorial Distribution of the Western Woods Cree," In W. Cowan, (ed.), *Papers of the Seventh Algonquian Conference* (Ottawa, 1975), 427.
- ¹⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 3732, f. 26,543. Edgar Dewdney, Indian Commissioner to Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 31 January 1881.
- ¹⁹ Based on: Jenness, *The Sarcee Indians*, 10 and: NAC, RG 10, v. 9412, Treaty Annuity Paylists, 1877 and 1878. Curtis identified eight Tsuu T'ina Bands in 1922. See: E. Curtis, "The Sarsi," in F. W. Hodge, (ed.), *The North American Indian* (New York, 1928), 102.
- ²⁰ Jenness, *ibid.* 9-10.
- ²¹ T. Binnema "Old Swan, Big Man and The Siksika Bands 1794-1815," *Canadian Historical Review*, 77, (1), 1996, 1-32. Binnema describes a similar band level of organization among the Siksika.
- ²² Jenness, *The Sarcee Indians*, 11-12.

- ²³ E. F. Wilson, "Report on The Sarcee Indians," in *Report of The Meeting of The British Association For The Advancement of Science 1886-1889*, 242.
- ²⁴ The nature of hierarchy and what constituted cultural and economic equality in non-industrialized societies is discussed in: J. G. Flanagan, "Hierarchy in Simple 'Egalitarian' Societies," *Annual Reviews in Anthropology*, 18, 1989, 245-266
- ²⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁶ Eagle Rib through translator Charlie Crowchief, quoted in P. E. Goddard, "Qualifications and Duties of Chiefs," *Sarsi Texts*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, v. 1, (2), 1915, 215.
- ²⁷ Jenness, *The Sarcee Indians*, 31.
- ²⁸ Eagle Rib in Goddard, *Sarsi Texts*, "Shamans," 218-219.
- ²⁹ Morris, E. M. *The Diaries of Edmund Montague Morris, Western Journeys 1907-1910*, Transcribed by M. Fitz-Gibbon (Toronto, 1985), 28.
- ³⁰ R. Ridington, "Beaver," in J. Helm, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, Volume 6, Subarctic (Washington, 1981), 352-353 describes the mechanisms of the bilateral kinship system of the Beaver Indians.
- ³¹ Jenness, *The Sarcee Indians*, 24.
- ³² J. Honigmann, "Notes on Sarsi Kin Behavior," *Anthropologica*, 11, 1956, 23.
- ³³ Ibid.
- ³⁴ Ridington, "Beaver," in J. Helm, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, 352-353.
- ³⁵ CHC, *Sessional Papers, (SP)*, No. 7, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For The Year ended 31 December 1878 (A1879), L. Vankoughnet, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 5-6
- ³⁶ See: J. Leslie and R. Maguire, *The Historical Development of The Indian Act* (Ottawa, 1978), 106
- ³⁷ CHC, *SP*, No. 4, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For The Year Ended 31 December 1879, (A1880), John A. Macdonald, Minister of The Interior, x.
- ³⁸ Philosophers such as Thomas Carlyle and Matthew Arnold struggled with the problem of reconciling the ideal and material dimensions of progress that characterized the Victorian age. John Stuart Mill argued in *Spirit of The Age*, that the idea of comparing one's own age with the past could only emerge at a time when members of a society become conscious of living in a changing world. In: B. McPherson, *Between Two Worlds: Victorian Ambivalence About Progress* (Washington, 1983), vii.
- ³⁹ As Himmelfarb suggests for another context, Tory and 20th Century socialists should agree about this if about little else that the condition of the poor is the 'touchstone' of a civilization, a nation, a philosophy.' But they disagreed what constituted a "decent provision." G. Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty* (New York, 1984), 3.
- ⁴⁰ Hobart claims the idea of "underdevelopment" and the means to alleviate the perceived problem are "formulated in the dominant powers' account of how the world is ... The epistemology and power aspects of such process are often obscured by discourses on development being couched predominantly in the idiom of economics, technical and management. What is missing is the knowledge of the peoples being developed... In order for them to be underdeveloped and ignorant these peoples have first to be constituted as "underdeveloped" and ignorant. Conversely without such underdevelopment and ignorance the West could not represent itself as developed and possessing knowledge." See: M. Hobart, "Introduction," in M. H. Hobart, (ed.), *An Anthropological Critique of Development: The Growth of Ignorance* (London, 1998), 2-3.
- ⁴¹ CHC, *SP*, No. 5, Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For The Year Ended 31st December 1882, (A1883), J. A. Macdonald, Minister of The Interior, ix.
- ⁴² CHC, *SP*, No. 16, Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For the Year ended 31st December 1888, (A 1889), Superintendent General of Indian, l.
- ⁴³ J. L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy," *The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology*, v. 6, (2), 1976, 13.
- ⁴⁴ Department of Indian Affairs (DIA), Annual Report A1880, J. A. Macdonald. 15.

- ⁴⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 1630, Dewdney to Indian Agent, Circular, 29 March 1886.
- ⁴⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 1629, Dewdney to Indian Agent, Circular no. 9, 26, March 1886.
- ⁴⁷ CHC, SP, No. 14, Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year ended 31 December, 1885 (A1886), J. P. Wadsworth, Inspector, 157-8.
- ⁴⁸ DIA, Annual Report (A1887), Dewdney, 107.
- ⁴⁹ WA, *Letter Leaflet*, 10, (2), Reverend H. W. G. Stocken to Miss McCord, St. Peter's Branch of the Women's Auxiliary, January 1894, 143.
- ⁵⁰ H. W. Stocken, *Among The Blackfoot and Sarcee* (Calgary, 1976), x, 39.
- ⁵¹ G. W. Roderick and M. D. Stephen, *Education and Industry in the 19th Century* (London, 1978), 5.
- ⁵² D. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History From The 1730s to The 1970s* (London, 1989), 3
- ⁵³ Ibid.
- ⁵⁴ University of Birmingham Archives (UBA), CMS Archives (CMS), f. 20, J. H. Kennaway, President, F. E. Wigram, Chairman of Special Committee, H. E. Fox, Honorary Secretary. Approaching Completion The First Hundred Years of the CMS, 10 March 1896.
- ⁵⁵ See: T. O. Beidelmann, "Contradictions Between The Sacred and The Secular Life: The Church Missionary Society in Ukaguru, Tanzania, East Africa, 1876-1914," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 23, (1), 1981, 74.
- ⁵⁶ C. P. Williams, " 'Not Quite Gentlemen:' An Examination of 'Middling Class' Protestant Missionaries from Britain, c. 1850-1900," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31, (3), 1980, 301-315.
- ⁵⁷ Glenbow Archives (GA), M1234, f. 4, J. W. Tims Fonds, Instructions delivered to the Rev. J. W. Tims Proceeding To the Saskatchewan Mission, 5 June 1883.
- ⁵⁸ GA, M1233, f. 1, J. W. Tims Fonds, Instructions delivered to the Rev. J. W. Tims returning to the North West American Mission, 18 March 1890.
- ⁵⁹ Himmelfarb suggests these virtues characterized the late Victorian Age. See: G. Himmelfarb, *Poverty and Compassion: The Moral Imagination of The Late Victorians* (New York, 1992), 8-10.
- ⁶⁰ GA, M1234, f. 6, Tims, "Impressions Regarding Missionary Effort Amongst the Indians, Being an Address Given at The First convention of Indian Workers in The Province of Alberta," Edmonton, 6 January 1909, 8.
- ⁶¹ Ibid.
- ⁶² See: J. Comaroff and J. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 1991, 18. The Comaroffs argue that missionaries and colonial agents may be viewed as the initiators of a "dialogue" in which new identities emerge as native cultural practices are reified. Host cultures begin to think consciously about their own cultural and later their "traditions." These elements provided symbols for meaningful action in colonial contexts.
- ⁶³ These new possibilities occasioned by the introduction of new religious forms are referred to as 'situated practice' to differentiate between a normative view of religion and a subjectivist orientation. See: M. Hobart, "An Anthropological Critique of Ignorance," 1998, 4.
- ⁶⁴ J. Usher, "Apostles and Aborigines: The Social Theory of The Church Missionary Society," *Social History*, 7, (April), 1971, 32.
- ⁶⁵ The control of instincts promoted in the plethora of advice books regarding child raising is discussed in Philippe Aries' *Centuries of Childhood* and by Norbert Elias in *The History of Manners: The Civilizing Process*, Vol. 1 (New York, 1978), xiii, 141. Also summarized in: H. Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500* (London, 1998), 4-5.
- ⁶⁶ H. Cunningham, *The Children of The Poor* (Oxford, 1998), 7.
- ⁶⁷ CHC, SP, No. 4, Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31 December 1884 (A1885), Dewdney, 104.
- ⁶⁸ The cultural procedures by which adolescents were groomed for adult roles in Mediaeval London are described in: B. Hanawalt in *Growing Up in Medieval London* (Oxford, 1995), 12
- ⁶⁹ E. B. Titley, *Canadian Education: Historical Themes and Contemporary Issues* (Calgary, 1990), 2.

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- ⁷⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 1642, Kemys-Tynte to Commissioner, 29 May 1896. Reed was Indian Commissioner between 1888 and 1892 then Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs between 1892 and 1897.
- ⁷¹ Ibid.
- ⁷² NAC, RG 10, v. 3674, *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half Breeds* by Nicholas Flood Davin, 11 March 1879.
- ⁷³ NAC, RG 10, v. 1020, Acting Secretary Department of Indian Affairs, Memorandum, 20 July 1897.
- ⁷⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 1726, Ebenezer McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, 18 April 1896.
- ⁷⁵ F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and The Mediterranean World in the World of Philippe II*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, tr. S. Reynolds (New York, 1966), ix.
- ⁷⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 5200, Survey Report on Sarcee Indian Reserve, 1882, Charles Nelson, Surveyor.
- ⁷⁷ Alberta. Native Affairs, *The Agricultural Potential of Native Communities Phase II* (Edmonton, 1968), 72.
- ⁷⁸ Stanley Associates Engineering Limited, *A Socio-Economic and Resource Evaluation Study of The Sarcee Indian Reserve* (Calgary, 1970), 16.
- ⁷⁹ Ibid.
- ⁸⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 1625, Forget to Indian Agent Sarcee Reserve, 19 March 1889.
- ⁸¹ S. Carter, *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy* (Montreal & Kingston, 1990), 62.
- ⁸² NAC, RG 10, v. 3811, f. 54,550, Supplement to Inspector McGibbon's Report of Treaty Agencies.
- ⁸³ Ibid.
- ⁸⁴ Interview with Tsuu Tina Elder, Mr. Dick Big Plume, 17 May 1990.
- ⁸⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 3811, f. 54,550, Supplement to Inspector McGibbon's Report of Treaty Agencies.
- ⁸⁶ CHC, SP, No. 14, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 31 December 1889 (A1890), Cornish, Annual Report, 82.
- ⁸⁷ See: Voisey, *Vulcan The Making of a Prairie Community* (Toronto, 1988), 8-9.
- ⁸⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 1134, Reed to Indian Agent Sarcee Reserve, Circular, 11 November 1889.
- ⁸⁹ See: A. M. Alonso, "The Politics of Space, Time and Substance: State Formation, Nationalism, and Ethnicity," *Annual Reviews in Anthropology*, 25, 1994, 381, 384.

CHAPTER TWO:
THE FORMATIVE PERIOD OF TSUU T'INA RESERVE CULTURE

Introduction - Community Identity and Early Reserve Life

The Tsuu T'ina developed a unique cultural adaptation to reserve life during the first decade following the signing of Treaty 7 in 1877. The salient features of this adaptation involved a combination of factors: the collective experience of extreme deprivation, the cumulative effects of catastrophic diseases such as smallpox, rigorous methods of social control imposed by Government officials, and a complex reserve-based economy. Tsuu T'ina reserve culture was based on “private” and “public” expressions of social and religious life and a complete re-organization of political, economic and social structures.

The development of a corporate identity based on land occupancy among the Tsuu T'ina began with their initial settlement on a reserve with the Siksika or Blackfoot Indians. Continuing disputes with the Blackfoot Indians led the Tsuu T'ina to live on the outskirts of Fort Calgary and Fort Macleod at various intervals between 1880 and 1881. The Tsuu T'ina felt a commonality with surrounding Indian groups but maintained their separateness. A Tsuu T'ina Elder recalled the Tsuu T'ina, “didn't seem to get along [*with the Blackfoot*] ... Not very good anyways. Tsuu T'ina they stayed by themselves. They fight their own Indian wars. But they help each other.”¹

In 1881, Edgar Dewdney, the Indian Commissioner reported the Tsuu T'ina “are anxious to have a Reserve of their own.” Chief Bullhead initially sent out two scouts to select a site. The Tsuu T'ina moved to the new Fish Creek location near Fort Calgary in the fall of the same year. Chief Bullhead was the only head chief within the Treaty 7 area to select a reserve for his people. A clear indication of the early association the Tsuu T'ina had with the new reserve lands was the creation of a monument to which each individual man, woman

and child contributed a rock soon after they settled. The artist Edmund Morris, who visited the Tsuu T'ina reserve in 1908, noted that the monument was created to express the wish, "that among the future generations none of the land was to be sold."²

Early Reserve Life

Settlement on the new reserve did not guarantee that living conditions for the Tsuu T'ina would improve. The Tsuu T'ina, like other neighbouring Indian tribes, had experienced starvation following their initial settlement at Blackfoot Crossing in 1877. They continued to suffer extreme deprivation during the early period of reserve life due to intermittent shortages of food, clothing and other supplies. The Tsuu T'ina were provided with food rations of beef and flour and with seeds to grow wheat, barley and root crops. These items, from the signing of Treaty 7, were distributed on a per capita basis to the male heads of what were perceived by government officials to be family units.

During their first year on the Fish Creek reserve in 1881, the Indian Agent reported supplies of flour had run out. There were no tools available and the Tsuu T'ina were living in poorly ventilated and overcrowded log houses in which there was insufficient heating during the winter months.³ There were also problems in obtaining hides for clothing and for tipi dwellings. In 1883, Cagney de Balinhard, the Indian Agent, informed the Indian Department, "the [*Tsuu T'ina*] women fight over the old cotton flour sacks of which they make dresses." He reported many Tsuu T'ina individuals were "literally in rags."⁴

The collective struggle for land and shared experiences of deprivation were significant factors in the forging a new identity and sense of common history tied to reserve land. Constant pressure from settlers to sell reserve lands further re-enforced the close identification of the Tsuu T'ina with their new territory.⁵ A heightened sense of a place-based community also was the result of Tsuu T'ina accommodating new economic pursuits

within the reserve boundaries.

Government officials felt that working individuals would set an example for others and that a new ethos of individualism would develop from the participation of the Tsuu T'ina in agricultural pursuits. Officials were encouraged by the fact that some individuals had requested small plots of their own that they ploughed themselves as early as 1883. The Inspector of Indian Agencies reported in 1889 the Tsuu T'ina expressed "a great willingness to receive instructions in farming," with the clear understanding that agriculture was to be undertaken on reserve lands.⁶ It was reported even Chief Bullhead, by then a man in his mid-60s, had taken a turn at the plough.⁷

Tsuu T'ina agriculture developed within the confines of the reserve and provided a new set of experiences upon which community could be built. The early experimentation by Tsuu T'ina individuals in farming was framed, however, with reference to its own forms of social organization, political authority and underlying cultural logic. Indians could not take out a homestead under the provisions of the 1876 Indian Act. This set them apart from other settlers. The Indian Department saw Indian participation in agriculture as a means of enfranchisement. The participation by political leaders such as Chief Bullhead in agriculture, however, had more to do with reaffirming their positions and the cultural values of Tsuu T'ina society than it did with setting an example for others to follow based on European principles of rationality, progress and a strong work ethos.

The occupation of reserve lands, even if by choice, also became a basis for confining and restricting the movement of the Tsuu T'ina. The implementation of a pass system by Hayter Reed in 1885 created a different and contradictory set of meanings pertaining to the land. The institution of pass system was justified in the higher interest of the civilization programme of the Department of Indian Affairs. The pass system was designed as much to

regulate the movement of Indian groups, as it was to allay concerns regarding the preservation of public order and those of prospective settlers in the West following the 1885 Rebellion.⁸

There was really no power that either the North-west Mounted Police or the Indian Agent could draw upon to compel Tsuu T'ina individuals to remain permanently on their reserve. One purpose of regulating movement through the pass system was to prevent Indian people from coming into contact with the evils of town life. John A. Macdonald, then Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, noted in his annual report for 1883 that the Tsuu T'ina were "good workers ... and are anxious to work."⁹ Macdonald, at the same time, blamed their lack of progress on the close proximity to Fort Calgary. He described the Tsuu T'ina as the "least promising" of the Treaty 7 bands.

These views typified the cultural attitudes of many members of white society at the time. The movement of the Tsuu T'ina from the reserve into Calgary invariably led to conflict. Newspaper articles condemned the Tsuu T'ina of being "worthless Indians" who were "too lazy to work but were around town pilfering and breeding disease." The local press claimed the Tsuu T'ina were free to "wander out among the settlements, killing cattle and stealing whenever they get the chance."¹⁰ The presence of Tsuu T'ina in the Calgary area or on other reserves, although viewed by officials and citizens as loitering and wandering, often had well-defined purposes such as hunting, bartering, and visiting close relatives (Plates 3 and 4).

The pass system was justified further as a means of regulating the moral behaviour of Tsuu T'ina and other native individuals. This was particularly true in the case of native women. Indian Affairs officials expressed concern as early as 1884 about the demoralization of Tsuu T'ina women and the consumption of liquor by Tsuu T'ina individuals in Calgary.

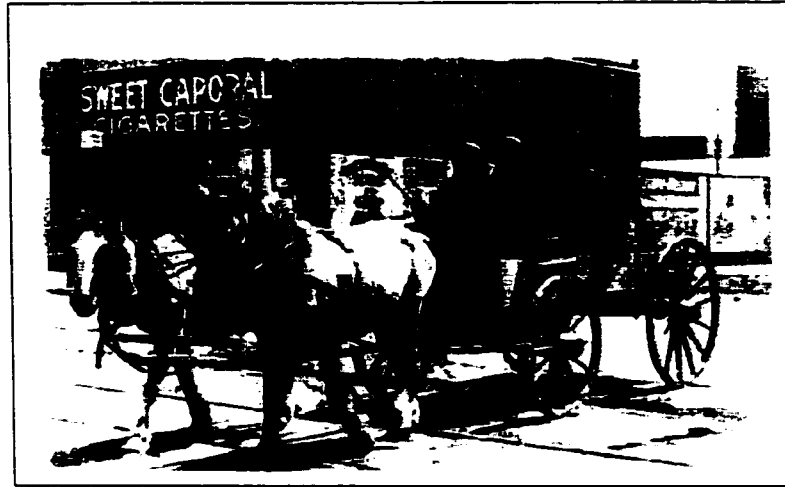


Plate 3: Foxtail and His Wife in Calgary with Christmas Trees, c. 1904 (GA #NA 4751-1)

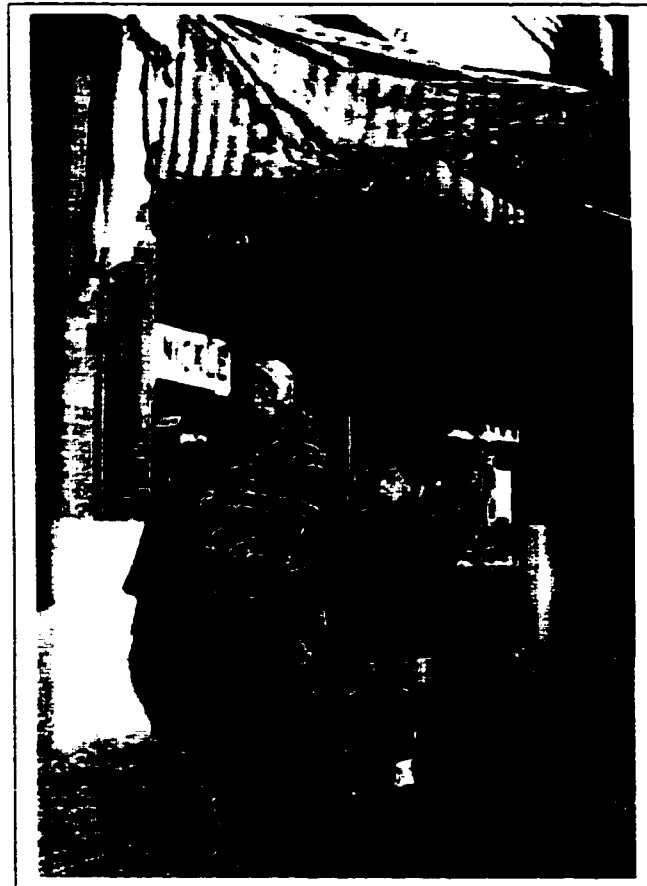


Plate 4: Woman and Child in Calgary, c. 1912 (GA #NA 4355-6)

The Indian Agent enforced the withholding of rations to control the situation and obtained Chief Bullhead's promise to control the behavior of individuals who ventured into the town.¹¹ The charges of immorality among women, however, were often "more imaginary than real."¹²

The pass system functioned more as a record of Indian movement than a system of actual constraint. It was employed, for example, when relations between the Tsuu T'ina and settlers became strained. The Indian Commissioner instructed the Indian Agent to report the names of individuals who had received passes and those who had absented the reserve without passes to the nearest Police Post in 1885.¹³ Settlers on nearby Sheep Creek complained the Tsuu T'ina were killing their cattle and stealing possessions when their homes were not occupied in the following year.¹⁴ Reed then ordered Agent de Balinhard to stop issuing passes and to withhold rations. Tsuu T'ina individuals returned to the reserve following these incursions, simply stayed for a short time and, then left again.

The Early Reserve Economy

The distribution of food rations and other goods were part of a developing complex reserve economy by the mid-1880s. Rations of tea and tobacco were issued regularly to working Indians and became part of the weekly ritual of reserve life. But there were contradictions in government rationing policies. Beef issues, for example, were reduced in 1885 from 1½ pounds per individual per day to ½ pound once the crops were put in.¹⁵ Inspector Alex McGibbon reported the Tsuu T'ina "[*only could be*] induced to work by providing them with a little tea or tobacco."¹⁶ There is very little known about Tsuu T'ina responses to their partial dependence on government rations, although Chief Bullhead informed Reverend E. F. Wilson in 1885, "now the buffalo is gone we hang our heads we are poor."¹⁷

The planting and harvesting of crops formed only one component of the development and sale of reserve-based resources. New economic pursuits in which reserve resources were exploited created new patterns of labour and identities for Indian labourers associated with work. The Tsuu T'ina were given permits to collect dead and fallen timber on the reserve to sell in Calgary or to settlers after 1885. Oxen provided in 1886 were used for ploughing the land and for transporting farm produce and other goods into Calgary for sale. Work was performed for either wages or barter. Tsuu T'ina labourers sold surplus firewood, potatoes, hay and other crops for cash in the city of Calgary. This was the only cash workers could obtain directly. Labourers therefore could secure a degree of independence in this manner. Wages were put to immediate use in purchasing meat, blankets, heating oil and clothing.

A partial dependence on wage labour for these goods at times resulted in considerable hardship for workers. There were often problems transporting goods into Calgary. One of the Tsuu T'ina Elders remembered hearing about the introduction of agriculture from her mother, Mrs. Daisy Otter. Her mother recalled:

“It started with potatoes ... my mom said that they were given potatoes, they were taught how to plant potatoes and she said that they used to sell them to Fort Calgary at the time that they had the RCMP barracks there. They used to sack these potatoes and take them across the river on the travois and some of these potatoes would float off the travois. So they had to find a different ways of getting potatoes across and all they got was exchange, They didn't get no money. They got other food like flour or tea and stuff like that.”¹⁸

The development of a “private” Tsuu T'ina economy began with doing chores in Calgary and for settlers for small sums of money or for food, tea and tobacco. On the reserve individuals were employed carrying mail, working as teamsters and butchering for the ration house. The Tsuu T'ina also pursued a “native economy” out of necessity. The native economy was based on fishing, trapping and hunting game. The new reserve economy involving private and public dimensions of activity was a radical departure from the

agricultural model of individual land tenure promoted by the Department of Indian Affairs

The uniqueness of the Tsuu T'ina reserve economy set them apart from other non-native workers. The Tsuu T'ina responded to the agricultural policies of the Indian Department by undertaking the range of economic pursuits necessary to ensure survival. Their continuation of hunting, like other activities, was often misinterpreted as a lack of interest and initiative. From the Indian Agent's perspective, the problem was not one of their taking to agriculture but, of getting the Tsuu T'ina to participate fully in a market economy. Agent de Balinhard commented in 1887 when a frost struck the crop that the Tsuu T'ina would only farm small pieces of land from which they could "realize only enough to provide themselves with a few necessities."¹⁹

Hayter Reed, the Assistant Commissioner, urged Indian Agents in 1888, to use their "strongest influence" to encourage individual farming. In Reed's view, "the Indians will never learn the value of individual ownership of property and ... will lose much time in talking and gossiping which would be much more profitably spent in improving their premises."²⁰ The government's emphasis on individual entrepreneurship in agricultural pursuits with no guarantee of return made no inherent sense. Tsuu T'ina individuals, instead, continued to eke out the best living they could by exploiting a wide range of economic pursuits.

Rations were used simultaneously as a reward for workers and withheld if individuals did work and hence could provide for themselves. The distribution of government food rations was an often contradictory process. The Assistant Commissioner stipulated, "we must try and make the Indians do something for the food gratuitously given them."²¹ Department officials debated the degree to which these measures could be implemented. The policy of "no work, no rations" was extended to participating in the butchering of meat

in exchange for rations or a choice in the selection of parts of the animal beyond the usual issue. By 1886, the government began to practice a policy of extreme economy. Indian Agents were instructed to be circumspect in the issuing of rations to relieve the Government of the enormous expense of feeding the Indians without causing them “to commit depredation upon settlers.”²²

Participation in the market economy of Calgary meant that prices received for goods were subject to supply and demand. It was therefore not possible for the Tsuu T'ina to obtain a guaranteed income from these sources. In 1895 when the entire crop failed due to severe drought, hay prices bottomed out to \$3 per ton. The Indian Agent noted that even at this price, it was difficult to sell any reserve hay.²³ Individual initiatives were suppressed at times in the name of adhering to a certain image of respectability. In the early 1890s the Indian Commissioner expressed his objections to the Tsuu T'ina taking their travois into Calgary to sell potatoes because, “it appeared as if they were peddling these goods.”²⁴

There were other short-term policies implemented by government officials that impeded the development of further economic diversity. Commissioner Reed initially opposed any form of mechanization. He revised his rigid views of mechanization in 1888 but promoted a policy whereby Indians should be made to pay for any machinery supplied.²⁵ The Department of Indian Affairs encouraged manual forms of labour and manufacture. Indians were not trusted with new machinery. Harvesting was often performed by outside labourers. This substantially reduced the Indian earnings. The Government policy of granting leases to outsiders to cut hay similarly reduced the profit that could be obtained from the annual harvest on the reserve. The policy was continued despite the advice of Indian Agents. Agent de Balinhard informed the Indian Department in 1887 if the Indians cut the hay they received at least six times the amount they would if they let others buy it

standing in the fields.²⁶

Short-sighted policies reduced the availability of hides that were in critical demand for warm clothing. In the early 1880s, the Indian Agent reported the Tsuu T'ina were desperate for clothing, "not even having buffalo hides to make moccasins."²⁷ This problem was exacerbated further by the practice of selling most of the hides from slaughtered animals to outsider buyers. The remaining hides were issued to the Tsuu T'ina. The Indian Department discouraged the manufacture of native forms of clothing. Indian Agents were instructed to ensure that hides were used only for the manufacture of footwear. This policy was enforced by the practice of issuing one hide for the use of more than one person. Inspector Alex McGibbon reported in the fall of 1887 that one hide was issued for every six persons living on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve and that this quantity was insufficient even to clothe one adult.²⁸

The Annual Cycle, The Practice of Schooling and Patterns of Settlement

The shortages of food and supplies the Tsuu T'ina faced in the first decades underscored the re-structuring of the production process that had occurred with the decimation of the bison herds. The new economic cycle in no way resembled the pattern of seasonal movement of the pre-reservation past. Seasonal patterns of subsistence and settlement formerly had been dictated primarily by the movement of the bison herds, the availability of medicines, fuel, water and other foodstuffs as well as trade.

Economic pursuits during the 19th century were facilitated by a band-level of organization which necessitated the seasonal dispersal of the Tsuu T'ina.²⁹ In Jenness' reconstruction, groups of Tsuu T'ina families camped in the forest one to two days' journey apart in the winter. These groups moved out onto the open prairie in early spring. Numerous small parties of individuals or single families hunted the larger herds of buffalo in

summer and, at times, the entire tribe would participate in communal forms of hunting. Jenness recorded the summer was the usual season for trading during the Fur Trade Era. In July, the entire tribe gathered for the Society Dances and for the Sun Dance. In the fall, the tribe split up into bands or smaller groups that gradually retreated to the edge of the forest in winter.³⁰

Table 3: Pre-Reserve and Early Reserve Seasonal Rounds

<u>Pre-Reservation Period</u>	
Winter:	Bands disperse into small groups at the edge of the woods
Spring:	Groups of families/bands hunt the larger herds on the prairies
Summer:	Tribe practices communal hunting, trading and ceremonial life
Fall:	Groups of families/bands disperse with bison herds
<u>Early Reservation Period</u>	
Winter:	Bands settle around Agency Site in houses
Spring:	Families in tents plant crops and disperse for hunting
Summer:	Tribes gather for trading and ceremonial life
Fall:	Bands to Agency Site for Treaty payments, trade and harvest

There was a certain degree of mimicry of past traditions present in the new settlement patterns and seasonal round the Tsuu T'ina first followed after their adoption of reservation life (Table 3). From the time of their settlement near Fish Creek, the Tsuu T'ina practised a custom of living in their log cabins during the winter in the "band" formation around the Agency Site. They left the houses as soon as possible in the spring and lived in larger groupings in the summer some distance away. The overall pattern of movement was basically the same but the meaning and purpose were changing.

Men often left the reserve with their families to hunt once the ploughing and planting of plots of land was completed in the spring and after the harvesting of crops in the fall. In late June or early July, the Tsuu T'ina held the Annual Sun Dance at which time

goods and food were distributed. Once they began to attend the Sun Dance on other reserves, it became necessary to obtain extra goods and food through trade, barter or other means. The distribution of food rations twice a week necessitated male heads of families be present on the reserve if they could not sustain themselves by other means.

A provision for schooling was included for all Indian groups in Treaty 7. Tsuu T'ina children first attended a day school taught by the wife of Reverend John Maclean in 1880.³¹ Day schooling was continued once the Tsuu T'ina moved to the Fish Creek Reserve. The participation of children in forms of day schooling did not disrupt the cycle of economic production but was subject to it. The institution of residential schooling in the 1890s separated children from the adult population and the production process and imposed new meanings of what constituted "childhood" and "adulthood" in the Tsuu T'ina reserve community.

There were two day schools established on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve by 1889. The first was located at Chief Bullhead's Village near the Old Agency site. Stanley J. Stocken taught the school. Stocken was a graduate of the Church Missionary College in Islington, outside of London, England. The goal of Indian schooling was, in his view, to see the children "Christianized" and "civilized."³² The second school was located at Roach Mane's Village and taught by Harry Stocken, younger brother of Stanley Stocken and also a recent graduate of the CMS College. The Tsuu T'ina expressed an early interest in schooling. It was reported the Indians at Roach Mane's camp specifically had asked for a school.³³

The location of the two day schools was determined by where the Tsuu T'ina chose to settle and not by the resident missionaries. Decision-making regarding school routine was often a matter of parental choice. In 1890, the Indian Commissioner lamented the falling off in the school attendance when the Tsuu T'ina received rations.³⁴ The Indian Agent on the

reserve then decided to give the weekly half-day holiday on one of the two days during the week in which rations were distributed.

Attendance at the two day schools was irregular before the establishment of a boarding school in 1893. In 1886, only five of the forty children of school age were reported to be attending the only day school.³⁵ Hayter Reed, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, blamed the absenteeism in 1891 on the teachers whom he felt were remiss in visiting the homes of the parents and whose duties should include sending children to school.³⁶ Although government and church officials blamed teachers and parents for the irregular attendance, the parents in turn complained that the lack of clothing during the winter months was the main reason for withholding their children from school.³⁷ The frequent absences of Tsuu T'ina students also were due to the uncertainties of climate and their removal by parents to hunt, attend religious ceremonies and social gatherings or to trade in the city of Calgary for several days after treaty payments were made.

The Department of Indian Affairs later followed the practice of providing a mid-day meal and a small quantity of warm clothing for each day school student in the winter months. Some government officials argued compulsory education should replace these forms of reward. A. E. Forget, the Acting Indian Commissioner, reported in 1889, "experience had shown that in their present rough state it is impossible to hold the attention of Indian children for so long a time."³⁸ Lesson time was shortened as a result with classes in the Tsuu T'ina schools being taught for only two hours a day. Henry Stocken split his teaching time between the schools located at Chief Big Wolf's Camp at Roachmane's village and the one located adjacent to the Agency site.

There was a great emphasis on inculcating habits of personal cleanliness in the schools. In 1887, there were 12 students enrolled in the Sarcee Day School run by the wife

of the Indian Agent. The school was described as “well furnished with desks, benches, maps and cards. The pupils looked clean and tidy ... making good use of the soap and towels.” The Inspector commented Mrs. de Balinhard, the wife of the Indian Agent, made certain that no student neglected the duty of washing on entering the school every morning. Thomas White, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, commented in 1888, “habits of personal cleanliness are very rare among the [*adult*] Indians.”³⁹ There were few attempts beyond the whitewashing of Indian houses to introduce the same standards of sanitation and hygiene to the adult reserve population.

Day schooling began the process of introducing new forms of knowledge and awareness to students of their place in the world. The world quite literally opened up to students as globes and atlases and maps of Canada, Europe, the British Isles and the Eastern and Western Hemispheres and the world were brought into the schools as standard equipment.⁴⁰ Slates, slate pencils, ink and ink pens, arithmetic and alphabet cards were the basic materials used to introduce new forms of literacy and knowledge in the Tsuu T’ina day schools.

The Tsuu T’ina school, throughout the 1880s and 1890s employed the Canadian Series of Readers as standard classroom texts.⁴¹ These textbooks placed a strong emphasis on British patriotism and values. It is not known how the students interpreted these attributes or if indeed they were understood. Patriotism was fostered in other ways. The Indian Department policy of presenting Canadian flags to the best schools in the Territories was designed to “encourage those patriotic feelings and principles necessary to their becoming good and useful citizens in the future.”⁴²

The Indian Commissioner instructed all Indian Agents in 1888 that teaching English was one of the principal objectives of Indian education.⁴³ There were, however, very few

students who had even a smattering of English and no translators were available who had mastered the Tsuu T'ina language. Children spoke only the Tsuu T'ina or Cree languages which made it difficult to teach without a translator present. J. Ansell Macrae, in his annual inspection in 1892, reported "a want was still felt in regard to reading books adapted to the understanding of Tsuu T'ina pupils who are learning the English language."⁴⁴

The ultimate goal of Indian schooling during this period was the creation of a native citizenry. General training for a future life in which the division of labour followed gender lines was emphasized but schooling also accommodated a degree of mutual economic dependence for Indian men and women. Boys were taught agriculture and industry as well as "baking, housework and to mend their clothing."⁴⁵ Girls learned "the ordinary household duties" including baking, washing, ironing, sewing and knitting.⁴⁶ Girls were also instructed in dairying and the care of poultry. In the early 1890s, the practice of "outing" was followed whereby school boys performed agricultural labour for neighbouring settlers and girls worked in temporary domestic service.

The Tsuu T'ina Population 1880-1890

The institution of formal schooling in the Tsuu T'ina population had a ten to twelve year history before a boarding school was established on the reserve. Formal schooling was introduced to what was an essentially heterogeneous Tsuu T'ina population that included Cree, Blackfoot, Stoney, and Metis individuals. The composition of Agency and Mission staff further extended the diversity of the reserve community. Indian Agents and missionaries were usually of English, Scottish or Irish origin.

It was a common practice on many reserves to hire Cree-speaking Metis as farm instructors, clerks and labourers. In 1885, George Hodgson, a Cree-Metis from Isle a la Crosse, Saskatchewan was hired as the farm instructor. His wife, Madeline Bruneault, a

cousin of Gabriel Dumont, was the reserve midwife. These individuals often served as translators but the Tsuu T'ina language proved impossible for either these individuals or missionaries to master.

The heterogeneous makeup of the Tsuu T'ina population to a certain degree reflected the underlying fluidity of the band structure persisting in the first two decades of reserve life. Despite attempts by Hayter Reed to create an Indian census, there were always individuals present on the reserve who did not show up on the Band Roll. The Tsuu T'ina population was highly mobile and was affected by immigration and emigration. Band membership required the consent of the majority of male Tsuu T'ina over the age of 21.

Individuals became members of the Tsuu T'ina Band for a variety of reasons. Marriages between residents of the Tsuu T'ina reserve and those from other reserves were common. Sixteen individuals, including men, women and children, referred to as "Cree Stragglers" by the Department of Indian Affairs, joined the Tsuu T'ina Band following the Metis Rebellion in 1885. Older men and women who were respected healers from other tribes became band members. In 1897, a woman of about 70 became a Tsuu T'ina band member because she was respected as a great medicine woman.⁴⁷

The mobility of the Tsuu T'ina population was also affected by out-migration. In 1893, a man named Eagle Tail Feathers asked to be transferred back to the Blackfoot Reserve after spending five years living with the Tsuu T'ina. His daughter had married a nephew of Chief Bullhead. In the same year that Eagle Tail Feathers made his request to be transferred back to the Blackfoot Reserve, a widow named Red Woman asked to join Chief Bull Head's band.⁴⁸ She had lived with Sleigh, a Cree man, on the Tsuu T'ina reserve for two years previously. Annuities for the woman and her children had previously been paid at Fort Qu'Appelle between 1881 and 1886. She had lived in Medicine Hat after this, then at

Blackfoot Crossing, and in 1891, in Calgary.⁴⁹

Native marriage practices were continued as part of reservation-based culture. Parents often conducted their children's marriage negotiations. Marriage would take place when a prospective husband or his father would present the bride's family with a form of brideprice such as a saddle, clothing, a gun and horses.⁵⁰ The bride's father could then apportion these items among those who had contributed to the bride's dowry. If the amount of the brideprice was inadequate, the husband would join his wife's band for a time to work off the debt in labour. He would take over the care of his father-in-law's horses and often surrender all the meat and hides he secured in hunting to his father-in-law.

The return of such items indicated a divorce had taken place. In the 1940s, Pat Grasshopper recounted that his oldest sister had married a man when she was quite young. The husband was a good natured, kind-hearted man. When he died, a man came to Pat offered him a good horse and asked if he could marry his widowed sister. Pat went to ask his sister and she consented. The man was a heavy drinker and his wife had left him. The next morning the woman asked her brother to return the horse to her husband. The woman never again returned to her husband.⁵¹

Polygamy continued to be practised. In 1893, the Assistant Agent reported there were three men who had two wives each and one man had three wives. These marriages were between eight and fifteen years in duration. He noted, "none ... are of very recent origin neither does there seem to be any inclination towards that way of living among the younger men."⁵² This change, however, was not universally true. The Assistant Agent informed the Indian Department in the same correspondence that a young Tsuu T'ina man recently had taken two wives⁵³

There was really no such thing as a typical Tsuu T'ina band or family during the reserve era.⁵⁴ Immigration, emigration, high mortality and other factors contributed to changing family composition and size. The Tsuu T'ina family, regardless of its makeup, remained the basic institution for economic production and learning. This was described decades later by one Tsuu T'ina individual as follows: “[we] give our children a great deal of advice on Indian ways, so that in the future the boy would win respect from the band. If he got respect from the band the people would say: “He has a good father, and the father will win respect.”⁵⁵

The economic activities of youth were encouraged. The first successful hunt of a young man was marked by a special celebration. A feast was held to which many poor people and friends of the family were invited. As long as a youth remained unmarried he was expected to contribute the products of his hunt to his parents. Mother or other female relatives instructed girls in skills like sewing, cooking and hide preparation and tanning.⁵⁶ Native methods of informal learning continued to be practised despite the introduction of day schooling.

Naming conventions among the Tsuu T'ina included terms to mark the stages of childhood, adolescence and adulthood. In 1922, the linguist Edward Sapir recorded 38 personal names among the Tsuu T'ina.⁵⁷ These names derived from geographical references, tribal names, animal and “medicine” terms, or referred to horses and riding, war names, incidents or objects or personal characteristics. Adults often had several names and several nicknames. In government records, one name was used with or without a Christian name. All adult males were given band numbers when they graduated from school or generally when they reached the age of sixteen.

Treaty paylists for 1885 indicate there were six bands under Chiefs Bullhead, Eagle Robe, Many Horses, Painted Otter, Big Plume and Big Wolf. Chief Bullhead's band was the largest followed by that of Painted Otter.⁵⁸ The bands ranged in size from between 24 and 127 individuals. The 1885 paylists indicate there were 112 individual "family" groups. These included 53 men, 116 women, 108 boys and 101 girls for a total of a total of 378 individuals. The average number of children in each Tsuu T'ina "family" was 1.5.

The family with whom children lived could include a number of individuals who were usually close relations but this was not exclusively true. The 1885 paylists illustrate that there were only 75 families with adult male family heads. Chief Bullhead's Band included 37 families and only 16 of these had male family heads. There was clearly a disproportionate number of women in the Tsuu T'ina band with women outnumbering men two to one. The women without men were described as widows on the treaty paylists. These "widows" and their children were counted as separate families within each of the Tsuu T'ina bands.

McIntyre suggests these were Blackfoot women who had been married and widowed by Tsuu T'ina men. The emigration of these women after 1895 back to the reserves of origin restored more of a balance in gender ratios and reduced the numbers of acephalous families on the Sarcee Indian Agency treaty rolls from that time on.⁵⁹ It is more likely the gender asymmetry first recorded on the treaty payrolls was due to a variety of factors than simply in-marriage from other tribes. The surplus of women may reflect the custom of polygamous marriages. Tsuu T'ina men might marry more than one wife thereby creating a disproportionate number of women on the band roll. It is also possible Chief Bullhead "gathered up" additional women to swell the numbers on the band rolls to increase the amount of land allotted when the Tsuu T'ina were given their new reserve. The Chief employed a similar strategy at Blackfoot Crossing to increase the amount of rations

distributed to the Tsuu T'ina.⁶⁰

One of the terms of Treaty 7 was the provision of one square mile of land for each family of five.⁶¹ It was therefore desirable for the Tsuu T'ina to claim as many members as possible and to have as many "family" units as possible. The disproportionate number of women in the Tsuu T'ina population had serious repercussions for the constitution of a viable work force. There was a very high dependency ratio of between 550 and 625 females and children for every 100 male adult contributors for the period between 1885 and 1889.

Patterns of Reciprocity and Redistribution

The hunting economy of the Tsuu T'ina emphasized a pattern of generalized reciprocity which required a hunter to share meat among his band.⁶² The adaptation to reserve life included the partial incorporation of the Tsuu T'ina into a developing consumer society. While Tsuu T'ina participation in the Fur Trade eventually brought them to the distant margins of burgeoning industrial society in North America and Europe, reserve life entailed the creation of local forms of capitalism and consumerism that fundamentally transformed social relations and concepts of social status. Goods such as food, agricultural implements, native and non-native items provided one of the ways in which these new forms of Tsuu T'ina social order were created and maintained.⁶³

Traditional Tsuu T'ina kinship provided a means of creating personal relationships between everyone in the tribe. These relationships formed a life-sustaining network for a people dependent on hunting for their livelihood.⁶⁴ The creation of wage labour among the Tsuu T'ina created "an impersonal means of exchange that created social distances between individuals and expressed relations of asymmetrical power."⁶⁵ Goods also provided a medium for the affirmation and enhancement of existing forms of social stratification and for the establishment of new constructions of class, cultural identity and gender. There was a

continuation of customs pertaining to the inheritance of property and gender roles.

Kinship traditionally had provided the means for determining the inheritance of property. The relative age of descendants played a role in the disposition of a man's goods following death. An older child inherited more property including animals than did younger siblings. If a man had no children his property was distributed among his male siblings. His property would go to his widow if a man had no siblings. Women's possessions always were given to daughters. It was the duty of a son or daughter to care for aged or widowed parents.⁶⁶

The role of men in the Tsuu T'ina community was greatly strengthened through the imposition of new vehicles for decision-making such as band membership. Membership in the Tsuu T'ina Band required the written consent of Chief Bullhead and his councillors or minor chiefs. The power of men was further augmented by the provision in the 1884 Indian Act whereby male Indians of twenty-one and older were charged with electing members of council. Male authority was further entrenched through their limited control over new forms of goods and services.

The introduction of a system of elected chiefs and the supplanting of the traditional system of lifelong chiefs in the 1920s marked the beginning of a new modern era of reserve life. This era can be defined with reference to the internal transformations that occurred in Tsuu T'ina society whereby forms of individual achievement and land tenure became the basis for political authority and social status and not ascription based on inheritance or traditional values.

Annual treaty payments of \$25 to the Head Chief, \$15 paid to each of the minor chiefs, and the \$5 paid to other band members reflected the differential treatment of male political leaders by government officials. Trade goods such as flags, medals and rifles also

were given to band leaders. Chief Bullhead and each minor chief received cooking stoves for wood or coal as rewards for their good behaviour following the 1885 rebellion.⁶⁷ Gifts of tea, sugar and tobacco were given to each band chief at the treaty payments usually held in October of each year but discontinued after 1891.

The early management policies employed at the Tsuu T'ina Indian Agency continued the basic native methods for redistributing goods. Jenness describes the expectation the male head of a band would share the products of the hunt. There was an increasing emphasis placed on individual ownership of property by the male heads of families but the political power of such individuals was severely limited. The Farm Instructor became the custodian of all implements and tools "belonging" to the Indians. Band leaders were also the first to receive the basic tools and equipment required for planting, cultivating and harvesting crops. They were given the responsibility of distributing these goods among the male heads of families belonging to their individual bands. These individuals, in turn, would share these items with other band members. Male authority in the production, was both supplanted and augmented in early Tsuu T'ina reserve society. The realignment of men's roles created new possibilities for class formation.

The accumulation of material wealth provided the basis for new hierarchies within Tsuu T'ina society. Government officials recorded the amount of material goods in the possession of individual family heads. These were new forms of ownership introduced to Tsuu T'ina society and it became necessary to distinguish between Indian and Government property. Government property at the Sarcee Agency was painted red to distinguish it from property in Indian hands. Livestock was monitored similarly with brands with distinguishing marks assigned to each family as early as 1879. Livestock belonging to the Home Farm of the Sarcee Indian Agency also was branded separately. While accounting for individual

property was used by the Indian Department to measure the acceptance of individual private property, Tsuu T'ina society maintained and developed new methods and meanings for new goods and services.

Foodstuffs including rations of tea, tobacco, sugar, salt, bacon, beef, flour, oatmeal and syrup were distributed to male family heads on a bi-weekly basis. Women were given ready-made clothing very rarely. Soap was provided and annual issues of clothing such for men as coats, trousers, blankets and hats. Tsuu T'ina women were encouraged to knit and they were given wool and darning needles. Materials such as cotton prints and woollens such as serge and etoffe also were provided so women could make their own clothing.⁶⁸ The Indian Agent provided powder and shot required for hunting.

Table 4: Agricultural Implements Distributed To Bands 1885

Band	No. of Males	Augers	Axes	Files	Grindstones
Bullhead's Band	20	11	30	7	1
Eagle Robe's Band	5	5	6	4	1
Many Horses' Band	6	6	13	5	1
Painted Otter's Band	6	8	27	5	1
Big Plume's Band	6	6	13	5	1
Big Wolf's Band	7	4	3	5	1

The new social roles for men and women formed part of a developing reserve culture. These roles were reinforced and expressed through new simple systems of distributing material goods, which defined individual in relation to new networks of economic exchange. In 1885, the first farm implements - including augers, axes, files and grindstones - were issued only to Chief Bullhead and the other minor chiefs. General items were distributed directly to all band members (Table 4).⁶⁹ Lime was distributed for whitewashing houses, and tents were given out for use in the summer. Building supplies such as augers, cut nails, shingles and files were given out and axle grease was distributed for

wagons and carts belonging to Tsuu T'ina individuals.

The systems developed for the distribution of new goods and material possessions reinforced existing gender roles but created a greater polarization of male and female roles. The authority of men was greatly strengthened. Men were viewed as being responsible for women and children in a new reservation culture that linked land residency with marriage but built on pre-existing practices. In 1893, for example, Good Woman and Three Lines - two daughters of Bullhead's brother, Big Plume - asked to be returned to the Sarcee Reserve. They had married a Blackfoot Indian who had recently died in Calgary. The women begged to be returned with their four boys, to be with the relatives, stating they had no friends among the Blackfoot and feared starvation and being robbed of all their possessions.⁷⁰

The triennial distribution of long-tailed suits with pea jackets to the Head Chief and minor Chiefs was one of the terms of Treaty 7. These clothes set leaders apart from other adult males at a time when all forms of clothing were scarce. The terms of the Treaty also included the provision of agricultural implements. Departmental officials provided what they felt were the basic tools required for agriculture to the head chief and other minor chiefs for further distribution within each Tsuu T'ina Band (Table 4).⁷¹ It was clear from the start that individual band leaders collected surplus items including tea, cloth, tobacco and cash. Many of these items were given away during religious ceremonies.

The acquisition of surplus in the form of food rations, agricultural produce or other goods and materials was structured to conform to the traditional role of the Chief as head distributor. In the context of the market economy, Chief Bullhead's role was displaced by the Indian Agent and the Farm Instructor who ultimately controlled the distribution of goods for services at the local level. The Indian Department, however, accorded quasi-control over the sale of agricultural produce. In November of 1886, Agent de Balinhard

asked the Indian Commissioner whether 100 bushels of oats for sale from Head Chief Bull Head should be sold in Calgary or used for the Agency horses.⁷²

Chief Bullhead was given the say on whether permits could be issued to cut hay on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve. But there were problems with settlers who tried to take advantage of the situation. In 1887, a settler offered the Chief \$5 to cut hay but the Indian Agent noted the true value was closer to \$10. The settler had also tried to bribe Bullhead with an offer of \$30 if he was allowed to cut all the hay on the reserve.⁷³ At the same time, the department implemented a policy whereby 10 percent of the value of all Indian work would go to the workers themselves whereas 90 percent of the profits would go to the Government to be funded for the benefit of the Indians. The Indian Agent issued permits to individual Indians to regulate the sale of hay. Chief Bullhead countered unsuccessfully, arguing that 90 percent of the proceeds should go to Band members for the purchase of blankets during the winter months.⁷⁴ After 1891, the Indian Commissioner allowed permits to be sold for haying on the Tsuu T'ina reserve by outsiders provided a sufficient amount was secured for natives.⁷⁵

Tsuu T'ina men made the decisions about what was done with the wages that were earned. In 1888, Indian labourers hired to build a mission house for Reverend Henry Stocken earned a total of \$150. Chief Bullhead insisted the earnings be used to purchase badly-needed blankets with the rest distributed to the male workers to purchase provisions and clothing. The Indian Agent noted at the time, "it was encouraging to see their return from Calgary so comfortably clothed...the money being equally divided with their wives and children."⁷⁶

Women, on the other hand, played a more peripheral role in public life on the reserve. They were encouraged to learn domestic duties and to train for domestic work. In 1886, Reed felt encouraged that women after receiving instruction were "at least as cleanly in

their milking as the average man.”⁷⁷ The wives of farm instructors were encouraged and paid to set the example and to teach Indian women the requirements of household management.⁷⁸ Tsuu T’ina women, like men, became an itinerant subclass of the working class in Canada through their participation in agriculture and in domestic forms of wage labour within the institutions of the reserve and for nearby settlers and in the city of Calgary.

Space, Time and Ritual Expressions of Tsuu T’ina Identity

The changing circumstances and influences of the early reserve period fundamentally transformed religious and ceremonial life. As for other hunting peoples, the pre-reservation hunting adaptation of the Tsuu T’ina predisposed a worldview in which the “life-giving” and continuous relationship between people, animals and their environment was the primary emphasis.⁷⁹ Dreams and divination were the means of obtaining information about the resource potential of the environment and for obtaining Spiritual Power and Knowledge.⁸⁰ Traditional pre-reservation Tsuu T’ina religion involved a set of beliefs and practices based on animism. Nature was not divisible into animate and inanimate aspects. The Tsuu T’ina worldview emphasized, “the integration of human will and natural conditions,” rather than “engaging the human will to transform nature,” as Ridington describes for the Beaver Indians or Tsattine.⁸¹

Tsuu T’ina religion was an organized system of knowledge that guided, and empowered the thought, will and actions of individuals. It was inseparable from hunting practices and other human actions. Hunting was understood as “an essentially mental and spiritual activity” that depended upon a hunter’s special knowledge and skills. Through ceremonial rituals such as the vision quest it was possible for young male novices or others to gain supernatural or spiritual power from animals or natural forces.⁸² Pat Grasshopper, a Tsuu T’ina medicine man, recounted the significance of the vision quest in 1954:

“My mother told me about the spirits...There are spirits everywhere in nature... To get some of the spirit power from nature, and to find a spirit that would be his protector through life, a boy would go out, alone, on his guardian spirit quest...He would first bathe until he was very clean, and then he would live alone for three or four or five days without foods. After he had fasted, he would have a vision and a spirit would speak to him. It would give him a special song and special power. Adults also might go on such a quest, after the death of a child.

A boy who wished bear power, which is very strong spirit power might lie down beside a bear's den. His visions would be a bear, and he would receive spirit power that would make him able to cure sick people. Spirit power would go from him into a sick person, and that person would get well. Another boy might be given the power to become a great hunter, or, in the old days, a great warrior. Or he might be given great wisdom and be a wise counsellor of his people. Only a strong person can stay until the vision comes, for it often comes first in the form of some dangerous animal. The animal tests the person's courage. If he does not run away from it, something talks to him, something that he cannot see. This voice tells him to stay a certain number of nights. At the end of that time, the spirit gives the person power and tells him what his protector will be.”⁸³

When the person returned from the vigil, he did not reveal what his visions were. If he did, he might lose some of his spirit power. The person wears some sign of the protecting spirit he has attained. If it came from a bear, he might carry a bear's claw. If from an eagle, he might take some of the down from beneath an eagle's wing. Or he might carve a design of the guardian animal into the surface of his pipe or paint his tipi. When a person became ill, he sang the songs that he was given or when he was in need, he could call upon his Guardian Spirit. Pat Grasshopper described how “[I]n the olden days, a man called upon his spirit – power in war. Even a bullet would not go through someone who had strong spirit power. So the guardian spirit quest was very important in the old days.”⁸⁴ Spiritual power was symbolized by a Medicine Bundle that was cared for by its owner.⁸⁵

This type of “specialized” knowledge was essential for a hunter to be successful. Ridington suggests that “dreams and the experience of vision quest training during childhood were central to “adaptive competence” in Athapaskan hunting societies.”⁸⁶ Honigmann maintains it was customary for a Medicine Man to encourage his sons and grandsons to assume the roles of healers and spiritual leaders in Tsuu T'ina culture.

Honigmann suggests the appearance of this quasi-hereditary principle was not known among Northern Athapaskans and it is possible to infer this practice was acquired by the Tsuu T'ina due to the influence of the ceremonial practices of other Plains Indian.⁸⁷

The annual Sun Dance was the central religious ceremony in Tsuu T'ina society. Held in fulfillment of a voluntary vow by a Holy Woman, the Sun Dance involved a complex of rites and ceremonies, feasting, the singing of sacred songs and dances. The Sun Dance functioned to meet the spiritual needs of participating individuals, to renew communal bonds and identity and to help the sick recover. The five men's Societies - the Mosquitoes to which young men belonged, the Police or Painted Red and The Preventers who officiated at the Sun Dance, the Dogs and the *Dauu* - were active during the Sun Dance Ritual.⁸⁸

The Sacred Sun Dance ritual dramatized and reaffirmed tribal identity and membership and ensured survival through ceremony and song and prayer for another year.⁸⁹ The Sacred Sun Dance provided the setting for the recounting of Tsuu T'ina history and war deeds. Property and goods were given away to demonstrate the charity of the participant. The necessity of accepting European goods - food, tobacco and clothing - as part of ongoing Tsuu T'ina life was reformulated in the context of religious ritual. The Indian Agent noted Tsuu T'ina individuals would beg for tea and tobacco, used at other times to pay for labour and services, for use in ritual.⁹⁰ These and other goods became a central part of gift-giving in ceremonial rituals such as the Sun Dance and the five men's Societies. In this sense, European goods were subordinated to the fulfilment of "traditional" ends through the extension of existing cultural forms.⁹¹

The Sun Dance was held each year on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve between 1881 and 1889. The location was at the crossing of the Elbow River on the northeast corner of the

reserve. Indian Agent de Balinhard withheld rations from the Tsuu T'ina in 1889 when he found individuals were begging for tea for the Sun Dance on the streets of Calgary.⁹² In August of the same year, he again temporarily stopped food rations when he observed that preparations were being made to hold the annual Sun Dance.⁹³ The Tsuu T'ina attended Sun Dances held on other nearby reserves after that time.

The pass system designed to control native movement also was instituted to curtail involvement in religious ceremonies and the millennial movements such as the Ghost Dance that had arisen in the 1880s on reserves in western Canada. The adoption of the Grass Dance and the Hair-Parters or Tall Hat Society in 1883 by the Tsuu T'ina also provided a less formal setting for the recounting of history.⁹⁴ The Grass Dance included two societies: the Tall Hats and the Shells. Each Society had its own songs, ritual, symbols and clothing.⁹⁵

Young men and women participated in the full ceremonial of the Grass Dance unlike the other Tsuu T'ina Societies in which membership was restricted to men. The Grass Dance included the giving away of horses, clothing and other property. The Dog Feast, sometimes held in conjunction with the Grass Dance, was a pledged ceremony for the wellness of a family member like the Sun Dance.⁹⁶ Membership in the Societies was purchased. Each society had its own leader whose rank was indicated by different symbolic regalia.⁹⁷ Jenness observed in 1921 the Ghost Dance Movement, which prophesized an end to the Whites and the restoration of traditional Indian culture, had adherents on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve.⁹⁸

Conflicts arose between the Tsuu T'ina and government officials over the holding of the Sacred Sun Dance and the requirements of agricultural production on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve. The Sun Dance was a concern to officials because it was held at a time in the year that was crucial to a successful harvest. Some Indian Agents were empathetic for what they

perceived as the positive attributes of the Sun Dance ritual. Indian Agent Cornish, for example, stated in 1889 that although the object of the Sun Dance was simply, “to give expression to their feelings in the recovery of several of their sick,” he could not permit the ceremony to be held while the fields were in good condition.⁹⁹

The introduction of new forms of time-reckoning gradually replaced traditional methods. The Tsuu T’ina custom had been to follow a calendar based on religious practices and observable changes in the natural world linked with their hunting lifestyle. The Tsuu T’ina therefore moved through time and space simultaneously. The Tsuu T’ina year commenced with the Sun Dance. Chief Bullhead maintained the Tsuu T’ina calendar which divided the year into 11-12 lunar months of approximately 30 days duration (Table 5 and Plate 5).¹⁰⁰

Control over the annual calendar was an implicit part of the regulation of social order and everyday life of the Tsuu T’ina. A political leader or person of high status who had once owned a Sacred Bundle maintained the calendar. The continuing use of the calendar endorsed the existing tribal political structure under Chief Bullhead and the constitution of civil and religious order in Tsuu T’ina society.¹⁰¹ The overall flexibility of the Tsuu T’ina band structure as well as the early reserve economy allowed for the continuation of the traditional system of time-reckoning. The Tsuu T’ina developed new concepts of work and organization that selected individuals who assumed responsibilities for working the fields while other members of society attended the Sun Dance and participated in the rituals associated with the Sun Dance.

The continuation and possible intensification of the Sun Dance ritual in the early reservation years coincided with the increasing occurrence of sickness and increasing mortality among the Tsuu T’ina. The Tsuu T’ina population declined from 384 individuals in

Table 5: Months of The Tsuu T'ina Calendar

January-February	<i>Halit-ca</i>	"old man moon"
February-March	<i>Mitsi di-kaiye</i>	"moon white"
March-April	<i>Tci-z:</i>	"ducks"
April-May	<i>Tacyatci:</i>	"frogs"
May-June	<i>I-yasa</i>	"hatching time"
June-July:	<i>Itcayana datl-</i>	"birds come out of nest"
July-August	<i>Am-uxa acccarzyatl-I</i>	"mid year without snow"
August-September	<i>Tcicatimittas</i>	"ripening berries"
September-October	<i>Itkas-i naccinittla</i>	"leaves falling"
October-November	<i>Takotitc</i>	"ice forming"
November-December	<i>Saska acccasyati</i>	"mid-winter with snow"

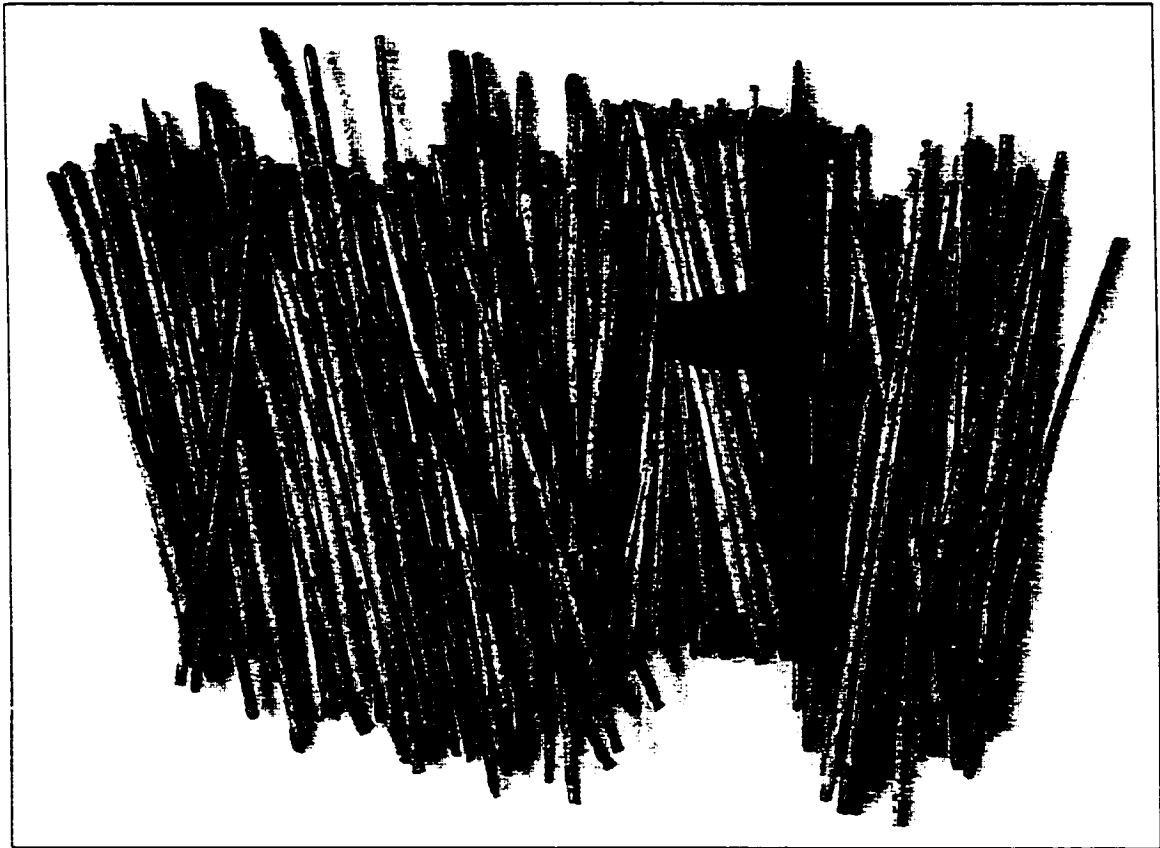


Plate 5: Chief Bullhead's Calendar (GA #AF 811)

1885 to 329 by 1890.¹⁰² The reports of government officials regularly contained comments on the high mortality rate, particularly of infants and children, and on the common occurrence of multiple deaths within families.¹⁰³ The Indian Inspector reported six births and seventeen deaths in 1887.¹⁰⁴ Indian Agent Samuel Lucas, newly appointed to the Reserve, reported in the same year that three members of one family including two brothers and a sister had died from consumption.¹⁰⁵

The effects of any decreases in the Tsuu T'ina population were magnified by the small population size. The memories of the horrors of past smallpox epidemics, still vivid in the minds of Jenness' informants in 1921, were part of the shared history that Tsuu T'ina individuals brought to their experience of tuberculosis and other diseases in the early reserve period. Government concerns with Indian health focused on "freedom [from] disease which can be directly traced to [the] want of sanitary precautions."¹⁰⁶ There was a long standing tradition of native acceptance of forms of European medicine. Vaccinations were given to the Tsuu T'ina and other native groups in southern Alberta starting in 1877. The Indian Agent distributed patent medicines to the Tsuu T'ina from the time of their first settlement at the Fish Creek Reserve in 1883. These medicines most often were cough syrup and eye drops provided for childhood ailments but patent medicines were also distributed to Chief Bullhead and other adults in the band.¹⁰⁷

The availability of medicines and medical care were subject to the financial constraints the Indian Department was under. In 1889, Indian Commissioner Reed implemented a policy of austerity in the delivery of medical attendance to Indian agencies. It was common practice for a physician to visit the Tsuu T'ina Reserve only once or twice a month unless he was urgently needed. Reed urged a reduction in the number of regular

monthly visits by physicians to the Tsuu T'ina and other reserves.¹⁰⁸ The early routinization and regulation of government-sponsored health care formed only one part of a set of beliefs and practices employed by Tsuu T'ina patients. The use of native medical practices and the incorporation of new elements of religious ritual formed a revised orientation towards healing and health in the early reservation years. Some individuals refused the outside care but preferred to rely on respected Medicine Men.

Traditional Tsuu T'ina ideas of healing were not separated from religious and spiritual beliefs. Healers had extensive knowledge of native forms of medicine including the use of roots and herbs in healing. Both men and women were respected as healers. Their roles co-existed with those of the Indian Agent, Medical Doctor and Missionary who shared in the responsibility for the physical and spiritual welfare in the Tsuu T'ina community. By 1890, native and non-native aspects of healing, hygiene and religion formed a well-established set of overlapping practices pertaining to sickness and health and the rites of passage association with birth, marriage and death in the Tsuu T'ina community. The Tsuu T'ina made selective use of the practices which were introduced.

The rejection of certain introduced customs and practices was most often interpreted by government officials as evidence the growth of progress had been slowed by "blind" adherence to native customs. Objects of everyday use, for example, appeared to be neutral to the Indian Agents and government officials but they were introduced and evaluated according to the pre-existing framework of Tsuu T'ina cultural ideas and values. The Tsuu T'ina initially refused to have their beds raised off the floor and would only allow their heads to be slightly elevated. It is possible the use of bedsteads was associated too closely with the practice of traditional burial which involved wrapping the dead in blankets and depositing them in scaffolds in trees six to eight feet off the ground.

The clear associations the Tsuu T'ina made between their dwellings, illness and spiritual life were reflected in conflicts with the resident Indian Agent over the occupation of new log houses. In 1888, it was reported that a sick man had been placed in a tipi because his relatives did not want him to die in one of the new houses.¹⁰⁹ While Indian Agent Lucas reported that bedsteads were widely in use by 1896, he also noted that on the least pretext such as a child taking sick the Tsuu T'ina would put all furniture outdoors.¹¹⁰

Time-reckoning in Tsuu T'ina culture was based, in part, on kinship and band structure also conflicted with European ideas of linear time. Band structure was more than an organizational grid in Tsuu T'ina culture. It drew on a lineage structure that traced the common ancestry of individuals and their relatedness with others through time. The band structure consisting of several related male lineages was fundamentally changed during the early reservation era. The band lineage system was divided further so that smaller family groups related through the male line eventually supplanted the band system as the local residential unit. These groups later became the basis for the establishment of small "villages" on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve.

The establishment of these villages therefore reflected more about the underlying band structure of Tsuu T'ina society and the expression of the close relationships between members of a given lineage than it did the acceptance of a European system of individual land ownership. While the development of a village system of settlement continued to reflect the close relationships between Tsuu T'ina individuals and their shared ancestry, there were other methods of time-reckoning that were fundamentally altered. This was particularly true of the customs of recounting Tsuu T'ina war histories in the context of sacred and secular ritual. Warriors had the right to paint their war exploits using conventional symbols, once in a lifetime, on a blanket, the inside lining of a tipi or on a special suit of clothing decorated

with weaselskins.¹¹¹

Part of a warrior's rights and responsibilities included the public telling of his experiences. Old Sarcee, a respected warrior and Medicine Man, informed Jenness that warriors also could paint their war accounts once in their lifetime on a hide, tipi liner or clothing.¹¹² The depiction of war histories employed a set of conventional symbols that could be readily understood. Whereas ancestral events and war histories were told as "lived history" in the context of tribal culture, such history-telling assumed a different meaning and context with the beginnings of reserve life.

Relocation to a reserve changed the context of "telling" Tsuu T'ina history. Warriors could no longer recount their histories in a cultural setting in which warfare took place. Their listeners now included ethnologists such as Diamond Jenness, Edward Sapir and Pliny Goddard, each of whom would create his own version of the Tsuu T'ina past. The telling of legends pertaining to the transformations of animals/humans/spirits took place in a changed context in which new forms of literacy were being taught to Tsuu T'ina children. The Tsuu T'ina language provided the medium through which a knowledge system based on distinctly different traditions of knowledge and causality could be expressed.¹¹³ The English language that was spoken and written by Tsuu T'ina individuals was a unique form of "reservation English" that reflected the underlying structures and forms of the Tsuu T'ina language.

Being "on display" as "Indians" for a white audience and the "objectification" of the Tsuu T'ina past increasingly became important components of Tsuu T'ina ritual life in the early reserve years. These arenas provided new contexts for telling others about the Tsuu T'ina past and for expressing cultural differences. There was a great fear among government officials, following the 1885 rebellion, that Indian gatherings of this form would lead to civil disobedience. The staging of native ceremonies was seen as an impediment to progress. The

Tsuu T'ina participation in a "grub dance" in 1886 to celebrate the start of electrical power in Calgary, for example, was seen as the start of their annual Sun Dance. T. P. Wadsworth, Inspector of Indian Agencies stated, "only time, education and religious training could put a stop to the religious ceremonials of the Tsuu T'ina."¹¹⁴

Conclusions – Public and Private Expressions and Tsuu T'ina Identity

Despite the protests of government officials, the Tsuu T'ina created new forms of tradition that embodied and expressed the inherent dualism of their culture. The "public" demonstration of this culture consisted of a series of condensed symbols of Indian identity that were amenable and capable of being interpreted by a white audience. The Tsuu T'ina who participated in the 1886 "grub dance" wore beads, buckskins and other emblems of Indian identity. They were paid for their public performance and this money represented a significant earning for those who participated. The Sun Dance was held in a public place on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve off the main trail at the "gateway" to the reserve.

The objectification and marketing of "Indian" culture as a particular style through forms of public ritual was a characteristic feature of Tsuu T'ina participation in a consumer-oriented society.¹¹⁵ Participation in early public displays was an important antecedent to the later role that Tsuu T'ina individuals could play in public forms of ritual in the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede and Banff Indian Days. These events provided an arena for the continuation of knowledge of certain practices and customs. The "private" dimensions of these public rituals included the continuation and modification of certain "native" religious practices and customs that were often hidden from White view.

Gender, along with class, occupation, age, and cultural identity in Tsuu T'ina society were all redefined or modified in relation to their new reserve locality. Tsuu T'ina bands formerly were named for the territory in which they hunted but did not occupy exclusively.

The settlement of these bands within the relatively “fixed” geographical space of the reserve entailed a series of fundamental structural changes in Tsuu T’ina society and the modification of their kinship system in which band exogamy was the custom. The reserve, although intended by government officials to be a temporary location for the Tsuu T’ina, also provided the basis for the creation of a new cultural ethos. Concepts of difference and unity, tradition and change, time and space were redefined in relation to everyday life that was now primarily experienced within the boundaries of the Tsuu T’ina Reserve.

¹ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Chief David Crowchild, 4 February, 1975. Quoted with permission of Tsuu T'ina Culture Program. All quotations from Tsuu T'ina Elders are unedited. Long pauses are indicated by the use of "...". Capitalization is used when phrases or partial sentences are used as statements.

² E. M. Morris, *The Diaries of Edmund Montague Morris, Western Journeys 1907-1910*, transcribed by M. Fitz-Gibbon, (Toronto, 1985), 28.

³ DIA, Annual Report, A 1883, C. E. Denny, Indian Agent to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 19 November 1882, 176.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ NAC, RG 10 v. 3732, f. 26,543, Edgar Dewdney, Indian Commissioner to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 18 November 1882.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ DIA, Annual Report A1885, W. Pocklington, Indian Sub-Agent, Annual Report, 82.

⁸ See: F. L. Barron, "The Indian Pass System in The Canadian West, 1882-1935," *Prairie Forum*, 13 (1), 1995, 30. Barron argues that the pass system had limited effect.

⁹ DIA Annual Report A1884, J. A. Macdonald, Annual Report, liii.

¹⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 3801, f. 49,000. Cornish to Commissioner, 5 January 1888. From *Winnipeg Free Press*, 24th January 1888.

¹¹ DIA Annual Report A1885, W. Pocklington, Indian Agent, Annual Report, 88.

¹² Barron, "The Indian Pass System," 1995, 31. Barron draws the same distinction between the "perceived" and the "real" behavior of native individuals in towns and villages.

¹³ NAC, RG 10, v. 1623, Reed to de Balinhard, 23 June 1886.

¹⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 1624, Reed to Indian Agent Sarcee Reserve, 17 December 1888.

¹⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 1623, Magnus Begg to de Balinhard, 13 July 1885.

¹⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 3760, f. 32025-4, Alexander McGibbon's Report on His Inspection of The Sarcee Agency 1886, 18 August 1886.

¹⁷ E. F. Wilson, "Report on The Sarcee Indians," 243.

¹⁸ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mrs. Violet Crowchild, 19 November 1995.

¹⁹ CHC, SP, No. 4A, Report of The Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended 31st December 1887 (A1888), J. P. McGibbon, 103.

²⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 1630, Reed to Indian Agent, 30 January 1888.

²¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1624, Reed to Indian Agent, 25 October 1887.

²² NAC, RG 10, v. 1623, Circular to Indian Agents, 23 September 1886.

²³ NAC, RG 10, v. 1642. Monthly Report, December 1895.

²⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 1625, Reed to Acting Indian Agent Swinford, Sarcee Reserve, 7 February 1891.

²⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 1630, Reed to Indian Agents, Circular 304, 19 January 1888.

²⁶ GA, M4410, Sarcee Indian Agency Fonds, de Balinhard to Indian Commissioner, 4 July 1887.

²⁷ DIA, Annual Report A1883, C. E. Denny, 176.

²⁸ NAC, RG 10 v. 3783, f. 40468-12, Inspector Alexander McGibbon's Report on The Sarcee Agency, 1887, 10 November 1887.

²⁹ Jenness, *The Sarcee Indians*, 12.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 11-12.

³¹ J. Maclean, *Canadian Savage Folk* (Toronto, 1896), 10.

³² NAC, RG 10, v 1625, S. J. Stocken quoted in Paget to Indian Commissioner, 10 July 1891.

³³ *Ibid.*, Reed to Indian Agent Sarcee Reserve, 19 January 1889.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Forget, Indian Commissioner to F. C. Cornish, Indian Agent, 18 November 1889.

³⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 1623, de Balinhard, Indian Agent, Annual Report, 1886.

³⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 1134, Reed to Indian Agents, Circular 294, 6 February 1891,

³⁷ DIA, Annual Report A 1884, Dewdney to Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 2 October 1883, 103.

- ³⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 3811, f. 54,549. Forget to Commissioner, Regina, 28 February 1889.
- ³⁹ DIA, Annual Report, A1888, Thomas White, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 6.
- ⁴⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 1639, On 25 November 1890, Agent Swinford ordered one blackboard, 1 map of Canada and one globe for use at the school at the west camp.
- ⁴¹ Based on order lists found in: NAC, RG 10, v. 1630, letters from Indian Commissioner to Indian Agent Sarcee Reserve, 11 September, 1886 and 1 October 1887.
- ⁴² NAC, RG 10, v. 1134, Forget Assistant Commissioner to Indian Agents, Circular 194, 1 July 1892.
- ⁴³ NAC, RG 10, v. 1637, Indian Agent to Percy Stocken, 30 July 1888.
- ⁴⁴ CHC, SP, No. 14, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 31 December 1893 (A1894), J Ansell Macrae, Inspector of Protestant Indian Schools for North West Territories, Manitoba and Keewatin, 187.
- ⁴⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 1291, Lucas, Indian Agent to Assistant Commissioner, Regina, 17 December 1894.
- ⁴⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 6001, f. 1-1-1, pt. 1, Memorandum To The Privy Council of Canada, 31 May 1890.
- ⁴⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 3982, f. 160229, McNeill to Secretary of DIA, 23 August 1897.
- ⁴⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 1626, Magnus Begg, Indian Agent, Blackfoot Reserve to Indian Agent Sarcee Reserve, 23 February 1893
- ⁴⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1641, Lucas to Commissioner, 24 April 1893.
- ⁵⁰ Jenness, *The Sarcee Indians of Southern Alberta*, 23.
- ⁵¹ Honigmann, "Notes on Sarsi Kin Behavior," *Anthropologica*, II, 1951, 26-27.
- ⁵² NAC, RG 10, v. 1641, Kemys-Tynte, Assistant Indian Agent for Lucas to Assistant Commissioner, 22 December 1893
- ⁵³ Ibid.
- ⁵⁴ The Tsuu T'ina kinship system can be regarded as cultural model of human relationships which was different from actual behavior in practice. The differences between symbolic models of kinship and systematic, regular verifiable patterns of actual observed kinship behavior are analyzed in: D. M. Schneider, *American Kinship: A Cultural Account* (Englewood Cliffs, 1968), 5.
- ⁵⁵ J. J. Honigmann, "Notes on Sarsi Kin Behavior," 1956, 18. Honigmann's informant in 1944 was Pat Grasshopper speaking through the interpreter Oscar Otter. Oscar Otter was the son of Pat Grasshopper's brother.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid., 19-20.
- ⁵⁷ E. Sapir, "Personal Names Among The Sarcee Indians," *American Anthropologist*, 26, 1924, 109-115.
- ⁵⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 9418, Treaty Paylists 1885, Sarcee Indian Agency.
- ⁵⁹ M. L. McIntyre, "Sarcee Demography 1880-1925." MA thesis, University of Calgary, 1975, 28-29.
- ⁶⁰ CHC, SP, No. 14, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 31 December 1880 (A1881), Dewdney, 92.
- ⁶¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 8495, f. 1/1-11, pt. 1, Treaty No. 7, Cessions made and obligations incurred by Indians they promised.
- ⁶² Jenness, *The Sarcee Indians*, 17.
- ⁶³ See: G. McCracken, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Bloomington, 1988), xi.
- ⁶⁴ Based on: R. Ridington, "Technology, World View, and Adaptive Strategy in a Northern Hunting Society," *Canadian Review in Sociology and Anthropology*, 19, (4), 1982, 473.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid., 22.
- ⁶⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 1623, de Balinhard to Commissioner, 5 January 1886.
- ⁶⁸ Based on information for 1893 and 1894 contained in NAC, RG 10, v. 1071.
- ⁶⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1623, Begg to de Balinhard, 10 July 1885.
- ⁷⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 1641, Lucas to Commissioner, 2 December 1893.
- ⁷¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1623, Begg to de Balinhard, 10 July 1885.

- ⁷² NAC, RG 10, v. 1635, de Balinhard to Commissioner, 12 November 1886.
- ⁷³ GA, M4410, de Balinhard to Commissioner, 4 July 1887.
- ⁷⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 1624, McGunn for Commissioner to Indian Agent Sarcee Reserve, 5 August 1888.
- ⁷⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 1625, Reed to Indian Agent Sarcee Reserve, 15 August 1891.
- ⁷⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 3807, f. 52,583-02, Cornish to Commissioner, 30 October 1888.
- ⁷⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 1623, Reed to Indian Agent, 1 September 1886.
- ⁷⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 1636, de Balinhard to Commissioner, 18 July 1887.
- ⁷⁹ Ridington, "Technology, World View, and Adaptive Strategy," 471.
- ⁸⁰ Ridington, *ibid.* See also: A. Tanner, *Bring Home Animals, Religious Ideology and Mode of Production of the Mistassini Cree Hunters* (St. John's, 1979).
- ⁸¹ Ridington, *ibid.*, 477.
- ⁸² R. Ridington, "From Hunt Chief to Prophet: Beaver Indian Dreamers and Christianity," *Arctic Anthropology*, 24, (1), 1987, 8.
- ⁸³ Pat Grasshopper, recounting "The guardian spirit quest," in E. Clark, *Indian Legends of Canada* (Toronto, 1960), 43-44. Translated by Jim Simeon.
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁵ See, Jenness, *The Sarcee Indians*, 76-90, for discussion of Sacred Medicine Bundles owned by the Tsuu T'ina.
- ⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.
- ⁸⁷ H. Honigsmann, "Parallels in The Development of Shamanism Among Northern and Southern Athapaskans," *American Anthropologist*, 51, 1949, 513.
- ⁸⁸ See: P. E. Goddard, "Sarsi Texts," University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, v. 11, (3), 1915, 215 for description of Sacred Societies.
- ⁸⁹ See: M. Liberty, "The Sun Dance," in, W. R. Wood and M. Liberty (eds.), *Anthropology on The Great Plains* (Lincoln, 1980), 164-165.
- ⁹⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 1624, de Balinhard to Reed, Monthly Report for May, 4 June 1886.
- ⁹¹ Sahlins makes this point regarding the acceptance of European goods as simply not a matter of articulating resistance or of opposition. He suggests that "Destiny is not history. Nor is it always tragedy." See: M. Sahlins, "The Cosmologies of Capitalism: 'Trans-Pacific Sector of 'The World System,'" *Proceedings of The British Academy*, 74, 1988, 1-51.
- ⁹² NAC, RG 10, v. 1635, Monthly Report of de Balinhard, Indian Agent for May, 4 June 1886.
- ⁹³ NAC, RG 10, v. 1638, Cornish to Commissioner, 13 August 1889.
- ⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 196-208.
- ⁹⁵ Jenness, *The Sarcee Indians*, 65.
- ⁹⁶ P. E. Goddard, "Dancing Societies of The Sarsi Indians," *Anthropological Papers of The American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 11, (pt. v), 1914, 464-474
- ⁹⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁸ Jenness, *The Sarcee Indians*, 97.
- ⁹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁰ B. Cotsworth, "The Evolution of The Red Indian Calendar," *Vancouver Sun*, 4 February 1939. Chief Bullhead's calendar is at the Glenbow Museum, catalogue number, AF 811.
- ¹⁰¹ Jenness, *The Sarcee Indians*, 12.
- ¹⁰² Based on NAC, RG 10, v. 9418 and v. 9423, Treaty Paylists 1885 and 1890.
- ¹⁰³ DIA, Annual Report, A1883, C. E. Denny, Indian Agent, 176.
- ¹⁰⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 3811, f. 54,550, Supplement to Inspector McGibbon's Report of Treaty Agencies
- ¹⁰⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 1636, Lucas to Indian Commissioner, Monthly Report for June, 9 July 1887.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁷ GA, M7449, Handwritten list of medicines distributed to Tsuu T'ina individuals, 1886.
- ¹⁰⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 1625, Reed to Indian Agent Sarcee Reserve, 9 November 1889.
- ¹⁰⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 3805, f. 50,774-13, McGibbon Report, 28 December 1888.

¹¹⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 1642, Lucas, Monthly Report, 7 April 1896.

¹¹¹ Jenness, *The Sarcee Indians*, 33.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ See, H. S. Sharp, "Memory, Meaning, and Imaginary Time: The Construction of Knowledge in White and Chipewyan Cultures," *Ethnohistory*, 38, (2), (Spring 1991), 149.

¹¹⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 3746, f. 29690-2, T. P. Wadsworth Inspection of Sarcee Reserve, 1895.

¹¹⁵ See, J. F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1989), 217.

**PART II:
BUILDING THE RESERVE COMMUNITY 1890-1910**

CHAPTER THREE
THE RESERVE COMMUNITY 1890-1900

Introduction - Chief Bullhead and The Ethos of Reserve Agriculture

Chief Bullhead was in his late 60s by the 1890s. He was one of the first Tsuu T'ina men to take a turn at the plow to break up reserve land for agricultural purposes. Most of the minor chiefs and their close relatives, in fact, participated in farming activities. The economic role of Chief Bullhead and that of the minor chiefs involved redistributing the products of the hunt with other band members when hunting was the main economic pursuit of the Tsuu T'ina. This custom of reciprocity was continued in the first decades of reserve life with the adoption of agriculture.

The economic power of the Head Chief was enhanced in certain respects within the Tsuu T'ina band structure in the reserve era. Annual reports of the Indian Department emphasized his contribution to overall agricultural production. Chief Bullhead is recorded as having consistently planted and harvested the largest acreage of crops in the 1890s. He initially was given the responsibility of the cash payments that the Indian Agent provided from the profits that were garnered.¹ Chief Bullhead was given extra rations of tea and tobacco each month to acknowledge his overall standing and to encourage him to set an example for other Tsuu T'ina individuals. A cow was given to the Chief in 1895 in the hope that others would take up dairying. Chief Bullhead, however, had no one to milk for him except his aging wife and he was unable to purchase the pails and pans necessary for milking. The power of the Head Chief, however, was very limited with respect to his direct participation in the outside market and in the overall system of agricultural production promoted by Indian Department.

Crops and small gardens were cultivated at the “Home Farm” of the Sarcee Agency where Indian labourers worked under the supervision of the Farm Instructor. The Indian Department discouraged anything but a small acreage being maintained at Home Farm. This practice meant that the Home Farm could not function to offset any critical shortages that might occur. Agricultural statistics for the period 1889-1900 indicate that virtually all adult Tsuu T’ina men participated in gardening and the cultivation and harvesting of crops.² The number of Tsuu T’ina farmers declined throughout the following decade under the repressive policies of the Indian Department and as the uncertainties of agricultural production and the market place became obvious to individual producers.

The State Measurement of Indian Progress

The Department of Indian Affairs began to compile statistics to describe private ownership, agricultural production, wages and the values of private and public property on Indian Reserves in Canada beginning in the late 1880s. Statistical data submitted by Indian Agents and local officials were checked meticulously by government officials and published in the Annual Reports of the Indian Department. Discrepancies in recording information brought about immediate reprimand by the Indian Commissioner.

These “measurements of progress” were used to evaluate the overall success of the model native communities the Department was trying to create. The statistics that were gathered and the participation of Chief Bullhead and others in agricultural production were interpreted as evidence that a “spirit of individuality” was supplanting “hereditary systems” of ownership and leadership in Tsuu T’ina society.³ The gathering of official statistics to measure Indian progress was influenced by the statistics movement that had developed in England in the 1830s and 1840s. The increased fiscal and material demands of government growth in England brought about by rapid industrialization and urban settlements placed

considerable pressure on officials to rationalize their policies. In Canada, Indian Affairs officials attempted to justify their programs at a time when industrialization and settlement placed greater fiscal and material demands on government.⁴ The first official statistics included the names and contributions of individual Indian workers, their sources of income and their contribution to the reserve economy as wage labourers. After World War I, there was a greater emphasis on how much capital had accrued from government investment in the development of Indian reserves and on the value of reserve lands.

The scientific measurement of progress in Indian communities focused on the growth of private property. This provided a rationale for further expenditure on Indian advancement. Government officials were under pressure to articulate the specific goals of policies with increasing public scrutiny of the Indian Department. In 1890, Edgar Dewdney, the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, identified the purpose of Indian policy, “to elevate the red man to place him on a social and intellectual level with his white brother.”⁵ The ultimate goal of native citizenship was to be accomplished by what officials described as the “triumph” of individual control of land over “a prevailing system of community of ownership.”⁶

Representatives of the Indian Department stressed the importance of native education and the necessity of boarding schools for all children over the age of seven. In 1893, a separate School Branch was established. In 1894, Hayter Reed, the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, noted that “the permanent elevation of [*the*] race depends upon the education of the young.”⁷ Indian education was characterized as a “sacred trust” involving “the moral, social, literary and industrial training of the Indian youth of both sexes.”⁸ The “emancipation” of native youth from the “ignorance and superstition in which

their parents were sunk,” was to be accomplished through an educational system which would convert Indian youth into “useful members of society and contributors.”⁹

Throughout the 1890s, government policies for Indian management began to reflect the values of the “Social Purity Movement” and its attendant ideology of raising the “moral tone” of the Canadian nation through the moral and physical elevation of its citizens.¹⁰ The earlier emphasis on improving the moral standing of Indian people in Canada was supplanted by a scientifically-inspired set of concerns aimed at improving the moral and physical environments of native people. The Department of Indian Affairs began to redefine its overall purpose within this new framework.

The “Social Purity Movement” described by Valverde in *The Age of Light, Soap and Water*, was part of the emergent secularization and decline of centralized institutionalized religion and religious control in Canadian society that occurred between 1890 and 1930.¹¹ The changing ideological orientation of Indian policy was reflected in new concerns regarding health and the institutionalization of health care on the Tsuu T’ina and other native communities in Canada. Although McCuaigh argues that “Indian health was never a high priority for Indian affairs,” it is clear that the agenda of Federal Indian Policy increasingly focused on health care issues and health care reforms on Indian reserves after 1890 with the influence of the Social Purity Movement.¹²

The discourse of government officials changed under the influence of the Social Purity Movement. James A. Smart, the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs suggested in his annual report for 1900 that “what constituted right and wrong entertained by the Indian are formed or deeply affected by his environment.”¹³ Through time, Indian people would, in his view, “by direction education and contact with an improved class of settlement gradually learn to distinguish and assuage the moral benefits of civilization and

improve their social tone in all directions.”¹⁴ The successful realization of the ideals of “social purity” provided one means of determining whether or not Indian peoples were at a suitable stage of development to be integrated into Canadian society. Debate centered on determining at what point native peoples would be integrated and what criteria should be used to determine Indian “readiness” for citizenship.

The readiness of Indian peoples for citizenship was to be determined on the basis of their ability to compete with their non-native counterparts. In 1895, Indian Commissioner Hayter Reed proposed that Indian education should, “develop all the abilities, remove prejudice against labour and give courage to compete with the rest of the world.”¹⁵ There was little interest among government officials in supporting individuals who were able to work. Native people were expected to work for any relief they might receive. Edgar Dewdney, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, put this succinctly in 1890, “if a man will not work neither shall he eat.”¹⁶ Work, in his view, was necessary for “self respect” and “self-reliance.”¹⁷ The Indian Department, at the same time, identified the “sick,” “aged widows” and “orphans of tender age,” as the “especial objective of the Department’s solicitude.”¹⁸

Measuring the progress of individuals was only one means the Government used to adjudicate Indian progress toward the ultimate goal of citizenship. The degree to which the external “appearance” of native peoples and improvement in their immediate physical surroundings resembled that of white society was interpreted as signs of Indian advancement. The appearance of Indian idleness, for example, was a cause of constant concern. Department officials lamented that nothing was done by the Indians, “in the way of employing their idle hours in the manufacture of ox collars, fork handles and so forth.”¹⁹

The adoption of European apparel similarly was seen as evidence of progress. Hayter Reed, the Indian Commissioner noted in 1890 that “every year sees the blanket more generally discarded in favour of the settlers’ garb and more attention given to personal cleanliness.”²⁰ Department officials, however, seemed unable to differentiate between changes in the external appearances of persons or dwellings and the internalization and acceptance of the values they were trying to inculcate.

Goals of The Church Missionary Society 1890-1900

The policies of the Church Missionary Society and Anglican Church of Canada continued to focus on the younger generation of Tsuu T’ina and their moral and social elevation for future integration into industrial society. The views of John William Tims, appointed to the Tsuu T’ina Reserve in 1895, were quite typical of CMS appointees of the time. Tims maintained that the Indian Boarding Schools of southern Alberta were of such “serious importance” as to demand the most careful consideration of the Parent Committee of the Church Missionary Society.²¹ Tims held the view that educated girls should enter domestic service for a time before they were married while boys “were likely to hold their own with the white” once they had mastered a trade or occupation.²²

A model of schooling derived from institutions for the poor in England played a central role in Tims’ mission under the aegis of “Christianizing,” “Civilizing” and “Making Industrious,” the Tsuu T’ina students in his charge.²³ There was a strong punitive element in his approach to teaching. The threat that “camp life,” for example, represented to his mission lay in idleness because, in Tims’ view, “[i]t [is] very difficult, it is almost impossible for the Minister of the Gospel to do anything with a lazy man in any part of the world. The most successful work has always been among peoples and communities that are industrious.”²⁴ He maintained, “it is therefore of importance to our success in Missionary

work amongst the Indians that the people should be taught to work.”²⁵ This was a message of force and not sympathy, voluntarism and gentleness.

The utilitarian goals of education exposed by Tims coincided with a proposal by the Church Missionary Society to curtail funding for Indian schools with the ultimate plan of eventually withdrawing from the North American mission field. In 1895, the CMS began to urge the greatest economy upon all missionaries in the field.²⁶ Tims became a leading proponent of a movement that advocated the continuation of the church-supported system of Indian boarding schools. CMS appointees like Tims were forced to devote increasing time to fundraising for the mission field. Tims accordingly spent much of the time during his one and a half year furlough in England in 1898 raising money to support Indian missions in southern Alberta.

The increasingly materialistic focus of Tims’ mission included the need to control the new generation of students in whom the Church had invested and to protect students from possible incursions by representatives of the Roman Catholic faith. Tims argued that financial withdrawal by the CMS would “mean a loss of influence over the rising generation and indirectly to the parents themselves which might prove disastrous to the Society’s on the Reserves, largely on account of Romish Aggression.”²⁷ The rights and opinions of Tsuu T’ina parents and children were never considered in his plan.

Tims also campaigned for his own promotion within the Church infrastructure. In 1896, he proposed that he be appointed as Superintendent of Indian Missions in southern Alberta. His responsibilities were to include fundraising by letter and tours in Eastern Canada to ease the financial burden placed on the Church Mission Society by operation of the missions.²⁸ The response to Tims’ suggestion by the Secretary of the CMS was terse, “you have been sent out by the Society as a missionary to evangelize the heathen and they do

not feel that this can be done by your acting as a Superintendent of Indian Missions.”²⁹

Tims, however, was given control of all funds for CMS Mission in Alberta by the Finance Committee for the Diocese of Calgary, which he chaired, following their annual meeting in the summer of 1896.³⁰

Demography, Mobility and The Tsuu T’ina Work Force

While officials of the Indian Department and the Church Missionary Society defined their respective goals, the Tsuu T’ina population began to diminish in size. A decrease from 287 to 205 individuals between 1890 and 1900 represented a net loss of 29 percent of the population (Appendix 1.1).³¹ A declining population and asymmetrical sex ratios were significant factors in the constitution of the Tsuu T’ina labour force. The central determining factor in population change was an overall high mortality rate. The rate of natural increase in 1890 was minus 63 persons per 1000 in 1890. As more accurate figures of the overall Tsuu T’ina population become available, the rate of natural increase in the Tsuu T’ina population was minus 39 and minus 15 per 1000 for the years 1895 and 1900.³² The crude death rate consistently exceeded the crude birth rate during this time. The effects of declining population were cumulative and by 1900 the rate of natural increase among the Tsuu T’ina was minus 15 persons per 1000 population by 1900.³³

While the Tsuu T’ina population was very mobile, immigration and out-migration did not explain the overall population reduction. The net migration rate of 26 per 1000 individuals in 1895 contrasts with the net migration rate of 2.4 per 1000 persons in 1900. Even with the greater net migration in 1895 which possibly was due to the marriages of several women to men in other tribes, there was still a decline in the rate of natural increase to minus 38 per 1000 in 1895. In 1895 when the first information is available about migration patterns, a total of seven individuals joined the Tsuu T’ina Band while only one

person left. There was, on the other hand, a total of 14 deaths and only five births.³⁴ The Tsuu T'ina population decreased a further 13 percent by 1900.

The Tsuu T'ina work force was defined by government officials primarily with reference to the participation of adult males in agricultural activities. Women, adolescents and children, however, continued to play significant roles in the developing reserve economy. The exclusion of women from the official statistics of the Indian Department did not alter the fact that their non-wage labour and reproductive tasks within the family were also central components of the Tsuu T'ina reserve economy.³⁵ Women accompanied men on hunting expeditions and assisted in the planting and harvesting of crops.

It was difficult for government officials to keep track of the actual number of individuals living on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve and their cultural affiliations. There were an estimated 20 non-existing persons drawing rations in 1890.³⁶ The first exact census was requested by the Indian Commissioner in 1892. An Indian Census was included with the general census in Canada for the first time in 1911.³⁷ Population figures before 1900 are very tenuous.

The under-representation of male workers in the population was reflected in gender and dependency ratios for the Tsuu T'ina population between 1890 and 1900 (Table 6). In 1890, there were approximately 51 males for every 100 females in the Tsuu T'ina population with a dependency ratio of 504.³⁸ This meant that for every 100 contributors in the Tsuu T'ina population there were 504 dependents. While this figure includes children, adult gender ratio indicates that there were 47 adult males for every 100 adult females.³⁹ By 1895, a more accurate picture emerged of the Tsuu T'ina population. Both gender and dependency ratios were reduced. By 1900, there were 78 males for every 100 females and 83 adults males

for every 100 adult females with a general dependency ratio of 229 women and children for every 100 adult males.⁴⁰

Table 6: Tsuu T'ina Population By Gender 1890-1900

Year	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	M/F Ratio	Dependency Ratio
1890	47 (16%)	93(32%)	75(26%)	69 (24%)	51%	504%
1895	64 (27%)	94(40%)	36(15%)	36 (15%)	68%	250%
1900	62(30%)	80(39%)	31(15%)	31 (15%)	78%	229%

Age and gender were significant factors in the constitution of the Tsuu T'ina labour force. There were 283 female and child dependents for every 100 male adult workers in 1900.⁴¹ This was a typical pattern for the late 1890s when information regarding age groups within the Tsuu T'ina population first becomes available. Dependents included all children under the age of 16, all women and all adults over the age of 65. In 1900, there were 69 adult males between the ages of 16 and 65. The retention of 8 boys in the boarding school until the age of sixteen or more had a detrimental effect on the overall work force after 1893 by permanently removing these individuals each year from the work force.

The mobility of the Tsuu T'ina population, rooted in kinship ties, cultural pluralism and the need to find marriage partners, had less of an impact on the work force. The typical pattern was for one or two women to leave the band each year to marry men from other bands and for the same number of women to marry in from other reserves. There are no recorded cases of Tsuu T'ina men leaving their reserve to marry and live with women on other reserves between 1890 and 1940. In 1897, eight Cree individuals, including two men, four women and two children were voted in as Band members.⁴² When family members died, it was common for individuals from other bands to apply to rejoin the band and live

with their remaining Tsuu T'ina relatives. In 1891, for example, two Blackfoot individuals, Fire Long Ago and his brother, Find Him, applied to the Sarcee Band for admission because all their living relations were on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve.⁴³

Women and their children living elsewhere would most often return to their home reserve if they divorced, were widowed or left their husbands. The return of these women and children placed an additional burden on family members. Widows therefore commonly quickly remarried once they returned to the Tsuu T'ina Reserve. In the first few decades of reserve life, there was a number of native individuals from other reserves who were employed by the Tsuu T'ina Agency and eventually became band members. In 1891, Sleigh, a Cree man, who had worked for the Sarcee Agency for many years applied for membership for himself and his wife.⁴⁴

The Tsuu T'ina continued to live in two main encampments in the 1890s following a seasonal round based on the agricultural cycle, hunting and the requirements of religious life. They abandoned their houses as soon as they could in the spring, generally in March or early April of each year, and lived in either canvas tents or tipis. Larger groups of individuals camped together in the hay fields during the planting season and at harvest times. Social relations within the Tsuu T'ina Band and with other native groups were strengthened through the renewal of kinship bonds created by marriage.

The practice of visiting relatives on nearby reserves also was adapted to fit the annual cycle. Indian Agent Lucas, shortly after his arrival in 1891, informed the Indian Commissioner that as soon as the seeding was over in March, the Sarcees left their reserve to visit their relations among the Blackfeet, Bloods and Peigan.⁴⁵ Those who did leave were often the highest ranking individuals in Tsuu T'ina society such as the Chief Bullhead and the other Head Chiefs. The Tsuu T'ina therefore created a system of production in which

certain groups were able to leave their reserve following planting to hunt and participate in religious ceremonies while others stayed behind to attend to farming. While Indian Affairs officials may have mistakenly viewed those who left as “worthless” and “reluctant to work,” it is more likely that these persons were actually in charge of the internal system of agricultural production and its organization within Tsuu T’ina society.

There was a hierarchy within the working population in the reserve community. While Indian Agents generally characterized the Tsuu T’ina as “poor farmers who were lazy and indifferent,” individuals such as One Spot, Crow Child, Big Belly, Big Crow, Many Swans and Jim Big Plume were mentioned as exceptions.⁴⁶ In 1895, Mark Crowchild, one of the few farmers ever to be completely “self-supporting,” had finished a stable and had taken cattle on loan. The differences within the Tsuu T’ina work force became more apparent after 1897 when those who were better off began to build larger houses, with second stories and with better furnishings. An informal system of patronage reinforced the social distinctions that developed. Exemplary individuals often were rewarded by being selected to complete work on agency buildings and fences thereby sustaining their income differential from other workers. In the fall of 1897, a group of such men were chosen to complete the inside painting of the Agent’s house after it was repaired.

The actual number of available workers at any one time was affected by the declining health of the population. In the first few months of 1890 there were seven deaths due to an outbreak of influenza during which the entire band was placed on the sick list. The houses of the dead were torn down and replaced as was the traditional custom. The monthly visits of Dr. Lindsay, the physician appointed by the Indian Department, seemed to have no influence on what the Indian Agent described as “the already long death toll.”⁴⁷ The Indian Department instituted new health regulations in 1892 instructing all agents to ensure that

Indians were vaccinated against smallpox, that disinfectants were used and that a “liberal application” of whitewash was applied to all dwellings and outbuildings.⁴⁸

There were other instances when individuals were unable to work because they were in mourning for relatives who had died recently. This was in keeping with Tsuu T’ina custom but local officials were often unsympathetic. Following the death of Chief Bullhead’s adopted son, Snake Child, in 1893, Indian Agent Samuel Lucas found the Chief “disagreeable” and he had a hard time getting Bullhead’s men to work.⁴⁹ In 1896, Lucas informed the Indian Commissioner that 39 men had worked while 15 had been idle. Of the latter, two were in mourning for friends and relatives.⁵⁰ In April of the following year, only 19 workers were available due to sickness. This contrasted with the following month when there were 46 men and 4 women who worked as agricultural labourers. Indian Agent McNeill reported in 1896 that forty out of 52 workers were employed regularly while the remainder were either on the sick list, attending to sick relatives or in mourning the loss of loved ones in 1896.⁵¹

The Tsuu T’ina Reserve Economy

The Church and State ideal of building a self-supporting agrarian community on the Tsuu T’ina reserve was based on creating a work force of wage labourers partially integrated into the Canadian industrial economy. Although government officials referred to the detrimental effects of “the prevailing system of community of ownership,” there were already strong elements of individualism and individual ownership in Tsuu T’ina society.⁵² It was therefore not a simple matter of replacing a communal system with one based on entrepreneurial capitalism and entrepreneurial individualism. The existing methods for redistributing and exchanging goods and services in Tsuu T’ina society based on underlying patterns of social organization and hierarchy mediated introduced new forms of economic

activity. The acceptance of certain practices and not of others was determined by the practical needs of survival.

A new Tsuu T'ina reserve economy was established by the 1890s. It was a combination of capitalist and non-capitalist enterprises. The earlier pattern of producing a restricted range of goods including hay, wood and root crops for the outside market of the city of Calgary continued through the 1890s. It was necessary each year to store a certain amount of the potato crop and other produce for later use or for sale in the spring when higher prices usually could be obtained. All of the Indian houses had root cellars for this purpose.

The distribution of earnings from contract wage labour followed a two-tier system of control. The Indian agent had control of all individual cash earnings. He could either deposit these earnings in the bank account of the Tsuu T'ina Band or use the proceeds to purchase capital equipment provided he received written approval from the Indian Commissioner to do so. The standard practice was for some of the monies to be retained with the remaining amount distributed in small amounts of cash to participating Tsuu T'ina workers. They, in turn, would pay other individuals who had contributed to the work involved.

The two-tier system of distribution of earnings from contract labour removed immediate control of Tsuu T'ina labourers from their cash earnings and the market value of their labour. This was necessary to a certain extent because workers in the 1890s did not possess the literacy skills to engage in the accounting practices and bank transactions that were required. This system of distribution which clearly excluded the full participation of most workers, however, also preserved the existing patterns of reciprocity and distribution with Tsuu T'ina society while creating a set of limited opportunities for individuals to accrue small reserves of capital and material goods.

Certain individuals took the lead as economic entrepreneurs in the reserve community. In the 1890s, Crow Collar and four other Tsuu T'ina men assumed a contract to supply the Northwest Mounted Police with between 20 and 25 tons of hay per month. The hay commanded a good price and the total monthly earnings amounted to as much as \$250. Indian Agent Lucas obtained written permission from the Indian Commissioner to use part of the proceeds to purchase a hay mower for the Tsuu T'ina Band. Lucas also made equal payments in cash to the individual workers. Crow Collar made his own hay rack and leased a yoke of oxen from the Indian Agent with his earnings.⁵³

The existing kin-based mechanisms and understandings of "need" for distribution and exchange were still operational. Despite the emergence of individual entrepreneurs, workers usually shared the remaining proceeds shared throughout the band with individuals who had contributed to the work, were in need or had incurred debts. In 1894, Agent Lucas once again distributed the proceeds from the hay sale to Crow Collar and the other workers. These individuals in turn distributed them to others who had shared in the work. The Indian Agent protested that the earnings should be used to purchase provisions and lumber for newer houses and noted with much chagrin that the proceeds from the hay sales had been shared with "practically the entire band."⁵⁴

Tsuu T'ina men and women also engaged in forms of non-contract wage labour outside the Tsuu T'ina Reserve. These individuals had to apply to the Indian Agent to obtain a permit to leave the reserve for this purpose and the Indian Agent recorded and distributed the cash earnings to individual workers. Tsuu T'ina women also performed work outside of the reserve community often doing laundry and other domestic chores for settlers. In July 1896, the wife of Tom Owing A Horse obtained a pass for several days to wash clothes for settlers in the Sheep Creek area south of the Tsuu T'ina Reserve.⁵⁵ Indian women also

applied for passes so that they could be paid for tanning hides for residents of Calgary and settlers who had contracted the work.

Men sold hay, firewood, and fence pickets, potatoes and other root crops to settlers and citizens of Calgary, Men would often leave the reserve with their families to hunt wolves for bounty. Tsuu T'ina families combined work activity with visits to relatives either on other reserves or with those who gathered nearby at Nose Creek, Sheep Creek and in the area of High River. The majority of individuals, however, obtained passes for social or religious purposes. In July 1896, there were 29 passes issued to Tsuu T'ina individuals. Of these, 14 were issued for visiting friends and relatives and attending the Sun Dance ceremonies, 5 for hunting wolves, 3 for the purpose of trading in Calgary, 4 for buying, trading and selling horses and 3 for other forms of work.⁵⁶

Selling of hay employed a number of Tsuu T'ina workers year round but individual earnings were not sufficient to provide for the requirements of a man and his family. The work of hauling 25 tons or more of hay a month for 22 miles into the city of Calgary was hard on the few oxen belonging to the Agency and on the small horses owned by the Tsuu T'ina. In winter, the trail to Calgary often was impassable. There was always a shortage of wagons and heavy sleighs for hauling any produce or goods and the Indian ponies were too small for hauling the heavy loads of hay. In 1892, there were only four wagons for the entire agency and two of these were so old that they were always out of repair.⁵⁷

The growing of crops, maintenance of gardens, and the manufacturing of tools and other items so eagerly endorsed by the Indian Commissioner formed the main components of an internal reserve economy in which production was geared to consumption within the confines of the reserve. Production was centered at either the Mission or the Indian Agency. Work consisted of building houses and other structures, repairs on buildings and fences,

freighting goods and providing the mission and Agency with firewood, hay and produce. Men were employed as itinerant labourers constructing the buildings of the Tsuu T'ina Agency, Mission and their own houses and doing general repairs and maintenance.

The work performed by students to sustain the reserve schools also was an integral part of the reserve economy. Within the Parish of St. Barnabas, the practice of tithing bound individuals who attended church service to the common causes of local and foreign missionary support, maintaining the reserve church and contributing to the local Diocese. All of these economic activities that sustained the reserve community were augmented by the continuation of a "native economy" based on hunting, the gathering of foodstuffs and forms of barter and trade. Agricultural work and other forms of new production in the reserve economy also created a different awareness of time. It was necessary to adopt new forms of timekeeping and by 1897, two workers, Big Belly and Crow Child, had purchased clocks with a portion of their earnings from wood and hay sales.⁵⁸

Tsuu T'ina men were hired as general labourers on short-term projects. The construction and maintenance of agency and mission structures provided labourers with considerable sums of money but did not provide them with specialized training or long-term and continuing employment. In 1890, construction of the new mission house and school buildings at the Old Agency Site provided a total income of \$300 for Tsuu T'ina labourers. Male labourers were neither trained nor expected to perform specialized tasks. They worked instead under the direct supervision of a non-native person hired to complete the specialized carpentry tasks required. The only exception to this pattern was in meat processing. While outside contractors originally were hired to slaughter and butcher animals for consumption in 1890, these tasks were later assigned to specially-trained Tsuu T'ina workers.

By 1895, a small number of Tsuu T'ina workers were employed each week as butchers and were issued special overalls, shoes and knives for their work.⁵⁹ Animals were transported to the reserve where they were slaughtered by the Farm Instructor or his assistant. The meat was then cut, weighed and divided up into equal portions for distribution twice a week by the Indian butchers. The Rations Issuer assumed the responsibility for dividing up other foodstuffs issued as standard rations such as flour, bacon, tea and sugar. The industrial production of meat for consumption in this manner contrasted with earlier patterns of reciprocity and redistribution in which hunters shared the products of the hunt according to a hierarchy largely defined by kinship ranking and political leadership.

The position of native butchers, like that of the other non-specialized tasks assigned to Tsuu T'ina workers, did not result in the development of a separate work ethos and ideology or the use of distinctive symbolic regalia. These were itinerant positions that were rotated among the male heads of families and always were under the supervision of the Indian Agent or Farm Instructor. This pattern of employment that the Department of Indian Affairs instituted and maintained throughout the 1890s involved workers in new and impersonal form of economic production.

The introduction of a money economy which defined Tsuu T'ina labour in relation to a market economy further disrupted the existing patterns of exchange in Tsuu T'ina society. Indian labourers also were allowed to borrow funds and purchase goods against their future earnings derived from agricultural labour. Under Indian Agent Lucas, Tsuu T'ina workers were given advance credit at the Hudson Bay Company store in Calgary using the future earnings of hay to secure their purchases. This allowed workers to purchase clothing, tea, tobacco and other provisions.

Agricultural Production and The Hunting Economy

The first agricultural land was broken along Fish Creek and in areas adjacent to the Agency buildings in the 1880s (Plates 6 and 7). The failure over time to produce a self-sustaining agricultural base was due to the limitations of the reserve environment. Successful production was also hampered by certain shortsighted agricultural policies of the Indian Department. One of these policies was to work the fields established in the Fish Creek valley between 1881 and 1891 until the productive capacity of the land was exhausted. Greater overall productive yield was hampered in good growing years by the Indian Department policy that discouraged the use of mechanical equipment in favour of manual forms of labour.

Government officials encouraged individual Tsuu T'ina farmers to establish their houses adjacent to their small plots of land. In the 1890s, there was only a small amount of land cultivated and under crop. In 1894-1895, 33 acres were broken, 35 acres were under crop and about 60 acres were used for growing hay.⁶⁰ The areas under cultivation were fenced to prevent cattle from destroying the crops. The policy of not following the land necessitated moving from what had been the more fertile and well-watered soil along Fish Creek with its ready water supply for household use.

By 1892, 15 acres were cultivated in the drier benchlands above the valley of Fish Creek that were less subject to frost. After 1893, an additional 35 acres were broken and all wheat, oats, barley and hay were planted on the benchlands after that time. Only root crops such as potatoes, turnips and carrots were now grown on the best portions of the land in the creek bottom. Tsuu T'ina cultural practices, at times, interfered with or overrode government practices. Although Agent Lucas attempted to have all new houses built on the benchlands, Chief Bullhead opposed him insisting that all the buildings be erected in the old



Plate 6: Branding Cattle Tsuu T'ina Agency, 1890s (GA #NA 1020-57)

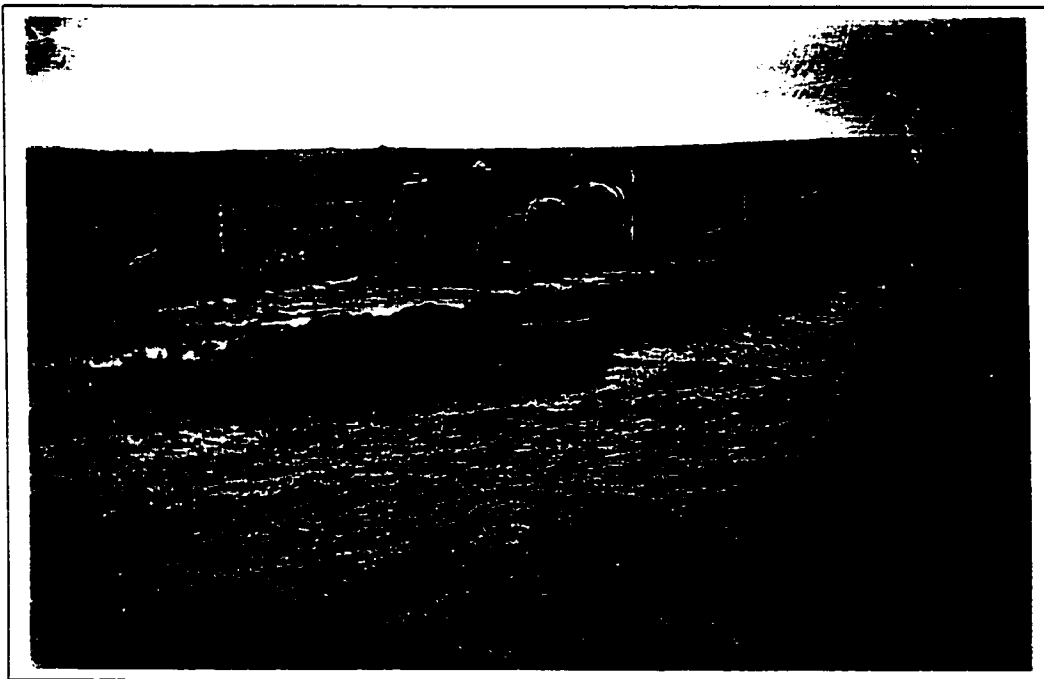


Plate 7: Breaking Reserve Land with Hand Plough, 1890s (GA #NC 21-10)

village. The Chief instructed the workers to plow the old land in the river valley so that the Tsuu T'ina could all live together.⁶¹ The punishment for such opposition, however, often was severe particularly under Agent Lucas. Lucas, in retaliation, cut off the rations of the Chief and of those who had listened to him.⁶²

The Assistant Indian Commissioner reported in 1894 that while a great deal of reserve land was cultivated, hay lands were scattered over it in an irregular pattern. A map of land use patterns drawn by Agent Lucas in 1895 shows that distribution of hay lands followed the system of coulees or ravines on the reserve with a concentration of hay production several miles from the site of the Indian Agency (Figure 6).⁶³ This was a practice started by the Tsuu T'ina themselves who were eager to extend the areas of their hay lands. This made sense because hay was the single most reliable crop so that cutting even the smallest meadows to the foothills in the western portion of the reserve was important. This was particularly true in dry years when more land had to be cultivated for hay. Coulees or deep ravines in the reserve lands contained meadows that produced a good hay crop. These meadows were leased to settlers when Tsuu T'ina workers could not harvest the hay. Eight of these meadows on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve supported between thirty and sixty leases in the 1890s.⁶⁴

Land held a duplicity of meanings for the Tsuu T'ina in the early years of reserve life. There were the sacred meanings attached to land generally with the earth referred to as "mother" in the Tsuu T'ina language. But there were also new secular meanings derived for reserve lands with increasing Tsuu T'ina participation in a market economy. There was also considerable pressure placed upon the Tsuu T'ina regard to lease portions of the reserve for grazing with the explosion of settlement in the West. An understanding of land as "real property" emerged with new practices of leasing reserve lands. Leasing was a common

practice by 1897 although the department expressed a concern that the usual rate of 2 cents a head every half-year was “practically giving this right to settlers free.”⁶⁵ This amount was increased to 25 cents a head by the turn of the century.

The Department of Public Works completed a survey for a road running Southeast from Calgary to the Weaselhead to the community of Priddis south of the reserve. This had been a well-established route for years and settlers in the area had pressed for the building of a public highway. The Tsuu T’ina agreed to the surrender of a strip of land sixty feet in width for the new roadway provided that a bridge be built across the Elbow River at the Weaselhead Crossing and that settlers who had formerly refused to pay for grazing dues for stock be compelled to do so.⁶⁶

Voting members of the Tsuu T’ina Band also approved the construction of an irrigation ditch that ran through the Reserve lands in 1893. The department obtained consent in writing of the Chief and Council of the Tsuu T’ina Band in 1895 to construct the ditch (Figure 7).⁶⁷ Each male family head over the age of 21 was asked to either sign the document of surrender or to touch a pen where an “x” had been written against his name. Of the 45 individuals who “signed: the list, only one - Jim Big Plume - actually affixed his name.”⁶⁸ The water from this ditch was intended to supply the needs of settlers as well as the Indian farmers on the dry uplands of the Tsuu T’ina Reserve.⁶⁹ The Inspector, Alex McGibbon, reported that with a secure water supply “any quantity of hay could always be depended upon and thus a secure source of profit to these Indians as there was always a market for haying Calgary.”⁷⁰ While offering great promise, the irrigation ditch was never used.

The uncertainties of agricultural production on Tsuu T’ina Reserve lands extended to all crops and no single crop could be relied upon from year to year. The extreme variation in

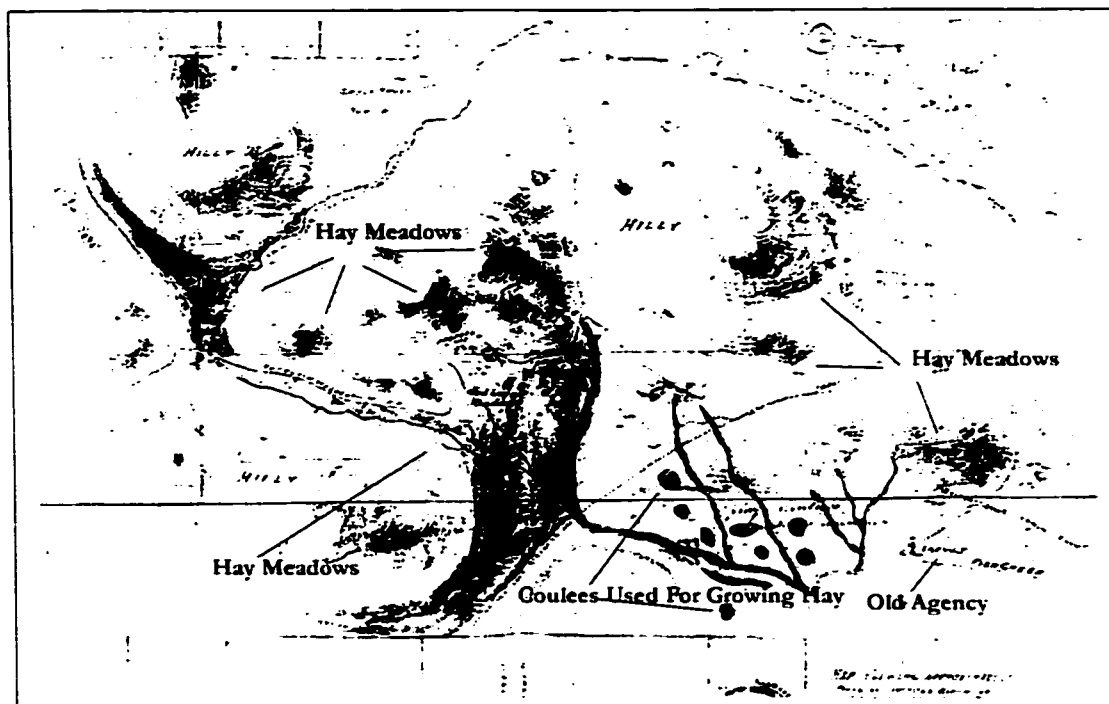


Figure 6: Position of Hay Fields Drawn By Agent Samuel Lucas, 1895

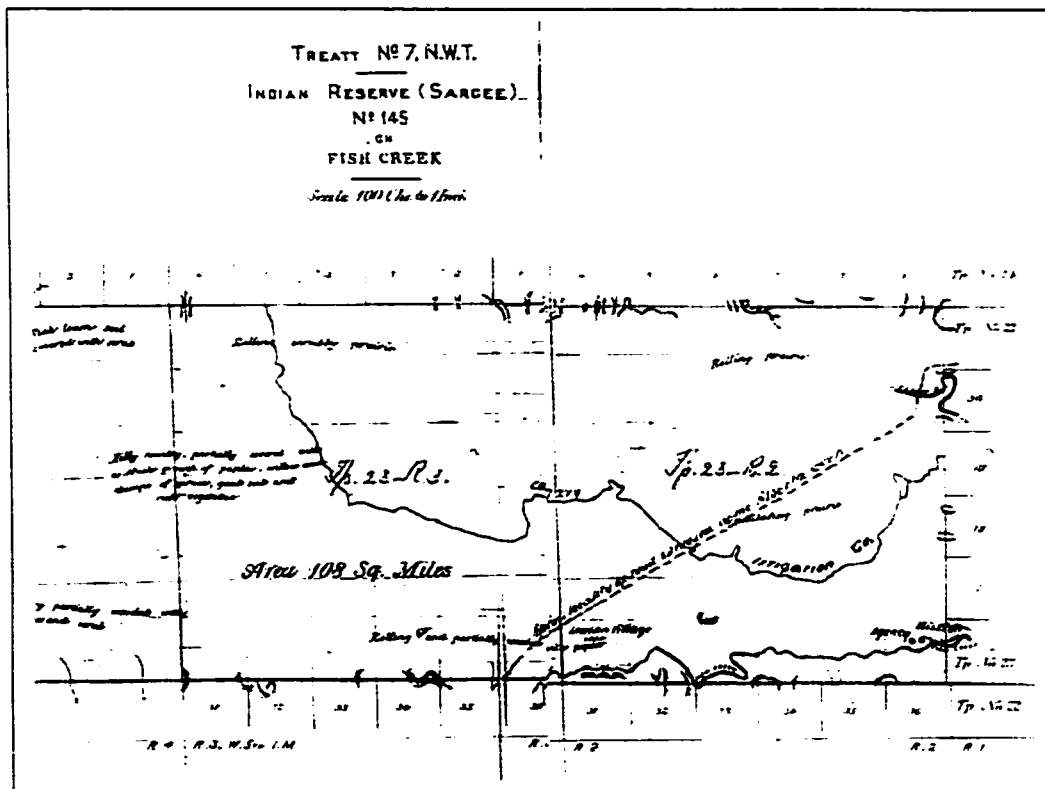


Figure 7: Position of Proposed Priddis Road and Tsuu T'ina Settlement, 1895

agricultural productivity is reflected in the yields of oats and potatoes, two of the major reserve crops between 1890 and 1900 (Table 7).⁷¹ Early frosts in 1890 prevented spring plowing and later ruined seed and root crops. The frost-free growing season of 1890-1891 produced a yield of 132 bushels per acre of potatoes or 2.8 bushels for each producer.⁷² All crops, including potatoes, were a complete failure in the growing season of 1891-1892 due to the combined effects of drought and hail.

The practice of summer fallowing and the location of the Sarcee Farm in the more fertile and well-watered valley of Fish Creek tended to favour higher yields of certain crops in bumper years. Tsuu T'ina farmers were able to harvest only 2.74 bushels of oats per acre in the growing season of 1893-1894 from the drier benchlands. This compared with 233.3 bushels from the Agency Farm (Table 7). During the growing season of 1895, a severe drought destroyed the entire crop on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve and all attempts to grow wheat were abandoned.⁷³ The Indian Agent reported that the loss of a promising crop in 1895 was a heavy loss to the Tsuu T'ina.⁷⁴

Table 7: Crop Yields Sarcee Farm and Sarcee Agency 1890-1900

Date	Oats (bu/acre)		Potatoes (bu/acre)		Hay (tons)	
	Agency	Farm	Agency	Farm	Agency	Farm
1890-1891		2.25				
1891-1892			132		14	75
1892-1893	5.69		10.62	50		
1893-1894	2.74	233.13	66.55			
1894-1895		15.79	25	28.57	120	60
1895-1896				22.8	110	95
1896-1897		28.54	51	45.14	255.5*	
1897-1898			74.6		158*	
1898-1899	21.41		117.14		251*	
1898-1900	37.93		143.75		320*	

* total production figures for wild and not cultivated hay

The results of agricultural production for the 1889-1890 season were quite typical. There were forty men who cultivated crops with production focused on oats, potatoes and

small gardens. Individual farmers or groups of two or three men cultivated small plots of between $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ acre in size. The small gardens were a complete failure due to early frosts. Average crop yields of 9.85 bushels of potatoes and 13.04 bushels of oats were not enough to sustain an individual Tsuu T'ina farmer and his family. The small crop of oats was of inferior quality and was mainly used for feed.

The production of hay similarly was affected by the exigencies of climate. In the following year, torrential rain resulted in a poor hay crop with yields far below the average. In 1891, less than 15 tons of hay could be harvested from a meadow that had yielded 85 tons the previous year.⁷⁵ Between 1894 and 1899, hay provided the most secure source of income for small groups of Tsuu T'ina farmers. Yields of between 110 and 320 tons of hay could be sold in Calgary for profit. After 1896, there were no attempts to cultivate hay and instead the crop of wild hay was sold each year.

The continual cutting of trees for firewood for the North-west Mounted Police and for sale in Calgary eventually resulted in the logging out of the more heavily wooded areas near the Old Agency Site along Fish Creek. Throughout the 1890s, the Tsuu T'ina cut 12 cords of wood or more each year for sale. This amount was in addition to the quantity cut for house construction on the reserve and for firewood supplied to the Mission and Agency and for their own requirements. By 1892, Agent Lucas reported that wood was getting scarce and more distant to haul to Calgary.⁷⁶ It was necessary by the end of the year to have a shelter and stable built at the Moose Hills on the far western edge of the reserve so that enough wood and rails could be cut and hauled to meet the demands of the Calgary market. Another temporary shelter was constructed at the Elbow River Crossing at the Northeast corner of the reserve for workers who were hauling goods into Calgary. Individuals formerly had to sleep outside without blankets as these items were often in short supply.

By 1893, Lucas reported that the scarcity of wood and the long haul of twelve miles from the Moose Hills to the Tsuu T'ina settlements made fireplaces impractical and no effort was being made to build them in new Indian houses.⁷⁷ All houses had small stoves for heating and cooking but these did not have adequate ventilation.⁷⁸ Increasing shortages of wood meant that workers had to disperse often forming three or four camps to cut the amounts required. In the spring of 1893 Chief Bullhead and his men worked at the Weaselhead Crossing hauling logs already cut for a stable and corral, while another group at the Upper Camp cut and hauled 50 house logs, 50 for a new slaughter house and 200 logs for a barnyard corral. A third group working at the Moose Hills along the western boundary of the reserve hauled 17 cords of wood to the Police barracks and over 3000 fence posts and rails were cut.⁷⁹ In the fall of 1894, Lucas decided to winter the stock at the Moose Hills location and a semi-permanent encampment was established there.

There were other factors that discouraged Tsuu T'ina workers beside the long distances that were now required to collect supplies of wood. There was only one working sled available in the winter of 1893 to haul wood and other goods from the Tsuu T'ina Reserve. Low prices discouraged the men who had hauled the firewood 22 miles into Calgary during the severe winter of 1895. It was reported that Tsuu T'ina women stole rails for firewood in the inclement weather.

Henry Gibbon-Stocken, principal of St. Barnabas School complained that he could not obtain enough wood from the reserve for the winter in 1894.⁸⁰ The shortage made it necessary to haul coal from the Blackfoot Reserve to the Midnapore station located four miles south of the reserve starting in 1895. Tsuu T'ina labourers were paid 50 cents per ton to haul the coal to the Tsuu T'ina Reserve where it was used exclusively by the staff of the Agency, Mission and Boarding School. Labourers also were paid to haul the coal from

Midnapore to the Calgary Industrial School. This involved travelling a distance of over 22 miles each way. The closing of the Calgary Industrial School in 1908 removed a significant source of income for Tsuu T'ina men during the winter months.

The unpredictable nature of the agricultural cycle and fluctuations in the market prices paid for crops necessitated the continuation of an Indian hunting economy. Tsuu T'ina hunters had to plan their activities in the face of the uncertain prices that they would receive for firewood, hay and potatoes. Reserve life also required the purchase of new forms of goods and clothing that were not supplied by the Indian Department. While the limitations of the market for agricultural produce enforced a hunting lifestyle, hunting itself did not guarantee success and individuals had to find new strategies to support their families. One of the new strategies that Indian hunters were forced to use was the bartering of meat for other goods. In the fall of 1891 following a complete crop failure, Agent Lucas reported that some Tsuu T'ina men were able to support themselves for a few weeks by killing wild chickens and rabbits. They did not consume these products directly but instead traded higher quality meat obtained through hunting to Calgary butchers for larger quantities of what Lucas termed "rough meat and offal."⁸¹

By the mid-1890s, the Department of Indian Affairs acknowledged that there had been successive crop failures in the western provinces in Canada and that the outlook for agriculture was not promising. Government officials still maintained that it was necessary for Indian people to work for what was given to them and adhered to the ongoing policy of reducing the rations that were provided. Successive crop failures, however, led to a change in government policy and cattle production became the focus for economic development on Indian reserves in Western Canada. James Smart, the newly appointed Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs informed Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior in 1896,

that “the raising of stock is not surrounded by so many elements of uncertainty as that of cereals and it is constitutional in the Indian.”⁸²

The common stereotype that Indians took more to cattle raising than agriculture because it more closely paralleled their pursuit as buffalo hunter in the pre-treaty era was at variance with the realities government officials faced in the introduction of stock to reserves. Smart suggested that Indians had a natural predilection for stockraising and not for the more monotonous tasks associated with the production of roots and grains.⁸³ After 1891, animals were issued on loan to Tsuu T’ina individuals on a trial basis to foster a sense of “propriety individual rights.”⁸⁴ The Tsuu T’ina however, were slow to take up the raising of livestock which placed further burdens upon families struggling to survive. In 1895, the Indian Agent reported that it had been most difficult to induce the Tsuu T’ina to accept cattle on any condition.

In 1898, the Indian Department attempted to extend the system of cattle production by establishing a Bull Fund from which bulls could be purchased directly instead of asking Parliament to vote funds for this purpose every year.⁸⁵ Inspector McGibbon reported in 1895 that there were only 10 cows owned by four individuals and that the Tsuu T’ina had been initially reluctant to accept cattle.⁸⁶ The Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs noted that it was difficult to get any of the Indians to accept cattle from the Government even as a gift and that a special effort would be made to “evinced a greater fondness for the rearing and care of stock.”⁸⁷ By 1896, only six men had been induced to take cattle and bulls on loan from the Indian Department.

By the following year there were 29 cattle in Tsuu T’ina hands while the number of Indian ponies was 710. The Tsuu T’ina continued to maintain a large herd of Indian ponies in the 1890s despite attempts by the Indian Department to reduce their numbers and replace

horses with cattle. Horses, treated as a form of “currency” in former times, continued to be associated with great prestige and power. Indian Agent McNeill lamented in early 1898 that, if the Tsuu T’ina “only could be persuaded to take as much interest in cattle as they do in their horses, they would soon in a very great measure be independent of the government.”⁸⁸

By late 1898, the raising of beef cattle was becoming an intrinsic part of the Tsuu T’ina Reserve economy. In the fall of 1898, Chief Bull Head, Jim Big Plume and Big Crow received the first cheques for beef sold to the Department for consumption at the Sarcee Indian Agency. Jim Big Plume and Big Crow bought a new Brantford Mower with the proceeds and Chief Bullhead asked for a new set of bob sleighs with his money.⁸⁹ The Indian Department, in turn, sold the beef back to the Agency, for home consumption.

Conclusions - The Tsuu T’ina and The Ethos of Reserve Agriculture

During the first decades of reserve life, the Department of Indian Affairs failed to establish self-sufficient agrarian communities for native people in the Canadian West. For the Tsuu T’ina, the physical and climatic limitations of their reserve environment limited the economic options that were available to the individuals who chose to farm. These limitations together with the shortsighted policies of the Indian Department and cultural factors that sustained a kin-based form of social organization and production, resulted in a completely different overall reserve economy than officials of the Indian Department envisioned. The costs of the plan for Indian progress that was implemented, however, had enormous implications for Tsuu T’ina society as the reserve community developed.

The transition of the Tsuu T’ina from a pre-industrial to an industrial society beginning in the late 19th century was a slow and uneven process with only partial integration into a capitalist wage economy. The idea of engaging in farming found an initial enthusiastic response among the people who lived on the reserve. But the restrictive policies

of the Department of Indian Affairs mitigated against the success of agricultural endeavour in good crop-growing years. The different concepts of State models of “work” for citizenship and of “work for work’s sake” contrasted sharply with the forms of activity that were instrumental to the survival of the Tsuu T’ina. The complexity of what constituted work was defined in relation to the mission, the school and to the reserve lands.

The need to continue native economic pursuits and the development of strategies such as bartering and trading for goods sustained a dual economy. This economy, in part, sustained “private” and “public” dimensions of cultural expression and community identity. The gradual replacement of a traditional economic order did not involve the supplanting of an egalitarian bases with a hierarchical one but rather the replacement of one hierarchy by another or the enhancement of certain components of the system already in place. The Indian Agent and other government employees had control of the public aspects of agricultural production but the ultimate methods for distributing the proceeds that were available were in Tsuu T’ina hands. The redistribution of goods such as tea and tobacco and even wages did not indicate the perpetuation of an arcane communal orientation among the Tsuu T’ina but rather an astuteness for maintaining the existing social hierarchy in a partial cash economy

The close identification by the Tsuu T’ina with the reserve lands as a marker of their separate cultural identity and new conceptions of reserve “land” as a form of property were reinforced by the need to repel trespassing and theft from the reserve and the constant pressure placed upon the Tsuu T’ina to sell portions of the reserve lands. Constant intrusions by settlers and others resulted in the fear of losing the reserve.⁹⁰ The first two decades of life on the Tsuu T’ina Reserve produced a new reserve culture based on a

dualistic adaptation that was rooted in economy necessity and mediated by native cultural mores and practices.

By the end of the 1890s, the Tsuu T'ina faced their own extinction as their population began to drop precipitously. Indian Agent Lucas had described the Tsuu T'ina in 1894 as "more tenacious of their customs and superstitions than other Indians."⁹¹ Perhaps to excuse the incompetent nature of his management, Lucas also informed the Indian Department that "[t]hey believed they were doomed to extinction in the near future and did not wish to exert themselves to avoid what they considered to be their inevitable fate."⁹² The intensity of grief in a community gripped by crisis and the extreme contrasts formed by the transformations in subsistence activity, social organization, political structure and religion formed the social matrix into which the first generation of Tsuu T'ina boarding school students emerged.

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- ¹ Canada. *Sessional Papers*, No. 17, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For The Year Ended 31 December 1883, C. E. Denny, Indian Agent, 19.
- ² CHC, *SP*, No. 18, DIA Annual Report A1890, J. C. Cornish, Indian Agent, 82.
- ³ Canada. House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 14, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended December 31, 1897, A1898, James A. Smart, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, xxv.
- ⁴ See: G. Emery, "Ontario's Civil Registration of Vital Statistics, 1869-1926: The Evolution of an Administrative System," *Canadian Historical Review*, 64, (4), 1983, 470.
- ⁵ Canada. House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 14, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For The Year Ended 31 December 1899, A1890, ix.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷ CHC, *SP*, No. 14A, DIA Annual Report, A1895, xxi.
- ⁸ Canada. House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 14A, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For The Year Ended 31st December 1891, A1892, Lawrence Vankoughnet, DSGIA, x.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰ M. Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap and Water* (Toronto, 1993), 17.
- ¹¹ See, R. Cook, *The Regenerators* (Toronto, 1985) which describes secularization being inspired by primarily middle-class forces within Canadian society between 1885 and 1930.
- ¹² K. McCuaig, "From Social Reform to Social Services, The Changing Role of Volunteers: the Anti-Tuberculosis Campaign, 1900-1930," *Canadian Historical Review*, 61, (4), 1980, 484.
- ¹³ Canada, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 27, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For the Year Ended 31 December 1900, A1901, xxxi.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵ Canada. House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 14, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For The Year Ended 31 December 1895, A1896, xxxii.
- ¹⁶ Canada. House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 18, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For The Year Ended 31 December 1890, A1891, ix.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁸ CHC, *SP*, No. 14A, DIA Annual Report, A 1892, L. Vankoughnet, DSGIA, xvi.
- ¹⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1625, James J. Campbell for the Indian Commissioner to Acting Indian Agent Sarcee Reserve, 10 February 1891.
- ²⁰ CHC, *SP*, No. 18, DIA Annual Report, A1890, xxix.
- ²¹ GA, M1356, f. 2, 1890 Report of Sub-Committee Re: Archdeacon Tims Appointment as Superintendent of Indian Missions, (handwritten by J. W. Tims).
- ²² J. W. Tims, "Our Indian Schools," *Calgary Herald*, 10 February 1892.
- ²³ GA, M1356, f. 6, J. W. Tims, "Impressions Regarding Missionary Effort Amongst The Indians," address given to the First Convention of Indian Workers, Edmonton, January 6, 1909, 1
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*
- ²⁶ GA, M1356, f. 2, Secretary CMS to Tims, 19 November 1895.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, Report of Sub-Committee Re: Tims Appointment, 1890.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ GA, M1356, f. 1, C. G. Baring Gould, Secretary, CMS to Tims, 21 January 1896.
- ³⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 1726, Reed to Bishop of Saskatchewan and Calgary, 16 July 1896.
- ³¹ See, J. Saunders, *Basic Demographic Measures* (London 1988). The rate of natural increase (RNI) is calculated on the basis of total births minus total deaths divided by the overall population times 1000. The net migration rate (NMR) is calculated by subtracting the number of in-migrants from the number of out-migrants divided by the total population times 1000.

- ³² Based on: NAC, RG 10, v. 9423, v. 9428, v. 9433, Treaty Annuity Paylists, Sarcee Indian Reserve, 1890, 1895 and 1900.
- ³³ The crude death rate (CDR) is calculated is analogous to the crude birth rate (CBR). The CDR is calculated by dividing the number of deaths occurring in a population in a year divided by the number of persons in the population and multiplying by 1000 to eliminate decimals. It is the most widely used and easily understood measure of mortality. The CBR is calculated by dividing the number of births occurring in a population in a year divided by the number of persons in the population and multiplying by 1000. See: J. Saunders, *Basic Demographic Measures*, 1988, 41, 52.
- ³⁴ Ibid.
- ³⁵ The extension of definition of work to include the tasks that women performed is discussed in: G. C. Brandt, "Postmodern Patchwork: Some Recent Trends in the Writing of Women's History in Canada, *CHR*, 72, (4), 1991, 443-444.
- ³⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 1625, Extract From Letter from the Assistant Commissioner's Report Upon Disputes between Mr. Agent Cornish and Mr. J. J. English, Issued on the Sarcee Reserve, 28 June 1890.
- ³⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 1134, Forget to IASR, 27 October 1892.
- ³⁸ The dependency ratio is a rough indicator of the dependency burden or the number of dependents that each contributor must support. The dependency ratio is defined as the number of persons 0 to 14 years old plus the number of persons 65 years old and older divided by the number of persons 15 to 64 in a give population times 100. See: J. Saunders, *Basic Demographic Measures*, 18 to 19.
- ³⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 9423, Treaty Annuity Paylists Sarcee Indian Reserve, 1890.
- ⁴⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 9433, Treaty Annuity Paylists Sarcee Indian Reserve, 1900.
- ⁴¹ Canada. House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 27, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 31 December 1900, A1901, Agricultural and Industrial Statistics Population, 242.
- ⁴² Based on: NAC, RG 10, v. 9430, Treaty Annuity Paylists Sarcee Indian Band, 1897.
- ⁴³ NAC, RG 10, v. 1625, Lucas to Commissioner, 30 April 1891.
- ⁴⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 1640, Lucas to Commissioner, 2 May 1892.
- ⁴⁵ CHC, *SP*, No. 18, DIA Annual Report, A 1891, 81.
- ⁴⁶ Canada. House of Commons. *Sessional Papers* No. 14, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs for Year Ended 31st December 1896, A1897, 172-173.
- ⁴⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 3797, f. 47,818, Cornish to Indian Commissioner, Monthly Report, 28 February 1890.
- ⁴⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 1134, Circular 400, L. Vankoughnet, DSGIA to Indian Superintendents and Agent, 18 March 1892.
- ⁴⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 3870, Lucas to Commissioner, Monthly Report, 10 January 1893.
- ⁵⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 1642, Lucas to Commissioner, Monthly Report For May, 7 June 1896.
- ⁵¹ Ibid., Indian Agent McNeill to Indian Commissioner, Monthly Report for April, 8 May 1896.
- ⁵² Canada, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 14, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 31 December 1889, A1890, Dewdney, SGIA, ix.
- ⁵³ NAC, RG 10, v. 3797, f. 47,818, Cornish to Indian Commissioner, Monthly Report, 31 July 1890.
- ⁵⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 1641, Lucas to Commissioner, Monthly Report, 1 March 1894..
- ⁵⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 1642, Passes Issued During Month of July 1896.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid.
- ⁵⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 1640, Lucas to Commissioner, Monthly Report for May, 11 June 1892.
- ⁵⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 1643, Lucas to Commissioner, Monthly Report for January Last, 5 March 1897.
- ⁵⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1625, Reed Assistant Commissioner to Indian Agent, 23 April 1890.
- ⁶⁰ CHC, *SP*, No. 14, DIA Annual Report, A1895, Approximate Return of Grain and Root Crops Sown and Harvested, 1894-5, 310-311.
- ⁶¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1642, Lucas to Commissioner, Monthly Report For June, 6 July 1894.
- ⁶² Ibid., Lucas to Indian Commissioner, Monthly Report for June 1894, 6 July 1894.

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- ⁶³ NAC, RG 10, v. 8055, f. 772/31-5-5-145-2, Lucas to Reed, 15 February 1894.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, Paget for Commissioner to Lucas, 8 March 1897.
- ⁶⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 3556, f. 25, pt. 17, Department Commissioner, Government of The North-west Territories of Canada, Depart of Public Works to Laird, Indian Commissioner, 24 April 1899. Also: *Ibid.*, Laird to Department Commissioner, Department of Public Works, Regina, 30 May 1899.
- ⁶⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 8055, f. 772/31-5-4-145-2, Forget to Reed, 18 September 1895
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, NAC, RG 10, v. 3556, f. 25/17 5A, Untitled handwritten document of surrender for Priddis Road, 15 May 1899.
- ⁶⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1641, Lucas to Commissioner, Monthly Report for September 1893, October, 1893.
- ⁷⁰ CHC, *SP*, No. 14, DIA Annual Report, A1896, 269
- ⁷¹ Based on reports of crop returns and Inspectors' Reports contained in Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs, A1892-1899 and monthly reports of Indian Agents, Sarcee Reserve, 1891-1900.
- ⁷² Department of Indian Affairs Records refer to the growing season in terms of the fiscal year (i.e. 1890-1891 instead of the growing season 1890 and the growing season of 1891). This unconventional usage has been retained to maintain consistency with quotations from the Department records.
- ⁷³ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, Forget to IASR, 16 July 1895.
- ⁷⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 1642, Lucas to Reed, Monthly Report For September, 4 October 1895.
- ⁷⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 1639, Lucas to Reed, Monthly Report, September 1891.
- ⁷⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 1640, Lucas to Commissioner, Report For July, 4 August 1892.
- ⁷⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 1642, Lucas to Indian Commissioner, 14 February 1896.
- ⁷⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 1639, Lucas to Commissioner, Monthly Report, 7 December 1896.
- ⁷⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1641, Lucas to Commissioner, 5 April 1893.
- ⁸⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, Gibbon-Stocken to Acting Indian Agent, 24 October 1894.
- ⁸¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1639, Lucas to Commissioner, Monthly Report, 7 December 1891.
- ⁸² CHC, *SP*, No. 14, DIA Annual Report, A1896, xxii.
- ⁸³ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 1626, Reed to Indian Agent, 27 June 1891.
- ⁸⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 1628, Circular Secretary to McNeill, 22 December 1898.
- ⁸⁶ CHC, *SP*, No. 14, DIA Annual Report, A1896, 270.
- ⁸⁷ CHC, *SP*, No. 14, DIA Annual Report, A1895, 78.
- ⁸⁸ CHC, *SP*, No. 14, DIA Annual Report, A1899, 172-173.
- ⁸⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1644, Lucas to Commissioner, Monthly Report for October, 31 October 1898.
- ⁹⁰ GA, M699, Sarcee Indian Agency Fonds, Notes, Lucas to Commissioner?, 16 August 1893.
- ⁹¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1642, Lucas to Commissioner, Monthly Report for November, 4 December 1894.
- ⁹² CHC, *SP*, No. 14, DIA Annual Report, A1895, Lucas, 77.

*CHAPTER FOUR:
THE COSTS OF PROGRESS AND THE TSUU T'INA WORKING CLASS*

Introduction -The Costs of Progress and The Ascription of Class

J. P. Wadsworth, Inspector of Indian Agencies for Southern Alberta, was forthright in his evaluation of the farming enterprise in his annual report for 1897. Wadsworth maintained that “ farming can scarcely be depended upon on account of climatic conditions but many of them grow potatoes and some have raised grains.”¹ The Inspector acknowledged that Indian poverty existed but blamed the cause on flaws in the “Indian character.” In Wadsworth’s view, “the Indians, like white people, are falling into classes, the industrious and thrifty, the grasping and selfish and the generous, idle and careless. Those willing to work, were synonymous with progress, while at the same time, the generous Indians are kept poor by many of their friends.”²

The relativising of concepts about the causes of poverty and proposed methods to remedy it typified by Wadsworth’s remarks were part of the “grand” Eurocentric tradition of capitalism, government expansion and bureaucratic development. This tradition with its unique vocabulary of industrial progress created the category of “poverty” to describe the circumstances of those who fared poorly in the new economic system.³ Indian people in Canada were regarded as a special case in this regard. The central contradictions of capitalist development were the real human costs of the model of Indian progress imposed by Church and State. The creation of bureaucratic structures in the form of missions and agencies were designed to remedy “poverty” in native communities. Ironically, these structures depended on the public purse for their support.

In the Tsuu T’ina case, the total costs of supporting an Indian mission and the local infrastructure of Indian Affairs administration far exceeded the actual funds that were

directly received by Tsuu T'ina individuals. Department officials such as Inspector Wadsworth, Agency employees of the Department of Indian Affairs and the staff of the St. Barnabas Mission ironically were therefore more dependent on the public purse for their support than Tsuu T'ina individuals. The overall cost of running the Sarcee Indian Agency for the fiscal year 1898 to 1899 fiscal year was \$10,405.77 or a per capita cost of roughly \$47 per person based on the total Tsuu T'ina population of 222 (Table 8).

The average "family" size on the treaty pay rolls between 1890 and 1900 was six people. Family units sometimes included extended kin such as a second wife or other relations who might be sick or elderly. Using the per capita cost of \$47, the cost of sustaining a family of six individuals was \$282. This amount was well above the average wage earnings of between \$40 and \$80 that the cash economy and other earnings provided Tsuu T'ina individuals with each year.

Table 8: Costs of Operating Sarcee Indian Agency 1898-1899

Category	Amount	Percentage of Total
Annuities	\$1230.00	12%
Agricultural Implements	\$ 159.30	1.5%
Supplies For Destitute	\$5438.68	52%
School Costs	\$1189.99	11%
General Expenses/Salaries	\$2388.80	23%

Discrepancies between the wages paid to Tsuu T'ina labourers and the salaries and benefits received by mission staff and employees of the Department of Indian Affairs were one means on which class distinctions were ascribed in the new reserve-based economy (Table 9).⁴ The types of work available and performed, the organization of work and the control of earnings also reinforced the strong system of class distinctions. The inherent contradiction of the reserve system was that it was based on a rigid hierarchical system that

appeared to condemn the Tsuu T'ina to the "culture of poverty" it was designed to alleviate. The idea of economic self-sufficiency for native people was at variance with the underlying realities of how the arms of State and Church were supported at the reserve level by public monies.

Table 9: Annual Salaries of Tsuu T'ina Agency and Mission Employees 1892

Agency Employees		Mission Employees	
School Principal	\$1090.65	Principal	\$1090.65
Farm Instructor	\$ 650.00	Vice Principal	\$ 800.00
Interpreter	\$ 420.00	Teacher	\$ 400.00
Indian Agent	\$1200.00	Matron	\$ 180.00
Clerk	\$ 720.00	Cook	\$ 150.00
Physician	\$ 640.00		
Indian Scout	\$ 120.00		
Rations Issuer	\$ 60.00		
Indian Labourer	\$ 48.00		

Staff members of the Sarcee Indian Agency earned between \$60 and \$1200 per annum between 1890 and roughly 1920. Salaries varied according to position and responsibility and whether individuals were employed on a full-time or part-time basis. Employees and their families were provided with full rations of beef and flour and other foodstuff. Coal oil for lamps also was supplied free of charge to the agent, clerk, interpreter and farm instructor. Salaries for the School Principal and Mission staff were provided by the Church Missionary Society and other church agencies. In 1892, the Vice Principal and teacher were each paid \$800 and \$400 per annum, respectively. The annual salary paid to the school matrons and the school cook was \$180.⁵ These positions included free room and board.

Female missionaries at the St. Barnabas Mission formed a distinctive subgroup of workers within the mission structure.⁶ They, in turn, created a distinctive mission-based

female sub-culture into which Tsuu T'ina girls and young women were socialized (Plate 11). Women missionaries and, at various times, female and male teachers, were supported by the Women's Auxiliary of the Diocese of Niagara of the Anglican Church. The WA headquarters in Toronto controlled contributions of the WA of each Diocese. The workload of the appointees was comparatively light. Women missionaries were at the top of a female hierarchy. Tims notified Rachel Crawford, appointed as Girls' Matron in 1895, that her "special work [*would*] be looking after the girls and their quarters," and the cleanliness of their rooms.⁷

Female labour within the mission was organized according to a specific hierarchy. This hierarchy served as the template for the future contribution and placement of Tsuu T'ina women in the production process. Miss Crawford, for example, was required to teach knitting lessons and to walk with the girls for a specified time each day. She was to dine separately with the other members of the school staff. There were no cooking or washing duties. Miss Crawford had six girls to care for after they had completed their four hours of schooling in the first part of each weekday. Tims asked that she use "her Christian influence over the girls by talking, reading to them and praying with them."⁸ The annual salary paid to Rachel Crawford was \$120 with all daily necessities provided except personnel clothing. All of the washing was to be done by an Indian woman under her supervision

The position of Agency Scout was the highest-paying position available to native personnel at the Sarcee Agency. The Indian Agent on the basis of reliability, sobriety and good character selected scouts. Scouts were paid a maximum of \$120 per year. This was roughly the same rate as the girl's matron in the St. Barnabas Boarding School. Indian scouts, however, were required to perform far more onerous duties. They mediated in domestic and other disputes on the reserve, acted to prevent trafficking in illegal liquor, and

undertook other duties such as looking after the Agency stables, carrying mail between Calgary and the reserve and herding cattle. Scouts also were responsible for preventing the theft of reserve cattle and the intrusions of settlers' cattle onto reserve lands that were common problems before the fencing of all reserve lands in 1905.

The Scout had a difficult role in the Tsuu T'ina community often mediating between Chief Bullhead and the Indian Agent and enforcing the regulations of the department with regard to the control of liquor. The role of Scout represented an extension of the secular political power of the Indian Agent. When the Indian Agent was empowered to charge and try individuals for liquor offences, this new power brought the potential for accusation and social conflict right into the Tsuu T'ina community and the Scout's role became even more difficult with the new legislation in place.

Disputes also arose between the Scout and the Indian Agent and settlers. One of the Scouts was charged in 1894 with attempting to assault Agent Lucas and using threatening language when Lucas' measures became too extreme for reserve inhabitants.⁹ In 1891, the Indian Scout caused a stir in the local press by drawing a revolver on several Calgary men who had driven out to the Tsuu T'ina Reserve to steal a load of evergreens.¹⁰ The Agency Scout position gradually devolved to the more politically neutral position of Chief Herder. This occurred once cattle raising was firmly established on the Tsuu T'ina reserve. Herders were provided with extra clothing because they did not earn sufficient money to purchase these items.¹¹ The Indian Department commonly rotated the position of Scout every year or two. Employment was not necessarily continuous with scouts at times hired to work only for six to eight months of each year. Between 1895 and 1899, four individuals, Wolf Carrier, The Sarcee, The Cree and Jim Big Plume, were employed as scouts.

The position of Herder or Stockman favoured an individual with the ability to read and write English. The Indian Department required that the Indian Agent and Stockman submit returns of the total number of cattle and that the brands on each animal be checked in June and September of each year.¹² The rotation of the position meant that no individuals could use the position to obtain higher status or use the earnings to acquire more material wealth in the reserve community over a number of years.

The total earnings of wage labourers varied considerably from month to month and annually because of the uncertainties of climate, market prices and other factors. A comparison of the monthly earnings of individual Tsuu T'ina for which figures are available for 1891, 1895, 1896 and 1897 indicate that there were anywhere from 2 to 34 wage earners employed each month. Women contributed as much as 50 percent of the wage labour earned during certain months but this was not universally true year to year. In 1896, women contributed between 24 and 42 percent of the annual wage earnings by tanning hides.¹³ This level of contribution, however, was not typical of other years. Several women were able to obtain occasional employment doing washing or cleaning for 50 cents per month at the Agency and Mission to supplement family earnings.

The sale of hay, wood and potatoes harvested by Tsuu T'ina men generally provided most of the cash earnings each year. The sale of these products provided families with between \$1 and \$8 per month. Taking all of the earnings for which there are figures available, it is possible to describe the approximate average monthly income per worker.¹⁴ These wages ranged from \$2.36 per month to \$8.14 per month depending on the season. Projected over the course of a year, the total average earnings of individual Tsuu T'ina male wage labourers in 1891 for which there is the most complete record was \$54.99.¹⁵ The total annual wages paid to Tsuu T'ina labourers were roughly equivalent to the salary paid to the

Ration Issuer, lowest position of the Indian Agency, who earned \$60 annually. The monies earned by Tsuu T'ina individuals were far below the salaries paid to employees of the Indian Department or of the Indian Mission who often complained about their poor salaries.

In 1891, Indian Agent Lucas stated that the Tsuu T'ina were eager to work and, that while they earned a considerable amount by their labour among the settlers in the vicinity, their earnings did not contribute greatly to their support.¹⁶ The types of work that Tsuu T'ina individuals did and the contribution of each category to total earnings between 1891 and 1894 included: hunting, fishing and manufacture 21 percent, wage labour for the agency/mission 19 percent and wage labour for the outside market including the higher wages paid to two Scouts at 54 percent.¹⁷ This was a typical pattern where most producers had to supplement their cash earnings through other means.

To earn enough to support themselves, most Tsuu T'ina had to exploit all sources of potential income available. They did this by maintaining a flexible dual economy based on economic dependency in relation to the Agency infrastructure, limited autonomy with respect to the outside market and relative independence from subsistence based on hunting. This hybrid form of economic life, in turn, channelled and fostered a new community ethos based on the meanings that native labour had, the evolution of a Tsuu T'ina working class and the differences which existed between this emergent working class and the economy engaged in by white labourers. While class distinctions based on economic positions were ascribed within the reserve system, the necessity of other means of subsistence reinforced existing social hierarchies within the reserve population that were not directly tied to farming or ranching activities.

Differences between Tsuu T'ina individuals in terms of their material wealth tended to be minimal with few exceptions. Class distinctions between the Tsuu T'ina and

government and mission employees, in contrast, clearly were symbolized in the size and structure of houses and their furnishings, clothing and other material possessions. Houses of the Indian Agent, Missionary and Farm Instructor were quite lavish and often included two stories. The ground level of the Indian Agent's house, for example, consisted of a parlour, a kitchen, living room and office with several bedrooms located on the upper floor. There was a special area on the ground floor designated as the "Indian waiting room" (Figure 8).

The one or two-room log houses heated by small stoves built for the Tsuu T'ina contrasted markedly with those provided for mission staff and built by white settlers (Plates 8 and 9). Indian Agent Cornish maintained that the house built by Tsuu T'ina labourers for Reverend Henry Stocken in 1888, "bore comparison with any house ... in the district."¹⁸ The first heated hot air furnace was installed in the Indian Agent's house in 1890. Upon his transfer to the Tsuu T'ina Reserve in 1891, Agent Lucas requested that an addition be made to the Agent's house including an extra bedroom upstairs, a good sized sitting room and a new kitchen heated with hot air. The Indian Department approved these changes that totaled \$400. The cost of building a house for the Agency Clerk, identical to that of the Indian Agent, was \$600, an amount that was also approved in 1890.¹⁹

The first Tsuu T'ina houses on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve were single room mud-covered log houses with flat roofs and dirt floors. Agency buildings, in contrast, had floorboards. These dwellings gradually were replaced, starting in the 1880s, by small frame houses in which there was a central stove and sometimes curtained sleeping areas. Floorboards replaced dirt floors by 1890. Tsuu T'ina houses were crowded, cold and poorly-ventilated in the winter. Indian houses accommodated between eight and twelve individuals. Some individuals purchased lumber with their treaty money to provide flooring for their houses. The Department was fully cognizant of the problems of Indian housing. In 1891,

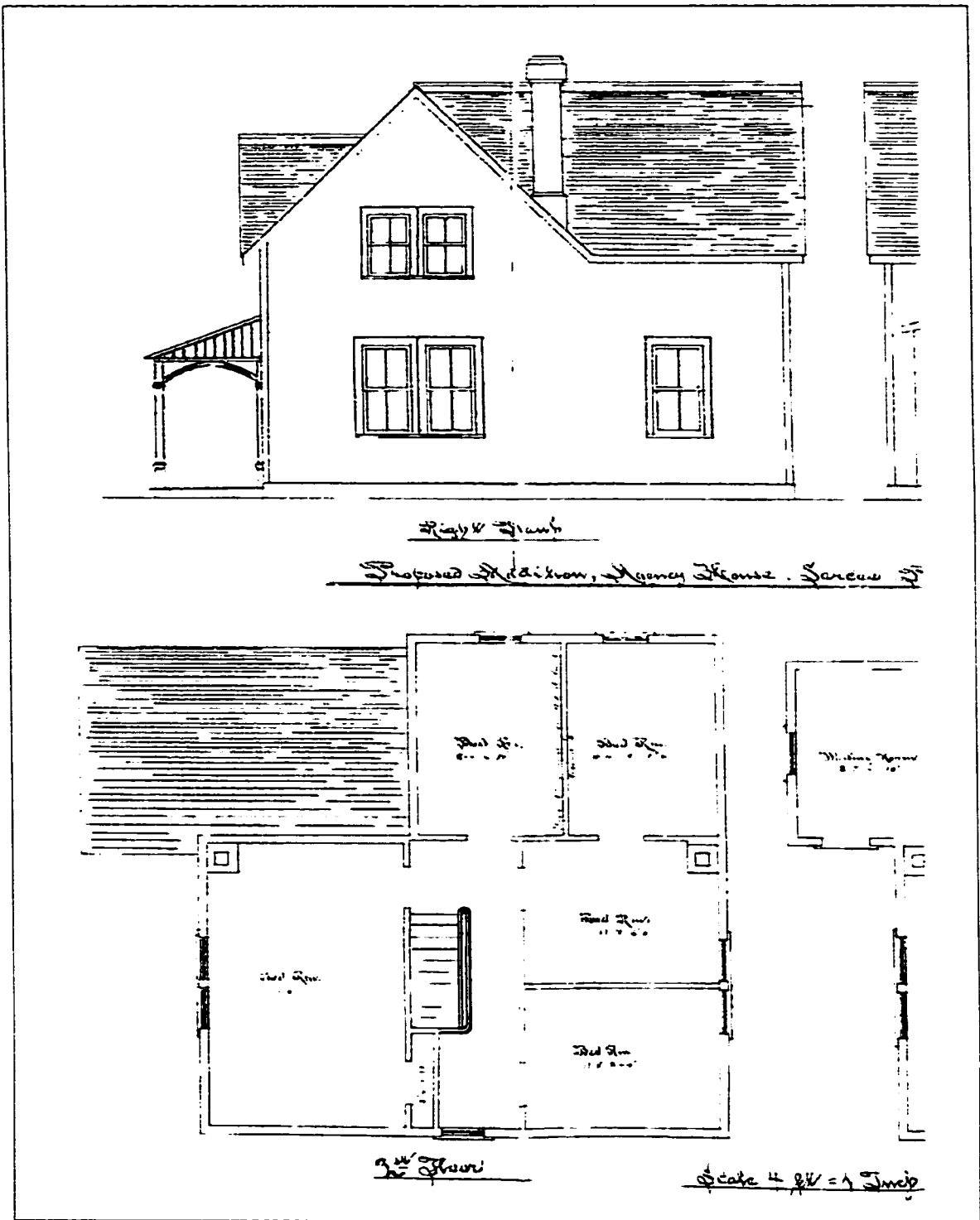


Figure 8: Sketch of New House For Indian Agent, Tsuu T'ina Reserve, 1905



Plate 8: Anglican Mission House, c. 1890 (GA NA #192-6)



Plate 9: House of Jack Waters, built in 1913 (CES #332190)

the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs commented that the badly ventilated and overcrowded houses of Indians were the “most serious barrier to the establishment of a complete hygienic system.”²⁰

In 1892, Inspector Alex McGibbon reported that most of the Tsuu T'ina houses had “no bedsteads, tables or chairs but most had good warm blankets and house utensils.”²¹ Chief Bullhead, as head chief, was the first to occupy a new frame house and his “good behaviour” often was rewarded with new stoves and furnishings. By 1894, Chief Bullhead was the first person to have a bedstead and table made for him by a Tsuu T'ina carpenter. Most Tsuu T'ina workers could not afford to build or to maintain houses from the salaries they earned. Building materials such as roofing, framed lumber and windows were costly and there was a chronic shortage of suitable logs. Finishing eight or nine new houses in 1895 required \$150.00 of government support.

There were marked differences in the values that Tsuu T'ina individuals and government officials held about the material expressions of class differences. The clear association between “progress” and Indian living conditions was expressed in reports about Indian housing. In 1899, the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs commented in his annual report, “there is perhaps no single feature from which more can be gathered relative to the progress made by Indians in the advance toward civilization than from the character of their dwelling.”²²

The influence of the Social Purity Movement and concerns with improving the Indian environment were reflected in the detailed descriptions of the houses of Tsuu T'ina families in the Annual Reports of the Indian Department. These descriptions, standard fare by 1894, included typical comments on individuals households such as “beds on floor, bedding dirty.”²³ Reports failed to noted that with the move of the Tsuu T'ina Bands north

of the Agency to the higher benchlands, there were obstacles to hauling water from Fish Creek. There were no large containers available and no wagons or carts to transport the water. While the Indian Agency had its own well, none of the Indian houses did and this together with the dirt floors of the houses made living conditions intolerable.²⁴ Indian Agent Lucas maintained at the same time that very little could be done to improve the conditions of the Indian houses because workers used all their earned monies to purchase provisions and clothing.

The meanings that dwellings had for Tsuu T'ina individuals reveal a fusion of traditional and new values. Houses were often sold by one Tsuu T'ina individual to another. In 1896 Crow Shield sold his house with the permission of the Indian Agent because he could not be induced to live in it after his child died.²⁵ Another man bought the house and moved it from its original location to the vicinity of the field he was working. The Tsuu T'ina initially refused to whitewash their houses. Agent Lucas speculated that they feared doing so because of the bad luck that whitewashing might bring them. He temporarily suspended food rations because he felt that this non-compliance was more "a matter of laziness than superstition."²⁶

The Model Community in Practice - Chief Big Wolf's Village

There were two encampments of Tsuu T'ina by 1890. Chief Big Wolf's camp located five miles west of the Sarcee Indian Agency was viewed as a model settlement. The Indian Commissioner noted that the Tsuu T'ina who lived there were putting up a "more improved class of building on individual farms more widely separated than formerly."²⁷ The village site was located on the banks of Fish Creek. The log houses were constructed by the inhabitants of the village. The construction of a second school at the camp brought \$300 to Indian labourers from both settlements with the finishing done by the Agency carpenter.

There were approximately 50 people living in Chief Big Wolf's camp in 1890. This included 10 families consisting of 10 men, 11 women, 11 girls and 18 boys.²⁸ The individual family heads were sometimes relatives such as brothers but this was not universally true. The camp of Big Wolf included the families of Minor Chief Big Wolf, Dog Skin, Roachmane and his brother Wolf Carrier, Big Crow, Big Prairie Head who was the son of Chief Bullhead, Running Behind, Two Young Men and White Knife (Figure 9).²⁹

The hereditary pattern of male leadership was maintained within the camp. When Chief Big Wolf died, his brother Roachmane became the village headman but the Indian Department never recognized him as a Band Leader. Roachmane in 1895 informed the Indian Agent in 1895 that he wanted the adopted son of Many Horses, his deceased brother, to assume the next chieftainship that had been left to him.³⁰ Of the ten families, there was a total population of approximately 45 people. The household units generally consisted of a man and his wife and two or more children. In one case, Big Crow had two wives but this was not a common practice.

The typical pattern of camp life at the time was based on settlements of closely-related individuals who farmed small plots of land. In 1900, one of the students in the boarding school described her life in Big Wolf's camp:

"[my] father lives in West Camp and itself live miles away from where I am live and he don't often come to see us except when he really want to see us and we had large house and a stable and we lots horses, twelve cows, he had six cows and his wife had six cows. I had one brother, one sister and one step-sister, and one big sister, my father's own daughter but she is not my own sister, her mother is my mother's sister and my father used to have two wives when I was a little girls before I came into school but they are both dead."³¹

The houses at Roachmane or Big Wolf's camp were single room log structures. Some had porches and small verandahs. All of the houses had cellars for storing potatoes, turnips and other root crops. The dirt floors were covered with oil cloth and the walls were

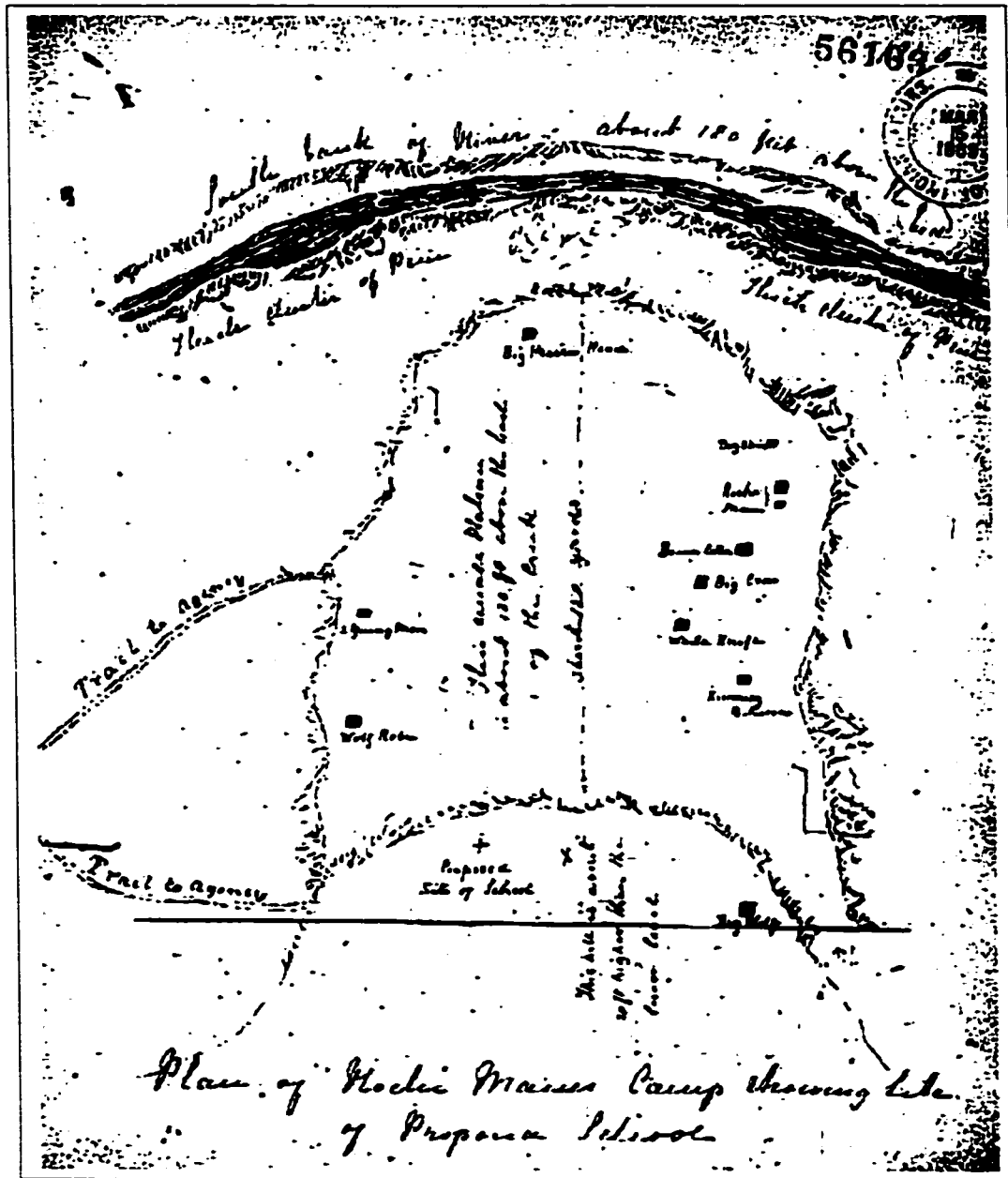


Figure 9: Plan of Roach Mane's Camp at Chief Big Wolf's Village, 1889

decorated with pictures taken from illustrated papers. In 1893, Indian Agent Lucas reported that there were only three children of school age in the camp and that he had recently placed one of these children, David Wolf Carrier, in the boarding school.³² In spring, all of the inhabitants of Chief Big Wolf's camp left the village and school was held in a tent.

Houses at Roachmane's Camp were located adjacent to small cultivated fields of lands between $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ acre in size. Two of the houses had stables nearby. Daily life for the inhabitants of Roachmane's village followed the pattern of the rest of the Tsuu T'ina Reserve. Rations were distributed two or three times a week. The ration house was a place for Tsuu T'ina families to gather and to talk. Inspector J. Ansell Macrae expressed his concern that "a large number of children were seen idling about, ...a few hundred yards from the school, whilst in the school [*there*] were only two or three. [*They are*] [*m*]ore interested in food for their body than food for their mind."³³

Table 10: Crop Production at Big Wolf's Village 1889-1890

Name	Oats	Potatoes	Gardens	Oats	Potatoes	Gardens
Big Crow		$\frac{1}{4}$ acre	$\frac{1}{4}$ acre		10 bu	crop failure
The Rider		$\frac{1}{2}$ acre	$\frac{1}{4}$ acre			crop failure
Wolf Carrier		$\frac{1}{2}$ acre	$\frac{1}{4}$ acre			crop failure
Roachmane	5 acre	$\frac{1}{2}$ acre	$\frac{1}{2}$ acre	70 bu	20 bu	crop failure
Running Fisher	$\frac{1}{2}$ acre	$\frac{1}{4}$ acre				crop failure
Dogskin	$\frac{1}{2}$ acre	$\frac{1}{4}$ acre				crop failure
White Knife		$\frac{1}{2}$ acre				crop failure
Big Wolf	6 acre	$\frac{1}{2}$ acre	$\frac{1}{2}$ acre	84 bu	15 bu	crop failure
Big Prairie Head		$\frac{1}{2}$ acre				crop failure

In 1889-1890, all of the families in Big Wolf's Camp planted oats, potatoes and, with the exception of two individuals, grew small gardens between $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ acre in size. The garden crop failed completely due to early frosts in the valley of Fish Creek (Table 10).³⁴

Only two individuals were able to produce small yields of oats and three persons were able to harvest potatoes.³⁵

Roachmane, one of the men at Chief Big Wolf's camp earned a total of \$34.50 in 1890-1891. Roachmane's family included his wife and two children in 1891. In January and February of 1891, he was able to sell potatoes and four loads of hay in Calgary. In November, he earned \$11 from the sale of wood. This amount represented his total cash earnings. In the spring of 1891, Roachmane planted 5 acres of oats, 1.2 acres of potatoes and 1/8 acre of garden. The oat and garden crops failed due to frost but Roachmane was able to harvest 20 bushels of potatoes from his small plot of land.³⁶ The second habitation was abandoned in 1892 when Fish Creek flooded its banks and threatened the new settlement. Roachmane's village was then relocated on the benchlands west of the Old Agency site with some individuals returning to Chief Bullhead's camp.

The Tenure of Indian Agent Samuel Lucas

There were chronic shortages of food, clothing and shelter faced by the Tsuu T'ina during the 1890s. Clothing, in particular, continued to be a constant problem with the supply of blankets and warm clothing for the winter always in short supply. The Indian Department practised extreme parsimony in the distribution of these items often issuing only several blankets and pairs of trousers to each family each year. Indian Agent Lucas reported that some of the old Tsuu T'ina women went regularly to the nuisance ground near Calgary to gather cast off clothing.³⁷ The need for clothing was so great that Reverend Percy Stocken made an annual appeal in the Calgary newspapers for cast-off clothing and provisions to distribute at the annual Christmas feast. Officials expressed concern that the general public would get the impression that the Indian Department "must starve the Indians" when these appeals were made.³⁸

These shortages were either caused directly by government oversight or by the overzealous application of government austerity at the local level of the reserve. The

realization of the goals of the Indian Department was very much left in the hands of the local Indian Agent. Throughout the 1890s, government officials attempted to save expenses on the assistance provided to Indians in Canada through a “no rations, no work” policy. Regardless of the austerity measures imposed, it was up to local officials to determine how such policies were implemented and to what extent they would be implemented.

Indian Agent Samuel Lucas was appointed to the Tsuu T'ina Reserve in 1891. Agent Cornish, his predecessor, had been generous with rations often giving extra rations to Tsuu T'ina individuals, particularly Chief Bullhead and his family and allowing individuals to draw rations more than once if needed.³⁹ Cornish had made a practice of conferring with the Chiefs regarding the policies of the Indian Department for sending children to schools, boarding horses, cutting cordwood for the Agency, farming and sharing seeds.⁴⁰ Cornish had ensured that Tsuu T'ina labourers were paid for their work for the Agency or for settlers.

Lucas, upon his appointment in 1891, instituted a policy of not paying workers in cash for their labour despite the fact that this had been a long standing practice on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve. Former Indian Agents had followed the practice of issuing rations for work very infrequently in the past. Before Lucas' arrival, there was a clear understanding that Indian labourers would be compensated for their labour. Lucas, however, attempted to enforce a system of voluntarism. When this did not work, he informed Indian Department officials that it was impossible to get the Tsuu T'ina to volunteer to assist one another in building houses and that “even relatives demand[ed] pay of one another.”⁴¹ In the following year, Lucas insisted that the Tsuu T'ina work for their rations and withheld rations from those who refused to work. By the fall of 1892, he reported that the Tsuu T'ina were

supplementing the ration of meat given to them by one half by selling horses, moccasins and by working about the slaughter houses in Calgary.⁴²

The appointment of Lucas coincided with a directive from Hayter Reed, the Indian Commissioner, calling for the reduction of food rations in the Treaty 7 area in southern Alberta. Food rations subsequently were reduced to .88 pounds of meat and .35 pounds of flour per person per day. Reed asked that hunting Indians not get nearly as much as the Tsuu T'ina.⁴³ The Indian Commissioner dismissed complaints about a shortage of rations claiming they were unfounded.⁴⁴ While the deaths of two elderly individuals were attributed by the Tsuu T'ina to insufficient rations in February of 1896, Reed maintained that it was hard to understand why a daily ration of about one pound of meat per adult was not adequate. He suggested that the Tsuu T'ina were at fault because they had shared their rations with other family members.⁴⁵

Monthly rations between August and November of 1892 ranged between 1.11 and 1.25 pounds per persons with slightly more issued to working individuals. Officials in Reed's Office still maintained that these amounts were excessive.⁴⁶ Even Agent Lucas, however, noted that the beef issue was too small for working Indians in 1894.⁴⁷ Employees of the Sarcee Indian Agency also were provided with food rations but these were not subject to the same curtailments. It was common practice to issue three months' supply of basic rations to all employees at one time.⁴⁸ Officials notified Indian Agent Lucas that the white employees of the agency had overdrawn their rations in meat by 111 pounds and in flour by 189 pounds in 1896.⁴⁹

The mixed messages pertaining to food rations and work in Lucas' policies only served to strengthen the resolve of certain Tsuu T'ina individuals to break free of government support and to assert their autonomy by providing themselves with food

garnered primarily through hunting. At times when rations were reduced by Lucas, he reported that large parties were away hunting or that they were consuming the meat of dead animals. Commissioner Reed found most of the Tsuu T'ina absent when he visited the reserve in November of 1891.⁵⁰

It was particularly hard for the Tsuu T'ina to making a living in 1891. In January it was impossible to sell wood in Calgary and potatoes fetched very low prices. A virulent form of influenza resulted in six deaths among the Tsuu T'ina who lived in their small unventilated houses during the winter. In March of 1891 the Tsuu T'ina demanded part of the hay that had been harvested as payment for their work but Lucas refused.⁵¹ The following month the Tsuu T'ina refused to work without pay even refusing to accept the rations that were offered.

Excessive heat in the summer of 1891 destroyed the hay crop and resulted in poor overall crop yields. When a large party of Tsuu T'ina left the Reserve in July of 1891 without passes, Lucas promptly cut off their supply of rations. These Tsuu T'ina camped away from the Agency at the Elbow River crossing upon their return and were refused rations until they had resettled in their usual camps. In the fall of 1891, a large number of Blackfoot Indians camped on the Reserve and the annual Grass Dance was held. Lucas found their presence unbearable and requested that that North-west Mounted Police drive the intruders off the Reserve.⁵² The Blackfoot Indians returned to their reserves under Lucas' threat to invoke Police force.

Individuals who attempted to live by hunting also faced great deprivation. In April 1893, a few men who had left the reserve to hunt reported that they had suffered much and that only a few timber wolves had been killed for remuneration.⁵³ Throughout the bitter winter of 1892-1893, hunters would return stating that they had suffered severely from

hunger and cold during their absences from the reserve.⁵⁴ When 27 lodges of Indians from the reserve camped along High River and 14 lodges near Pekisko, Alberta during the entire winter of 1893, Reed expressed skepticism that any persons were living off the carcasses of dead animals.⁵⁵

By June 1893, Hayter Reed notified Lucas that the Indian Agent at the Blackfoot Reserve had notified him that it was the intention of Chief Bullhead and other men to come to the Blackfoot Reserve to meet with him and the Minister of the Interior.⁵⁶ Lucas informed Reed that he understood that the Tsuu T'ina were trying to exact "better terms."⁵⁷ He suggested that if the Tsuu T'ina were not fed that this would break up the meeting very quickly.⁵⁸ Chief Bullhead left the reserve in August 1893 and commenced living on the outskirts of Calgary. The Indian Agent reported that the Chief had threatened to join the Blackfoot and that the Tsuu T'ina feared that they would lose their reserve.⁵⁹

Social relations between the Tsuu T'ina and surrounding settlers and inhabitants of Calgary often were strained during this time. This problem seems to have been very much a matter of whether or not larger parties of Tsuu T'ina were forced to camp away from the reserve to obtain their living. Agent Cornish, Lucas' predecessor, had described the affable relations that existed between white settlers and the Tsuu T'ina. Cornish, for example, reported in 1890 that the Tsuu T'ina had given "every satisfaction to their employees" for work completed on neighbouring ranches.⁶⁰ His reports always stressed that the Tsuu T'ina were capable farmers and that they "worked well at putting in and harvesting their crops."⁶¹

Under Lucas' tenure, it was necessary for the Tsuu T'ina to spend more frequent and long periods of time away from the reserve to earn a their living. If Lucas felt that the Tsuu T'ina were loitering in settled areas around the reserve, he had them escorted back to the Reserve by the North-west Mounted Police.⁶² The practice of hunting wolves and coyotes on

neighbouring ranches often led to charges that the Tsuu T'ina were killing and stealing cattle, destroying property and stealing personal belongings.⁶³ It was also reported that Indian women had stolen clothes that were hanging out to dry.⁶⁴ These negative reports were balanced by the opinions of ranchers who had previously employed Tsuu T'ina men and women as workers. In 1893, Fred Stimson, a rancher upon whose range the Tsuu T'ina habitually camped, informed Lucas that the Tsuu T'ina had not troubled him.

Work on the reserve had continued much as before with Chief Bullhead maintaining his control of the workers and encouraging the men of his camp to work. The strict measures that Lucas enforced in rationing were paralleled in the total authority he attempted to assert over Tsuu T'ina workers. This practice directly challenged the Chief's authority. When Lucas tried to order a work crew to construct a horse stable and hay corrals for those hauling hay and wood to Calgary in the spring of 1893, Bullhead immediately took charge of the workers.⁶⁵

In the fall of 1892, the Indian Act was amended to include Section 117 that empowered Indian Agents as ex-officio justices of the peace to control liquor traffic on Indian Reserve.⁶⁶ In 1895, Lucas was instructed by the Indian Department to offer a \$20 reward for information leading to the convictions of individuals who furnished liquor to Indians.⁶⁷ These measures greatly increased Lucas' power in the Tsuu T'ina community. Lucas reported that there were constant problems of drunkenness among the Tsuu T'ina. He did not, however, seem able to understand that many of the rigorous measures he was enforcing had seriously undermined and disrupted the social fabric of Tsuu T'ina society by challenging traditional methods of social control and authority.

Lucas, however, made the mistake of seriously challenging the leadership and political power of Chief Bullhead. When Lucas used the North-west Mounted Police, Chief

Bullhead brought liquor home with him and ran his horse against the Scout to show his contempt for him. Lucas immediately arrested the Chief and he served two weeks in prison.⁶⁸ In the fall of 1893, he had Chief Bullhead and one of his men arrested. Bullhead was subsequently charged and sentenced to one month's imprisonment in the Police Barracks in Calgary. Lucas noted that after one week, the Chief "seemed very much humiliated and penitent."⁶⁹ The Indian Agent then arranged for the Chief's immediate release.

Lucas' public humiliation of Chief Bullhead caused great unrest among the Tsuu T'ina. There were also other events that contributed to the strained relations between Agent Lucas and Chief Bullhead and the Tsuu T'ina workers. A man named "Wolf Coat" or "Starving Wolf" was accidentally killed in March of 1893 while felling a tree with an axe. It was reported that before dying Wolf Coat had informed other band members "the agent had killed him by sending him out to work" and that he "did not wish his children ever to go to the Indian school."⁷⁰ Lucas was threatened with the same fate when he tried to see the body. Lucas, fearing for his life, then left the reserve temporarily under police escort.⁷¹ Following the death of Wolf Coat, Lucas gave tea and tobacco to Chief Bullhead to reward him for maintaining order on the reserve. The chief, in turn, distributed all that was given to him to his men.

Lucas remained adamant about the Tsuu T'ina relocating their houses nearer to the fields they cultivated or areas they worked. The Tsuu T'ina were particularly opposed to moving to isolated areas on the edges of the reserve where they travelled to cut wood. In the spring of 1894, the Tsuu T'ina refused to move to where they could obtain suitable building lumber for new houses and Lucas cut off their rations temporarily.⁷² In 1896, Many Wounds, father of Peter Manywounds, refused to build his house near his field preferring to live in

Chief Bullhead's central encampment north of the Agency site. Lucas refused to provide rations for the family in response.

The Trial of Agent Samuel B. Lucas

By 1895, Lucas regularly refused to provide rations for individuals who either could not work or who refused to work. The Tsuu T'ina then were forced to kill cattle in order to survive. This practice directly contravened Indian Department policy that allowed for the use of the skins and meat of dead animals found on the prairie by Indians but strictly forbade the killing of settlers' cattle. When rations were refused to Tsuu T'ina individuals in 1895, Lucas was informed by a man in the group that "there were plenty of cattle on the prairie."⁷³ In the same year, the men of Chief Bullhead's camp refused to work and left the reserve. Upon their return, Indian Agent Lucas informed the Indian Department that they had brought home "an unusually large quantity of the meat of dead animals."⁷⁴ His description of "dead animals" as the source of the meat appears to be an attempt to quell concerns that the Tsuu T'ina were poaching settlers' cattle with the reduction in rations that he had enforced.

Lucas' concerns of accountability for the source of the Tsuu T'ina meat supply, however, did not appear to extend to his own behavior. Inspectors began to note beginning in 1891 that there were discrepancies between the sale of permits to cut hay and the disposition of monies collected by Agent Lucas. The total earnings in 1893-1894 of \$850.69 were used to purchase two mowers, one rake and one set of harnesses from the Hudson's Bay Company and to pay Tsuu T'ina workers for hay and wood.⁷⁵ Tsuu T'ina workers who had no access to the financial records of the agency were never aware of total amounts that were earned for each of the permits Lucas issued.

Lucas reported in the spring of 1895 that he had retained \$124 of the total earnings while the greater part of the money went to pay debts with the balance being distributed

among the Band. Lucas, however when asked by officials, was unable to supply receipts for these transactions. There were other irregularities reported in 1895 when Lucas could not provide witnessed receipts for over \$500 he claimed to have paid to Chief Bullhead from the total of \$718.45 earned from hay sales to the North-west Mounted Police.⁷⁶

There had been very little that Chief Bullhead and others could do to remedy the existing problems at the Tsuu T'ina Reserve. In 1895, the Chief took his concerns to the visiting Governor General and Lady Aberdeen. Bullhead addressed the audience following a reading given by David Wolf Carrier, a student of St. Barnabas Boarding School. Chief Bullhead spoke in Blackfoot. George Hodgson, the farm instructor, translated his remarks. The Chief informed those in attendance, "You don't see many of my children here. They're all gone with working too much."⁷⁷

The press in the city of Calgary reported that the Governor General replied that the trouble with many white men was that they had died through idleness and he advised the Tsuu T'ina to work. Bullhead, once again spoke:

"The [C]reator did not tell us to work. Year go the big chief Dewdney told me I would get the value of all the hay and wood on the reserve but I have not done so. All around us the Blackfoot, Cree and Stoney are making money by working but here they don't pay us for working."⁷⁸

The Assistant Indian Commissioner convened a meeting with Lucas in August 1895 based on complaints he had received from Chief Bullhead and the discrepancies that were noted by Agency Inspectors. The Agency Clerk, Henry Gibbon-Stocken and 25 Tsuu T'ina men were in attendance. Chief Bullhead led the discussion complaining that his people were not receiving the monies owed them from the proceeds of selling hay and wood. He informed the Assistant Commissioner that workers were stopped when taking hay into Calgary or that they were often denied the use of agency wagons and oxen to haul logs. The Chief expressed his concerns about the inhumane treatment of those who could not work

due to illness. His remarks contained strong evidence that tuberculosis seriously threatened the Tsuu T'ina population and prevented individuals from working. Chief Bullhead commented: "when my people are sick-throwing up blood-they come, say I am tired and sick, will you let me off work. We are told you are telling lies, you are simply lazy. We all work on this Reserve, even this blind [*man*]."79

In the discussion that followed, each of the minor chiefs, Painted Otter, Big Plume, Big Wolf, Eagle Carrier, Big Crow, Roachmane and Dog Skin's wife spoke expressing agreement with Chief Bullhead. Big Crow, for example, stated: "I am in charge of a gang cutting hay and I wish for food for all my men today. I want myself and gang to benefit by all the hay we cut I have nothing against the Officials." There was a consensus among all present that workers had not received the money owed to them. Wolf Carrier spoke of the shame associated with having one's rations cut off. Following the meeting, Agent Lucas was found guilty of gross carelessness and irregularity in a manner "inconsistent" with the aims and policies of the Department of Indian Affairs but, without documentation, it was felt that there was "no conclusive evidence" to convict him.⁸⁰ Lucas was dismissed shortly afterwards in September 1897 and the position of Agency Clerk was abolished.

A different picture of the Tsuu T'ina emerges once John McNeill assumed the position of Indian Agent on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve. McNeill consistently reported that the Tsuu T'ina worked well but that their poor health had serious consequences for production. In the fall of 1897, he reported that he did not have "many able-bodied Indians here and the work comes particularly heavy on those who are strong and willing to work."⁸¹ The tone of McNeill's reports contrasted with the negative evaluations of Agent Lucas. In August 1898, McNeill informed the Commissioner that even Chief Bullhead was once again "taking more interest in affairs in connection with his Reserve than formerly and is encouraging his men

to work and is working himself.”⁸² By 1897, order had been reestablished within the Reserve community.

The Business of Schooling, Conversion and St. Barnabas Parish

St. Barnabas Parish also was an intrinsic part of the reserve economy. The overall organization and structure of the Parish economy was much the same as the Agency with an organized hierarchy of individuals in charge who employed Tsuu T’ina adults on a short term basis for various forms of manual labour. Indian women were hired to do laundry and cleaning for between 50 cents and \$1 per week for several weeks each year or men were able to earn \$2 a month by hauling goods and supplying hay to working the stables of the mission.⁸³

There was no continuing employment available or consistent employment through the mission for Tsuu T’ina individuals. For some individuals, the mission was the major source of wages while for others it supplemented other earnings. Offertories from Tsuu T’ina parishes were paid in either cash or in farm produce. In October 1898, an individual farmer gave \$1 and pledged 1 load of hay, 2 skeins of oats and one bag of potatoes to the church.⁸⁴ There were, however, major differences in the Parish economy once St. Barnabas Boarding School was established. In the era of the day school system prior to 1894, students often accompanied their parents on hunting trips or to pursue other economic activities. The realities of day schooling for Tsuu T’ina students was far different from the model prescribed for government and school officials. While Reed insisted that day schools remain open for at least five hours a day, Tsuu T’ina parents would regularly remove their children from the school to take them hunting.⁸⁵

Inspection reports describing conditions in the day schools were always of the same tone. In 1892, Inspector Macrae’s school report was succinct: “punctuality bad, class

organization bad, cleanliness of pupils bad, conduct of pupils bad same as other children on Reserve.”⁸⁶ There were few incentives that officials could offer to either children or parents as enticements to attend the school. Despite giving out prizes for behaviour, attendance and proficiency, the teachers found that the Tsuu T’ina children were eager to go home after roll was called each morning.⁸⁷ Officials were perplexed by the fact that parents were not averse to sending their children to school but would not punish them when they hid in the bushes and could not be found until school finished.⁸⁸

Missionaries in the Tsuu T’ina community were often faced with decisions about whether they should serve the Tsuu T’ina community and day school students or attend to the spiritual welfare of the ever increasing number of white settlers in the surrounding districts. Indian Agent McNeill informed Department officials that Stanley Stocken was “under the impression that he is largely responsible for the spiritual welfare of both Indians and Whites in the neighbourhood and this accounts to a certain extent I think for the slow progress at the school.”⁸⁹ Acting Agent Swinford noted that only a few of the children could even say their alphabets and three or four read words of only one syllable in 1890. By 1894, Henry Gibbon-Stocken had begun to record all of the children’s names in English under orders from the Indian Department. He claimed that all of the children on the Reserve could write their names in English and understand their enunciation.⁹⁰

The admission of all Tsuu T’ina children between the ages of 6 and 18 into the Sarcee Boarding School was legislated in 1894 with the passing of a compulsory attendance adhesion to the Indian Advancement Act. Each of these students received a per capita grant of \$72 per annum with \$60 for maintenance and the remaining \$12 for tuition. Rations of beef and flour were initially provided but this was done without government approval and this practice was discontinued in 1897.⁹¹ Tsuu T’ina boys who were 14 years of age or older

were drafted into the Calgary Industrial School beginning in 1897. Tims saw the purposes of the CIS as preventing students from drifting back into “camp life” and to provided industrial training for boys.⁹²

Tsuu T'ina parents were, according to Agent Lucas, initially “willing and some anxious to place their children in the school.”⁹³ By the fall of 1894, he noted that all of the children of school age were in the boarding school.⁹⁴ St. Barnabas Boarding School, was established in 1894 at the time the Tsuu T'ina experienced extreme economic deprivation under the rigid policies of Indian Agent Lucas (Plate 10). The boarding school was referred to euphemistically as “the home” which reflected perfectly the increasing incursion of the Indian Department into Indian homes and into the lives of Indian children on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve.⁹⁵ There had been plans as early as 1892 to build a hospital on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve but the funds were used instead to build a girls' wing on the Boarding School in 1895 (Plate 11). The Indian Department facing reductions chose not to support the establishment of a reserve hospital opting instead to provide \$5000 for the construction of the Calgary Industrial school in 1895.⁹⁶ This decision had monumental and tragic consequences for the declining Tsuu T'ina population.

The cost of constructing St. Barnabas Boarding School in 1894-1895 was \$1363.10, roughly double the cost of the original estimate. This left a debt of \$716.87 for labour and materials.⁹⁷ The expenditure on the school was \$2718.34 of which the Indian Department paid \$1274.60 leaving \$1443.74 for the Church of England to pay.⁹⁸ St. Barnabas School continued to show an operating deficit throughout the 1890s. For the year 1895-1896, the total deficit was \$764.91 and by 1898, the unpaid liabilities for the school were \$1077.81.⁹⁹

The costs of sustaining a boarding school in the Tsuu T'ina community were pretty well established with some variation by 1899. Estimates of the receipts and expenditures for



Plate 10: St. Barnabas Boarding School, c. 1895 (GA #NA 1020-16)



Plate 11: Girls at St. Barnabas Mission, c. 1904-1906 (GA #NA 192-15)

St. Barnabas Parish in that year showed an operating deficit of \$300 with roughly 40 percent paid out for the salaries of the white employees of the mission (Table 11).¹⁰⁰ Indian labour constituted approximately 8 percent of the operating cost with Indian women paid \$36 per year to do laundry and men about \$100 to do chores. The financial statement of the year indicates that the Mission depended on 43 percent of its support from sources in England, only 8 percent from Canadian sources and another 43 percent from the Indian Department.

The greatest expenditures by far were for salaries and provisions, which constituted 71 percent of the overall, operating expenses (Table 12).¹⁰¹ The salaries included: \$800 paid to Percy Stocken as Principal/Teacher, \$120 to Miss Crawford, girls' matron and the same amount to Miss Symonds, boys' matron and \$300 paid to John William Tims as an allowance. These salaries did not reflect the \$1000 stipend paid directly by the Church Missionary Society to Tims each year. In 1899, there were three staff members and 15 Tsuu T'ina children in the school. The per capita cost per pupil was \$19.83 in 1899. This amount, however, included the expenses for the provisions, fuel and light and laundry provided without charge to the three staff members.¹⁰²

With the establishment of the St. Barnabas Boarding School, there were additional costs and a redefinition of labour to manage and maintain the school. The boarding school functioned as an extension of the church in the Tsuu T'ina community. The establishment of the boarding school, however, completely removed children from the labour force and had the profound impact of eventually dissolving the system of age-related hierarchy that had been one of the fundamental principles of organization and for socialization within Tsuu T'ina society. The retention of older boys in either the boarding school or the Calgary Industrial school effectively eliminated the participation of individuals who were the youngest and strongest members of the Tsuu T'ina work force.

With the rigid application of Indian Department policies by Agent Lucas, it was essential for Tsuu T'ina parents to hunt more frequently. The confinement of children for longer periods in the boarding school or as day boarders disrupted the earlier pattern whereby entire families would leave the reserve to go hunting. Parents were no longer free to take their children hunting when it was required. Conflicts arose over the incarceration of children in the school at times when parents planned or were forced to leave the reserve to hunt. In the winter of 1893, Lucas had agreed to withhold the children from the school until Chief Bullhead and the others returned from a hunting trip. He reported that the extreme cold made this endeavour fruitless and that the Tsuu T'ina barely made a living killing wolves for bounty.¹⁰³

The contrasting values between government policies of creating "profitable citizens" and the ideas of the Tsuu T'ina about the socialization of children in the reserve community are reflected clearly in the observations of Agent Lucas once the Boarding School had been in operation for several years.¹⁰⁴ Lucas noted that the Tsuu T'ina parents did not seem to have "any conception of the advantage of education" but that they were "willing to have their children taken off their hands and cared for until they [*wæe*] old enough to be useful around the camp, herding horses etc." It never occurred to the Indian Agent that there were demonstrable benefits from schooling at that point and that it was still necessary for children and adolescents to play a central role in the economic production within the Tsuu T'ina family units.

The operation of the boarding school resembled that of the factory. Pupils were referred to as "earners" of the per capita grants and their earning of the per capita grant based on their attendance.¹⁰⁵ The institution of a new School Branch of the Indian Department fostered a more systematic approach in the bureaucratic management and

Table 11: Estimate of Approximate Receipts and Expenditures For 1899

	Amount	% of Total	Total
Receipts:			\$1333.00
Expenditures:			
Salaries	\$640.00	40%	
Provisions	\$595.00	36%	
Furnishings	\$105.00	6%	
Fuel and Light	\$159.00	10%	
Repairs	\$10.00	.6%	
Laundry	\$36.00	2%	
Stables	\$43.00	3%	
Travel Costs	\$10.00	6%	
Sundries	\$20.00	1.2%	
Chores	\$100.00	6.1%	
Total	\$1633.00	100%	\$1633.00

Table 12: Sarcee Mission Financial Statement 1899

Receipts		% Total	Expenditures		% Total
England:			Building	\$ 106.75	6%
CMS	\$ 662.50		Salaries	\$1067.50	60%
Other	\$ 102.86		Provisions	\$ 195.54	11%
Subtotal	\$ 765.36	43%	Furnishings	\$ 56.02	3%
Canada			Clothing	\$ 3.60	.2%
W. A.	\$ 135.00		Fuel & Light	\$ 104.50	6%
Other	\$ 14.44		Medical	\$ 3.50	.2%
Subtotal	\$ 149.44	.8%	Laundry	\$ 38.55	2%
Other			Postage	\$ 1.75	.1%
Government	\$ 780.40	43%	Repairs	\$ 20.10	1%
Diocese			Stables	\$ 71.45	4%
Parish	\$ 40.25		Freight	\$ 3.00	.2%
Sundries	\$ 16.30		Sundries	\$ 75.52	4%
Other	\$ 21.03		Travel	\$ 19.00	1%
Subtotal	\$ 861.98	49%			
Totals	\$1776.78	100%		\$1776.78	100%

record keeping pertaining to Indian schools. An official Program of Studies was prepared. The Indian Commissioner's view of the new Program was that it would provide students with a basic "English education."¹⁰⁶ Under the new program, Tsuu T'ina students were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and drawing. The Program of Studies

The operation of the boarding school resembled that of the factory. Pupils were referred to as "earners" of the per capita grants and their earning of the per capita grant based on their attendance.¹⁰⁷ The institution of a new School Branch of the Indian Department fostered a more systematic approach in the bureaucratic management and record keeping pertaining to Indian schools. An official Program of Studies was prepared. The Indian Commissioner's view of the new Program was that it would provide students with a basic "English education."¹⁰⁸ Under the new program, Tsuu T'ina students were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and drawing. The Program of Studies was posted in a "conspicuous place" in the Sarcee Boarding School more as a reflection of a growing government bureaucracy than a meaningful reference that reflected the realities of learning by students.¹⁰⁹

Beyond the per capita grants paid by the Indian Department, any shortages were to be met by Church authorities. All school furnishings such as seats, desks, stoves and blackboards were to be charged against the capital account of the band upon whose reserve the school was built.¹¹⁰ One of the functions that the Mission had in the Tsuu T'ina community was the provision of clothing to the children in the boarding school and to adults, particularly Tsuu T'ina women. The largest distribution of these items occurred immediately after the annual Christmas feast held in the Boarding School for the entire community. There were individual presents for each child in the school.

This practice of giving gifts to the Tsuu T'ina students at Christmas time was started by Reverend Henry Stocken who published his annual appeal for clothing, provisions and the supper in Calgary newspapers. With the establishment of boarding schools, solutions had to be found to supply the material necessities of life that had been provided formerly by Indian parents. The children also received regular supplies of clothing, toys, candies and other goods from the Women's Auxiliary groups in southern Ontario throughout the year while they were students in the boarding school. WA groups also supplied the Christian vestments, furnishings and ornaments for the reserve church.

The WA "bales" that arrived contained a wide variety of material goods that would not ordinarily be available to Indian children. In December 1892, for example, a bale was shipped to the St. Barnabas Boarding School containing used and new clothing, rag carpet, handkerchiefs, wood cuffs, braided mat, belts, thread, papers, picture, needles, pieces for patchwork, slate, dominoes, tea, sugar, soap and candies, groceries and a total cash amount of \$8.90.¹¹¹ The children received the goods following church service and a feast held for the entire reserve community. The giving away of gifts in a religious context was not a new custom as it was an intrinsic part of the ceremonial tradition of Tsuu T'ina native culture. This new set of practices, however, did not express, either the generosity of Tsuu T'ina individuals or the power and status of their social position within the community as it once had. These new practices extended a developing consumer society and introduced impersonal forms of exchange directly into the context of schooling.

There were renewed hopes with the establishment of the boarding school that a native clergy eventually would emerge. Officials of the Church Missionary Society still adhered to the hope of Henry Venn, Secretary of the CMS several decades previously that a native clergy would arise.¹¹² In March 1897, CMS Secretary Baring-Gould informed Tims

that one young man had seemed to take an interest in evangelizing others and that Christianity and citizenship would go hand in hand.¹¹³ While it was reported that the Tsuu T'ina regularly attended Sunday church services as early as 1890, their attendance was infrequent.¹¹⁴ The largest congregations in 1896 included about 30 native persons with services being conducted in Cree and Blackfoot but not in the Tsuu T'ina language.¹¹⁵ The more typical pattern was for between 4 and 6 adults to attend each service. The others as Agent Lucas claimed in 1897, "cling tenaciously to their old rites and customs."¹¹⁶

There were several baptisms each year but religious conversion was slow. Agent Lucas reported that four adults and two minors had been baptized by Reverend Henry Stocken and two other adults and two Crees had been baptized in the Roman Catholic Church in Calgary in 1895.¹¹⁷ The first Tsuu T'ina child was baptized into the Catholic faith in Calgary in 1896.¹¹⁸ Lucas had attempted to prevent the holding of the first Roman Catholic services at the house of the farm instructor George Hodgson in 1896.¹¹⁹ He later came under sanction for his actions by departmental officials who wished to retain their official policy of religious neutrality on reserves.¹²⁰

By 1899, Tims could inform the Secretary of the CMS that he had baptized a family consisting of a father, mother and five of their children. The husband informed Tims of the great joy he felt on the occasion by stating: "my heart laughed very much."¹²¹ The baptism of an entire family, however, was very infrequent. It was more common for students to be baptized who attended either the St. Barnabas School or the Calgary Industrial School. Three girls from the Boarding School were baptized in February 1899 together with the family of seven. Three boys from the Calgary Industrial School were baptized earlier in the year.

The baptism of children and a small number of adults in the Tsuu T'ina community occurred within a community in which religious pluralism had become the norm. In July

1891, Mrs. Patterson, Secretary-Treasurer of the Women's Auxiliary of The Anglican Church of Canada in Toronto visited the Tsuu T'ina Reserve. Much to her dismay, she found that there were thirty Blackfoot Indians on the Reserve who had brought the Grass Dance to the reserve. The Grass Dance Ceremonies lasted four days and four nights and she noted that the Tsuu T'ina had paid seventeen horses to the Peigan Indians for the right to hold the ceremony.¹²² The same drumming and singing also kept Agent Lucas awake.¹²³ They were described by Mrs. Patterson as "monotonous" and unending. She also heard wailing late at night for the dead. The Crow Chief family had just lost two children within days of each other. Crow Chief's wife had pledged to make the Sacred Sun Dance if her remaining children lived.¹²⁴

The adherence of the Tsuu T'ina to their traditional religious customs and the adoption of new native religious practices were part of the religious pluralism that characterized life in the Tsuu T'ina community in the last decade of the 19th century. The Sacred Pipe Ceremonies were held each spring. Certain Tsuu T'ina attended the Sun Dance in late June and early July of each year on other reserves. Word of the "Messiah Craze" or Ghost Dance had reached the Tsuu T'ina by the first part of 1891. The Messiah Craze which prophesized the return of Jesus Christ and the disappearance of whites from North America influenced mission staff as well. Acting Agent Swinford commented that Reverend Stocken had been affected by word of the movement and had stated that he felt the world was coming to an end very soon.¹²⁵

The integration of new religious practices and beliefs with changes in the Tsuu T'ina economy necessitated that new forms of societal organization be found. Large numbers of Tsuu T'ina would leave the reserve for many weeks while others stayed behind to maintain agricultural plots of land. Conversion to Christianity was a slow process that had many

meanings. The ceremonies witnessed by Mrs. Patterson existed side by side with new Christian customs and practices.

Conclusions – The Reserve Economy 1890-1910

There was a complex economy established on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve between 1890 and 1900 with a subclass of wage labourers established who organized themselves to a certain degree around a capitalist market economy. These workers and their families engaged in a variety of religious beliefs and practices that were independent of the forms of economic activity they undertook to earn their livelihoods. Economic relations between Tsuu T'ina labourers and government or mission officials and outsiders involved many types of labour relations including forms of debt peonage, share-cropping, renting, service tenancy, barter and temporary wage labour. Money, goods and horses were used as forms of currency to pay for labour and service. This was a far cry from a prevalence of capital/labour relations or the depiction of reserve economies as simple agricultural societies derived from models of peasant societies.¹²⁶

Capitalism was only one form of economic system in the community. Within the capitalist system or subsystem of the reserve economy, land was private property - a commodity that could be leased, surrendered or sold. Land also continued to have enduring values as “mother” and sustainer of the Tsuu T'ina people. The centrality of the state in a true capitalist system was offset by the authority and control of the Department of Indian Affairs at the reserve level which displaced and redefined the position of Tsuu T'ina workers in relation to the microstructures of Agency and Parish. The development of economic self-sufficiency based on an individual system of land tenure was not viable within the environmental limitations of the Tsuu T'ina Reserve lands.

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- ¹ CHC, *SP*, No. 14, DIA Annual Report, A1898, 181.
- ² *Ibid.*
- ³ See: G. Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty* (New York, 1984).
- ⁴ Canada. House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, 14, Auditor General's Report, Pt. G, No. 1, 1896, 111.
- ⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, H. W. Gibbon-Stocken to Lucas, 9 March 1896
- ⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶ See: T. Fitzgerald, "Missionary Women as Educators: The CMS Schools in New Zealand, 1823-1835," *Historical Studies in Education*, 23, (3), 1994, 139-149. Fitzgerald describes the influence of women missionaries in the mission context.
- ⁷ GA, M1356, f. 8, Tims to Crawford, 28 May 1895.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*,
- ⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1642, Kemys-Tynte to Jarvis, 10 July 1894.
- ¹⁰ TTNA, SPA #131, Forget to Acting Indian agent noting reported in *The Free Press*, 27 January 1891. See also: NAC, RG 10, v. 1639, Swinford to Commissioner, 2 February 1891.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹² NAC, RG 10, v. 1628, Circular, Secretary to McNeill, 22 December 1898.
- ¹³ Based on monthly statements of earnings of Tsuu T'ina workers in NAC, RG 10, v. 1639 for 1896.
- ¹⁴ Based on monthly statements of earnings of Tsuu T'ina workers in NAC, RG 10, v. 1639, v. 1642, v. 1643.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.* This average is taken from the monthly earnings of individuals in 1891. There was no figure available for September of 1891 therefore an average figure based on September earnings in 1895 and 1896 was used to calculate the overall average.
- ¹⁶ CHC, *SP*, No. 14, DIA Annual Report, 1892, Lucas to SGIA, 17 August 1891, 81.
- ¹⁷ Based on: NAC, Canada, *Sessional Papers*, No. 14, 18, 14, and, 14, DIA Annual Reports, Returns showing crops sown and harvested by individual Indians in Sarcee Agency, A1890, A1891, A1892, and A1894.
- ¹⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 1637, Cornish to Commissioner, 31 August 1888.
- ¹⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1638, Cornish to Commissioner, 6 February 1890.
- ²⁰ CHC, *SP*, No. 14, DIA Annual Report, A1892, L. Vankoughnet, xv.
- ²¹ CHC, *SP*, No. 14, DIA Annual Report, A1893, 125.
- ²² Canada, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 14, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 31 December 1899, A1900, J. A. Smart.
- ²³ NAC, RG 10, v. 1626. Indian Commission to Agent Lucas, Memo Report of Mr. Inspector McGibbon for year ending 21st March, 1894, 12 May 1894.
- ²⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 1641, Lucas to Commissioner, Monthly Report, Reply to Inspector's Report May 1893. See also: Canada. House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 14, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 31st December 1892, A 1893 and NAC, RG 10, v. 1626, Paget for Indian Commissioner to IASR, 19 April 1893.
- ²⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 1642, Indian Agent McNeill (?) to Commissioner, Monthly Report For March, 7 April 1896.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, Lucas to Commissioner, Monthly Report for March, 2 April 1895. The fear of whitewashing house interiors was later described in *Ibid.*, McNeill to Commissioner, Monthly Report for April, 8 May 1896.
- ²⁷ CHC, *SP*, No. 14, DIA Annual Report, A1890, Reed, 129.
- ²⁸ Based on NAC, RG 10, v. 1642.
- ²⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 3811, f. 54,549. Sketch map of Roachmane's Camp at Chief Big Wolf's Village.
- ³⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 3951, f. 133,379. Roachmane's comments in Minutes of Meeting held by Mr. Forget at the Sarcee Reserve on Friday August 23, 1895.
- ³¹ WA, *Letter Leaflet*, 5, (10), 1900, 339.
- ³² NAC, RG 10, v. 1641, Lucas to Commissioner, 3 March 1893.

- ³³ CHC, *SP*, No. 12, DIA, Annual Report, A1889, A. I. Macrae, 143.
- ³⁴
- ³⁵ CHC, *SP*, No. 14, A1890, Returns Showing Crops Sown and Harvested by Individual Indians in Sarcee Agency, Season of 1889, 276-277.
- ³⁶ Based on: CHC, *SP*, No. 18, DIA Annual Report, A1891, Return Showing Crops Sown and Harvested by Individual Indians on Sarcee Agency, Season of 1891, 299.
- ³⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 1640, Lucas to Commissioner, Report for June, 10 July 1892.
- ³⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 3843, f. 72,695, McGibbon Report 1890, 31 December 1890.
- ³⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1625, Extract From The Assistant Commissioner's Report upon Disputes between Mr. Agent Cornish and Mr. J. J. English, Issued on the Sarcee Reserve. 28 June 1890.
- ⁴⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 3797, f. 47,818, Cornish to Indian Commissioner, Monthly Report, 28 February 1890.
- ⁴¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1642, Lucas to Commissioner, Monthly Report for June, 15 July 1895.
- ⁴² NAC, RG 10, v. 1640, Lucas to Commissioner, Monthly Report for July, 4 August 1892.
- ⁴³ NAC, RG 10, v. 1145A, Reed to Lucas, 8 November 1891.
- ⁴⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 1626, Forget, Asst. Commissioner to IASR, 21 August 1894.?
- ⁴⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, Forget for Reed to IASR, 7 February 1896.
- ⁴⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 1626, Forget to Reed, 18 November 1895.
- ⁴⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 1641, Lucas to Commissioner, Monthly Report For May, 7 June 1894.
- ⁴⁸ GA, M1839, Sarcee Indian Agency Fonds, Receipts and Issues Book, 1891-1897.
- ⁴⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, Forget to IASR, 18 February 1896.
- ⁵⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 3865, f. 84,813, Reed to DSGIA, 30 November 1891.
- ⁵¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1640, Lucas to Commissioner, Monthly Report, 6 March 1892.
- ⁵² NAC, RG 10, v. 1638, Lucas to Commissioner, 20 September 1891.
- ⁵³ NAC, RG 10, v. 1641, Lucas to Commissioner For March, 5 April 1893.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Lucas To Commissioner, Monthly Report For February, 1 March 1893.
- ⁵⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 1626, Reed to IASR, 10 March 1893.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Reed to IASR, 29 June 1893.
- ⁵⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 1641, Lucas to Reed, 15 July 1893.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.* Lucas informed Reed: "I hope that you will not fuel any of the Sarcees' hunger will breakup the joining very quickly."
- ⁵⁹ GA, M699, Sarcee Indian Agency Fonds, Notes, Lucas to Commissioner?, 16 August 1893.
- ⁶⁰ CHC, *SP*, No. 14, DIA Annual Report, A1890, 82.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶² NAC, RG 10, v. 1641, Lucas to Major Jarvis, Commissioner, North-West Mounted Police, 26 June 1894.
- ⁶³ NAC, RG 10, v. 1625, J. W. McIlree, Superintendent, NWMP to Lucas, 10 July 1892.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 1641, Lucas to Commissioner, Report For March, 5 April 1893.
- ⁶⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 1134, Forget to IASR, 8 September 1892.
- ⁶⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, Forget to IASR, 15 March 1895.
- ⁶⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 1640, Lucas to Commissioner, Monthly Report for August, 8 September 1892.
- ⁶⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1639, Lucas to Commissioner, Monthly Report, 21 October 1891.
- ⁷⁰ NAC, RG 20, v. 1281, f. 297, A. Ross Cuthbert to Indian Commissioner, 11 March 1893.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷² NAC, RG 10, v. 1641, Lucas monthly report for February, 1 March 1894.
- ⁷³ NAC, RG 10, v. 1642, Monthly Report For April 1895, 2 May 1895.
- ⁷⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 1643, Lucas to Commissioner, Monthly Report for October, 6 November 1896.
- ⁷⁵ CHC, *SP*, No. 14, DIA Annual Report, A1896, Lucas, 123.
- ⁷⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, Forget to IASR, 16 July 1895.
- ⁷⁷ GA, M1233, f. 27, "Among The Sarcees," *Calgary Herald*, 1895?

- ⁷⁸ Ibid.
- ⁷⁹ RG 10, v. 2951, f. 133,279, Remarks of Chief Bullhead In Minutes of Meeting Held by Mr. Forget at The Sarcee Reserve on Friday August 23, 1895.
- ⁸⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 3951, f. 33,279, Hayter Reed, Indian Commissioner, Memorandum for the Information of The Acting Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 28 August 1896.
- ⁸¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1644, McNeill to Secretary DIA, 30 August 1897.
- ⁸² Ibid., McNeill to Commissioner, Monthly Report for August, 31 August 1898.
- ⁸³ See, for example, GA, M1234, St. Barnabas Mission Ledger Book, Sarcee, 1895-1919.
- ⁸⁴ UCA, ADC, Box 41, f. 6, Register of Services, St. Barnabas Church 1895-1904. Entry for October 19, 1898.
- ⁸⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 1134, Reed to IASR, Circular 1273, 18 May 1893.
- ⁸⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 1626, Quoted in Forget to IASR, 13 June 1892.
- ⁸⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 1638, Cornish to Commissioner, 31 March 1890.
- ⁸⁸ Ibid.
- ⁸⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1639, Swinford to Commissioner, Monthly Report, December 1890.
- ⁹⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 1626, HWGS to IASR, 6 July 1894 (Reply to Circular 194 26 June 1894).
- ⁹¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1629, Forget to IASR, 20 October 1897 and NAC, RG 10, v. 1629, Secretary to McNeill, Circular, 31 January 1899.
- ⁹² NAC, RG 10, v. 1641, Tims, Report on Schools, April 1893.
- ⁹³ Ibid., Lucas to Commissioner, 17 October 1893.
- ⁹⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 1642, Lucas to Commissioner, Monthly Report For April, 7 May 1894.
- ⁹⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 6338, f. 701-5, pt. 1, Reed to His Lordship The Bishop of Saskatchewan and Calgary, 18 August 1894.
- ⁹⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 1295, Reed to HWGS, 12 July 1895.
- ⁹⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 6338, f. 701-5, pt. 1, Memorandum Accountant DIA to Deputy Superintendent General, 7 June 1894.
- ⁹⁸ J. W. Tims, "Indian Schools," in *Calgary Herald*, 14 August 1895. In GA, M1233, f.27.
- ⁹⁹ H. W. Gibbon-Stocken, Untitled contribution in Anglican Diocese of Calgary, *Report on Indian Missions* (Toronto, 1899), 27.
- ¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 37.
- ¹⁰¹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰² Ibid. The per capita costs were calculated by adding the costs of provisions \$195.54, fuel and light (\$104.50) and laundry (\$48.55) dividing by the number of staff (3) and children (15). This figure of \$19.36 was then added to the cost of clothing and medicine divided by the number of pupils which equalled \$.47. The per capita costs were based on \$19.36 plus .47, which equals \$19.83 per student.
- ¹⁰³ CHC, SP, No. 14, DIA, Annual Report A1894, Lucas, 202.
- ¹⁰⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 6001, f. 1-1-1, pt. 1, Vankoughnet, DSGIA to J. A. Macdonald, SGIA, 26 August 1887.
- ¹⁰⁵ See: NAC, RG 10, v. 1626, Forget to IASR, 4 July 1894.
- ¹⁰⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 1134, Reed to IASR, Curricular 1273, 18 May 1892.
- ¹⁰⁷ See: NAC, RG 10, v. 1626, Forget to IASR, 4 July 1894.
- ¹⁰⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 1134, Reed to IASR, Curricular 1273, 18 May 1892.
- ¹⁰⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1641, Lucas to Commissioner, Monthly Report 7 May 1894.
- ¹¹⁰ RG 10, v. 6001, f. 1-1-1, pt. 1, Copy of a Report of The Privy Council Approved by His Excellency The Governor General in Council, P. C. 2043, 1 September 1891.
- ¹¹¹ McMaster University Archives (MUA), Anglican Diocese of Niagara, Women's Auxiliary, Box Z(2), W. A. ACW Series, Minutes of a Meeting of the Niagara Diocesan Board of the WA Held on Thursday Dec. 8th 1892 in The School House of All Saint's Church, Hamilton.
- ¹¹² See: I. A. L. Getty, "The Failure of The Native Church Policy of the CMS in The North-West," *Canadian Plains Studies*, 3, 1974, 19-33.
- ¹¹³ GA, M1356, f. 12, Baring-Gould to Tims, 5 March 1897. Also in: UBA, A/107.

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- ¹¹⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 1638, Cornish to Commissioner, 30 April 1898.
- ¹¹⁵ UCA, ADC, Box 41, f. 6, Register of Services St. Barnabas Church, 1895-1930, Entries for August 2 and August 23, 1896.,
- ¹¹⁶ CHC, SP, No. 14, DIA Annual Report, A1897, Lucas, 202.
- ¹¹⁷ CHC, SP, No. 14, DIA Annual Report, A1896, Lucas, 78.
- ¹¹⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 1060, Lucas to Forget, 18 March 1896.
- ¹¹⁹ Ibid.
- ¹²⁰ Ibid., Forget to J. J. M. Lestanc, OMI, Calgary, 3 July 1896.
- ¹²¹ University of Birmingham Archives (UBA), Church Missionary Society Archives (CMS), Venerable Archdeacon Tims, "Sarcee Reserve," in *Extracts From The Annual Letters of The Missionaries For the Year 1898* (London, 1899), February 1899.
- ¹²² WA, *Letter Leaflet*, Mrs. L. Patterson, "Visit To Our North-West Missions," 243.
- ¹²³ NAC, RG 10, v. 1639, Lucas to Commissioner, Monthly Report for August, 20 September 1891.
- ¹²⁴ Ibid.
- ¹²⁵ Ibid., Swinford to Indian Commissioner, 30 January 1891.
- ¹²⁶ Gonzalez and Fernandez, "Chicano History: Transcending Cultural Models," 1994, 481.

CHAPTER FIVE
A COMMUNITY APART- EDUCATION AND THE FIRST
GENERATION OF TSUU T'INA STUDENTS 1895-1900

“...To a certain extent in an Indian’s advancement there exists but little doubt that he should be kept in communities, but as soon as that stage is reached and it should be at an early period, he should be brought to compete with his fellow white; but in order that this may be done effectively he must be taught the English language. So long as he keeps his native tongue he will remain a community apart.”¹

David Laird, Indian Commissioner, 1896

Introduction - Ideas of Home and School in The Tsuu T’ina Community

The Indian Department at the turn of the 20th century viewed the Indian boarding school as the quintessential vehicle of progress. The school and its operation provided a model for the Indian home and community. Improvements in the conditions and furnishings of Indian houses in communities, such as the Tsuu T’ina Reserve, were treated as indications of progress. David Laird, the Indian Commissioner, reflected in 1900 there was “no single feature from which more can be gathered relative to the progress made by Indians in their advance towards civilization than ... the character of their dwellings.”²

The idealized model of the school provided a set of values that could be contrasted with those found in the home environment. The evidence of progress found by government officials in improved living and material circumstances, however, contrasted with the beliefs of native people regarding the occupancy of dwellings and the spirits of the dead. Laird maintained, “so long as the superstition which keeps an Indian from inhabiting a house in which a death has occurred prevails he is not likely to go to much expense or trouble to erect what he feels he may have at any time to pull down or abandon.”³

The continuing influence of the Social Purity Movement in Indian policy was reflected in ongoing concerns for improving the immediate physical environment of native people and in the belief that health was integrally linked with morality and the social environment. The health of a community was directly reflected in housing conditions and

the model of a “healthy community” was contained in the structures, routines and practices of the school. In his annual report in 1900, James A. Smart, the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, noted, “what constituted right and wrong entertained by the Indian are formed or deeply affected by his environment.”⁴ It was often difficult to discern whether officials were describing the “character” of Indian people or the conditions of their homes. Frank Oliver, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in 1906, for example, referred to the “character of a dwelling ... [as] intimately connected with the condition of health” of its occupants.⁵

Creating “Communities” Within Communities

Indian people were considered to be in an “untutored condition” rather than as morally deficient.⁶ Smart suggested the “social tone” of Indians would be improved in “all directions” through education and contact with “an improved quality of settlement.”⁷ Concerns of the Indian Department with improving the Indian environment provided the rationale for an increasingly protectionist philosophy. The Deputy Superintendent referred to the necessity of protecting Indians “against their own weaknesses” and from [*the*] “aggression on the part of the stronger race” while alluding at the same time to the ultimate goal of citizenship.⁸ Protection of Indians also included the safeguarding of reserve lands.’

The deferment of citizenship for native people meant that justification had to be found for the massive expenditures of the Indian Department. The overarching goals of Indian education therefore had to be reformulated within the setting of Indian reserves in Canada. The Department of Indian Affairs abandoned the idea of integrating Indian people, who had been schooled, into Canadian society in the first decade of the 20th century. There were new concerns about the integration of ex-pupils into reserve communities. Frank Pedley, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, stressed the need for protecting Indian

students from the “retrogressive influence of home life once they returned to their home reserves.”¹⁰ There was also awareness among government officials of the intergenerational differences in beliefs and values might arise among native people due to the schooling process. Pedley commented in this regard on the potential problems arising from “inculcating habits, tastes and ideas cultivated to produce unfitness or discontent with a subsequent environment from which the prospect of escape is most remote.”¹¹

The government had to find a solution for delaying the integration of the new generation of educated native people into mainstream society. Indian Commissioner David Laird suggested the prevention of ex-pupils from “lapsing into the barbarous ways of the bands to which they belong might be solved by settling them into colonies apart from the reserves.”¹² The creation of separate colonies of ex-pupils, quite literally “communities within communities,” preserved the idea of the eventual integration of native people into Canadian society, while at the same time, maintained the existing segregation of native people.

Laird’s idea of creating separate communities or colonies for ex-pupils also allowed for reduced expenditures. Native education now centered in reserve communities would facilitate the closing of native industrial schools that were expensive to operate. New subtleties appeared in Indian Department records describing the proposed reforms. The “elevation of the Indian race” was transferred from the responsibility of government officials to the graduates of the schools. New colonies of students were to become “centers of improving influences for the elevation of [*the Indian*] race.”¹³

There was considerable debate over what form the new schooling should take with discussion centered on the relative merits of industrial school versus boarding school training. Hayter Reed, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs had proposed in

1894 that stronger healthier children should attend the industrial while weaker children should be placed in boarding schools.¹⁴ The policy of the Indian department was to retain pupils from the age of six in boarding schools once compulsory education was legislated until the age of 13 or 14 then to send them to an industrial school where the rudimentary education they obtained could be augmented through some trade or knowledge of carpentry and other skills.

Instruction in agriculture was the basis for learning in the Indian schools. In 1896 all principals of industrial and boarding schools were provided with copies of *Our Canadian Prairie* and *Prairie Agriculture* as textbooks for the teaching of agriculture. The Commissioner maintained these texts would facilitate the process whereby all “male pupils should receive practical instruction in this industry and the girls where opportunity exists should be taught dairying and the care of poultry.”¹⁵

Farming and cattle raising were viewed as the great hope for the future economic independence of Indian people in the West. The benefits of training in agricultural enterprise, particularly cattle raising, in the western provinces were seen in two ways: first, as a means of “maintenance,” and, second, as a “medium for civilizing and creating habits of industry.”¹⁶ Aggregate earnings of individuals on Indian reserves formed the backdrop to comparisons drawn between those who adhered to “tribal customs” and others who availed themselves of the opportunities provided in agriculture.¹⁷ With the uncertainties of agriculture, the Department of Indian Affairs continued to promote stockraising as the “most reliable” and best-suited industry in the “transition from savage to civilized life” in the West.¹⁸

Department officials as early as 1900 observed that the Indian boarding schools were supplanting industrial schools instead of acting as feeders to them.¹⁹ The Indian

Commissioner commented in his annual report in 1905 that the training of children in some of the boarding schools was almost equal to that given in the industrial schools. Laird suggested students from industrial school would most likely be employed in agriculture upon their return to the reserves where trades such as tinsmithing and printing learned in industrial schools would be of little use.²⁰ There was never any intent on the part of the Indian Department from the beginning to offer other educational opportunities or higher education for Indian students. Ebenezer McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, made this quite clear in a statement for the North-West in 1897. His view was that Indian children should receive a “good serviceable education.” The Indian Department, however, should not aim at higher education for the pupils of its schools.²¹

The operation of industrial schools came under scrutiny during parliamentary debates. During a discussion of the estimates for Indian schools in 1904, Clifford Sifton, Minister of The Interior, questioned the utility of keeping Indian men and women in the schools until they were as old as 25 years of age. Sifton argued boarding schools were a more economical and less artificial method of “improving the condition of the Indians.”²² The Indian Department continued to follow an often contradictory set of policies pertaining to native education. In 1897, the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs commented, “the Department had little, if any knowledge as to what good result[*ed*] from the outlay from Parliamentary appropriations for Indian education.”²³ But inevitably, officials suggested it was Indian parents who were the main obstacle to children being provided with the advantages of education.

Community Health and Indian Schools

Concerns with Indian health in Canada similarly were founded in an emergent scientism, the developing Public Health Movement and the application of the principles of

scientific medicine to “remedy” what was defined as the Indian problem. The broader conflict between forces of secularization and the religious establishment was played out in debates regarding the control and regulation of student health in the context of the boarding schools and in the attribution of causality for disease transmission to the home environment. This was particularly true of the Tsuu T’ina because a looming medical crisis placed them very much at the center of the debate and drew national attention to their plight. There were, however, overlapping concerns of Church and State that were expressed at the local level in common attitudes which held the boarding schools to be centers where health, imperiled in reserve homes, could be restored and safeguarded.

The Indian Department had long maintained a policy of official neutrality with regard to the roles religious denominations play in Indian communities. Decision-making was left to the local level with the consent required by the majority of male adults on each reserve before any new building could take place.²⁴ Commencing in 1903, there were growing concerns relating to Indian health and a purposiveness in government reports pertaining to the action that should be taken. In his annual report for 1903, James A. Smart noted there had been a “heavy mortality” among the children during the year but said that this had been “mainly attributable to the prevalence of malignant diseases” and “the usual carelessness of parents.”²⁵

The Department, however, defended the view in some circles that Indians were a dying race by stating that the “facts and statistics fail to support this view of the situation.”²⁶ There were questions about the possible inherent defects “whether mental, moral or physical in the Indians’ constitution” that would prevent them from living under “civilized conditions.”²⁷ Departmental officials noted that the suitability of Indian education had been

questioned many times with regard to devising educational strategies that would best suit children “for their several environments, their present requirements and future prospects.”²⁸

A General Medical Superintendent was appointed in 1906 to monitor the health of Indians and of new immigrants. In the context of Indian health, Dr. Peter Bryce was assigned to deal specifically with the presence of tuberculosis and scrofula, a form of tuberculosis that affected the glands of the neck. The belief that there was an intimate link between home environment and health was reflected in the vocabulary used to describe Indian people generally and Indian students in particular. Departmental officials suggested that abnormal death rates among native people occurred mainly among those who were in the process of transforming from the “aboriginal” to the “civilized environment” and that “some forms of disease then engendered long outlived their immediately provoking causes.”²⁹

The Tsuu T’ina drew special attention in the Annual Report of the Indian Department in 1909 as one of the bands in which the death rate continued to exceed the birth rate due to the high occurrence of tuberculosis.³⁰ The reformulation of what constituted education for the Tsuu T’ina and other native groups in Canada required that official statistics be kept about the lives of ex-pupils and signs of their progress in relation to their community of origin. These statistics also included information about the health status of former students. While official records of school attendance had been kept from the early 1880s on, the fates of those who had recently graduated from day, boarding and industrial schools came under scrutiny with increased health concerns and the requirements for economy in government spending.

The Establishment of St. Barnabas Home

The first residential school, St. Barnabas Boarding School, was established on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve in 1894. It was a log structure located adjacent to the mission on eight acres of land in the valley of Fish Creek (Plate 12). There was a one-acre garden. By 1899, it could accommodate 30 pupils. The school consisted of a boys' wing and a girls' wing separated by the schoolroom, dining room and kitchen. The boys' section measured 24 feet by 50 feet and included a workroom, lavatory, storeroom, office, bedroom and schoolroom downstairs. The upper story consisted of the boys' dormitory, storage room and a room for clothes. The girls' wing measured 22 feet by 24 feet and included a workroom, lavatory, sitting room and bedroom downstairs and a girls' dormitory upstairs. The dining room was 128 feet by 25 feet and the kitchen 18 feet by 18 feet.

The confinement of students in the school redefined the use of reserve space by creating a limited area in which formal schooling took place and in which the movement of students was highly regulated and controlled. The design of interior of the school provided spaces in which schooling, work and recreation now took place. The redefinition of social space for the students also extended outward from the boarding school into the eight acre site that was defined as school land. There was a one acre garden and by August of 1894 Henry Stocken had enclosed 20 acres of land as a playground and as a pasture for boarding his horses.³¹ Recreational activities during the summer months extended beyond these boundaries and included picnics at Fish Creek and the Elbow River Crossing where the Sacred Sun Dance formerly was held.

The idea of boarding children in schools was an accepted practice for middle class European parents in the 19th century. Indian Department employees assigned to Indian Reserves and settlements often followed this custom. In 1887, Indian Agent de Balinhard had

sent his 9 year old son to a Boarding School from which he returned only during the holidays.³² Missionaries, like Tims, commonly sent their children to church-run facilities or educated them separately in their own homes. In March 1904, John William Tims wrote to the CMS Secretary, “we have been trying to educate our children out here but we have found it so difficult to get governesses that we are giving up in despair and I want to know if it will be possible for us to send our daughter who is now turned twelve years to the children’s home at Linchfield.”³³ Winifred Tims, the daughter of John William Tims, was educated for four years at the CMS School Linchfield, England while Tims’ two sons attended private school in Calgary.

In 1895, John William Tims replaced Henry Stocken as the resident missionary on the Tsuu T’ina Reserve. The English-born Tims travelled west in 1883. He was the first Anglican missionary at the Blackfoot Reserve where his tenure was one of controversy. In 1895, there were threats to Tims’ life because he had refused to release children from detention in the reserve boarding school. One of the children later died while in the school. Tims would later blame the problems he encountered on the “plotting on the part of Roman Catholics.”³⁴ Tims asked for a permanent transfer to the Sarcee Mission in April of 1896 claiming that the work of the Sarcee Mission was “in its infancy.”³⁵

Henry Gibbon-Stocken subsequently was transferred from the Tsuu T’ina Reserve to the Blackfoot Mission. Tims, upon his appointment, began an aggressive campaign for evangelizing the Tsuu T’ina population and for incarcerating the students in St. Barnabas School. Whether it was to compensate for previous shortcomings or not, Tims approach was far more forceful than that of his predecessors. While the Stocken brothers had delivered a church service once a week, Tims now delivered two services on Sunday and one

on Wednesday of each week.³⁶ In 1900, he began taking another service at the Calgary Industrial School preaching to the students in Blackfoot.³⁷

St. Barnabas Home had accommodation for 30 pupils but this total was never reached. The Department of Indian Affairs capped the enrollment at sixteen pupils. The Indian Agent was instructed that “everything should be done to obtain the consent of parents sending children to school for the first time.”³⁸ Tsuu T’ina parents were asked to sign a consent form releasing their children for admission to St. Barnabas Boarding School but it is clear that their interpretations of what this contract meant were different from those of the Indian Department. Gibbon-Stocken reported in 1895 that four boys wanted to leave the school after a short time and that he felt compelled to concede because this was one of the conditions that he had agreed to when parents released their children for admission to the school. The Indian Department concurred that “faith must be kept with the parents.”³⁹

The high mortality of children in the Tsuu T’ina community factored heavily in the decision of parents to enroll the children in the school. Parents needed surviving older children for economic production in the family and the absence of children was keenly felt in the family units. Two boys, David Wolf Carrier and Dick Weazel were very typical of their generation. The father of David Wolf Carrier placed his son in the St. Barnabas School in 1894 when the boy was eight years of age. Wolf Carrier was reluctant at first to release his son and would only agree that he be placed in the school for several months. While the Indian Agent McNeill described Wolf Carrier as stubborn and opposed to change, he neglected to point out that Wolf Carrier had lost three children by 1895 and that David was his last surviving child.⁴⁰

In August of 1895, Wolf Carrier removed his son so that he could accompany him to trade in Calgary.⁴¹ It was clear that children like David Wolf Carrier also were needed for

economic production within the family. Throughout 1896, Wolf Carrier constantly asked for the release of his son to help him hunt and to herd his horses.⁴² The transfer of the boy to the Calgary Industrial School in 1901 caused his father further economic hardship. There was also the concern that the child was in ill health and could not be returned home easily to be cared for. David Wolf Carrier died in April of 1902 of pulmonary tuberculosis. Agent McNeill noted that "David was a very promising lad and in general good favour with everybody and the Indians feel his death very keenly."⁴³ In July of 1898, Chief Bullhead requested the release of his niece's son, Dick Weazel to help him tend his horses and work generally for him.⁴⁴ Dick Weazel, was enrolled in the Reserve school between 1894 when he was 9. He stayed in St. Barnabas School despite Chief Bullhead's request until 1898 when he was enrolled in the Calgary Industrial School. He died in 1900 also of pulmonary tuberculosis.

There were also ongoing problems with children not returning to the boarding school after their brief summer break and with the general reluctance of parents to consent to their enrollment even if their children expressed an unwillingness to go to school. John William Tims, who became principal of St. Barnabas School in 1898, found it difficult to obtain all the children who were of school age. In 1899, he informed the Indian Department in his annual report that "the school is not as full as it might be considering the number of young children (10) roaming around the camp."⁴⁵

Little had changed in the pattern of school enrollment by 1902. Tims complained it was a pity that the school was not permitted to fill to its capacity. He noted in his annual report that, "there [*were*] so many children of school age on the reserve who at present are running wild."⁴⁶ In 1907, the Inspector found that the boys absented themselves from the

school whenever it suited them. He reported that the building was unfit for school purposes because as an old building it could not be heated properly or made modern in any way.

From the establishment of the boarding school, it was clear that the initial expectation of parents was that their children would be returned upon their request. When the school was opened in April of 1894, Henry Stocken obtained the consent of parents upon the condition that the children would be released at the end of June.⁴⁷ Long periods of separation were very painful for children and their parents. The long school tenure was deemed necessary for students so that “their character [*should*] have been sufficiently formed as to ensure as much as possible against their returning to the uncivilized mode of life.”⁴⁸ In 1897, the first four students were sent to the Calgary Industrial School located six miles from the Tsuu T’ina Reserve. The removal of the older male children was very hard for their families. In 1898, Agent McNeill requested that the Northwest Mounted Police remove three or four Sarcee women camped at the Calgary Industrial School to be close to their children.⁴⁹

Once children were placed in the boarding school, the annuities they were paid were sent back to the Department of Indian Affairs for deposit in the Savings Account of the Tsuu T’ina Band. This practice was followed despite the strong objections of parents who now depended upon the annuity monies to sustain themselves and their families. The Department of Indian Affairs maintained their policy stipulating, “the desirability of inducing Indian parents to allow the annuity money of their children who are attending industrial or boarding schools to be funded for their benefit.”⁵⁰

The procurement of students for the school required the cooperation of the Indian Agent and the resident Missionary but the relationship between Agent McNeill and Tims was not amicable. The Department of Indian Affairs in an 1894 circular stipulated that new

pupils were to be examined by a Medical officer prior to admission.⁵¹ Even if parents signed consent forms, there were no guarantees that students would be enrolled in St. Barnabas School. In 1901 Tims reported, although the parents of five children had signed releases, the children were still not in the Boarding School because the parents were unwilling to let them go. The Indian Commissioner in response to recruitment problems suggested that the rations of the parents be cut to induce them to bring their children into the school.⁵²

Local officials resorted to stringent and inhumane measures to recruit Tsuu T'ina students. In 1901, Agent McNeill withheld rations from the entire band for 11 days in order to obtain five pupils. While the Indian Commissioner indicated that rations should be withheld from only the families of the students involved, McNeill mistook the directive and applied it to the entire band.⁵³ Bull Collar, the Indian Scout, informed the Superintendent of the Northwest Mounted Police that, as a result, "there [*was*] some trouble on the Sarcee Reserve."⁵⁴ Some parents decided not to comply despite the withholding of their rations and Agent McNeill's refusal to let them sell hay in Calgary.⁵⁵

Commissioner Laird expressed surprise that these measures had been taken by McNeill and applied to the whole band. One week later, McNeill was able to place five new pupils in the boarding school. He expressed regret that he had to resort to the extreme measure of stopping rations to the entire band but not because of the hardship his actions had caused for Tsuu T'ina parents. He was admonished by the Indian department because the withholding of rations might drive the Tsuu T'ina off the reserve and might prove "more objectionable than the continuance of their feeding at the public expense."⁵⁶

Tsuu T'ina Education in Practice

Inspection reports of St. Barnabas School were generally favourable. The Tsuu T'ina students were depicted as being "well-clothed, healthy-looking and well-nourished."⁵⁷

Inspector Wadsworth informed the Indian Department in his annual report in 1900 that the school room was “well lit and furnished with patent desks, blackboards, maps, lesson, cards, a teacher’s desk and table and also an organ.” Inspector Wadsworth reported that each class according to its standard gave a successful repetition of the work in spelling, meanings, arithmetic, mental arithmetic and geography. The children had a good general knowledge of Canadian geography but were reluctant to speak out in class. In his view, the children did not learn from their parents like white children and were dependent upon the teacher entirely for instruction.⁵⁸ In 1900, Wadsworth noted that all of the children “read well” and had a “wide general knowledge with some specific knowledge as regarded this country.”⁵⁹

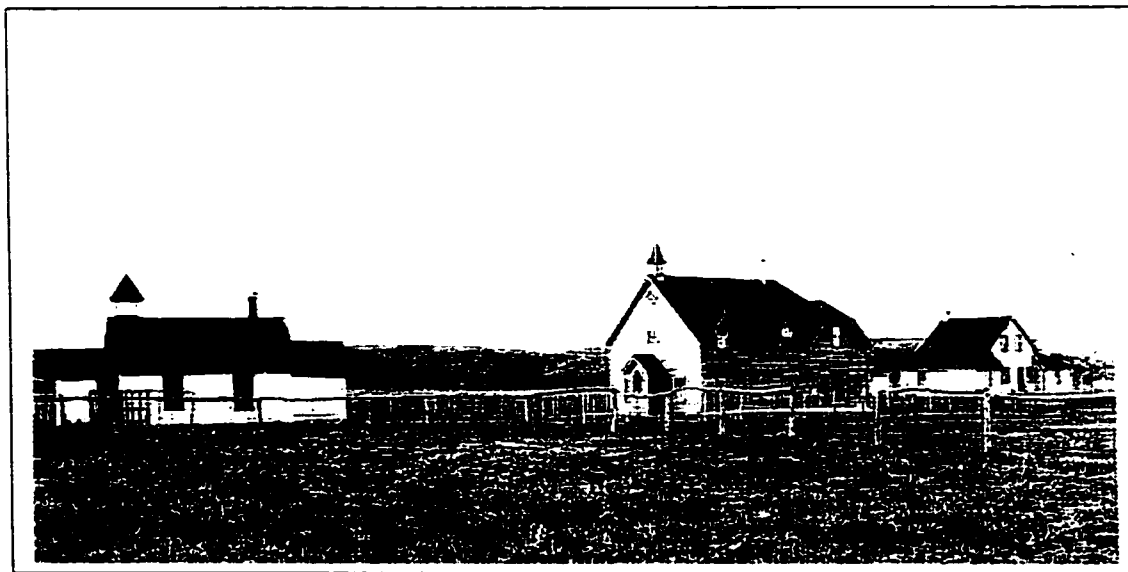
The labour required within St. Barnabas School mainly was performed by Tsuu T’ina students. All work in the school was tied to an industrial routine that required students to contribute to the maintenance of the school six days per week. It was therefore not surprising that a clock to regulate school and work time was one of the first purchases made for the school. In 1898, Principal Tims informed the Indian Department that “the boys and girls do almost all the work of the Homes and gardens themselves and thus save a good deal of expense” in the operation of the school.⁶⁰ The distinction between work and education was therefore blurred. The Indian Department by 1894 required that all principals of Indian boarding school record the type of trade or trades taught to individual students and the number of hours each was performed.⁶¹ The boys who were first enrolled in St. Barnabas Boarding School were issued spades, potato forks, hoes, pails, sprinklers and wheelbarrows as part of their “school equipment.”⁶²

Labour, particularly the work performed by school boys, in the context of the school was given a “sacred” connotation (Plate 13). This form of “muscular Christianity” that linked work with spiritual enlightenment found a logical extension in “manly sports” such as

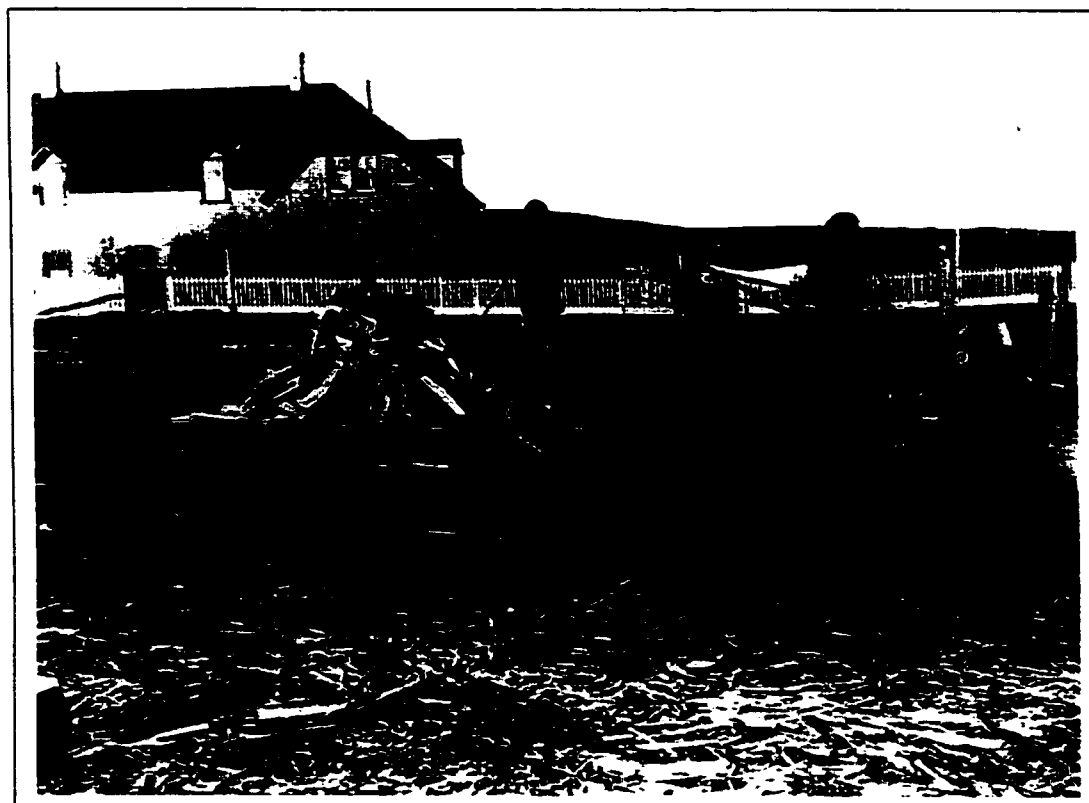
cricket, baseball, and football that boys were encouraged to play. Girls, on the other hand, took frequent walks with the matron and were kept, as Tims noted, “healthfully employed.”⁶³ A sub-culture of femininity was defined within the mission with training for domestic work as its primary focus. Their work within the school was primarily centered in the kitchen and in the sewing room. The Tsuu T’ina girls were required to make their own dresses, patchwork quilts, socks, stockings, mitts and other articles of clothing and mend the clothing of the boys.

The emphasis that Hayter Reed placed on manual labour without the aid of machinery carried over into the context of work for the school. Boys were required to cut a portion of the crop of the school each year with the “cradle, sickle and scythe,” because in Reed’s view, “it [*was*] indispensable that they should be able to reap without the benefits of expensive machinery.”⁶⁴ The greater burden of the work fell upon the shoulders of the older boys. In his annual report for 1897, Tims reported that the senior boys had considerable outside work to do including the maintenance of a three-quarter acre garden, attending horses and cows, chopping woods and hauling water.⁶⁵ Religious training was incorporated into all aspects of learning. Staff members were encouraged to take every opportunity of instructing students in what Tims referred to as “by precept and example.”⁶⁶ Pupils attended daily prayers and instruction in scriptures. Tims commented that “our duty to God and our neighbour is impressed upon the pupils in and out of the classroom.”⁶⁷

By the fall of 1897, there were seventeen children - ten boys and seven girls - graded to Standard IV - in the boarding school on the Tsuu T’ina Reserve (Plates 14 and 15). Inspector Wadsworth found the children possessed a “good deal of general information” and that they were well-clothed and nourished with “good order throughout.”⁶⁸ The Inspector noted that the girls under Miss Crawford were taught domestic work including



**Plate 12: First Anglican Church, Sarcee Boarding School and Mission House, c. 1895
(GA #NA 192-5)**



**Plate 13: Tsuu T'ina Boys Working Outside Sarcee Boarding School, c. 1895
(GA #NA 21-9)**

knitting, sewing, mending and darning patchwork quilts while the boys did their own laundry work as well as baking and cooking under the direction of Miss Symonds, the School Cook.⁶⁹ Boys did all of the stable work, planting and dairying for the school (Plate 15). They were encouraged to learn how to wash and mend their own clothes. All of the boys regardless of their age and size were required to work in the kitchen garden but the burden of work fell upon the shoulders of the older boys. When the only two senior boys were drafted into the Industrial School in 1900, Tims complained, “we have practically no one to do any work.”⁷⁰ The remaining three boys had all their time taken up doing chores in and out of the school. Girls were instructed in cooking, washing and ironing and other household duties.

The teaching staff of St. Barnabas School was required to follow the Programme of Studies that had been introduced by the Indian Department in 1894 together with the first set of official rules and regulations for Indian Schools. The regulations included a provision that the Indian Agent was empowered as a truant officer for the reserve.⁷¹ The new Programme of Studies placed a strong emphasis on the development of Indian character. Inspector J. A. Macrae, the author of the Programme, maintained that “if education does not mean character development it means nothing.”⁷² The Programme of Studies drafted by Macrae was based on increasing levels of competence in five subject areas - English, general knowledge, writing, arithmetic and geography. School studies were organized according to six standards. General knowledge progressed from “facts concerning things in school and developing what is already known” in Standard I to “social relations and seats of government in Canada” and “commerce and exchange of products” in the last standard.⁷³

There was very little mention of actual school work *per se* in the reports by Tims other than the fact that the children enjoyed reading. Swimming, riding and fishing in summer and tobogganing and skating in the winter provided recreation for the students. The



Plate 14: First Pupils at Anglican Mission School, c. 1910 (GA #NA 159-1)



Plate 15: Generation One of Tsuu T'ina Students with Sarcee Mission Staff and Reverend John William Tims on right, 1895 (GA #NA 1020-18)

girls were taken for walks and were encouraged to take an interest in flower gardening. Inspectors found that the class work of students in the St. Barnabas school was generally above average but that boys who were under the age of 12 were not so well up on their lessons. Inspector McGibbon noted that “the reason given was that they were not so regular in the classroom as the girls having to attend to outside work.”⁷⁴

The number of students enrolled at any one time reflected a variety of factors. There were caps on the per capita grants paid to the school based on the amount of air space available to individual students. This had been a long standing policy of the Indian Department in allotting grants to Indian schools. Figures for St. Barnabas School indicate that only 61 to 68 percent of eligible students were enrolled between 1900 and 1910. (Appendix 3.1).⁷⁵ While department officials did not have accurate figures regarding the number of children of school age on the reserve, the data that are available for age groups between ages 6 and 15 indicate a relatively low enrollment of overall students. The low enrollment of students contributed to the operating deficit incurred during most school years. In 1903, Inspector McGibbon noted that the school had a deficit of \$285.62 but that that it was impossible to avoid a deficit with so small a number of pupils.⁷⁶

Inspection reports for the St. Barnabas School were generally of the same tenor. Improvements were noted generally in the reading and mathematical abilities of the students. The structural condition of the Boarding School, however, deteriorated rapidly in the first decade of the 20th century. Inspector Wadsworth reported in 1900, only six years after the structure was built, that the foundation of the main building had sunk owing to a cave-in of the kitchen cellar.⁷⁷ The reserve church was also in disrepair. In 1907, Tims described the log building as rotten and out of shape so cold in the winter that frequently the sacramental bread was “froze hard before it can be administered.”⁷⁸ While the condition of the boarding

school continued to deteriorate, Tims turned his attention to raising funds for the building of a new church.

As early as 1899, departmental officials had expressed their concern that the principals of boarding schools and teachers of day schools were somewhat “inclined to retard the grading system.”⁷⁹ Older students, particularly boys, were retained because they were able to reduce the cost of school maintenance. It was possible for church officials to partially dispense with outside labour. In 1900, the Indian Commissioner informed Agent McNeill that the majority of the pupils, between 10 and 12, of the Sarcee Boarding School were over the age of 12 and should be transferred to the Calgary Industrial School.⁸⁰ Tims who claimed that he did not want to break faith with the parents opposed the creation of a large number of vacancies in the school.⁸¹

Tims also complained to the Indian Department in 1901 that since two senior boys had been “drafted” into the Calgary Industrial School, there was no one to do any work and that the three boys who can do anything have “all their time taken up doing chores in and out of the school.”⁸² There was only one response that the older pupils could make to the heavy workload. Tims noted that the three boys found the work heavy and to show their disapproval had taken to running away “at every opportunity.”⁸³ He complained further that the school grant did not allow for the hiring of an Indian worker to assist with work about the school.⁸⁴ Tims’ influence continued to be felt by the Tsuu T’ina boys because he often held evening service in the Blackfoot language at the Calgary Industrial School.

Yearly comparisons of enrollment of Tsuu T’ina students by grade level confirm this practice. Taking the enrollments of students in 1899-1900 and projecting them over a ten year period, it is evident that the rate of student advancement was very slow, even allowing for the increasing mortality of students that was recorded. It was unusual for students to

advance into the higher standards V and VI (Table 13).⁸⁵ If they were advanced to a higher grade, they would remain at this level for several years. It was very unusual for Tsuu T'ina students to attain Standard V or VI in the boarding school. Being retained in either the Calgary Industrial School or St. Barnabas School was intolerable for many of the older students. Indian Agent Lucas commented that many of the "bigger lads ... make themselves as obnoxious as possible in the school in the hope of tiring out the patience of the teacher and getting turned out to rejoining their friends."⁸⁶ He recommended that all older boys be transferred to the Industrial School.

Table 13: Grade Advancement of Tsuu T'ina Students 1899-1909*

Date	St. I	St. II	St. III	St. IV	St. V	St. VI
1899-1900	5		3	6	1	
1900-1901 (normal)	4	5		3	6	1
1900-1901 (actual)	4	3	3	6		
1901-1902 (normal)	4	4	5		3	6
1901-1902 (actual)	4	3	2	6		
1902-1903 (normal)	6	4	4	5		3
1902-1903 (actual)	6	4	4	1		
1903-1904 (normal)	5	6	4	4	5	
1903-1904 (actual)	5		4	4	2	
1904-1905 (normal)	4	5		4	4	2
1904-1905 (actual)	4	4	4	4	1	
1905-1906 (normal)	6	4	5		4	4
1905-1906 (actual)	6		8	1	4	
1906-1907 (normal)	7	6	4	5		4
1906-1907 (actual)	7		2	4	2	
1907-1908 (normal)	7	7	6	4	5	
1907-1908 (actual)	7		2	4	2	
1908-1909 (normal)	6	7	7	6	4	5
1908-1909 (actual)	6		2	2	2	

*normal refers to the pattern of grade advance if all students enrolled progressed to the next grade.

Girls were more confined than the boys in the boarding school. While it was official departmental policy to discharge the girls at age sixteen, church officials regarded it as their duty to protect them. In 1906, Percy Stocken informed representatives of the Women's

Auxiliary or “WA” of the Anglican Church of Canada, that “You will be glad to know that the girls in this school never go home, but remain here all the time from the day they enter until they go to a home of their own.”⁸⁷ It was not unusual for girls to marry out of the school or to be retained until an eligible marriage partner was found. Annie One Spot, for example, was discharged in 1904 at age 18 to marry James Starlight Sr.⁸⁸ Girls also ran away from the school complaining of the poor conditions but they often met with harsh punishment. In 1902, Polly Going To The Crees, for example, ran away from the school. She subsequently was arrested and Tims was able to get her released from the Police Barracks in Calgary.⁸⁹

In another case, one of the students in the Calgary Industrial School stole a horse and was arrested and escorted back to the School. Chief Bullhead and his councillors expressed their disapproval that the boy was compelled to remain in the school against the wishes of his parents.⁹⁰ He was discharged from the Calgary Industrial School at age 20 having spent over seven years in the school. McNeill also complained about the conduct of the older young men who had been students in St. Barnabas Boarding School. In 1897, McNeill noted that there were four young men in the NWMP guard room two of whom had been ex-pupils in St. Barnabas School. He noted that “the School Boys on this Reserve give more trouble than the remainder of the Band put together.”⁹¹

The Tsuu T’ina Population and Community Health

The Tsuu T’ina population continued to steadily decrease after 1900. The total population of 287 in 1890 was reduced to 205 in 1900. The population rebounded from 202 persons in 1905 to 205 individuals in 1910. Crude death rates between 1900 and 1910 exceeded the crude birth rates for the period (Appendix 1.1). In 1903, the Indian Agent was able to report the first increase in the population in 15 years.⁹² The overall rate of natural

increase showed a slight recovery from minus 63 persons per 1000 to minus 3.9 persons per 1000 in 1910. Net migration rates in the interval between 1900 and 1910 decreased from 2.4 persons per 1000 to -26 persons per 1000 in 1905 to 24 in 1910. In terms of actual numbers of persons, the pattern was generally the same with several women marrying out of the band in each year but this did not account for the overall diminishing numbers.

From the time of the establishment of the boarding school in 1894, there were reports pertaining to the poor health of the students and of the sickness among the adults of the Tsuu T'ina reserve in general. Lucas attributed these problems to the permissiveness of parents in allowing their children to go out in inclement weather insufficiently clad and even when sick. Moreover, he found general fault in the fact that the "Sarcees have more faith in their medicine men and conjurers than in a physician and even when they do accept the aid of a doctor they do not follow his instructions."⁹³

Deaths of students either in the school or shortly after their release occurred regularly. When children became seriously ill, Tims generally conceded to the wishes of parents to have them removed and cared for at home. When children died in the school, the custom of abandoning the lodge or house of the deceased could no longer be practised. This only compounded the worries of parents who had allowed their children to be admitted to the boarding school. While Tims could assure himself in January of 1900, that a seventeen year old girl had "died full of faith in her dear Lord and Savior" in the school, his remarks were little comfort to the parents.⁹⁴

Hayter Reed had made it abundantly clear to Indian Agents that no children should be admitted who were bad cases of tuberculosis.⁹⁵ But the Indian Agent did not follow his recommendations and nor did school officials once the students were enrolled. The school report for April 1904, for example, describes four boys who were suffering from scrofula

and one girl with tuberculosis.⁹⁶ The first child to attend the school died in September of 1894 shortly after the school was opened and two sick children were allowed to remain with their parents.⁹⁷ There was also one report of a student suffering from malnutrition in the school in 1897.⁹⁸

There was an acute awareness in the Tsuu T'ina community about the high mortality among children. As early as 1888, Chief Bullhead informed the Indian Agent that he did not want children to attend the High River industrial school because there were "so few children left among [us]."⁹⁹ Parents were always anxious to remove their children when they were sick. In 1894, Lucas reported that one pupil who had been ailing for some time was kept at home by his parents who stated that if their child was to die he would "die in their lodge."¹⁰⁰ Although the doctor visited the child, Lucas could not persuade the parent to return him to the school. Lucas found that the whole band was averse.¹⁰¹

There were often desperate attempts to release sick children from the boarding school. In 1897, Chief Bullhead agreed to take cattle and to encourage his men to do the same if the Indian Agent would release two ailing pupils, Dick Weazel and David Wolf Carrier.¹⁰² The intensity of the grief of parents who had ailing children or whose children had died became very much an extension of the boarding school experience in the Tsuu T'ina community. There were often violent responses to the lack of control that Tsuu T'ina parents had when their children became sick. In 1896, a man threatened to kill some white men and then commit suicide in the event of his child's death. Indian Agent Lucas was instructed to persuade the father to allow the ailing child to return to the school for treatment for whooping cough. When the child died, the father then threatened to kill the Medicine Man he had hired to doctor the child during his illness.¹⁰³

The Bryce Report 1907

Dr. Peter Bryce was commissioned by the Department of Indian Affairs in 1907 to report upon the health conditions prevailing in the industrial and boarding schools in Western Canada. Bryce conducted an extensive inspection of Indian schools in western Canada including St. Barnabas Boarding School and his report indicated that there was an abnormal death rate from the various forms of tuberculosis among Indian Bands in western Canada. Bryce reported that there was evidence of an inadequate appreciation of the dangers regarding the admission of sick pupils who had contracted the disease and that the propensity of some principals to admit sick students to maintain their per capita grants placed other students in “positive danger.”¹⁰⁴

Bryce cited a number of causes of the rampant spread of tuberculosis. These included lack of exercise, poor ventilation, a general lack of sanitation and hygiene in the schools, and poor knowledge of adequate hygiene. The Bryce Report described the poor conditions of the boarding and industrial schools in the West and cited poor ventilation and sanitation as the major causes of the rampant nature of tuberculosis and scrofula among students. Of 15 schools inspected, Bryce reported that 7 percent of the students were sick or in poor health and 24 percent of the total 1537 pupils who had been enrolled in the schools in the 1890s were dead by the time his report had been prepared. Bryce argued that there was an “intimate relationship” between the health of the pupils while in the school and that of their early death subsequent to discharge.¹⁰⁵

The findings of the Bryce Report became a national scandal as the poor conditions of Indian schools were described in the national press. An article in the *Montreal Gazette* claimed many schools were badly ventilated and that hundreds of pupils had succumbed to tuberculosis as a result.¹⁰⁶ David Laird, the Indian Commissioner, acknowledged the

significance of the report findings but suggested that the “mortality stats of pupils and ex-pupils give an unfair impression respecting the health of the pupils at the present day.”¹⁰⁷

A copy of the Bryce Report was sent to the Indian Committee of the Diocese of Calgary. Tims was quick to respond to the charge in the Bryce Report. He informed the Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs that there were serious errors in the Report. He maintained that the physical description of St. Barnabas Boarding School was incorrect including Bryce’s description of the “small windows.”¹⁰⁸ Tims also contested the more serious charges about the deaths of pupils in the school arguing that only one pupil had died of tuberculosis since the school had opened. He noted that this student had the disease when he entered the school and was only admitted on a probationary period in the hope that “care and feeding might help him.”¹⁰⁹ The boarding school from the start served as a hospital. In 1905, more difficult cases of confinement were transferred from the home to the Boarding School.¹¹⁰

The Bryce Report did not present a complete picture of health in the Tsuu T’ina community. Bryce was instructed to examine the health conditions in the industrial and boarding schools in the West and not the general Indian population.¹¹¹ He did not examine the presence of tuberculosis among those outside of the boarding schools including the 30 percent of Tsuu T’ina students who did not attend the school or the mortality rate of the adult population. The Bryce Report singled out boarding schools as the likely spreaders of tuberculosis without acknowledging the cumulative effects of poor nutrition, the inadequate ventilation in Indian houses, the presence and effects of other diseases, poor sanitation and hygiene and alcoholism that may have made the Tsuu T’ina and other Indian Bands more susceptible to tuberculosis.

The “culture of medicine” that was practiced in the context of the Tsuu T’ina Reserve reveals a set of contradictory practice regarding the management and care of students who had contracted tuberculosis. These contradictions reflected the overall lack of understanding of the clinical manifestations of tuberculosis and its transmission at the time. The larger debate of State versus Church control was played out in relation to the debate over tuberculosis, Indian health and the relative merits of health care in the Indian home versus the school or hospital. Church and government officials, at times, defended the boarding school as the bastion of morality and health in the community. In 1909, Dr. Bryce recommended that Tims maintain students in the boarding school so that they could be nourished with food and care as “he cannot obtain in camp.”¹¹² Tims argued that it would be criminal to turn such cases “adrift to die” in the Tsuu T’ina community.¹¹³

By the turn of the century there was clear and indisputable evidence that tuberculosis was endemic in the Tsuu T’ina community among children and adults. Dr. Lafferty, the physician appointed to the Tsuu T’ina Reserve, informed Scott in 1909 that he had met with Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior, to inform him that “beyond any question [*there was*] universal presence of T. B. among the Indians attending school” and that there should be “radical changes being made as to the manner of conducting these schools.”¹¹⁴ Scott concurred with Lafferty’s observations. He cited the poor conditions of the Indian homes and poor nutrition as the causes.¹¹⁵ Scott informed Lafferty that “we must go farther than the school *viz* to the home of the children to find the source of the primary contagion.” Scott inferred this on the Department’s finding that between 60 and 70 percent of Indian children had lost at least one parent due to tuberculosis.¹¹⁶

The seemingly sudden awareness of the virulent nature of tuberculosis in native communities, such as the Tsuu T’ina Reserve, was as much as creation of the political

climate of the time and the rhetoric of health care reformers as it was of the lived-in realities of individuals in the Tsuu T'ina community who had contracted the disease or whose families were affected. There was a clear record in several decades of reporting by Indian Agents appointed to the Tsuu T'ina Reserve that multiple deaths had occurred as a result of consumption. There had been strong evidence prior to Bryce's observations that tuberculosis was endemic in communities such as the Tsuu T'ina. Agent McNeill confirmed this in his annual report for 1900 by stating that "most of the deaths are principally from scrofula and consumption" but that "little could be done."¹¹⁷ Tims had noted in 1897, that the students had a "tendency to scrofula or consumption before being admitted to the school."¹¹⁸

The Indian Department followed a contradictory set of practices regarding the admission of students. Despite the fact that students were required to pass a medical examination, they were often admitted on a probationary basis before the examination had taken place.¹¹⁹ In July of 1909, Tims notified the department that there were seven pupils in the school who had not been certified by the attending physician. In August of 1909, four of the seven students - James Sarcee Woman, Dorothy Many Swans, Mabel Two Guns and William Big Plume - were found to be suffering from tuberculosis and were immediately discharged.¹²⁰

There was a poor general knowledge about the spread and transmission of tuberculosis at the time. In the late 1890s, G. T. Orton recommended to Parliament that immense benefits could be obtained from inhaling the oil of peppermint, creosote and oil of the silver pine for consumption and scrofula.¹²¹ In May of 1896, the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs asked the Indian Commissioner for his opinion regarding the

greater susceptibility of pupils at industrial schools to tuberculosis and what remedy he might suggest to solve the problem.¹²²

Tuberculosis in its many forms could only be detected once there were clear and indisputable signs of more advanced forms of the disease. Initial infection was caused by the expectoration of small droplets containing a few tuberculosis bacilli. Air-borne infection could spread to virtually any part of the body or it could stay dormant for decades and then be reactivated.¹²³ Unfortunately the symptoms most commonly associated with tuberculosis such as fever, night sweats, and hemorrhaging from the lungs did not appear in the early most curable forms of the disease. Physicians certainly recognized incurable cases but often the cause of the patient's demise was ascribed to other factors. Medical officials commonly reported students who had contracted tuberculosis as "cured" if the disease was in remission.¹²⁴ In 1898, for example, Dr. Lafferty, the attending physician to the Tsuu T'ina, described a young boy as being in "otherwise ... in good health" despite the fact he had tubercular sores on his neck.¹²⁵

The standard treatment for tuberculosis at the turn of the century included bed rest, hygiene and sanitation, sleeping outdoors or in the open air and a fortified diet high in milk and eggs. While the relationship between a weakened immune system and the onset of tuberculosis was not understood, it was observed patients would improve and even recover if their general conditions were improved. In 1905, the Indian Commissioner asserted scrofula and consumption were "gradually if not very perceptibly relaxing their hold." Laird maintained the Indian constitution was "slowly growing stronger under the influences of commodious and better ventilated houses, great cleanliness of habits, an increased use of vegetables and bread instead of bannock and better cooking and clothing generally."¹²⁶

The Indian Department by 1896 insisted all Tsuu T'ina students live in canvas tents during the summer months to prevent the spread of tuberculosis.¹²⁷ There were only a few attempts to isolate tubercular patients during the first few years the boarding school was in operation. Percy Stocken, while consideration was made for building a hospital in the Tsuu T'ina community, had fixed up a small shack in chief Bullhead's village and arranged for separate care for what he termed his "worst patients."¹²⁸ But there were often jurisdictional problems between the Indian Agent and the resident missionary regarding what constituted the best care for Tsuu T'ina patients.

Tsuu T'ina homes were poorly ventilated and overcrowded and were probably the primary spreaders of tuberculosis. As early as 1892, there had been discussion about the problem of replacing stoves in houses with open fireplaces with chimneys but the critical shortage of wood prevented this from happening.¹²⁹ Frequent exposure to infected individuals in a household meant healthy persons could not avoid primary infection usually in the lungs or second infection or an active tubercular lesion. The tubercular bacilli could survive for months in dried sputum not exposed to sunlight. The poor health, crowding and unsanitary conditions in the reserve houses together with malnutrition and other illnesses contributed to the overall susceptibility of Tsuu T'ina community members.

The medical reports of physicians such as Dr. Lafferty, appointed to the Tsuu T'ina Reserve in 1896, also present a contradictory set of data regarding the health of students upon admission to the boarding school and of the general Tsuu T'ina population. While the occurrence of tuberculosis among students eventually resulted in the competence of government-appointment physicians being called into question, the services of Medicine Men who attended and comforted sick patients came under attack. It was ironic indeed that the Indian Department considered passing specific legislation to prevent these individuals

from practising in Indian communities and blamed them for “disastrous consequences” resulting in a number of deaths.¹³⁰

The Blake Proposal and Retrenchment of The Boarding School System

From the beginning, it was not possible to meet the financial needs of the Anglican boarding schools in southern Alberta. A report by the Anglican Diocese of Calgary in 1894 indicated all of the schools were in debt and that the debt was increasing in each quarter.¹³¹ The Indian Committee of the Anglican Diocese of Calgary faced increasing debt in the first decade of the 20th century. By 1899, the debt of the Missions of southern Alberta totalled \$23,058 of which \$14,000 was met by selling certain securities of the Diocese of Calgary and \$9000 by special subscription to parishioners.¹³²

The CMS for its part continued with the incremental reductions of one-twelfth each in the block grants paid out to the Calgary Indian Missions. An overdraft of \$44,415 in 1900 had been paid for by using some of the money set aside by the CMS for its centenary fund. In 1901, the overall cost of the CMS itself was projected to be \$373,185 more than five times the \$69,083 available.¹³³ Therefore, any future assistance to the Indian missions in southern Alberta was in doubt. Tims faced further financial difficulties with the withdrawal by the Quebec Women’s Auxiliary in 1903 of its \$100 per annum grant. Although the new Missionary Society of The Church of England in Canada, formed to take over the responsibilities of the Church Missionary Society, could suggest, “the dawn of a new era of missionary enterprise emerged as it hand[ed] over its work, its funds and its obligations,” there were sobering realities that had to be faced about the funding of Indian Missions.¹³⁴

The transfer of funding responsibility from the CMS to the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (MSCC) in 1903 placed the finances of Indian schools and missions under the control of the Indian Committee. The MSCC defined its overall objective

in which, "every member of the Church is a member of the MSCC, its aim bringing the appeal of the Mission Field home to every member of the Church."¹³⁵ The broad reformulation of the mission field expressed the emergent nationalism in the Anglican Church of Canada at the time but also placed the operation of the Indian missions under scrutiny in the overall mission field. The MSCC initially sought to abolish day schools and to continue the boarding school system with certain industrial and agriculture pursuits. The Indian Committee members proposed setting aside special funds for providing ex-pupils with land, seed and cattle. New graduates were to be kept "separate from the Other Indians and encouraged to marry."¹³⁶

Beginning in 1905, the Church Missionary Society began to withdraw from the mission field in Canada and to reduce the block grants paid to the MSCC by roughly 60 percent every three years. The grant paid to the Diocese of Calgary for Indian schools was \$900 less than that received in 1904 and by 1910 it was \$1200 less.¹³⁷ Tims was to retain his annual salary of \$1000 per annum as well as an annual expense allowance of between \$200 and \$250. The withdrawal of CMS funding placed the Diocese of Calgary in a severely-compromised financial position. The formation of the Indian Committee of the Anglican Church of Canada provided a platform for advocates of reform.

One of the leading proponents of reform in Indian education was Samuel. H. Blake, a prominent Toronto lawyer appointed as head of the Indian Committee of the Anglican Church of Canada. He questioned whether the churches should assume financial responsibility for the debt that had been incurred particularly in the west. In Blake's view, it was impossible to maintain the schools were half-full on the per capita grant. He proposed the entire system be streamlined and the number of schools reduced. The Indian Committee members were aware of the Bryce Report and expressed their concerns about the conditions

in the schools.¹³⁸ Questions were raised at the meeting of the MSCC in 1905 about the financial responsibilities of the church when it was the government's responsibility under treaty obligations to education Indians.¹³⁹

Blake openly criticized the ineptitude of missionaries and the friction that often existed among mission staff. Blake cited the fact the Church Missionary Society had spent a total of \$480,000 on mission work by 1906 and that "we have not at all educated our people."¹⁴⁰ The costs of the schools in the Northwest had totalled \$25,000 and out of a total population of 5000, there were only 388 or 8 percent of all individuals who were adherents.¹⁴¹ While the merits of twenty years of Anglican missionary work were dubious, the amount of expenditure on Indian missions was criticized in relation to smaller amounts expended for the needs of the much larger burgeoning white population.

In 1907, Blake informed Tims, "we should be ashamed of our results as an Anglican Church." He argued for aggressive work to effect school reforms including the modification of the curriculum and simplification of the boarding school.¹⁴² Blake, compelled by what he felt were "preventable deaths" and the "appalling account of the death by hundreds from consumption of the Indians," also contacted the Minister of the Interior at the same time to outline his ideas.¹⁴³

Blake called for an "improved type of day school" for Indian children. Blake argued in his inimitable style:

"let each child be taught honesty, truth, the beauty of a good pure life, English, reading, writing, and arithmetic and [s]uch additional work as will fit the child to take his place as workman in the location in which he is to live open and totally free from TB and consumption, flexibility and relevant training with the preservation of day schools where appropriate."¹⁴⁴

Blake's views, expressed in the convoluted and pendant style of the zealous reformer, exemplified the extremes of the Social Purity Movement. Blake's views drew an

immediate response from Tims. Tims argued if boarding schools were to close, “it would ... give the whole reserve over to the Roman Catholics.”¹⁴⁵ Tims further maintained, “the death rate amongst pupils in [*the*] Schools [*was*] much less than amongst those over twenty years of age.”¹⁴⁶

Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior, supported Blake and his committee. Oliver expressed concern with the dissolution of the bond between Indian parents and children, which the system of boarding and industrial schools had caused. He wrote of the “mutual love between parent and child” as the strongest influence in the “betterment of the world.”¹⁴⁷ Oliver claimed the attempt to “elevate” the Indian through this separation and educating him as a white man had been a “deplorable failure.” His critique reached to the fundamental problem mission-based schooling had created. Oliver stated in this regard, “to teach an Indian child his parents are degraded beyond measure and that whatever they did or thought was wrong could only result in the children becoming ashamed of who they were.”¹⁴⁸ Mission schooling had not succeeded in building agrarian communities on Indian reserves in Canada. This form of schooling instead had engendered a form of “negative solidarity” in which dissolution and discontent had to be overcome in the process of community development.

The Department of Indian Affairs did not follow the recommendations of Oliver or Blake and the other members of the Indian Committee of the MSCC. In March of 1909, the Indian Department presented a drastically revised version of the Blake Committee proposals. The Department announced its intention to retain almost all of the boarding schools, which it had resolved to close just one year before, and to increase the per capita grant for Indians schools from \$72 to \$100. The only concession to the Blake Committee was that no boarding school was to be considered permanent. Porter in *The Anglican Church*

and Native Education: Residential Schools and Assimilation, suggests the Indian Department succumbed to church pressure in the West.¹⁴⁹

Regardless of the cause, the unwillingness of the Indian Department to change the boarding school system was a bitter defeat for Blake and other reformers. Blake continued his lobby arguing Indian students were taught essentially useless skills that prevented their societal advancement. He blamed Indian poverty on the arcane model of agrarian life inculcated in the residential schools. In April of 1909, Blake challenged Pedley, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, “Can we not break away from the means of education so largely adopted whereby the Indians are pauperized while the struggle of the Department is to make them self-reliant and teach them that it is their duty to do from themselves and for their department.”¹⁵⁰ Blake also saw the inevitable contradictions between the secular goals of the State and the religious aspirations of the churches. He informed Pedley that, in his view, there was a “direct conflict between the effort of the Department on one side and that of the Church on the other.”¹⁵¹

Conclusions – The Boarding School Era

While there were no immediate solutions to the dilemmas faced by educational reformers, it was readily apparent to Blake and other proponents of reform that the process of formal education that had been set in motion had brought about suffering and death in the Indian schools. The system had also resulted in extreme cultural dislocation for students. The first generation of Tsuu T’ina boarding school students clearly experienced a radically different upbringing from their parents. Their socialization in the boarding school system included the inculcation of beliefs, customs and values that were at variance with those of preceding generations. Separated by language, experience and by culture, this generation felt perhaps even greater social dislocation and upheaval than that faced by their

children and other generations that followed. Schooling for these individuals was harsh and routinized with work being the dominant activity. In the ensuing decades, this generation would continue to build and transform Tsuu T'ina reserve culture based on a different set of cultural practices. These cultural practices included the development of a distinctive form of Tsuu T'ina English, the creation of a ranching economy and new forms of ritual for the expression of collective identity.

The overall purpose of Indian education was unclear by 1905. The report by Dr. Bryce in 1907 indicated there was a high mortality rate among students in the boarding schools. This was particularly a problem in the Tsuu T'ina community where many deaths had a significant impact upon the overall small population size. While there were proposals to reform the Sarcee Boarding School and other Indian schools at the time, the Indian Department, instead, re-entrenched the existing system allowing for few improvements. The repercussions of this decision would in the next decade threaten the very existence of the Tsuu T'ina community.

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- ¹ CHC, *SP*, No. 14, DIA Annual Report, A1896, xxii.
- ² Canada. House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 14A, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For The Year Ended 30 June 1899, A1900, Laird, xxviii.
- ³ *Ibid.*
- ⁴ Canada. House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 27, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For The Year Ended 30 June 1900, A1901, J. A. Smart, DSGIA, xxxi.
- ⁵ CHC, *Sessional Papers*, No. 27A, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 30 June 1906, A1906, Frank Oliver, xxi.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸ Canada. House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 27A, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 30 June 1902, A1902, James A. Smart, DSGIA, xvii.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰ Canada. House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 27, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 30 June 1904, A1904, Pedley, xxviii.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, Pedley, xxviii.
- ¹² CHC, *SP*, No. 14A, DIA Annual Report, A1900, xxviii.
- ¹³ CHC, *SP*, No. 27A, DIA Annual Report, A1901, James A. Smart, DSGIA, xvii.
- ¹⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 1291, Reed to Assistant Indian Commissioner, 31 December 1894.
- ¹⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 1726, Circular, 21 May 1896.
- ¹⁶ CHC, *SP*, No. 27A, DIA Annual Report, A1901, xxxiii.
- ¹⁷ CHC, *SP*, No. 27A, DIA Annual Report, A1906, A1906, Frank Oliver, SGIA, xviii.
- ¹⁸ CHC, *SP*, No. 27A, DIA Annual Report, A1901, Laird, 223.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, James. A. Smart, DSGIA, xxxii-xxxiii.
- ²⁰ CHC, *SP*, No. 27A, DIA Annual Report, A1904, Laird, 204.
- ²¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1726, Ebenezer McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies to Indian Commissioner, 18 April 1896.
- ²² NAC, RG 10, v. 6001, f. 1-1-1, pt. 1, Discussion of The School Estimates, Extract from Hansard of 18 July 1894
- ²³ NAC, RG 10, v. 1295, Reed to Hon. T. Mayne Daly, SGIA, 1897.
- ²⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 1123, "The Department assumes no responsibility whatsoever and the prejudice of the Indians if any exist are to be overcome by the denomination desiring to erect the mission building." J. D. McLean, Secretary to DSGIA, 18 April 1900.
- ²⁵ Canada. House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 27, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 30 June 1903, A1903, xvii.
- ²⁶ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1904, Smart, DSGIA, ix.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ Canada. *Sessional Papers*, No. 27, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For the Year Ended 30 June 1907, A1907, Pedley, xxiii.
- ³⁰ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 30 June 1909, A1909, Laird, 192-193.
- ³¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1626, H. W. Gibbon-Stocken (HWGS) to Indian Agent Sarcee Reserve (IASR), 28 August 1894.
- ³² NAC, RG 10, v. 1635, de Balinhard to Indian Commissioner, 12 January 1887.
- ³³ UBA, CMS, Letter #54, Tims to Baring Gould, Secretary, 14 March 1904.
- ³⁴ UBA, CMS, Letter #26, Tims to Baring Gould, Secretary, 26 August 1895.
- ³⁵ UBA, CMS, Letter #90, Tims to Baring Gould, Secretary, 16 April 1896.
- ³⁶ UCA, ADC, Box 41, f. 5, Register of Services, St. Barnabas Mission, Sarcee Indian Reserve.

- ³⁷ GA, M1234, f. 15, Tims Annual Letter to CMS, 30 January 1900.
- ³⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 1134, Paget to IASR, Circular 209, 8 June 1891.
- ³⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, Forget to IASR, 23 April 1895.
- ⁴⁰ Based on information in treaty paylists for 1879-1919, NAC, RG 10, v. 9433-v.9452 for Wolf Carrier family.
- ⁴¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, HWGS to IASR, 16 April 1895.
- ⁴² NAC, RG 10, v. 1643, Lucas to Commissioner, 18 August 1896.
- ⁴³ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, McNeill to Commissioner, Monthly Report, 30 April 1902.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid.
- ⁴⁵ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report A1901, Tims, 365.
- ⁴⁶ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1903, Tims, 190.
- ⁴⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, HWGS to IASR, 16 April 1895.
- ⁴⁸ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, Annual Report, A1897, Reed DSGIA, 52..
- ⁴⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1644, McNeill to Officer Commanding NWMP, 19 July 1898.
- ⁵⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, McLean to McNeill, Circular, 16 August 1905.
- ⁵¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1624, Kemys-Tynte for Lucas to Gibbon-Stocken, 5 December 1894. Kemys-Tynte refers to Circular 194 of 1894.
- ⁵² NAC, RG 10, v. 1629, Laird to IASR, 13 March 1901.
- ⁵³ Ibid., McNeill to Colonel Saunders, Supt. Of NWMP, 3 December 1901; also, Ibid., McNeill to Laird, 10 December 1901 and Laird to McNeill, 16 December 1901.
- ⁵⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 1629, Superintendent NWMP to McNeill, 2 December 1901.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ⁵⁶ GA, M1837, J. A. McKenna, Asst. Indian Commissioner to McNeill, 4 May 1904.
- ⁵⁷ CHC, *SP*, No. 14, DIA Annual Report, A1898, Inspector Wadsworth, 279.
- ⁵⁸ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, Annual Report DIA, A1901, Wadsworth Report on Schools, 391.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid. Also repeated in: CHC, *SP*, No. 14A, DIA Annual Report, A1897, Tims to SGIA, 353.
- ⁶¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1626, Forget to IASR, 31 May 1894.
- ⁶² Ibid., H. W. Gibbon-Stocken to IASR, 22 May 1894.
- ⁶³ UCA, ADC, Box 62, f. 20, Tims Report on Indian Work, *Report of 10th Synod*, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, 1906, 52.
- ⁶⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, Reed to Indian Commissioner, September 1896.
- ⁶⁵ CHC, *SP*, No. 14A, DIA Annual Report, A1897, Tims, 353.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid.
- ⁶⁷ CHC, *SP*, No. 14, DIA Annual Report, A1898, 274.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid., 279.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid.
- ⁷⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 1629, Tims to McNeill, 10 September 1900.
- ⁷¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1291, Reed to Acting Indian Agent, 20 December 1894. Also: Canada. DIA, *Regulations Relating To The Education of Indian Children* (Ottawa, 1908), 5.
- ⁷² NAC, RG 10, v. 6001, f. 1-1-1, pt. 2, J. A. Macrae, Inspector to Pedley, 4 June 1904.
- ⁷³ CHC, *SP*, No. 14, DIA Annual Report, A1895, Programme of Studies For Indian Schools, 1894.
- ⁷⁴ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1903, 470.
- ⁷⁵ Based on Statements of Boarding Schools, in DIA Annual Reports A1901-1910.
- ⁷⁶ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report A1904, McGibbon, 470.
- ⁷⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 1629, Indian Commissioner to McNeill, 14 August 1900.
- ⁷⁸ Ibid., Tims to McNeill, 10 September 1900.
- ⁷⁹ CHC, *SP*, No. 14A, DIA Annual Report, A1899, Laird to SGIA, 207.
- ⁸⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 1629, Indian Commissioner to IASR, 10 January 1900.
- ⁸¹ GA, M1356, f. 9, Tims to Indian Commissioner, 13 January 1900.
- ⁸² Ibid., Tims to McNeill, 10 September 1901.

- ⁸³ Ibid.
- ⁸⁴ Ibid.
- ⁸⁵ Based on School Statistics for Sarcee Boarding School contained in the Annual Reports of The Department of Indian Affairs 1900 (A1899) to 1910 (A1909).
- ⁸⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 1642, Lucas to Commissioner, 18 June 1896.
- ⁸⁷ WA, *Letter Leaflet*, 17, (3), 1906, "Mrs. Percy Stocken to Mrs. Bagar, WA, Grimsby, Ontario, 72.
- ⁸⁸ GA, M1837, Tims to McNeill, 21 July 1904.
- ⁸⁹ Ibid., McNeill to Tims, 5 August 1904 and *ibid.*, Tims to McNeill, 22 August 1904
- ⁹⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 1629, Hogbin to McNeill, 4 October 1899, also; NAC, RG 10, v. 1645, McNeill to Rev. Principal Calgary Industrial School, Calgary, 24 October 1899.
- ⁹¹ TTNA, SPA #131, McNeill to Laird, 18 November 1903.
- ⁹² NAC, RG 10, v. 1628, McNeill to Commissioner, 30 November 1903.
- ⁹³ NAC, CHC, *SP*, No. 14, DIA Annual Report, A1896, Lucas, 224.
- ⁹⁴ GA, M1234, f. 15, Tims Annual Letter to CMS, 30 January 1900.
- ⁹⁵ See: NAC, RG 10, v. 1291, Reed to Acting Indian Agent, 31 December 1894. Reed maintained that strong children should attend Industrial Schools, weaker children should attend the boarding schools but that bad scrofula cases should not be admitted to either class of school.
- ⁹⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 1642, Tims, School Report, April 1896.
- ⁹⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 1626, HWGS to IASR, 27 September 1894.
- ⁹⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 1644, McNeill to Principal Sarcee Boarding School, 7 December 1897.
- ⁹⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1636, Cornish to Reverend E. Clardony. St. Joseph's Industrial School, 20 February 1888.
- ¹⁰⁰ NAC, RG 10, v.1642, Lucas to Commissioner, Monthly Report for June, 6 July 1894.
- ¹⁰¹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰² Ibid., McNeill to Commissioner, Monthly Report for June, 8 July 1897.
- ¹⁰³ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, Forget to IASR, 19 March 1896 and NAC, RG 10, v. 1642, Lucas to Indian Commissioner, 23 March 1896.
- ¹⁰⁴ Canada. House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 27, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 30 June 1908, A1908, Laird to Pedley, 277.
- ¹⁰⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 4037, f. 317,021,028, Dr. P. Bryce, Report on The Indian Schools of Manitoba and The North-West Territories, 11 November 1907, 17, 18, 22, 23.
- ¹⁰⁶ "Death Rate Among Indian Abnormal, Dr. Bryce Report on Health Conditions in Indian Schools, Death Rate Very High," *Montreal Star*, 15 November 1907.
- ¹⁰⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 4037, f. 37,021, Laird to Secretary DIA, 7 December 1907.
- ¹⁰⁸ RG 10, v. 4037, f. 317021, Tims to Secretary DIA, 10 November 1907.
- ¹⁰⁹ Anglican Church of Canada Archives (ACCA), Missionary Society of The Church of England in Canada (MSCC), Series 2:14, Special Indian Committee, Box 14, f. 2. Tims to Secretary Department of Indian Affairs, 16 November 1907.
- ¹¹⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 1638, McNeill, Monthly Report, 31 May 1905.
- ¹¹¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 4037, f. 317,021.
- ¹¹² GA, M1356, f. 2, Tims to Secretary DIA, 27 July 1909.
- ¹¹³ Ibid., Tims to Indian Agent, 21 August 1909.
- ¹¹⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 3957, f. 140,754-1, Lafferty to Scott, 26 October 1909.
- ¹¹⁵ Ibid., Scott to Lafferty, 22 September 1909.
- ¹¹⁶ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁷ CHC, *SP*, No, 27, DIA Annual Report, A1901, McNeill, 183.
- ¹¹⁸ CHC, *SP*, No, 14, DIA Annual Report, A1897, Tims to SGIA, 354.
- ¹¹⁹ GA, M1356, f. 9, Tims to Indian Agent, 4 April 1900.
- ¹²⁰ Ibid., f. 2, McNeill to Tims, 14 August 1909.
- ¹²¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 3855, f. 79,963, Extract From Annual Report of G. T. Orton, M. D., January 1894.

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- ¹²² NAC, RG 10, v. 1726, DSGIA to Indian Commissioner, 8 May 1896.
- ¹²³ See: G. A. Clark *et al.*, "The Evolution of Mycobacterial Disease in Human Populations," *Cument Anthropology*, 18, (1), 1987, 49-50.
- ¹²⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 1642, Lucas to HWGS. Lucas suggests that a Tsuu T'ina student could be cured of scrofula if he took his medicine more regularly.
- ¹²⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 1644, Lafferty to McNeill, 19 May 1898.
- ¹²⁶ CHC, SP, 27A, DIA Annual Report, A1906, Laird to Pedley, 14 October 1905.
- ¹²⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 1726, Reed to Indian Commissioner, 3 July 1896.
- ¹²⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 6338, f. 701-5, pt. 1, Stocken to Reed, 7 December 1894.
- ¹²⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1134, Forget, Assistant Commissioner to IASR, Circular, 30 April 1892.
- ¹³⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, Secretary to Indian Commissioner, 10 July 1899.
- ¹³¹ UCA, ADC, Box 117, f. 1, Untitled Report, 1894.
- ¹³² GA, M1356, f. 12, Lay Secretary, Anglican Diocese of Calgary (ADC) to Tims, 19 November 1899.
- ¹³³ *Ibid.*, Baring Gould to Tims, 16 November 1900.
- ¹³⁴ ACCA, MSCC, Series 1:2, Minutes of Board of Missions and Board of Management, Box 2, f. 4, General Board of Missions, Minutes, 1902.
- ¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, General Board of Missions, Minutes, 8 October 1903.
- ¹³⁶ ACCA, MSCC, Series 2:14, Special Indian Committee, Box 14, f. 1, Memorandum prepared at the Meeting of the Indian Committee Montreal to be the basis of conference with other religious bodies and with the Department, 14 October 1904.
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- ¹³⁸ ACCA, MSCC, Series 3:1, Lewis N. Tucker Correspondence, Box 48, f. 3, Typed ms. n. d.
- ¹³⁹ ACCA, MSCC, Series 8:2, Printed Minutes of Board of Management, Box 120, f. 1, Official Minutes - MSCC, v.1, 5 September 1905, 52.
- ¹⁴⁰ ACCA, MSCC, Series 2:14, Special Indian Committee, Box 14, f. 1, Blake to Bishop of Calgary, 5 June 1906.
- ¹⁴¹ ACCA, MSCC, Series 8:2, Printed Minutes of The Board of Management, Box 120, f. 1, Official Minutes - MSCC, v. 1, 11 October 1906, 11.
- ¹⁴² ACCA, MSCC, Series 2:14, Special Indian Committee, Box 14, f. 2, Blake to Tims, 29 November 1907.
- ¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, Blake to Hon. Min. of The Interior, 6 February 1907.
- ¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, S. H. Blake, Memorandum on Indian Mission and Indian Schools submitted on Behalf of the Special Indian Committee of MSCC to the Hon. The Supt. of Indian Affairs, 14 March 1906.
- ¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁹ E. Porter, "The Anglican Church and Native Education: Residential Schools and Assimilation," Ph.D. *Dissertation*, University of Toronto, 1981, 69-73.
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- ¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

*CHAPTER SIX:
LIFE AFTER THE BOARDING SCHOOL - GENERATION ONE*

Introduction - Generation One and Reserve Life

While the debate raged over the direction of Indian schooling, the first generation of Tsuu T'ina day, boarding and industrial school students began their lives in the Tsuu T'ina community. The newly acquired literacy and knowledge base students of the boarding school had learned set them apart within the reserve population. While there were inter-generational differences, there were varying responses of ex-pupils to their new lives in the Tsuu T'ina community.

New skills acquired by ex-pupils provided them with the ability to perform the same economic tasks as their parents but to undertake these tasks in a manner that was more acceptable in “appearance” to white society. With long years of exposure to the missionary culture of the mission school, students were accustomed to the routines of school life, European manners and dress, the centrality of certain Christian practices in everyday life and the special vocabulary that being missionized had entailed. Their new awareness of the world and easier navigation in the world of the White Man, however, had less consequence in the context of the immediate reserve community and its functioning.

The students who belonged to the first generation of boarding school students were schooled approximately between 1893 and 1909. There were fifty-four of these students including 36 boys and 18 girls.¹ The general findings of the Bryce Report appear to be confirmed for this generation. Of the 36 boys, only 17 survived to full adulthood. There were eight deaths among female students of this generation either prior to or shortly after their graduation. The total number of deaths in generation one therefore was 29 out of a total of 54 or roughly 54 percent.

Some students attended the day schools on the reserve prior to their admission into the boarding school. There were many cases where individuals were retained much longer than the age of 16. Older students were retained to reduce the cost of school maintenance by eliminating the need to hire outside labour. For ex-pupils of St. Barnabas School, a return to life on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve entailed a series of choices. Most individuals broke new land and started to build a homestead once they had completed school. Students settled in one of the areas of the two main encampments - either north of the Old Agency site or several miles west of this location.

Making Choices After The Boarding School

Once pupils left the boarding school, they were expected to fulfill the ideals of the model life they had been raised in. Marriage between "intelligent young people who have gone through the schools" was encouraged but not enforced.² The Indian Commissioner informed Agent McNeill that "the children should get married in circumstances that would ensure their future welfare."³ It was felt that if boys and girls of "this class" married, there would be nothing "deterrent in their moral atmosphere" and that they would be more or less "bound to succeed."⁴ There was at times considerable conflict between Tims and McNeill over the conduct of ex-pupils and marriages of former students.

The general pattern was for ex-pupils to marry one another. Ten of the male students from generation one were married to ex-pupils from the school. Sometimes girls married during the summer holidays. Girls were often retained in the boarding school past the compulsory age until they were married. In September of 1895, Tommy Big Wolf, Susan Otter and Fanny Beaver Collar each married during the summer holiday and Maggie Big Plume was discharged because she was over school age.⁵ They were allowed to withdraw their annuities that had been placed in saving accounts with their department from the time

of their first enrollment in school. Some students preferred not to withdraw their savings. Most ex-pupils used the funds to set up their new households. In 1893, for example, James Little Bear, an ex-pupil built himself a log house with shingled roof and the Indian Agent reported that he expected shortly to secure a life partner.⁶

The first generation of students started their adult lives during a period of transition from a mixed economy based on agriculture to one in which stockraising came to play an increasing role. The seasonal pattern of agricultural production remained unaltered but there were changes with the introduction of cattle. Spring was the time for calving and branding and fall the time of the cattle roundups. These changes necessitated reorganization of the work force and the establishment of a new form of temporary work hierarchy. Land use patterns did not change significantly as far as agriculture was concerned with 181 acres cultivated by 1900 and 218 in 1910 (Appendix 2.4). With the emergence of a new generation of part-time farmers, 50 more acres of land were broken and 30 of these were placed under new crop.

Agricultural production on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve between 1900 and 1910 reflected the same uncertainties as in previous decades. Hay and potatoes were the most reliable farm crops. Hay yields were between 300 and 900 tons of hay per year (Appendix 2.2). Most of the production was wild hay and was not cultivated by Tsuu T'ina farmers. Potatoes provided farmers with one of the few means to obtain cash directly. Whereas previous attempts to cultivate wheat had failed, there were new experiments in growing fall wheat.

For ex-pupils of the St. Barnabas School and the Calgary Industrial School, life after the boarding school entailed direct participation in the mixed economy of the reserve. By 1905, there were changes in the reserve economy as a whole with cattle raising becoming a more significant component of the reserve economy. In 1900, there were 1000 horses in the

hands of the Tsuu T'ina, 17 cows and 27 head of cattle. Only a few families initially kept poultry but this practice changed after 1905 when roughly five times the number of animals were maintained by Tsuu T'ina families (Appendix 2.3).

The number of wild horses also was reduced during this period due with a large number of animals being sold. Agent McNeill noted that in 1897 there had been six families with 30 head of cattle whereas in 1904 there were 18 families with over 200 head of cattle.⁷ Many of the older people in the community were still averse to taking cattle in 1903. Agent McNeill commented in 1901: "the old prejudice against stockraising [*was*] gradually dying out."⁸ A number of young men applied to the Indian Agent in the following year for loans of cattle from the agency herd. The agency herd included 500 animals.⁹ The number of cattle in private hands steadily increased between 1905 and 1910 from 56 cows and 112 head of cattle to 145 cows and 233 head of cattle.¹⁰

Despite the intentions of the Indian Department, the cattle industry contributed a limited amount to the reserve economy and did not serve as the new basis for economic independence before 1910. In 1890, farm produce including wood and hay and wage labour provided 80 percent of the total earnings of the Agency. The sale of farm produce, particularly hay, continued to be the main source of income. Hunting, fishing and trapping contributed negligibly to the reserve economy but these figures reflected only the meat and fish that were sold for cash and not the value of amounts that were consumed by Tsuu T'ina families. By 1910, a different pattern emerges in which the sale of cattle make up about 16 percent of the total earnings and land rentals about 18 percent (Appendix 5.1).

Agent McNeill suggested that large portions of the Tsuu T'ina Reserve be leased for a period of not less than two years for \$1 per head in 1904.¹¹ Leasing land brought a new source of income to the Tsuu T'ina Agency. By 1900, there was enough money set aside

from leasing land to purchase wagons, mowers, horserakes, harnesses, saddles and food and clothing. The acceptance of cattle by the Tsuu T'ina continued to be a slow process. The Indian Agent reported in 1903 that when he had come to the reserve six years previously there were only 24 head of cattle among six Indians while at the present day there were 100 head among 15. McNeill also mentioned that "some of the old people are still strongly averse to accepting cattle."¹² By 1904, Inspector McGibbon noted only Big Crow, Crow Child, James Big Plume and Sleigh had taken ten head between them but that "with every little trouble they could provide their own beef and sell cattle besides for flour."¹³ The Inspector commented the Tsuu T'ina Agency was free of debt due to the practice of leasing reserve lands.¹⁴

A more detailed analysis of the cash earnings within the Tsuu T'ina Agency in 1906 reflects the changing economic patterns that the cattle industry was bringing about (Table 14).¹⁵ Indian Department policy supported only single-person operations and not collective enterprises. There were only a few Tsuu T'ina individuals who could engage in cattle raising under these restrictions. The wages paid to nineteen Tsuu T'ina workers amounted to \$5227.72. Five Tsuu T'ina individuals raised beef cattle in 1906. Their income from this source accounted for only 9 percent of the total Tsuu T'ina earnings in the Agency. The overall system perpetuated the hierarchical system of wage labour that existed within the broader structure of the Indian Agency. Tsuu T'ina earnings in 1906 represented only 6 percent of the wage labour of the agency with the remaining 94 percent being paid to the three non-native Indian Department employees.

Agricultural products sold to the Agency by Tsuu T'ina producers accounted for 13 percent of the income. One Tsuu T'ina individual earned a further 16 percent of the cash earnings by selling farm produce in Calgary. The earnings from grazing leases together with

the increased amounts of hay and oats sold to the agency for cattle totalled 50 percent of the overall earnings. Therefore, in terms of economic sufficiency, cattle raising did not provide a viable source of income for most individuals. The highest salary was paid to the Tsuu T'ina stockman amounting to \$360 per year. He supplemented his income through the sale of hay and oats to the Agency for a total of \$441.82 per annum. This amount was still below that paid to the Assistant Issuer of rations at the Agency who was treated as a charity case by the Indian Department. The Assistant Issuer, a non-native person employed since the Agency opened, earned \$45.00 per month for his wife and himself.¹⁶ The second highest wage earner among the Tsuu T'ina was Mark Crowchild who earned a total of \$303.38 by raising oats and hay for the agency and Calgary, selling beef to the Agency and doing occasional labour.

Table 14: Sources of Income Tsuu T'ina Agency 1906

Source of Income	Amount	% of Indian Earnings	% of Overall Total
Government Salaries	\$3000.00		
Fines	\$ 40.00	.7%	
Beef Sales	\$ 490.22	9%	
Hay Sold To Agency	\$ 610.00	12%	
Oats Sold To Calgary	\$ 60.00	1%	
Oats Sold in Agency	\$ 842.35	16%	
Miscellaneous Labour	\$ 15.00	.3%	
Treaty Payments	\$1150.00	22%	
Grazing Dues	\$2020.15	37%	
Total Indian Earnings	\$5227.72	100%	66%
Total	\$8227.72		100%

Acting Indian Agent J. J. Hollies reported that the Tsuu T'ina work force was divided into two groups by 1909. He estimated that approximately three-fifths of the band were employed in mixed farming and stockraising and the remaining following what he termed "the old ways of hunting and trapping living from hand to mouth with the rations doled out to them once a week."¹⁷ Agent McNeill reported in 1906 that most members of the band did a little farming while the majority cultivated potatoes and small gardens.¹⁸ Indian Affairs

officials tended to condemn hunting and trapping as economic pursuits, but, it was clear that agricultural production or cattle raising alone could not sustain all of the members in the Tsuu T'ina band.¹⁹

The division of labour in the household and residence group and the structure and function of exchange networks in the Tsuu T'ina community remained virtually unaltered with the introduction of cattle raising prior to 1910. This was because cattle raising *per se* did not assume a centrality in the overall reserve economy. Women and children continued to assist in the annual planting and harvesting of hay and other crops. The refocusing of the reserve economy away from the Calgary market had little effect on women's roles in the disruption of productive and reproductive labour among household and residence group members. Women, however, mostly were excluded from the cash economy. Tanning, dairying, poultry raising, domestic work and crafts contributed a negligible amount to the overall cash economy of the reserve nevertheless these activities played a very significant role in the cycle of production and consumption within the family.

David Laird, the Indian Commissioner claimed that a stage had been reached in which able-bodied Indians [*were*] practically self-supporting and rations "confined to those who are destitute through age of infirmity."²⁰ In the Tsuu T'ina case, the realities were somewhat different. Despite the Commissioner's assertion, the pattern of rationing virtually all members of the band continued between 1900 and 1910. Between April 1904 and October 1906, rationing of most of the Tsuu T'ina band went on unabated with beef rations between .30 and .49 pounds and flour between .09 and .60 pounds per diem.²¹ The average number of individuals who received the rations ranged between 148 and 192. This number represented virtually everyone in the band except for the students in the school. For the months where information is available, the average overall numbers rationed was 172

persons. There were also different perceptions about earning and receiving rations. Agent McNeill, for example, reported that Chief Bullhead and others of the Band regarded the rations as a Treaty right.²²

The pattern of work provided the basis for a growing sense of community among the first generation of boarding school students. Community solidarity was reinforced by the building of a reserve fence which physically separated the Tsuu T'ina from surrounding farms and ranches. The establishment of a cattle raising industry on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve required that the reserve lands be fenced. The fence was desirable also to prevent settlers from running their cattle on the reserve for years without paying grazing dues.²³ The Tsuu T'ina were well aware of these infringements. The Indian Agent reported that they turned out the horses of a settler who had run his herd on the reserve and never paid any grazing dues.²⁴ In one instance, McNeill asked for departmental direction regarding an individual who had not paid his grazing dues for a period of six years.²⁵

The construction of the fence was undertaken by Tsuu T'ina labourers. The work was completed by a White foreman who worked with two or three Tsuu T'ina men at a time putting in a mile of posts then attaching the fencing. The men were not paid by the hour but received so much per mile. During the course of construction, Tsuu T'ina labourers found that there were squatters at Stoney Flats who had to leave because they were on reserve land.²⁶ Some of the surrounding ranchers were opposed to having the reserve fence constructed. An angry rancher cut the new fence on the eastern boundary of the reserve and stock was put on the reserve illegally in the summer of 1904.

The enclosure of the reserve by a fence in the fall of 1904 opened up opportunities to pasture 3000 head of horses and cattle owned by settlers.²⁷ The hay that individuals producers had once sold in Calgary were now used to feed the agency herds.²⁸ In 1906, Tsuu

T'ina labourers were able to put up 500 tons of hay for reserve cattle as well as 200 tons for government stock. They were paid at a rate of \$3 per ton for the hay for the Government stock.²⁹ There were problems that arose immediately in supplying the Agency instead of selling hay in Calgary. The Indian Department was often remiss in payment and often, the amount received reflected only a portion of the total. In 1904, for example, 743 ¼ tons of hay were provided by Tsuu T'ina labourers to the Agency. Only 600 tons were paid for immediately which left a balance of \$356.25 for the remaining 143 ½ tons.³⁰ Selling hay directly to the Agency removed individual producers from the market. They were therefore subject to the fluctuations in market prices but could not directly benefit from higher prices during hay shortages. In 1907, Agent McNeill reported that so much hay had been continually fed to stock in the unusually cold winter, that there was a scarcity. The scarcity affected the entire region. McNeill indicated that he had purchased hay at \$15.00 a ton with the prospect of prices reaching \$20.00 per ton.³¹ The latter price was almost ten times the amount paid in 1904.

Land leasing together with cattle raising began to fundamentally alter the pattern of work on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve. Greater production of hay further scattered workers across the landscape in the spring and particularly in the fall. In 1902, McNeill reported that the Tsuu T'ina families were dispersed all over the reserve with some groups as many as fifteen miles from the Agency.³² Looking after cattle took up the entire work of the agency in certain months of the year. The entire month of November 1906, for example, was devoted to the cattle, weaning the calves, cutting out inferior stock and preparing for winter.³³

Cattle had to be branded to differentiate the animals owned by settlers from the 111 head owned by Tsuu T'ina and the agency herd that consisted of 135 animals. The Tsuu T'ina maintained the practice of keeping large herds of horses. Inspector McGibbon

reported there were over 10,000 head of horses in the hands of Tsuu T'ina individuals by 1904.³⁴ A Tsuu T'ina man by the name of Running Antelope held over 1000 horses. The new cattle raising industry was located seven miles west of the Agency, which was the best location for wintering the animals.

The stock raising industry eventually fostered a degree of job specialization and hierarchy among Tsuu T'ina workers. A white stockman initially was hired at \$700 per month and a house built for his use. Many other Tsuu T'ina individuals obtained seasonal employment as riders for neighbouring ranchers.³⁵ The care of over 500 head of heifers supplied by the department in 1906 required a full-time stockman and three Indian herders. John Onespot, Sarcee Woman and David Onespot, graduates of St. Barnabas School and the Calgary Industrial School were hired as herders. Between 1906 and 1907, there were between 700 and 800 Indian-owned cattle and 1348 head of cattle and horses owned by white settlers grazing on reserve lands. A total of \$2696.00 was collected for leasing fees in 1908.³⁶

In 1908, John Onespot was promoted to the position of stockman with a salary of \$30 per month and other ex-pupils Billy Little and David Onespot worked with an older man, Tony, as herders. John Onespot was originally required to work at a reduced rate until he proved that he could work as a stockman. Other ex-pupils obtained employment during the fall roundups working as temporary stockmen or for neighbouring ranchers. Dipping of cattle to prevent mange required the supervision of a white man hired to oversee and assist in the work. Herders and stockman were employed year round and during cold winters the workers were constantly in the saddle.

The cattle industry transformed the reserve economy. Despite the fencing of the reserve and the hiring of herders, there were problems keeping strays off the reserve and collecting the dues for grazing. The maintenance of industrial stock required larger supplies

of hay. In 1906, the Indian Agent suggested that the reserve stock would need 500 tons of hay in addition to the 200 required for the Government stock. The government stock could be supplied at \$3 per ton after retaining enough for their own cattle.³⁷

There was a problem in obtaining a ready supply of hay in poor growing seasons. The problem of supplying the larger herds was keenly felt in the winter of 1907 when there were scarcities of hay during a long cold winter. The price of hay had reached \$15 per ton with the prospect of attaining \$20 and it was necessary to feed oat stacks to the cattle instead of hay. By 1907, enough beef was raised on the reserve to feed the population and that approximately \$2000 a year was derived from leases.³⁸ In 1908, there were 1348 head of cattle and horses on the reserve that were owned by whites from which a total of \$2,696 was collected.³⁹

New graduates also faced changing concepts of land and continuing pressure from City of Calgary and government officials to surrender reserve lands. The surrender and subsequent survey of land for the Priddis Road focused attention on the boundaries of the reserve.⁴⁰ The establishment of a public roadway involved the movement of more outsiders across the reserve landscape. There was a sharp contrast between the unrestricted movement of non-natives across the reserve roadway and the restrictions applied to Tsuu T'ina individuals.

The establishment of a public roadway on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve created new forms of seasonal employment for workers. The approach to the new bridge that crossed the Elbow River had to be graded and maintained as did the road culverts. Under the terms of the Indian Act, Indian bands were responsible for the maintenance of roadways and a consensus of male members of each band was required to release funds for this purpose. In 1901, the Sarcee Band petitioned the sum of \$250 out of grazing and hay permit dues for use

in repairs to roads and bridges on the reserve.⁴¹ This form of work repeated the same pattern of contract labour that had been in place before with temporary employment provided for a limited number of individuals for low wages. Three workers were selected by the Indian Agent: Jim Big Plume 24.5 days labour, Two Guns, 23 days and Many Swans, 30 days. Workers were paid in cash at 50 cents a day including an allowance of \$3.50 for tobacco.⁴²

Individuals who could supply a team of horses for the work were paid at the rate of \$1. This tended to favour those who were more well off and, in turn, these individuals were able to sustain seasonal employment. Teams of horses were one of the first things that wage earners purchased.⁴³ Other Indians could also rent teams of horses. The irony was that in surrendering land workers were still responsible for its maintenance and that proceeds from leasing other portions of the reserve went to the upkeep of the roadway that was no longer technically on Indian land. Road work followed the typical pattern of other forms of cash employment. The work was limited to one month or less each summer.

The road work gave workers without horses 50 cents per day. This was comparable to the wages paid to other workers for the maintenance of Indian Agency buildings. Tsuu Tina individuals were paid about 75 cents per day to work on the upkeep of Agency and farm buildings during the summer months. The method of work gradually devolved to the hiring of a work foreman who received a slightly increased salary of \$1.50 together with the responsibility of organizing the work of others. In 1905, Pat Grasshopper, an ex-pupil, was hired to supervise the roadwork of seven older men including Sleigh, Two Guns, Tony, Nay Swans, Bull Collar, Dick Night and Sarcee Woman. All workers continued to receive a small amount of tobacco for their labour perpetuating the old custom.

Material Wealth and Divisions Within The Working Population

The development of a cattle industry on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve favoured an individualistic ethos of production. The limited size of land allotments given to Tsuu T'ina farmers, however, was not enough land to support anything but a very small cattle operation.⁴⁴ The typical pattern was for workers to attempt to exploit all possible sources of income open to them always factoring in the uncertainties of climate and market that could offset possible earnings from any one source. Subclasses were creating within the working population. The division of the labour force described Acting Indian Agent Hollies in 1908 with three fifths or 39 individuals engaged in agriculture and two fifths or 26 others in hunting clearly reflects patterns of economic decision-making in the Tsuu T'ina community.⁴⁵

The actual practice of obtaining the majority of earnings from leasing land, however, created a powerful equalizing force within the reserve economy that helped sustain all individuals regardless of the decisions they made as individual participants in the production process. Larger market forces however, always eroded the efficacy of the policy of small-scale cattle production, advocated by the Indian Department.⁴⁶ Small-scale cattle producers were in direct competition with larger more efficient operations. Individual Tsuu T'ina producers were always at the whim of supply and demand. Their earnings were so small that they could not sustain any losses over a period of time.

The two groups who formed the Tsuu T'ina working "class" - farmers (including ranchers) and hunters - were defined in terms of the social hierarchy within the reserve community and to a certain extent by the accumulation of certain forms of material goods and the ability to acquire them. For individuals who chose to raise a small number of cattle, their tie to the land that surrounded their home bases was more immediate and essential than

for those who chose a hunting lifestyle to support themselves. The patterns of wage labour and the development of small-scale cattle operation favoured forms of economic leadership in which individual leaders would emerge and control local kin groups or a selected number of family relatives. This was less a question of morality as Indian Agent Hollies suggested than of a conscious set of decisions made by individuals whose activities were grounded in the realities of a dense network of closely-related kin members and weighed out carefully in relation to the pros and cons of the uncertainties of agriculture and market. The state of health of individuals and family size also factored heavily into decision-making around the choice of economic pursuit that individuals would follow.

The development of classes in the Tsuu T'ina community can be understood with reference to a "relational model" of class interests in which classes are seen as relationships through time generated in the context of the political economy of the reserve and the social hierarchy and social organization of reserve society.⁴⁷ Class creations within the community were not reducible simply to the relations of production. Class, as Thompson, concludes is defined "by the means [*individuals*] ... live their own history, and, in the end, this is its only definition."⁴⁸ Class distinctions, in this sense, within Tsuu T'ina society were based on the conscious decisions of individuals about the way they would make their living from the possibilities that were open to them and within the constraints that were imposed upon them.

There were still marked differences in the material basis of class distinctions which existed between Tsuu T'ina labourers and Agency and Mission employees and within the working population of the reserve. These material expressions of class were tangential, however, to the formation of differential patterns of wage labour and intergenerational differences that developed. The contrast between the living conditions of Indian

Department employees and Tsuu T'ina individuals continued to form the basis for expressions of power and wealth. In 1904, for example, a coal shed was built beside the agent's house and in 1905, \$2500 was approved for the erection of a new Agency house while \$700 was released to build the stockman a new cottage at the "cow camp" west of the Indian Agency.⁴⁹ Houses, in all other cases, could only be built and improved upon if individuals could afford them. The Indian Department did not supply housing.⁵⁰

Forms of patronage still existed which tended to reinforce patterns of traditional leadership. Chief Bullhead was provided with a new log house in 1902 and the first frame house in 1908. There were considerable differences in the material wealth of some ex-pupils and others in the reserve community. McNeill had commented that "we have one ex-pupil who is turning out so well and is proving that something can be done with Indians."⁵¹ The house of John Onespot, for example, included a four acre field. His father had a good field of oats and half an acre of roots, poultry and many spring chickens. There were four hens hatching in a corner of the kitchen and two pails of eggs were packed and wrapped in paper to take in to Calgary for sale. He was described as a "thrifty man" but one who had always resisted taking cattle.⁵²

The sale of beef cattle allowed individuals to purchase stock, agricultural implements and improve their dwellings. The Indian Agent, however, controlled the earnings from these sales. In 1900, individuals such as Jim Big Plume, Onespot and Big Crow were able to purchase mowers from the proceeds of beef and grain raised on the reserve.⁵³ In 1902, several wagons, mowers, rakes, sets of harnesses and smaller implements as well as a few teams of work horses were privately purchased and recorded in official statistics under what the Department terms the "personality of the Indians."⁵⁴ A comparison of the number of implements, wagons and other agricultural tools appeared to confirm the development of

new forms of private property in the Tsuu T'ina community. While farm implements were originally distributed by Chief Bullhead and the Minor Chiefs to individuals within the bands, the purchase of these and other items by individuals clearly reflects the development of a pattern of differential wealth among individuals in the Tsuu T'ina community. Between 1900 and 1910, there were small differences with one or two producers being able to afford better equipment, new riding gear, carts and wagons. In 1900, there were a total of five mowers in private hands. This tripled by 1910 while other implements doubled from 130 to 250. The number of wagons and carts increased from 8 to 32 while driving sleighs doubled from 7 to 17.⁵⁵

The houses of the few individuals who took up farming on a regular basis and who were able to exploit many sources of income were larger and included more material possessions. These improvements found their way into reports of "progress" submitted by Agency Inspectors to the Indian Department. Inspector McGibbon's report of 1904 was no exception. The Inspector informed the department that Dick Starlight had a nice house, iron bedstead and an oak one, Brussels carpet, ornaments on the walls, brackets, clock and a six acre field of oats.⁵⁶

McGibbon described others in the Agency who were either employees of the Agency or were given responsibility for supplying the agency with hay, wood and coal. He noted, for example, that Sleigh and Crowchild, had "good houses." The Inspector made special mention of ex-pupils who appeared to be making progress. McGibbon mentioned that Pat Grasshopper, a graduate of the Sarcee Boarding School, was building an addition to his house. McNeill described him as a "handy man with tools" and noted that "he had a lot of tools on the wall of his house all bright and shining."⁵⁷ Grasshopper had eight acres under crop and 13 head of cattle. There was a railing around his house whitewashed with lime and

trees planted around the house. McGibbon stated that the house was ceiled with dressed lumber and that Grasshopper's possessions included a shelve dresser that he had made. McGibbon described the neat houses of Otter and Dick Night. The latter maintained a sixteen acre field. Bull Collar, the new Police Scout, lived in the chief's old log house. His wife was a graduate of the Dunbow Industrial School. McGibbon described the house as being "in the pink" in neatness with a carpet and crimson table cover.⁵⁸

The seven or eight individuals who were able to demonstrate an improvement in their standard of living were taken to represent evidence of progress in the Tsuu T'ina community. Most men and their families led an impoverished existence dependent upon government rations and eking out a living as best they could. The only Tsuu T'ina family to give up the weekly rations of beef and flour was the family of Mark Crowchild and his family of nine. Inspector McGibbon reported that the family took great pride in their independence.⁵⁹ The Crowchild family had a large single roof house with wooden floors and framed ceilings. Crowchild cultivated 154 acres in grain crops, planted root crops and a garden one and a half acres in size. The Inspector describes the Crowchild house interior as "comfortable, furnished with tables, maps, clock, large cooking stove, a box-stove, rocking and other chairs, bedstead, child's crib, delf closet, knives, forks, spoons and table cloths, toilet set, mirrors, pictures, pans, milk pans etc."⁶⁰

Inspector McGibbon described the "comfortable homes" of 14 families on the reserve. This represented less than half of family residences on the reserve at the time. These individuals who had homes with two or three rooms and a second storey were described by the Indian commissioner as "more advanced members of the band."⁶¹ Acting Agent Hollies cited this as an example of the "Sarcee Awakening." He blamed the "long period of Sarcee inertness" and backwardness on the "unconquerable Sarcee language" which the "warm and

softening influence of the department's methods and the churches' teachings had redressed to improve the material position of the Tsuu T'ina people."⁶²

Rationing and The Sale of Reserve Lands

Decisions that were made about reserve land use reflect a degree of uncertainty among band members. This was as true of ex-pupils as it was of individuals who comprised the older generation on the reserve. The Indian Agent blamed the reluctance of individuals to surrender the rights for oil and gas exploration on the unwillingness of individuals to oppose the wishes of the Chief or Medicine Men who were most often from the older generation.⁶³ It is, however, as likely, that the younger and older generations of Tsuu T'ina understood fully the potential consequences of quick decisions regarding the surrender of reserve lands.

The operating expenses of all Indian Agencies came under closer scrutiny in the first few years of the 1900s. Officials were concerned with the continuing expenditure on rations within each Agency. Duncan Campbell Scott, the accountant for the Department, drew attention to the expenditures in the Sarcee Agency and the desirability of selling reserve lands. Between 1901, the operating expenses of the Sarcee Agency totalled \$8558.18 of which \$4332.66 or roughly 50 percent was used to feed and clothe the destitute. Other expenses included farm implements and seed at \$115.94, school costs of \$990.71 and a further \$2118.86 for the general expenses of running the Agency.⁶⁴

The Department of Indian Affairs inaugurated a new policy of reducing rations to the ranching reserve of Southern Alberta beginning in 1905. Pedley's view was that, "the slowness of progress in the bringing of the Indians to a state of self-support" was attributable to what he termed, "the system of free feeding."⁶⁵ Pedley noted at the same time, there had been an "enormous reduction" in the annual issues of rations that had resulted

from teaching Indians to provide for themselves.⁶⁶ In order to reorganize the system of rationing, the department reclassified Indians under four headings in 1905. There were the “self-supporting” to whom no rations were given. Those designated as “semi self-supporting” required meat rations at a certain interval while the “semi-destitute” were defined as those who could support themselves one half of the year. The “destitute” were those, who through old age or infirmity required 16 ounces of beef, 14 ounces of flour and one ounce of beans per diem.⁶⁷

There were differing attitudes about the actual sale of reserve lands. Agent McNeill, a strong proponent of selling reserve lands, held a long meeting in June of 1904 with Chief Bullhead, the Minor Chiefs and other male adult members of the Tsuu T'ina Band. McNeill felt that with the sale of reserve lands, “the problem of abolishing the government rations house would be solved.”⁶⁸ He suggested that the area of the north half of the reserve comprising range 2 of township 23 be sold. McNeill had informed the Secretary of the Indian Department that the Indians were not making any use of this area of the reserve, There were, he noted, a dozen shanties near the Elbow River where a few families wintered but did not engage in either stockraising or farming.⁶⁹ McNeill proposed that the proceeds from the sale of the land be used to purchase cattle so that the reserve could become self-sufficient. He was quick to remind department officials that his salary of \$1000 a year had saved the department the expenditure on the work previously performed by the Indian Agent and Clerk at a total cost of \$1920 per year.⁷⁰

A few of the young men who attended the meeting were in favour of the scheme, according to Agent McNeill. The old people and the Chief, however, were much in opposition to surrender a foot, “so long as they get free rations although they are now reduced to the lowest possible figure.”⁷¹ Chief Bullhead was seen as the major impediment

to the sale of reserve lands. One of the ex-pupils spoke in favour of selling, stating, "we will starve if we don't sell. We want cattle."⁷² But these sentiments did not reflect the consensus of the band members. McNeill notified the Indian Department that Chief Bullhead, speaking through a translator, had informed him:

"We are of one mind not to sell or give up any of our Reserve. We don't want to quarrel about it we don't want to sell. The Reserve is just big enough for ourselves the whitemen are bothering us to give up our land. The treaty was made."⁷³ McNeill suggested that a change had occurred by 1909 with the majority of the young men willing to part with land but held back through fear and superstition.⁷⁴

The pressure to sell reserve land came from a number of sources. The Department of Indian Affairs had taken steps to survey selected Indian reserves in Canada so that they could be subdivided and sold. In 1901, McNeill proposed that two sections of the reserve be sold for settlement at the cost of \$5 per acre with one section maintained as reserve lands. The purchase price of \$200 could then be used to secure the prosperity of reserve inhabitants. The Department of the Interior, under pressure from the Calgary Chamber of Commerce, suggested that the allotment of 640 acres for every family of five Tsuu T'ina was a retarding factor in the general development of the district.⁷⁵ Members of the Calgary Board of Trade petitioned the Department of Indian Affairs for a surrender of a portion of the reserve. The reduction of rations, land sale and the expansion of the cattle industry were the basis of Agent McNeill's vision of Tsuu T'ina self-reliance. He originally proposed that one township of the reserve be sold to purchase 500 head of cattle, and fence the reserve. This way the "Indians would get sufficient revenue to support themselves without asking any assistance from the Government."⁷⁶

The search for oil and gas reached the Tsuu T'ina reserve with the first applications received for drilling rights in 1906. Chief Bullhead and others were at first opposed to the project. A surrender completed in the fall of 1905 provided for opportunities for outside

companies to explore for oil and gas within the Reserve in the new Province of Alberta and the requisite mining privileges.⁷⁷ An oil and gas well established in 1906 by the Calgary Natural Gas Company became a source of employment for Tsuu T'ina workers who constructed the trail to the well and supplied the well site with coal.⁷⁸ The operation of the gas well also required wood. Tsuu T'ina workers harvested wood from the foothills for the plant and their homes in February of 1907.⁷⁹

In 1906, the Department of Indian affairs hired Reverend John McDougall to negotiate the surrender of Tsuu T'ina lands. McDougall expressed the view that the land was worth about \$6 an acre. He informed Pedley that "the Indians all over the West have learned the value of land."⁸⁰ McDougall then met with Chief Bullhead at the Chief's house in February to discuss the possibility of surrendering 48 sections along the north edge of the reserve. He reported to the Department that Bullhead had told him:

"we need not wait we will not let any portion of our land go. We have just finished fencing it and we earnestly desire to keep our lands as it is. My young men are now going with cattle and soon will have this Reserve fill of cattle and Horse. My old friend, John, do not ask me while I live to let this land go ask the Government to refrain from pressing us on this subject - we say no."⁸¹

McDougall said the Chief was old and feeble but commented that the building of a fence around the Reserve had given the Tsuu T'ina a sense of "proprietaryship" they had not had before. The oil and gas concessions had given them a feeling that they should hold onto their land.⁸² Indian Agent McNeill commented that "the Sarcees are by nature a shrewd lot" and "ever on the look-out to make a dollar."⁸³ A vote held later in January of 1908 resulted in a total of 63 men voting, 12 in favour of a surrender. Indian Agent McNeill reported that 11 of the 12 were young men who were in favour of surrender of a third of their reserve lands.⁸⁴ The entire experience left Agent McNeill somewhat disillusioned. He characterized

the Tsuu T'ina in 1909 as, "the hardest lot I have had to deal with since I joined the service some nineteen years ago."⁸⁵

The Life and Death of James Big Plume

Debates over the fate of reserve lands and proposals for developing a self-sufficient reserve economy, formed the backdrop to the lived-in realities of day to day life for the Tsuu T'ina between 1890 and 1910. The life of Jim Big Plume was no exception in this regard. Jim Big Plume was born in 1875 (Plate 16). He was the son of Big Plume, a highly-respected Medicine Man. Big Plume, a brother of Chief Bullhead, once owned the Tsuu T'ina calendar. Jim Big Plume attended the day school at the Old Agency site and, like many others of his generation, learned to read and write English. Indian Agent McNeill attempted to help Jim Big Plume to find a suitable marriage partner as he did for other young male school graduates. In 1901, C. E. Somerset, Principal of the Red Deer Industrial School, contacted Agent McNeill about two sisters - ages 18 and 19 - who were students in these schools. He informed McNeill that either of the women would make a good wife having been trained at the Regina Industrial School, spoke English well and were "clean and tidy and moral."⁸⁶ Inspector Wadsworth intervened in the case. He recommended against the union suggesting, "Jim better take a trip to Morley and look over the girls in the school there."⁸⁷

In 1903, scarlet fever broke out at the Big Plume home. The Indian Agent reported that the Tsuu T'ina were very frightened that it might be smallpox - "their old enemy."⁸⁸ The family was isolated, their house disinfected and their clothing burned under the direction of the medical officer. In 1900, the Indian Commissioner requested that Indian Agents supply photographs of the first log huts and the "model cottages" which were later built. McNeill sent the Commissioner a picture of Jim Big Plume and his wife in front of their new two-storey log house (Plate 17).⁸⁹



Plate 16: Big Plume Brothers – Jim, Peter and Jack, c. 1890 (GA #NA 4970-1)



Plate 17: Jim Big Plume with wife, Jane and baby George, c. 1895 (GA #NA 1020-33)

Jim Big Plume was selected by a majority of males to succeed Painted Otter, as Minor Chief in 1900. The oath of office was read in English but a Cree translation was also provided before he affixed his signature to the documents. In 1902, Agent McNeill noted that the wife of Jim Big Plume, “[*kept*] a good house neat and tidy and is a pattern to many others on the reserve ... Jim is putting in a good crop.”⁹⁰ In the following, Inspector McGibbon reported Jim Big Plume, “had a nice house with a wing as kitchen included two bedsteads, one of them iron, tables, chairs, box and cook stoves, a shelf with a collection of books, among which [*he*] noticed a Bible and prayer and hymn-books, oil cloth, fancy lamps, clock, curtains on windows, the whole place was bright and clean; good stable and some poultry, ten acres of oats in a nice field, well harrowed and twelve head of cattle.”⁹¹

By 1906, Jim Big Plume had established himself as one of the more successful individuals in the reserve community. He had built a house and a cattle shed for himself capable of holding 40 head.⁹² His holdings were small but his house and its contents were taken as indices of progress by Department officials. Big Plume fell ill in the summer that year and was diagnosed with rheumatism. Agent McNeill reported that he was “one of my best men, his absence in the hay field is felt.”⁹³ Jim Big Plume was placed in the Morley Hospital after being diagnosed with tuberculosis in the spring of 1907. The medical officer had described his case as “slow in developing physical signs of tuberculosis.”⁹⁴

The terrible course of his struggle with pulmonary tuberculosis is evident in letters written in 1906 and 1907. In the fall of 1906, Jim Big Plume wrote to Reverend John William Tims:

“Your kind letter reached us on Monday and we are very glad to hear from you that you are all well, I am sorry to say I am not bit well as these months and now I’m little better as I was before. My family are well and Jane and others Sarcees all well with they work camping hay making. I guse you are beautiful were you are we see the placed you send us letter. I would like to hear from you again it is very hard for me to ask our people to go to church every Sundays. I am very sorry you are going away from There is noone help me I

am sick please pray from me all I wish Mr. Stocken could help me I am very glad try to send me a worked again as soon as you get this letter. I'll always wishing you both Mrs. Tims also. That is all for this time may God bless usual. From your kind friend, Jim Big Plume."⁹⁵

In June of 1907, Jim Big Plume wrote to Agent John McNeill:

"I never sleep coughing all night ... That's why I didn't wrote though I will get better but it was not. One thing please tell S. L. if he can make me well I can stay here long and if he could direct note Ill [*sic*] be out. Please tell me all the news our place write me soon. Only one God his our father what he want to too. Remember me."⁹⁶

He remained in the hospital at Morley, Alberta until the summer of 1907. Dr. Lafferty maintain that "he is being well cared for as he would be in any sanitarium for consumptives in Canada."⁹⁷ Tommy Bull Collar, another Tsuu T'ina student, died in September at the Morley Hospital. The wife of Jim Big Plume and his family were allowed to camp beside the hospital in a tipi. Lafferty pronounced the case as hopeless and the attending doctor recommended that Jim Big Plume be returned to the Tsuu T'ina Reserve. Agent McNeill reported that a number of his relatives and others demanded his return saying they wanted him to die at home.

Jim Big Plume died on August 5, 1907 at the age of 32. He was buried in the Tsuu T'ina Reserve Cemetery across from Old Agency. He was described by McNeill as "the most intelligent best behaved and one of the most advanced Indians on the reserve."⁹⁸ McNeill also noted that "he was looked upon by the majority of the Band as the succeeding chief."⁹⁹ Agnes, Jim Big Plume's daughter, died at the end of August 1907 at the age of fifteen months. The surviving children were George age five years and Alexander age three years. Seven years later, Jane Potts married Peter Many Wounds, who as a young boy had written from the Sarcee Boarding School to the Women's Auxiliary of the Anglican Church of Canada in Toronto to thank them for sending him a new suit.

The will of Jim Big Plume stipulated that his house, stables, cattle and six horses went to his brother Peter in trust for his three children. Jane Potts, the wife of Jim Big

Plume, was a Cree woman who had been educated at the Red Deer Industrial School.¹⁰⁰ She was left nothing in the will other than the right to live in the family house as long as she remained unmarried. A two year old steer, was left to this brother, Jack Big Plume. To Mark Crowchild he left a two year old colt, and to Two Guns, he left his mower and the wish to help his brother Peter. His oldest sister, Good Cut Woman, received a one year old colt. Jim Big Plume left his medal to his brother-in-law, Big Belly. Big Belly would later succeed Chief Bullhead as Head Chief.

The will required that Peter Big Plume pay off all the lawful debts still owing on the cattle. His brother was to look after the three children for which he would receive half of the proceeds from the cattle. Jim Big Plume stated that he wished his children to be placed in St. Barnabas Home once they reached the age of seven years of age. He asked specifically that, "Archdeacon Tims to be kind to my wife and children." Indian Agent McNeill was appointed as Executor of the will. Tims and the Farm Instructor, George Hodgson were witnesses. Despite the fact that Jim Big Plume could sign his name, he placed an "x" at the place for his signature, possibly because he was too weak to sign the document. The tragic story of Jim Big Plume's life was typical for many individuals in the Tsuu T'ina community who contracted pulmonary tuberculosis.

Literacy and Gender

The will of Jim Big Plume, appeared to confirm acceptance of the paternalistic system of European land tenure and property advocated by Indian Department officials. It is abundantly clear, however, that the underlying values and beliefs embodied in the conventions of the Tsuu T'ina kinship system prevailed in the designation of property in the will. The Tsuu T'ina kinship system differentiated between old and younger siblings in terms of responsibility. The older brother, Peter Big Plume, therefore was assigned his brother's

property. Payment for these goods and services was symbolized by the responsibility of caring for the children and wife of Jim Big Plume. The affirmation of the authority of the older brother, who filled in for the husband, reflected the earlier custom of the levirate whereby a man would marry his brother's widow. These responsibilities would dissolve upon the remarriage of Jim Big Plume's widow.

The will of Jim Big Plume was the first one to be written. Individuals of this generation who were literate in the English language had other overlapping forms of literacy available to them. For church and state officials, the inculcation of reading and writing in English was of paramount importance in the education process. Henry Stocken very early on had taken the initiative of recording the rough English translations of Tsuu T'ina surnames in English onto the treaty pay lists. But this imposition of English surnames for individuals did not eclipse the practice of naming individuals at various stages in the lives of individuals from childhood to adulthood. While officials attempted to reorganize flexible kinship designations for individuals into a uniform pattern of naming based on nuclear family units, the use of Indian names for individuals continued and did not necessarily reflect parentage or the relationships between individuals and their closest lineal relatives.

The functional benefits of the form of English literacy obtained by the first generation of students, beyond the obvious fact that individuals could recognize the written word and the written numbers, were limited in the world outside of the reserve. The introduction of new forms of literacy had always been a one-way process. No missionaries ever mastered the Tsuu T'ina language and only rough and inaccurate translations of portions of the Bible were ever attempted. English literacy in the context of the Tsuu T'ina mission created what Ranger had referred to as a "colonial invention of localism" in language use.¹⁰¹ While Tims and other employees of the reserve mission used a highly-

codified formal language, the Tsuu T'ina were able to develop their own form of English as a fundamental expression of their new community identity.

The CMS mission on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve created a bounded form of literacy based on a distinctive dialect of mission-influenced English that reflected the underlying structure and nuances of native languages. The potency of the emergence of this language as a distinctive expression of the Tsuu T'ina working class and of a new reserve community identity, however, cannot be overstated. Literacy in the English language was, at first, more of an advantage in the world outside the reserve. But literacy also was a necessary part of belonging to the Christian community of the Tsuu T'ina reserve because the Bible and other religious texts formed the basis for the social interactions of individuals.

The growth of literacy among members of the Tsuu T'ina school population was very much rooted in the oral and public or group nature of Bible reading or in the custom of reading and singing. This form of language use had a compelling moral basis to it. Mission staff considered reading the Bible as the vehicle for bringing all men the Word of God and for religious indoctrination derived from the moral message of the print. This was not so much an intellectual or liberating action as it was a ritualistic one. The level of overall literacy could remain quite low, as far as external standards were concerned, because a literal understanding of the words was in itself not essential.¹⁰² English literacy taught in this manner was a "restricted form" in which the written word was held to have encoded meanings and reading was a matter of decoding the meanings of the text.

Tsuu-T'ina English therefore served a dual role. It could, on one hand, pass for a form of sub-standard English in the broader community. On the other hand, the subtleties of meanings and the metaphors it contained were used to solidify community bonds within the reserve boundaries and to maintain the distinctions between "insiders" and "outsiders."

The primary reference, in either case, was the Tsuu T'ina community and its requirements for communication within the changing historical contexts of community development. It is possible to speculate that students in the Sarcee Boarding School developed this language in response to their not being allowed to speak their own native languages. It is also clear, however, that a new common form of communication was required for social interactions and work in a cultural plural setting.

The mission-influence on reserve English did, however, create differential language competencies along gender lines. In the school, Tsuu T'ina girls were required to read morning and evening prayers and to take turns in reading lesson verse about the Psalms. Girls were fond of singing and often sang over their work. On Sundays they learned the Collect and Epistle and read all the catechism in the Gospel. Even the youngest children learned the Lord's Prayers and the Creed. The extension outward of a mission-based English literacy was sustained by the common practice of Indian women from the camp visiting the school where the girls would tell them Bible stories.¹⁰³ The sharing of Bible readings between girls and their mothers or other female relatives was one of the forms in which gender differences were expressed in the new Tsuu T'ina Reserve culture. The creation of a female literate culture finds analogy in the studies of female convent culture. But the female culture that developed within the boarding school was relatively short-lived.

Reading was central to the life of girls in the school and to their socialization within the schools. Women's matrons played a central role in encouraging this form of literacy. In 1904, Blanche Crawford, matron in the Sarcee Boarding School, noted, "the girls were kept busy reading books sent to them by the Women's Auxiliary in their spare time."¹⁰⁴ She commented that they were so fond of reading that "I gave the larger books to them." Girls were given scrapbooks containing information about the outside world and history. Miss

Crawford further commented: "the scrap book will be out with the other interesting scrap books -we have such a fine collection - some of them are very old and valuable - we just get them out as a special holiday treat."¹⁰⁵ Girls also studied all of the journals and catalogues for patterns for clothing.

Girls were therefore at a distinct advantage in learning to read and write English in the school. Boys spent less time in the school. In 1904, Percy Stocken reported that "most of the boys have been in the school only two years and they have not had the same chance as the girls for learning English, there being no big boy to interpret."¹⁰⁶ Only nominal literacy was established among the boys because their activities were focused on the work of the mission and schools. Tims also provided private lessons in Bible readings for boys during which he would lead and guide discussions. While the acquisition of English literacy was the cornerstone of Indian education, the Tsuu T'ina were able to develop new found language skills according to their own requirements and circumstances.

The organization of cattle raising required a hierarchy of men but did not require them to be literate individuals. Nor was literacy important for recognizing individual brands on cattle. In 1902, Pat Grasshopper was assigned a "P" as his brand and Jim Big Plume a "JBP" that overlapped the last two letters into one. Others, such as Many Swans, Crow Child, Big Crow and Big Belly, were assigned their treaty numbers as brands.¹⁰⁷ The system itself was obviously designed more for the benefit of Indian Department employees than it was for Tsuu T'ina individuals. Brands were used as evidence of personal property. Literacy was used as a means to regulate Indian wealth and the regulation of Indian private property. The department still insisted that a third party who was literate witness the mark of an Indian signing treaty paylists or receiving cheque or cash payments requiring endorsement.¹⁰⁸

Individuals who could not write their names were required to touch a pen to an “x” that was made on their behalf with a third party witness. The witnessing of official documents was also required when the Chief and his headmen gave their consent to grazing leases. Individuals who could read and write English were certainly at an advantage in being able to grasp the financial records of the Reserve as well as the methods of annuity payments in the Agency.

With the expansion of the cattle industry and the permanent employment of a Tsuu T’ina stockman, the department required that monthly records be kept. Therefore an individual who could read and write could be the only candidate. Beginning in 1909, John Onespot maintained a daily diary of stock operations on the reserves. The Inspector noted that he was “struck with the completeness of [*the*] monthly diary” and he had one copy removed from the office file and forwarded to the Indian Commissioner.¹⁰⁹ His diary read:¹¹⁰

all painting in the rain
 boys painting houses, self cleaning yard up
 boys painting buildings
 Bob and self took Mr. Gordon to station
 Sent Oscar out looking for horses, self too cow down to agency killed her
 for beef
 6 days
 Oscar putting things ready for haying self taking for horses
 7 day
 we mowed and start raking
 same day 8 same day 9
 10 day
 we all hauling hay had stacking up

The role that literacy in the English language played was less clear-cut and direct than its proponents suggested. The systematic pattern of inequality and stratification within the Tsuu T’ina society, the reserve community and between the Tsuu T’ina and outsiders generally was largely unaltered by the influence of new forms of English literacy.¹¹¹ Within the community, the acquisition of reading and writing skills in English did not affect the

existing hierarchies. The public narration of past war history or histories had been an implicit part of the expression of power in Tsuu T'ina culture with war histories accounted by individuals of high rank and prestige in former times.

The public nature of Bible reading, however, did not create or sustain distinctions between those of higher and lower ranking within Tsuu T'ina Society. The Bible was the text everyone shared and which each person in the society had access to. Therefore with the first literate generation what one had was not an opposition between the "literate" and the "oral" or the transitional oral versus the new literate culture but rather a set of overlapping practices. New biblically-inspired oral and literate traditions were created in the Tsuu T'ina community. These traditions were based on differences in linguistic competencies among male and female students and existed alongside a pre-existing oral culture.¹¹²

The central point was that Tsuu T'ina students did not speak or write the same form of "standard" English as John William Tims. Judging from the letters that survive, they spoke a unique dialect of Indian-influenced English that was underlain by the structure of native languages such as Tsuu T'ina or Cree spoken in their homes. The use of other languages such as Tsuu T'ina, Cree and Blackfoot and Stoney - all present in the community during this period - may have been reserved for ceremonial purposes, for communication within certain families and for public gatherings as a symbol of leadership, prestige and authority. A new form of hybrid English emerged that accommodated the forms and nuances of the Indian languages, allowed for communication in the outside world and within the Parish while at the same time provided a common marker of identity and separateness from the outside world.

Education and Ritual Expressions of Community

The Tsuu T'ina Reserve continued to be an object of attention for European and American tourists who were interested in Indian life and the scenery of the reserve in the first decade of the 20th century. These tourists paid for relics of Indian life as souvenirs of their visits.¹¹³ Tsuu T'ina individuals were asked to perform at shows and exhibitions in Calgary for which they were paid remuneration. The Indian Agent expressed indignation in the summer of 1903 when the Tsuu T'ina were asked to stage war dances and sham fights. Local newspapers and handbills promoted the idea that the art of warfare had not been forgotten and that there would be proof of same on the agricultural grounds of the Calgary Exhibit on July 23rd.¹¹⁴ There was regular attendance at the Calgary Exhibition starting 1905 when individuals would leave the reserve for four or five days at a time to attend.¹¹⁵

In 1901, a visit by the Duke and Duchess of York entailed a gathering of Indians at Shaganappi Point near the city of Calgary. A platform of red and white striped canvas formed a pavilion for the Royal Party. In front were The Indian Chiefs from the various reserves were in front. The Indian children from the Boarding and Industrial Schools stood behind them in a circle. An outer semi-circle of Indians women in native costume formed the next grouping and behind them mounted on painted horses were Indian braves in paint and feathers. At the end of the day, the children joined in singing the National Anthem.¹¹⁶ Chief Bullhead, for his part, was reported to have wiped his nose with his hand before shaking hands with the Duke and asking that the Duke and Duchess take pity on the Tsuu T'ina by giving them food.¹¹⁷ Tims noted Chief Bullhead said that all the Indians around wanted to have lots of grub to make them feel happy before they started for home.

Public gatherings of this kind provided one of the few avenues for the Tsuu T'ina to make political representation to government officials. Indian students were often called

upon to deliver short speeches to demonstrate the advantages and “civilizing” effects of boarding school education. David Wolf Carrier, one of the students at the Calgary Industrial School, delivered a speech addressed to the Duke and Duchess of York at the 1901 gathering. The speech, written by John William Tims, summarized the demise of the buffalo and the taking up of reserve life. The speech lamented the recent death of Queen Victoria:

“at the time we entered into treaty with our Great Mother we pledged her our allegiance and loyalty and during the rebellion of 1885 we refused to bear arms adjacent our gracious Sovereign. Under the fostering care of His Majesty Department of Indian affairs we are gradually adapting the civilized mode of living and are requiring cattle and other means of obtaining stable subsistence.”¹¹⁸

The speech delivered by David Wolf Carrier but written by Tims is significant for several reasons. It clearly mimics the form of “reserve English” used by Peter Manywounds and other students in the Sarcee Boarding School. Tims’ writing, however, achieves this through the use of selected words and phrases rather than changes in syntax and grammar. It reflects the highly-codified form of the English language introduced to students in the Sarcee Boarding School but even more importantly, the speech clearly reveals that Tims had to adapt his own speech to native patterns of English language use. The relationship between native languages and “mission English” and “reserve English” was therefore complex and reciprocal with each form influencing the others in the communicative process.

Transitions in Tsuu T’ina Culture

In 1903, the Inspector of Indian Agencies for Southern Alberta held a meeting with Chief Bullhead and other male leaders at the house of the Chief. When asked to characterize the status of his people, Chief Bullhead reportedly commented that “his people were on friendly terms with each other, never quarrel and all were friendly with the agency.” Chief Bullhead noted that the only trouble was that his people obtained whiskey and sometimes landed in jail. He maintained that “the fault was not theirs that liquor was one of God’s

creations and the white man gave it to them.”¹¹⁹ Crow Collar, another man of Bullhead’s generation, told the Inspector that he did not want to part with any of the reserve. He described the Indian Agent as a good man who helped the Indians make money. The Cree, another man who was present, also expressed his satisfaction with the running of the Agency.¹²⁰

In January of 1909, John William Tims addressed the first convention of Indian workers in Alberta in Edmonton. Tims spoke of the betterment and elevation of the Indian and reiterated that “Christianization” and “Civilization” of the Indian should go hand in hand. It was impossible, he stated, to do anything with a lazy man as proven by the success of Missionwork among the working populations of England. Tims noted that the civilization of natives was proven by “better equipped houses, furnishings, eating at tables with forks and knives and men dressed in tweed suits and women in gowns of their own make after a civilized pattern.”¹²¹

The realities of the Anglican missions were of debt and poor results. By 1909, the schools in southern Alberta had a cumulative debt of over \$4000 and a deficit of \$7035.51. On the Tsuu T’ina Reserve there were 11 children baptized and 11 adults with an overall total for the four Indian Missions of 71 persons. A new church had been erected in 1908 but services were held in Indian houses seven miles from the church during the summer and the spring and frequently in a tent or in the open ten miles from the church during the haying season.¹²²

When Generation One left the day schools on the Tsuu T’ina Reserve, St. Barnabas School and the Calgary Industrial School, they assumed life in a community that was undergoing a transition. The program developed by the Indian Department for achieving community self-sufficiency initially based on farming was now based on a diversified

economy based on agriculture, cattle raising and the leasing of land. Instead of having a degree of autonomy in supplying the local Calgary market with wood and hay, workers, with one or two exceptions, now only supplied the agency and the increased demands of an expanding the local cattle industry. This left forms of ritual expression as one of the few venues in which a degree of individual autonomy could be expressed and a new sense of collective action could be undertaken. There were striking contrasts between the public secular rituals in which Tsuu T'ina individuals participated and the private religious ceremonies that were still maintained. There were conflicts as the result of older individuals taking up agriculture and abandoning the ritual calendar that Chief Bullhead maintained.¹²³

Continuing participation in the traditional religious ceremonies by the older generations of Tsuu T'ina was not surprising considering the intimate link between beliefs regarding health and spirituality and the participation in these rituals. The complexity of ritual and of religious life generally in the first decade of the 20th century cannot be explained by any one factor nor of an idea of the perpetuation of customs as a form of opposition or contestatory action. Instead, the deep need for meaning in a time of community crisis and the death of young people under the age of twenty appears to have fostered great experimentation in forms of religion and ritual practices.

Regardless of the external appearances of what Tims perceived to be "civilization," it was clear that the reality of conversion and acculturation had produced differing results. The numbers of Tsuu T'ina baptized each year between 1898 and 1907 varied. There were between 2 and 16 baptisms per year.¹²⁴ Almost all of these individuals were inmates of the boarding school or the Calgary Industrial school. Regardless of Tim's hopes, a large number of Tsuu T'ina including men, women and children continued to attend the Sacred Pipe

Ceremonies held in the spring of each year and the annual Sun Dance. The acquisition of English literacy and schooling appeared to make little difference.

In 1904, Agent McNeill commented that many of the more “advanced” students who spoke English also attended the Sun Dance ceremonials.¹²⁵ In the following year, McNeill noted that one of the Scouts who had been baptized and married in the reserve church a week before, had distributed the paint used in the Sun Dance and had attended the ceremonies.¹²⁶ What McNeill’s report did not mention was the fact that the individual’s wife was suffering from cancer.¹²⁷ Participation in the Sun Dance ritual therefore provided the hope of a traditional form of cure.

With the passing of new legislation in the form of Section 114 of the Indian Act in 1903, participation in gatherings for traditional purposes and in all forms of dancing were subject to the approval of the Indian Agent and were subject to closer scrutiny by the Indian Department. Indian Commission David Laird asked for a report on the continuation of “dancing” connected with the continuation of native religious ceremonies in a follow-up circular.¹²⁸ Laird maintained that “one of the great obstacles to the advancement of our Indians is the extent to which dancing is practised.”¹²⁹ McNeill responded by describing the holding of the sacred Medicine Pipe Dance, which he depicted as a ceremony to ask for blessing from the Great Spirit, healing of the sick and the forgiveness of sins.¹³⁰ McNeill stated confidently that the holding of the Sun Dance had been done away with in 1891 but that older members of the band still attended the ceremonies at one of the other reserves in southern Alberta or at the Blackfoot Reserve in Montana.

Native forms of religious rituals continued to be practiced along with Christian ceremonies. Agent McNeill described the Grass Dance that, by the early 1900s, was held at Christmas time when other Christian feasts were held on the Tsuu T’ina Reserve. McNeill

commented that participants were painted and dressed up with feathers and other fancy Indian dress. He stated that “while there is nothing of an elevating nature about this affair there does not appear to be anything harmful in connection with it. It was, in his view, simply a matter of time, in which the dances would die out and it was not necessary to resort to force to stop such practices. He called for tolerance of the customs.

The Ghost Dance of which Tsuu T'ina individuals had knowledge personified the religious pluralism of the time and the forms of religious syncretism that existed in the community. The Ghost Dance, one of many native millennial movements in North America at this time, embraced Christianity but promised a revival of Indian tradition and custom. The Ghost Dance stressed Christian social mores as a means to salvation and an afterlife of traditional Indian culture and fellowship.¹³¹ The continuation of these customs was less an expression of opposition to enforced acculturation than a very human response to the high mortality of infants and children and the horrors of rampant tuberculosis in the community.¹³² Christmas feasts were held each year at the mission with the enticement of gifts of clothing and other items. In 1901, Tims noted that about 30 old women came to have an article of clothing each and a little tobacco that had been provided by some Calgary merchants.¹³³

The choices that the first generation of boarding school students had in resettling into reserve life reveal a set of contrasting views deriving from an underlying logic of Tsuu T'ina customs, beliefs and values. Cultural life, however, itself was transformed through historical experiences. Reformulation of what constituted “Indianness” and Tsuu T'ina identity were recast by this group of individuals in the context of secular ritual, public displays and exhibitions. The extreme contrasts between ex-pupils and their parents and

grandparents were based on intergenerational differences in knowledge, language, religion, worldview and patterns of socialization.

Regardless of how marked these differences were, the first generation was still bound by the constraints of reserve life and the requirements of earning a daily living. The rise of a literate subculture of women created marked differences along gender lines in Tsuu T'ina society. The development of English literacy on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve was a complex process. The development of a unique form of Tsuu T'ina English developed within the context of the mission and the school. Literacy itself did not guarantee cognitive advancement, social mobility or progress for Tsuu T'ina individuals relative to the broader Canadian community. The impact, however, of reading and writing, cannot be underestimated in terms of the creation of intergenerational differences in worldview and knowledge base among the Tsuu T'ina people.

The acquisition of English literacy was an implicit part of the process of conversion and of acquiring Christian knowledge in the schooling of Tsuu T'ina students. The moral nature of this process, in which religion and literacy were intertwined, was advocated by middle-class school and social reformers as part of the requirement of a new social order and new rules of social and economic behaviour.¹³⁴ While missionaries such as Tims viewed the literacy in the English language as the central instrument of reordering and making native society an integral part of white society, it is apparent that Indian English may have provided a common vehicle for new forms of metaphorical language, biblically-inspired or not, for the defense of rational rights and customs as the basis for new forms of community consciousness and identity among the Tsuu T'ina people.

Tsuu T'ina individuals of generation one were not passive "consumers" of literacy but active participants in the creation of new meanings that the acquisition of literacy

facilitated. They contributed to the creation of a new religious community that embraced religious pluralism in its constitution and composition and that had to be understood in its own terms with reference to Tsuu T'ina reserve society.

Conclusions – The First Generation of Tsuu T'ina Students

Tsuu T'ina students joined a community that was diverse, highly mobile and hierarchically-structured. The asymmetrical pattern of power between local officials and workers was presented in forms of decision-making and distribution that remained unaltered from the previous decade. The absorption of a few individuals into the organized work hierarchies on the reserve did not fundamentally change these structures. Nor did the pattern of traditional leadership vary, nor was it particularly influenced by the first generation of students prior to 1910.

Literacy was essential for higher positions in the new cattle industry and facilitated greater access and participation in the business of the reserve, signing and reading treaty paylists and other official documents such as land transactions. Literacy, however, had to be understood with reference to its function in the immediate context of the reserve community not just as an example of an ill-placed measure of modernity.¹³⁵ While the transformation in the mental outlook of Tsuu T'ina students perhaps was less immediate and dramatic than church and government officials had hoped, there were in the end few areas of popular culture left untouched by the shift from restricted to full English literacy in successive generations of Tsuu T'ina. Literacy, in all its dimensions, was both symbol and metaphor for the changes that had occurred with the entry of the first generation of students into the Tsuu T'ina community.

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- ¹ Based on information contained in: NAC, RG 10, v. 3966, Present Status of Students Sarcee Agency, 1909, NAC, RG 10, v. 6032, f. 150-14, pt. 2, Student Savings, NAC, RG 10, v. 1629, various dates, and NAC, RG 10, v. 8150, f. 772-28-2-082.
- ² NAC, RG 10, v. 1134, Reed, Circular to Indian Agents, 28 January 1892.
- ³ TTNA, SPA #131, Laird to IASR, 23 December 1902.
- ⁴ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1904, Laird, 240.
- ⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 1642, Lucas to Assistant Indian Commissioner, 18 September 1895.
- ⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 1628, McNeill to Commissioner, 19 September 1903.
- ⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 7543, f. 29120-1, McNeill to Secretary DIA, 8 April 1904; also NAC, RG 10, v. 1638, McNeill to Pedley, DSGIA, 8 April 1904.
- ⁸ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1901, McNeill, 183.
- ⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1628, McKenna to McNeill, 8 July 1904.
- ¹⁰ Department of Indian Affairs Records consistently differentiate between “cows” and “cattle” to differentiate between dairy cows and beef cattle.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹² NAC, RG 10, v. 1628, McNeill to Laird, 17 February 1903.
- ¹³ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1904, McGibbon, 220.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵ Based on NAC, v. 1629, Cash Book Entries, 1905-1908, Sarcee Agency and NAC, RG 10, Sarcee Trust Accounts for 1906.
- ¹⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 1628, McNeill to Indian Commissioner, Winnipeg, 25 November 1901.
- ¹⁷ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1908, J. J. Hollies, Acting Agent, 173.
- ¹⁸ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1906, J. A. Markle, Inspector, 166.
- ¹⁹ See: CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1909, Laird, 192. Laird comments that the endeavour of hunting and trapping was a “comparative failure.”
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*
- ²¹ Based on monthly reports of Agent McNeill, April 1904 to October 1906 in NAC, RG 10, v. 1627 and v. 1628.
- ²² CHC, *SP*, No. 27A, DIA Annual Report, A1906, McNeill, 57.
- ²³ GA, M1837, f. 6, McNeill to Secretary, 21 July 1904.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, McNeill to DSGIA, 22 July 1903.
- ²⁶ Account of fencing of reserve provided by Tsuu T'ina Elder, Chief David Crowchild, 4 February 1975. Quoted with permission of Tsuu T'ina Culture Program.
- ²⁷ CHC, *SP*, No. 27A, DIA Annual Report, A1906, McNeill, 166.
- ²⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 1628, McNeill Monthly Report For January, 6 February 1906.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, Monthly Report for November, 30 November 1906.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, McNeill to Secretary, 8 November 1904.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, J. Hollies, Acting Agent, 1 February 1907.
- ³² NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, McNeill to John De Soussa, Secretary, Inter-Western Pacific Exhibition Co, Calgary, 30 August 1902.
- ³³ *Ibid.*
- ³⁴ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1904, McGibbon, 219.
- ³⁵ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1907, McNeill, 178.
- ³⁶ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1909, Inspector Markle, PAGE 22 April 1909.
- ³⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 1628, McNeill, Monthly Report for November 1906, 30 November 1906.
- ³⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 4041, f. 335,200, Paget to Pedley, 25 November 1908.
- ³⁹ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1909, Markle, 184.

- ⁴⁰ The approval of an Indian Band was no longer required for a surrender of land for road purposes after 1904. See: NAC, RG 10, v. 7736, f. 23120, Secretary, DIA to McNeill, 22 June 1904.
- ⁴¹ Ibid., McNeill to Indian Commissioner, Winnipeg, 10 September 1901.
- ⁴² Ibid., McNeill to Indian Commissioner, 16 November 1901.
- ⁴³ NAC, RG 10, v. 1645, McNeill, Report for March, 31 March 1901, McNeill commented that Crow Collar and Many Swans two of the "more advanced" men had been paid for hay sales and they had each purchased a team of horses out of the hay money.
- ⁴⁴ See: C. McLaughlin, Nation, Tribe, and Class: the Dynamics of Agrarian Transformation on the Fort Berthold Reservation," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 22, (3), 1998, 108. McLaughlin makes the same argument for the development of cattle raising on the Fort Berthold Reservation in Montana.
- ⁴⁵ Based on Census Returns of Residential and Nomadic Indians, in CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1901, 91. This census indicates a total of 65 males between the ages of 16 and 65. See: Footnote 164.
- ⁴⁶ McLaughlin, "Nation, Tribe and Class," 104.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid., 105.
- ⁴⁸ E. P. Thompson, *The Making of The English Working Class* (New York, 1963), 11.
- ⁴⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1628, McNeill to Sec. DIA, 11 July 1904.
- ⁵⁰ CHC, *SP*, No. 27A, DIA Annual Report, A1902, McNeill, 173.
- ⁵¹ Ibid., McNeill to Secretary, 2 April 1906.
- ⁵² CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1904, McGibbon, 219.
- ⁵³ CHC, *SP*, No. 14A, DIA Annual Report, A1900, McNeill, 175.
- ⁵⁴ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1901, McNeill, 183.
- ⁵⁵ Based on: Agricultural and Industrial Statistics - Personality of Indians for Sarcee Agency in CHC, *SP*, No. 14, DIA Annual Report, A1900, 532-633 and CHC, *SP*, No. 27
- ⁵⁶ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1904, McGibbon, 219
- ⁵⁷ Ibid.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid., Inspector T. P. Wadsworth, 206.
- ⁶¹ Ibid., Laird, 225.
- ⁶² CHC, *SP*, No. 27, A 1908, J. J. Hollies, Acting Agent to Pedley, 174.
- ⁶³ NAC, RG 10, v. 1628, McNeill to Secretary DIA, McNeill refers to the fact that "several young men were willing to sell but since they have been influenced by the Chief and they also say they are frightened to go against their 'Medicine Men.'"
- ⁶⁴ RG 10, v. 7543, f. 29120-1, Memorandum, Duncan Campbell Scott, Accountant to Assistant Indian Commissioner, 9 April 1902.
- ⁶⁵ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1909, Pedley to Oliver, xx.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid.
- ⁶⁷ GA, M1837, f. 10, Indian Commissioner to Indian Agent, 25 March 1905.
- ⁶⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 1628, McNeill to Commissioner, Monthly Report, 31 March 1904.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid., McNeill to Secretary DIA, 12 May 1904.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid., McNeill to Pedley, 8 April 1904.
- ⁷¹ Ibid.
- ⁷² Ibid., McNeill to Secretary DIA, 2 June 1904.
- ⁷³ Ibid.
- ⁷⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 7543, f. 29120-1, McNeill to Secretary, 16 August 1909. Also quoted in Chapter One, 1 of this dissertation.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid., A. L. Siflin, Commissioner of Public Works to Hon. Minister of The Interior, 30 November 1901.
- ⁷⁶ Ibid., McNeill to Secretary DIA, 8 April 1904.

- ⁷⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 7654, f. 20120-1, Frank Oliver SIGA to GG, 27 October 1905.
- ⁷⁸ See, for example, NAC, RG 10, v. 1628., McNeill to Commissioner, Monthly report for October, 31 October 1906.
- ⁷⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1638, J. Hollies, Acting Indian Agent to Commissioner, Monthly Report, 1 February 1907.
- ⁸⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 7543, f. 29120-1, McDougall to Pedley, 16 January 1906.
- ⁸¹ Ibid.
- ⁸² Ibid.
- ⁸³ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1907, McNeill, 177.
- ⁸⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, McNeill to Pedley DSGIA, 2 January 1908.
- ⁸⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 7543, McNeill to Secretary, 16 August 1909.
- ⁸⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, C. E. Somerset, Red Deer Industrial School to McNeill, 15 January 1901.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid., T. P. Wadsworth to McNeill, 20 January 1901.
- ⁸⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 1628, McNeill to Commissioner, 15 January 1903.
- ⁸⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, Indian Commissioner to Indian Agent, 15 June 1900.
- ⁹⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 1629, McNeill to C. E. Somerset Principal Ind. School, Red Deer, 31 April 1902.
- ⁹¹ CHC, *SP*, No 27, DIA Annual Report A1904, McGibbon to DSGIA, 219-220.
- ⁹² NAC, RG 10, v. 1628, McNeill, Monthly Report, 6 February 1906.
- ⁹³ Ibid., Monthly Report for August, 31 August 1906.
- ⁹⁴ GA, M1233, f. 5, Dr. J. D. Lafferty, Department of Indian Affairs - Medical Report and Account, April 1907.
- ⁹⁵ Ibid., f. 2, Jim Big Plume to Tims, 31 August 1906.
- ⁹⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, Jim Big Plume to McNeill, 30 June 1907.
- ⁹⁷ Ibid., Lafferty to McNeill, 4 July 1907.
- ⁹⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 3941, f. 121,698-20, Laird to Secretary DIA, 6 December 1900.
- ⁹⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, Untitled Last Will and Testament of James Big Plume, 2 August 1907.
- ¹⁰¹ T. Ranger, "The Local and The Global in Southern African Religious History," In R. Hefner, (ed.), *Conversion to Christianity* (Berkeley, 1993), 76.
- ¹⁰² See: H. Graff, *The Literacy Myth: Literacy and Social Structure in the Nineteenth Century City* (New York, 1979), 24.
- ¹⁰³ WA, *Letter Leaflet*, 13, (5), Miss Blanche Crawford to Miss Ambrose, Corresponding Secretary, March 1901, 169.
- ¹⁰⁴ WA, *Letter Leaflet*, 14, (5), Blanche Crawford, Sarcee Reserve to St. Mark's Juniors Hamilton, March 1904, 190
- ¹⁰⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁶ WA, *Letter Leaflet*, 15, (8), Percy Stocken, Sarcee Home to Grace Church, Arthur, Ontario, 1904, 320.
- ¹⁰⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 1628, McNeill to Dept. Minister of Agriculture, Regina, 11 April 1902. Examples of brands include: *110 B*. The first brand, "110" refers to the treaty number of the individual while the second, "JBP" are the initials..
- ¹⁰⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, Circular, Pedley DSGIA to McNeill, 28 July 1904.
- ¹⁰⁹ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1909, Markle Inspector, 52.
- ¹¹⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 1628, John Onespot, Diary, 1909.
- ¹¹¹ See: J. Goody, "The Social Context of Literacy," in K. Levine, *The Social Context of Literacy* (London, 1986), 25, 43.
- ¹¹² See: J. Boyarin, (ed.), *The Ethnography of Reading* (Berkeley 1993) for discussion of the oral and public nature of reading versus binaristic thinking about the "literate" and "oral" dimensions of culture.
- ¹¹³ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1904, McNeill, 45.

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- ¹¹⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, McNeill to Editor, *Daily Albertan*, 15 July 1903 and in *Calgary Daily Herald*, 13 July 1903.
- ¹¹⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 1628, Monthly Report, 29 August 1905.
- ¹¹⁶ WA, *Letter Leaflet*, 17, (3), "Continuation of Mrs. Stocken's letter to Mrs. Archer," January 1902, 96.
- ¹¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁸ GA, M1234, f. 17, Tims, Visit of Duke and Duchess of York, 28 September 1901.
- ¹¹⁹ CHC, SP, 27, DIA Annual Report A1904, McGibbon, 221.
- ¹²⁰ Ibid.
- ¹²¹ UCA, ADC, Box 62, f. 20, J. W. Tims, Report on Indian Work, 1908-1909, *Report on the 11th Synod*, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, 1909, 52.
- ¹²² Ibid.
- ¹²³ See: M. B. Cotsworth, "The Evolution of The Red Indian Calendar." *Vancouver Sun*, 4 February, 1939. Cotsworth maintains that there was considerable animosity between the Chief Bullhead and the former and customary owner of the Calendar who had taken up agriculture as a means of livelihood.
- ¹²⁴ ACCA, MSCC, Series 8:2, Printed Minutes of Board of Management, Box 120, f. 4, Attachment in Tim's Writing, "Amounted Needed For School Work," no date, in 1905 Triennial Report of the Board of Management of The MSCC.
- ¹²⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 1629, McNeill to Saunders, Superintendent, Commanding E Division, 9 June 1904 and Ibid., McNeill to Sanders, 7 June 1904.
- ¹²⁶ Ibid., McNeill to Sanders, 27 May 1905.
- ¹²⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, Lafferty to McNeill, 1 December 1903.
- ¹²⁸ GA, M2746, Sarcee Indian Agency Fonds, Laird Circular to Indian Agents, 19 January 1904.
- ¹²⁹ Ibid.
- ¹³⁰ Ibid., McNeill to Laird, Report on Medicine Dances, 5 February 1904.
- ¹³¹ Barron, "The Pass System," 31-32, Also, A. Kehoe, "Ghost Dance Religion in Saskatchewan Canada," *Plains Anthropologist*, 13, (42), pt. 1, 1968, 302-4.
- ¹³² Ibid., 32.
- ¹³³ WA, *Leaflet*, 11, (5), Extract from Rev. J. W. Tims, Sarcee Reserve to St. Jude's Junior Branch, Ontario, March 1901, 153.
- ¹³⁴ E. P. Thompson, *Past and Present*, 50, (1971), 78, 79.
- ¹³⁵ Graff, *The Literacy Myth*, 8. Graff refers to the symbol of literacy abstracted in the minds of social reformers in contrast to the benefits for the individual or society.

**PART III:
THE TSUU T'INA COMMUNITY IN CRISIS 1910-1920**

*CHAPTER SEVEN:
SCIENTIFIC IDEAS OF LAND AND COMMUNITY 1910-1920*

Introduction – Protectionism and Indian Policy

The Department of Indian Affairs developed an increasing protectionist stance towards native people such as the Tsuu T'ina in the second decade of the 20th century. Government policies, under the influence of the massive influx of new settlers in the Canadian West, embodied a greater degree of regulation and control of Indian life and behaviour. Frank Pedley, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, maintained in 1912 that native people demonstrated a “proneness to be sought out” by the less desirable elements of the white population. Indian people, Pedley believed, had their own “native code of morals.” Native morals were not quite the same as that of the white race but, in his view, they were “capable of practicing Christian morals.”¹

Protectionist strategies employed by the Indian Department included the control of alcohol and the safeguarding of Indian health. The use of alcohol, although it constituted a health issue, continued to be seen as a moral issue. Pedley maintained that the “greater barrier to moral progress was the craving for intoxicants.”² The safeguarding of Indian people and white settlers from tuberculosis and other contagious diseases, in contrast, was the central focus of government policy in the second decade of the 20th century. The “Indian” came to be regarded as the object of a new medical discourse in which the native environment could be improved through the application of “pure” elements such as air, sunshine and wholesome food.

In the aftermath of the Bryce Report and with the formation of Anti-Tubercular Leagues throughout Canada in the first decade of the 20th century, the Department of Indian Affairs turned its attention to the control of tuberculosis.³ For Dr. Peter Bryce, who

maintained his position as Medical Officer, the management of tuberculosis among Indian people became a personal crusade.⁴ Indian health itself became one of the indices of progress used by the department. The Indian Department, under Bryce's initiative, embarked on a campaign for an increased awareness of tuberculosis so that the application of scientific medicine was directly felt in Indian communities.

By 1911, Pedley noted it was only recently that "a proper apprehension of its deadly nature and highly infectious character" had been awakened in Indian people.⁵ Proof of the greater awareness among native people of the perils of tuberculosis was found in a "greater cleanliness of habits with regard to person and surroundings and better attention to the instruction of medical advisors."⁶ In Pedley's view these changes augmented the main factors in producing medical progress with tuberculosis - increased medical attendance and "more liberal suppl[ies] of scientific remedies."⁷

The Department of Indian Affairs instituted new regulations for Indian Schools in 1910 following the release of the Bryce Report. The new regulations included an increase in the per capita rate from \$72 to \$100 per pupil. The Indian Department now required that contracts be signed between religious bodies and the Indian Department for the operation of residential, industrial and day schools. Under the terms of the new contracts, local Bishops were required to provide school teachers and officers qualified to give the pupils religious instruction at proper times, to instruct male pupils in gardening, farming and care of stock or related industries that were "suitable to local requirements."⁸

Female pupils were to receive instruction in cooking, laundry work, needle work, general housewifery and dairy work. Church officials also were required "to supply proper sanitation and sanitary appliances and to keep the children free from vermin."⁹ There was an

attempt by the Indian Department to hire qualified teachers and all teachers were required to converse with the pupils in English and to speak and write the English language fluently.¹⁰

The Indian Department continued its general policy of providing native students with an “English education” and included calisthenics, physical drill and fire drill as part of their instruction. The Indian Department regulations included new requirements that the effects of alcoholic drink and narcotics on the human system be taught along with methods for living in a healthy manner. Older pupils were to be instructed in the “duties and privileges of British Citizenship.”¹¹ Native students were required to learn the fundamental principles of the Government of Canada and to be trained “in such knowledge and appreciation of Canada as will insure them with respect and affection for the country and its laws.”¹²

Science, Health Care Reform and Tsuu T’ina Education

Reverend John William Tims maintained the St. Barnabas Mission had a “bright outlook in 1911.” He informed the CMS Executive in his annual report that the “long and strenuous fight for the retention of our boarding schools” now had come to an end.¹³ The model of schooling in the era of “new boarding schools,” however, had been changed fundamentally in its overall orientation and philosophy. It was no longer a matter of the parish and the home being the model for the development of a moral Christian Tsuu T’ina community. The school, instead, provided a new institutional model of the social and physical environment in which new forms of scientific reasoning and methodology and the State regulation of Indian health could be applied in the name of progress.

New boarding schools designed by government architects were held to benefit the health of Indian students. Indian schools by 1915 were a part of what Pedley referred to as the “system of medical relief” provided by the Indian Department in Indian communities.

The medical system now included regular visits of physicians and the appointment of field nurses.¹⁴ There was greater overall regulation of Indian health both in the home and in the boarding schools. Indian health reformers stressed the need for improved hygiene and cooking, greater space, light and ventilation as the means to overcome the threat of tuberculosis.

In his annual report for 1910, Indian Agent McNeill noted that the Tsuu T'ina were "getting more particular each year" with regard to sanitation. Health care reformers took comfort in what they perceived to be the declining influence of Medicine Man in Indian communities. Pedley referred to the continuing role of native healers as "a survival of superstitious fear of offending them than of faith in [*their*] healing powers."¹⁵ In 1911, a textbook on hygiene was prepared for schools with special chapters on tuberculosis to familiarize Indian children with the nature of the disease and the steps that should be taken to prevent contagion.¹⁶

Science, Agriculture and Native Graduates

Increased settlement in the Canadian West brought about a new awareness of land and its value among the Tsuu T'ina. Pedley noted in 1911 that "Indians [*are*] beginning to realize the value of land and the advantages of land improvement."¹⁷ Departmental statistics included estimated values of real and personal property on Indian Reserves in Canada for the first time in 1914.¹⁸ The extension of scientific practices in agriculture included Indian awareness of the "advantage of improved methods."¹⁹ The Greater Production Scheme initiated by the Department of Indian Affairs in 1918 sought to increase crop production and to lease otherwise "idle" land on Indian reserves in Canada.

The Indian Department maintained the view that the separation of young people and of ex-pupils was also a desirable feature of its program of progress. The chief aim of Indian

education, however, remained the same - to prepare a new generation of students who could be "self-supporting and self-sufficient."²⁰ The program of providing assistance to graduates had met with what the department considered to be mixed success. The Department identified two forces that mitigated against the success of ex-pupils. First, there was the high mortality of students either in the schools or shortly after they graduated. The second problem was the Department's lack of control over graduates. While the first problem could be solved by the application of scientific medicine, the retrogression of ex-pupils was to be overcome by providing assistance to students once they graduated so that they could become self-sufficient.²¹

The extension of scientific methods into the community to measure progress also was applied to ex-pupils. The Department of Indian Affairs began a system of card files on each student with regard to their health status, economic pursuits and general character. The Indian Department instructed the Indian Agent to confer with the school principal to make recommendations for assistance before pupils were discharged. The local medical officer was required to report on the health of the students at the same time.²² Indian Agents were asked to select favourable locations for ex-pupils to settle and to form them into separate colonies or settlements removed from the older Indians. The Indian Department upheld the File Hills Colony, a farming settlement in Saskatchewan made up of boys and girls who had graduated from residential schools, as an example. The objective of the File Hills Colony was to produce a group of individuals "who had internalized the Whiteman's religion and culture and who were self-sufficient farmers."²³

Marriages between ex-pupils were encouraged and became official Indian Department policy by 1914.²⁴ Loans were provided to male ex-pupils provided they could meet certain conditions. These loans were made available only to those intending to farm for

purchasing stock, building materials, implements and tools. Pedley noted that most careful thought should be given to the future of female pupils and that “they should be protected as far as possible from temptations to which they are often exposed.” The Indian Department would assist girls to become self-supporting. Upon leaving school, they were to be either “helpful to their parents” or married.²⁵ There was also a renewed attempt to obtain domestic service for girl graduates and to place boys in the charge of white farmers until they were ready to marry and settle down to reserve life.

In 1915, Duncan Campbell Scott, appointed as Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs two years earlier, noted that “[t]he outbreak of hostilities in Europe would seem to be a circumstance very far removed from the life of the Canadian Indian but it has affected them to a considerable degree.”²⁶ In the same year the Tsuu T’ina had made a \$500 contribution to the war effort.²⁷ Indian women did their share knitting stockings and mufflers and supplying various articles of clothing for the soldiers. In July of 1918, \$22 was collected in St. Barnabas Parish for the Special War Emergency Fund.²⁸

The war intruded into the day to day life in the Tsuu T’ina community in other ways. The leasing of the northeast corner of the reserve to the Department of Militia and Defence in 1913 would forever change the reserve landscape. The incursions of troops onto unleased areas and the staging of regular target practices brought an awareness of the war directly into the community. By the end of World War I, there would be another legacy of its occurrence in the form of Spanish Influenza that would bring the Tsuu T’ina community face to face with its own extinction.

The Passing of Chief Bullhead 1911

The decade between 1910 and 1920 began on a hopeful note. Indian Agent McNeill noted in his annual report that the Tsuu T’ina were able to supply all their own implements

out of their earnings.²⁹ With the development of strains of winter wheat, McNeill was optimistic the Tsuu T'ina also could supply their own demands for flour.³⁰ During the growing season of 1910-1911, 50 percent of the beef consumed at the Agency was produced on the reserve. The Indian Agent felt equally confident that in the following season there would be enough beef produced to supply the total demands of the Agency.³¹

Agent McNeill described the Tsuu T'ina in 1910 as self-sufficient or near self-sufficient farmers who "lived as comfortably and well off as their neighbours."³² An inspection of the Tsuu T'ina Agency in 1910 by Inspector Markle began the decade on a far more negative note. Markle informed Pedley that "[w]hile these Indians have not retrograded, they have not advanced to any noticeable extent" and that there was a "good deal of drinking."³³ Markle also blamed whites for enticing the Tsuu T'ina into parades and "the giving of ancient dances etc. as exhibitions" as another reason why the Sarcee Indians were at a "standstill on the road to progress."³⁴

The death of Chief Bullhead in 1911 marked one of the critical watersheds in Tsuu T'ina history. The Chief died on March 14, 1911 at age 78 shortly after McNeill expressed his confidence about the future of the reserve economy. McNeill informed the Indian Department that when the Chief died "there was wailing and sorrow in every lodge on the Reserve."³⁵ Chief Bullhead, who had never converted to Christianity, was laid to rest with native ceremonies performed by Band members. Ex-pupils of the school, including Peter Manywounds, carried the coffin of the late Chief. All of the boys in St. Barnabas Boarding School were let out for the afternoon to attend the funeral. Frank Onespot, one of the students in the school, remembered that it was difficult for the men to carry the casket across Fish Creek and up the steep embankment to where the cemetery was located.³⁶ Four

days later, Tims conducted a special sermon on the life of the late Chief and hymns were sung at a special service in St. Barnabas Church.³⁷

The death of the Chief alone did not bring about immediate change in the Tsuu T'ina community for there were older individuals still living who had experienced life before settlement on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve. Upon the death of the Chief, the Tsuu T'ina calendar was passed on to Eagle Rib, a highly respected warrior and religious leader.³⁸ The confluence of events that coincided with or shortly after the death of Chief Bullhead, however, did result in a change among the Tsuu T'ina with regard to the disposition of reserve lands. The old debate over the sale of reserve land resurfaced immediately after the death of Chief Bullhead. Many of the accolades for the late Chief included opinions about the sale of reserve land. Agent McNeill noted that Chief Bullhead was an hereditary chief descended from a long line of chiefs of noble blood and that his wisdom as a leader was evident in the fact that the reserve lands had trebled in value since the founding of the reserve.³⁹ McNeill informed the Secretary that Bullhead had told him: "My people once owned all this country and went where they willed and now you would take away from us the small remnant that is left to us."⁴⁰

Local papers reported that with the passing of Chief Bullhead, "the Sarcee have come to accept the Christian faith," and "have gain[ed] a true knowledge of their position in this world and no longer fear trickery in the suggestions of the whites' to sell reserve lands."⁴¹ Tsuu T'ina traditional beliefs were denigrated in the local press. An article in a Calgary newspaper reported that Bullhead had been seen sitting upon the mound covering his grave and that the aged chief appeared every night in actual flesh and blood. The paper described how he was against the selling of the reserve and "wept like a child in deadly fear that his people would not follow the advice given."⁴² Even Christian Indians, the article

suggested, kept clear of Bullhead's house fearing it was haunted. With the impending deal to sell lands for a city of Calgary park to the "civilized whites," the same article noted that "it is just possible that the Indian superstition and the natural prejudice of ages may be sufficient and powerful enough to overthrow the whole deal and upset the best laid plans of the local municipal authorities."⁴³

The death of Chief Bullhead did not bring the traditional form of Tsuu T'ina leadership to an end. By 1911, the Indian Department attempted to put an end to the system of lifetime chiefs who served for indefinite terms and tried to introduce an elected system of three-year terms of office. The Indian Department initially had introduce the elective system as a means of accustoming native people to the white government system but it was clear that the new system also provided an organizational basis for expressing grievances. The election of certain individuals was discouraged as a result. ⁴⁴

The Indian Agent informed the Indian Department that it had been the wish of the late Chief Bullhead that Big Belly should succeed him.⁴⁵ Big Belly, married to Maggie Big Plume daughter of Big Plume, held high status among the Tsuu T'ina (Plate 18). He was a respected Medicine Man and the owner of six painted tipis.⁴⁶ There was, however, a six month delay in electing a new chief in the Tsuu T'ina community. In late summer Thomas Fleetham, newly-appointed Indian Agent to the reserve, informed the Department that the Tsuu T'ina men wished to elect a new chief to represent them at the upcoming visit to the reserve by the Governor General.

Elections were held on the August 17, 1912 with 38 men over the age of 21 electing the new chief. Indian Agent Fleetham, newly appointed Indian Agent, reported that 16 men were absent, 9 of whom were blind, too old or too sick to attend the elections.⁴⁷ Chief Big Belly and his family then moved into Bullhead's house. This was the custom because the

Chief's wife was a niece and the closest living relation of the old chief.⁴⁸ Big Belly signed an "x" to the same oath taken by Jim Big Plume previously, with translation provided in both Cree and Tsuu T'ina by George Hodgson, the farm instructor, and John Onespot, the chief herder. James Starlight, an ex-pupil, was elected at the same time to replace Jim Big Plume as minor chief. The men requested that suits of clothing be made for each councillor and sent express by the 31st of the month so that they could appear suitably dressed before His Royal Highness The Duke of Connaught (Plate 19).⁴⁹

Land and A New Vision of Community

When Chief Bullhead died in 1911, Department of Militia and Defence representatives stated that "the chief opposition ha[d] been removed" to either the sale or lease of reserve land for military purposes.⁵⁰ The Department of Militia petitioned the Indian Department for the use of the southeast portion of the reserve for field days during June and July each summer commencing in 1908.⁵¹ The Militia Department requested that a further site including Sections 24, 25 and 36 of Township 3 Range 2 be leased in 1911 so that a barracks site and rifle range could be established to conduct military maneuvers on the northeast corner of the reserve north of the Elbow River.⁵² The City of Calgary expressed an interest in establishing a 1000 acre park in the same area.⁵³ The Indian Department also received applications for oil and gas exploration on the reserve.

The sale and use of the northeast corner of the reserve for maneuver and drill purposes had been opposed at a meeting attended by Chief Bullhead and 30 male members of the Band in December of 1910.⁵⁴ Agent Fleetham reported that "none had spoken in favour of either leasing land for oil and gas exploration or for military exercises."⁵⁵ The interpreter was John One Spot, the chief herder, and while only six of those present could sign their names, the message to the Indian Department was clear. After Chief Bullhead's



Plate 18: Chief Big Belly with wife Maggie at Calgary Stampede, 1919 (GA #NA 26-3)



Plate 19: Chief Big Belly at Calgary Stampede, 1919 (GA #NA 446-18)

death, the Department of Militia and Defence made attempts to renegotiate the lease of the northeast section of the reserve. The Deputy Minister of the Militia Department maintained that the Tsuu T'ina were dying out and that it might be desirable to remove the remaining people to some other locality.⁵⁶

In December of 1912, members of the Tsuu T'ina Band gave their consent to lease Sections 24, 25 and 36 of Township 3 of the Reserve to the Militia Department for a barracks site and rifle range and for drill purposes (Figure 10).⁵⁷ All of those present at the meeting voted in favour. Five individuals abstained from voting and would not affix their names to the agreement.⁵⁸ The land was rented for a period of two months with the Chief receiving \$10, minor Chiefs, \$5 and other men, women and children \$1 each.⁵⁹ Following the surrender the land was plowed. John Onespot was hired as foreman of the project and he, together with Mark Crowchild and two ex-pupils, Peter Big Plume and David Dog, were paid \$5 per day to complete the work over a period of five days.⁶⁰

The actual surrender of the 1650 acres of land northeast of the Elbow River was completed in February 1913 with 47 members voting in favour of the surrender, and one against.⁶¹ Eight members of the band were strongly against the surrender and did not take their cash proportion. The value of the surrendered land was estimated at the time to be between \$200,000 and \$235,918.50. The Tsuu T'ina received \$50,000 as an advance upon their surrender of the land.⁶² This resulted in an infusion of capital into the Tsuu T'ina community.

In 1912, a ruling by the Indian Department stipulated that if two persons occupied a house space of less than 10 feet x 10 feet in size that more living space should be built onto the house.⁶³ Under the terms of the 1913 agreement, every male head of families of two or

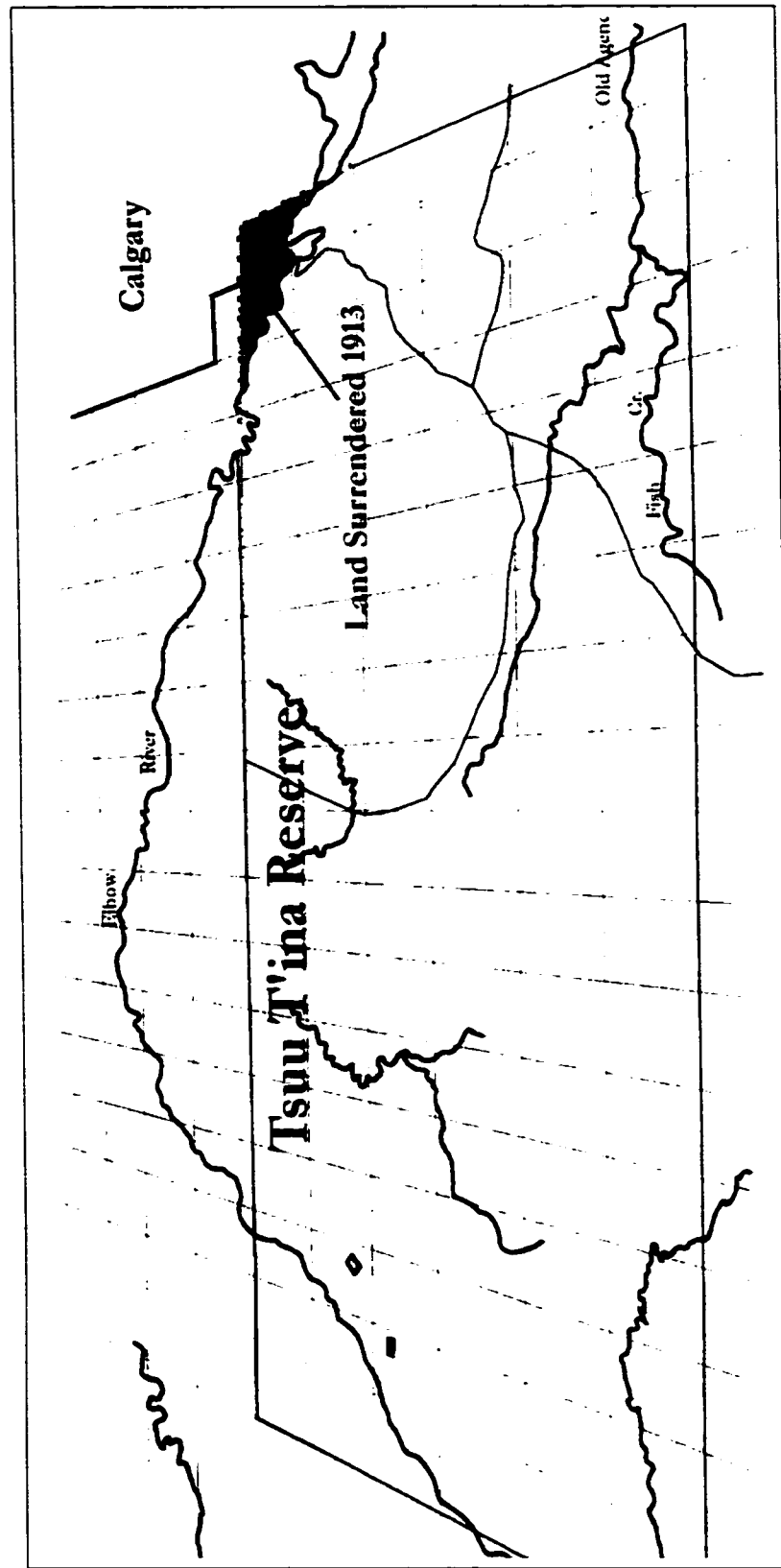


Figure 10: Tsuu T'ina Reserve Land Surrendered in 1913 (in gray) and Leased in 1923

more was to have a dwelling house and stable built for him. The new frame houses were to be 14 feet by 20 feet or 16 feet by 24 feet depending on the family size and with the provision that more space could be added.⁶⁴

Agent Fleetham submitted cost estimates of between \$340 and \$400 for the larger houses and between \$350 and \$400 for the smaller houses to the Indian Department. He also estimated that it would cost between \$200 to \$225 for stables measuring 16 feet by 20 feet.⁶⁵ Wells were to be dug where there was no water available and cellars put in for each house. The herd of mares, geldings and foals purchased previously from grazing funds was to be divided between every head of family whether female or male. A council house 20 by 39 feet was to become the new seat of band government.⁶⁶

The land surrender resulted in the building of new houses for almost every family on the reserve. The new houses and stables were constructed by Tsuu T'ina labourers working under a carpenter from Calgary. The work was given mainly to ex-students - Charlie Crowchief, Pat Grasshopper and James Starlight who were paid at the rate of \$2 per day roughly one half the rate paid to the white carpenter hired for the work.⁶⁷ The development of more land for agriculture resulted in the scattering of settlement so that extended larger family units were divided up and were located further apart from one another .

The building of new houses materially improved the living conditions for the Tsuu T'ina. The typical dwelling, however, was still much smaller than the houses provided for Agency and Mission personnel. In 1899 and 1900 there was a total of 39 dwellings for a population of 205 or roughly 5.2 persons on average in each of the small houses. In 1910 the average number of persons had been reduced to 3.79 per dwelling. Dwellings included 73 frame dwellings and 2 new log houses.⁶⁸ All of the new houses and stables included concrete

foundations. This was the first time that concrete instead of dirt foundations had been used for Tsuu T'ina housing.

By July 1914, 11 large houses, 28 small houses and 31 new stables had been built.⁶⁹ The remaining 16 large houses and 20 small houses were completed between 1915-1916. Fleetham reported that the fireplaces in the new houses provided good ventilation.⁷⁰ By 1917, there was a total of 75 new frame houses and 6 new log houses with an average occupancy of 2.3 persons which was roughly one half of what it had been at the turn of the century.⁷¹

The terms of the 1913 surrender also included a provision for the supplying of an entire year's supply of beef, flour, tea and soap rations. The amounts of rations were determined at four pounds of beef and two pounds of flour per person per week. These were basically the same quantities that had been distributed under Agent Lucas' regime. There was also an unprecedented provision for supplying teams of workhorses and other equipment to individual farmers. Funds from the land surrender were used to purchase 33 teams of work horses at a cost of \$13,200, 33 wagons for \$2970 and 33 sets of double harnesses at \$1386 for an overall total of \$17,556 from the proceeds.⁷² The interest from the sale was to be used for providing rations for the destitute and for other future necessities. The provision of these rations was one of the demands of the Tsuu T'ina people.⁷³ The Tsuu T'ina population consisted of 52 men, 58 women, 38 boys and 35 girls for a total population of 183 at the time of the surrender.⁷⁴

Agent Fleetham envisioned the land surrender as a new beginning for the Tsuu T'ina based on further development of reserve lands. In 1913, a contract was drawn up for breaking an additional 400 acres of reserve land for seeding with oats in the spring. Fleetham's plan was to purchase a steam plow for breaking the new land on which 200 to

300 acres of fall wheat could be sown in 1914 and from which a crop of between 4000 and 6000 bushels could be harvested.⁷⁵ He was, by then, an elderly long-term employee of the Indian Department. The Agent informed Scott that, before his retirement, he “would like to put the Sarcee Reserve into such shape that it will be a credit to the Department and Indian.”⁷⁶ Fleetham’s success in negotiating a land surrender and plans for the development of the Tsuu T’ina Reserve drew the attention of the national press. The *Victoria Daily Colonist*, citing Fleetham’s example, noted that “the program of converting the Indians of Alberta from an indolent and physically inferior race into a self-respecting and self-supporting people will be beginning the near future.”⁷⁷

The Reality of The Tsuu T’ina Reserve Economy

Fleetham had ignored the earlier comments of Chief Big Belly prior to the land sale. The Chief speaking through John One Spot, who continued to act as interpreter, had informed the Agent that only nine or ten Tsuu T’ina men would probably farm to any extent because of the uncertainties of agriculture and the uncertain prices received for agricultural produce.⁷⁸ It was clear from the terms of the surrender that only 33 of the 52 men had made any commitment to farming. The concerns of the Chief were more immediate. Chief Big Belly requested that the proceeds from the surrender be used to build better stables for the teams of horses and to assist those who did not have decent houses. He pressed for the continuation of rations particularly for old people and those unable to work. Fleetham, in response, promised that those who worked would receive rations during the spring planting and fall harvest.⁷⁹ He promised that those who were in need would also receive rations. Young children were to receive full rations until the age of 6 and then half rations would be provided.⁸⁰

Agricultural production and cattle raising continued to have uncertain outcomes between 1910 and 1920. The cattle industry did not flourish in the Tsuu T'ina community. Fleetham informed the Indian Department in 1915 that the "Indians as a rule do not give too much care of cattle." He noted that there were a few who were "fairly industrious but are improving in this respect."⁸¹ The drought in the summer of 1910 destroyed the entire crop on the reserve and the stock suffered during the cold winter that followed due to the inferior quality of hay. Inspector Markle noted that about 50 of the ponies owned by Tsuu T'ina died during the winter of 1910-1911.⁸² This had an effect on the success in the following year when the poor quality and scarcity of feed resulted in the cattle going out in the spring very thin and weak. The resultant calf population was very small.

Only 343 acres of new land were cleared and planted following the 1913 surrender (Appendix 2.4).⁸³ This effectively more than doubled the amount of land that was cultivated on the reserve from 218 acres in the growing season of 1909 to 1910. This still represented less than 1 percent of the acres that had been cleared on the reserve. The severe drought during the growing season of 1914 to 1915 destroyed the winter wheat crop from which Agent Fleetham had predicted a bountiful harvest. The barley and root crops were also destroyed. There was a shortage of hay in the summer due to the bitterly cold winter of 1914 to 1915 and the preceding drought with only 550 tons of wild hay being harvested (Appendix 2.2).⁸⁴ Potatoes, which continued to be sold for cash in Calgary by Tsuu T'ina individuals, also affected by early frosts and the exigencies of the local climate.

Cattle operations on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve were also affected by the drought of 1914. While the agency herd was divided up between each family on the reserve, the cattle and cows were maintained as a single herd. The severe winter caused many deaths among the livestock on the reserve. The number of cattle was reduced from 233 during the 1909 to

1910 growing season to 97 by 1914 to 1915. The number of cows was reduced from 145 to 73 for the same periods (Appendix 2.3).⁸⁵ In the fall of 1914, 500 head of cattle were placed on the reserve and 28 brood mares and a stallion purchased out of the funds obtained from grazing leases. In 1916, there was very little rain. The yield of grain sown on land that was not newly-broken or summer-fallowed was poor. Where land was well summer-fallowed and sown to spring wheat, the yield was 15 or more bushels per acre. Oats were mostly sown in the fall and were a total failure in Alberta.

With the shortages of crops, there was very little wheat sold for less than a dollar and most of it for a great amount while oats sold from 40 to 60 cents and potatoes for 50 cents and more per bushel. Inspector J. A. Markle reported that the high prices received for farm produce encouraged some of the Indians to farm more extensively.⁸⁶ Department officials continued to express optimism regarding agricultural production on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve despite the averse conditions. Inspector Markle maintained that the drought could be overcome by good tilling practices of the soil and working of the summer fallowed land.⁸⁷

The disposition of the surrendered land was originally intended for settlement purposes with the land being divided up into city lots so that it could be sold. In January 1913, the Indian Department arranged for a survey of the land and its division into forty one-acre lots.⁸⁸ The continuing use of the area by the Department of Militia and Defence (DMD) following the surrender caused concern among government officials. Duncan Campbell Scott, then the accountant for the Indian Department, maintained that "it would be against the best interest of the Band to allow the DMD to lease this portion."⁸⁹ Scott noted that this was the most valuable portion of the Reserve.

Regardless of the concerns expressed by Scott, the surrendered land was not sold. It continued to be leased to the Department of Militia and Defence from the summer to the

fall of each year after 1912 and throughout the War for military training and for use as a firing range. The Militia Department paid \$1000 every six months to the Tsuu T'ina Band for the use of the land. There were risks to the inhabitants of the Tsuu T'ina Reserve and Agent Fleetham cautioned the Indian Department in 1914 that "great care ... will have to be taken re: stray bullets across the river."⁹⁰ Tsuu T'ina labourers were hired at times to supply the military camp with wood. The reserve landscape was irrevocably changed by 1914. The well-travelled Priddis Road was fenced. The reserve, as a result, was divided in two from east to west and which split up an area of valuable pastureland. The northwest corner of the reserve north of the Elbow River was under lease for \$300 per year and the Northeast corner occupied by the Militia Department.⁹¹

Agent Fleetham informed the Indian Department in the fall of 1916 that the Indians were "not getting a square deal" from the Militia Department and that he felt that twice the amount could be obtained for the lease. He informed Scott, by then Deputy Superintendent General, that the land was being cut up with sewers, trenches, ridges, water lines and roads and that it looked more like a "permanent camp."⁹² A meeting subsequently was held with General Cruikshank, Deputy Minister of the Militia Department, the Engineer of the Military Camp, Inspector Markle and Fleetham in the fall of 1916 to review the matter of the annual leases.⁹³ There were no Tsuu T'ina representatives at the meeting. Based on the recommendations of those present at the meeting, the rental was raised to only \$1800 per annum because the land had depreciated in value from the time of its first use by the Militia in 1914 and 1916.⁹⁴

The promise that the sale of reserve land offered in the mind of Agent Fleetham and government officials appeared to be confirmed in the total earnings for the Tsuu T'ina Agency that were reported after the land surrender in 1913 (Appendix 5.1). The earnings,

however, reported by the Acting Indian Agent were deceptive. The total income of \$20,231.12 for 1914 to 1915, including the money that was left over from the land surrender, was in the savings and interest accounts of the Sarcee Band. These funds were deposited for specific purposes such as improvements on the Sarcee Boarding School.

Year-end summaries of the savings and interest accounts of the Sarcee Band were published in the Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs (Appendix 5.4). The actual finances of the Tsuu T'ina Agency as reported represent an exaggeration of the monies earned for this period. They are merely illustrative of short-term changes in band finances resulting from monies derived from the land surrender or temporarily deposited for construction on various phases of the new Sarcee Boarding School. According to the figures submitted by Agent Fleetham, cattle contributed about 19 percent of the earnings that were raised. Cattle were purchased by the Indian Department from either Tsuu T'ina individuals or from the Sarcee Agency then sold back to the Sarcee Agency for consumption. The Agent also claimed that agricultural products accounted for 23 percent of the earnings but these earnings came mainly from grazing leases.

A closer examination of the actual earnings of the Tsuu T'ina Agency reveal a slightly different pattern. Between 1914 and 1915, the actual earnings in the Tsuu T'ina Agency totalled \$5300.20 of which \$1657.60 or roughly 31 percent was derived from grazing leases.⁹⁵ The purchase of a steam tractor for \$2525 or 48 percent of the total was included in the total earnings by Fleetham despite the fact that the Indian Department had transferred the amount from the capital account to the interest account of the Tsuu T'ina for the purchase.

The remaining sources of income included: \$283.50 (5 percent) from seed grain; \$257.80 (5 percent) from the sale of horses; \$501.30 (9 percent) from blacksmithing work performed by a white man; and, \$75 (1 percent) from the sale of old farm implements. Other

income included annual cash distributions that constituted 35 percent of the total income. These earnings together with annuities at 5 percent of the earnings amounted to 40 percent of the total income of the Tsuu T'ina Agency.

Wages paid to Tsuu T'ina labourers 1914-1915 were mainly derived from the building of houses, stables and the council house that had been provided for in the terms of the 1913 surrender. The wages also came from work done by a blacksmith. A blacksmith shop was built in 1911 so that the work on wagons and carts and shoeing horses could be done on the reserve for a fee of about \$225 per month. This meant that two of the three Tsuu T'ina herders could be dismissed because the blacksmith was performing their duties. The chief stockman eventually worked as a herder and one herder was retained.

The stockraising industry employed two individuals between 1914 and 1915. The stockman was paid \$600 per annum and the herder \$328.⁹⁶ The stockman was the only Tsuu T'ina wage labourer who was paid at the same rate as his white counterparts. The position of Agency Scout was, by this time, in the process of being phased out and the individual who was hired earned a total of \$60. These were the only individuals within the Agency who were employed on a full-time basis. The Northwest Mounted Police refused to recognize the Agency Scout as a policeman and denied the Scout the right to wear their official uniform or even the belt worn by the Police while he was on duty.⁹⁷

The work with cattle retained its simple hierarchy. John Onespot, who worked as chief stockman was paid roughly \$3 per day for the supervision of others who worked as herders. James Starlight Sr., the assistant stockman, was paid at \$1.50 per day and eight labourers - Tom Many Horses, George Big Crow, Peter Big Plume, Oscar Otter, George Crane and Chief Big Belly, at the rate of \$1 per day.⁹⁸ Other individuals were able to sell produce or perform minor labour for the mission and agency. In 1915, six men performed

work including selling hay and straw, and delivering posts to the mission. Their cumulative earnings were \$88, with \$55 the highest amount paid to a single worker.⁹⁹

The work hierarchy within the Tsuu T'ina population was most noticeable at the time of roundups when larger groups of men were employed. In June 1915, the chief herder was paid at a rate of \$3 a day, and his assistant at \$1.50. Seven other men, all but one of whom were ex-pupils, earned \$1 a day for between 5 and 18 days' work. The chief herder was paid more than the Chief. There appeared to be a patronage system within the agency with the majority of the work going to ex-pupils.

There were still marked differences between the wages and housing provided to Indian Agency employees and to Tsuu T'ina labourers. In 1914, the annual salaries paid to these employees were: \$1400 to Indian Agent Fleetham, \$867.50 to the Agency Clerk, and \$600 to the farmer George Hodgson while the cumulative wages of all Tsuu T'ina workers were less than \$1500.¹⁰⁰ All employees continued to be supplied with rations including beef, bacon, rice, soap and tea in quantities that were unheard of in wartime.

The cost of rations and salaries for Sarcee Indian Agency staff for 1914-1915 was \$6642.04. This amount represented over 35 percent of the total expenditure in the Agency which totalled \$19,032.40 and was far more than the \$3860.85 used to supply rations, clothing and other goods to individuals who were considered to be destitute in the Tsuu T'ina community (Appendix 5.3).¹⁰¹ By 1911, Fleetham informed the department that virtually all implements and machinery were purchased from the earnings of Tsuu T'ina workers and this trend continued after the land surrender with the equipment being purchased from the newly-established capital account of the Band.

The new houses built for the Tsuu T'ina following the land surrender in 1913 cost between \$300 and \$450 each. This was well beyond what most individual Tsuu T'ina

labourers earned in one year. The difference between the Indian houses and those of agency employees was marked. In 1910, for example, a total of \$1200 alone was spent to lathe and plaster the Agency Clerk's house so that it could be made "comfortable in the winter" and sundry repairs were made on other Agency buildings.¹⁰² In 1912, when Thomas Fleetham replaced McNeill as Indian Agent, he required improvements to the Agency house. The Indian Agent's house was replaced in 1910 for a total cost of \$4899.85.¹⁰³ The old housing materials were stored should any of "the Indians require any of the material" and be able to prove they were able to pay for it.¹⁰⁴

After 1912, Indian Agent Fleetham continued to make comments that there were "only a few Indians on this reserve who are industrious but they are in the minority. The tendency is to work a little earn a little and spend it at once."¹⁰⁵ His solution, like his predecessors, was to lessen the amount of rations given to the young and able-bodied. It is more likely that Tsuu T'ina labourers continued to make what they felt were the most reasonable choices available to them for earning a living and that most individuals decided not to pursue either agriculture or stockraising by this time. There was also the looming issue of whether the Tsuu T'ina actually were able to work given the high rate of tuberculosis in the general population.

Fleetham's comments about their lack of industriousness were made despite his noting at the same time that tuberculosis was rampant among the general reserve population and that there was a high mortality among the children. The seriousness of the problem was also noted in the annual report of the Chief Medical Officer, who, citing the report of Fleetham, mentioned the "prevalence of tuberculosis in the Sarcee Band."¹⁰⁶ It seemed never to occur to officials that there was a possibility that a substantial portion of the Tsuu T'ina population simply were unable to work.

The Sarcee Indian Agency 1913

Great optimism initially surrounded the land surrender. Events between 1913 and 1917, however, provided clear evidence that new material wealth derived from land surrender would lead to longterm improvements and renewal in the Tsuu T'ina community was an illusion. The limitations the reserve economy and other factors placed on individuals and their general plight, however, is apparent in the records pertaining to 1913 which was a typical year in the Sarcee Indian Agency in most respects. The annual cycle of economic activity in the Sarcee Indian Agency did not differ very much from preceding decades. Food and other rations were distributed to the destitute and to workers once a week.

John William Tims recorded the comments of some of the male leaders who at the time of the surrender voiced their opinions. It was generally understood by all that the land was being sold to get rations and that there was an urgent need to acquire teams of horses and equipment for ex-pupils. Big Wolf, it was noted, "wants to sell and to get rations, some boys have no team to work with, boys get teams and you'll see them work."¹⁰⁷

James Starlight, an ex-pupil also agreed to sell land but wouldn't agree to part with any more reserve land. Chief Big Belly was in agreement for "rations at once." He felt the chief should get more money than other men and that the Department should supply a team of horses for the use of the entire band. Eagle Rib, who had inherited Chief Bullhead's calendar, also, was willing to surrender the land. Crowchild and several others were not in favour.¹⁰⁸ It is clear from the remarks of community leaders that there was a dire need for a secure supply of rations, for the increased work opportunities that teams of horses might provide to individuals and their families as well as an unease about the surrender itself.

Negotiations over the sale of reserve lands took place against the backdrop of an intensification of Tsuu T'ina religious rites. Native religious ceremonies focused on the

healing of the sick. Jenness reported that a Dog Feast was held in 1913 to fulfill a vow for the recovery of the sick. The owner of the ceremonial Dog Feast Staff was the sponsor of the ceremony. Jenness reported that the Tsuu T'ina had obtained the ritual from the Blood Indians about the end of the 19th century. He noted that this was the last Dog Feast held on the reserve and that it was conducted by a recent graduate of the Tsuu T'ina Boarding School.¹⁰⁹ The man who sponsored the ceremony recently had lost a child and his small baby was gravely ill.

The diary of Agent Fleetham clearly illustrates that the Agency staff could and did perform virtually all of the day to day requirements of running the agency and performing all of the agricultural labour that was required. Indian labour was a necessary but very small part of the operation of the Agency. The labour was seasonal and did not provide workers with sufficient means to sustain themselves. George Hodgson, the farm instructor, performed all of the basic agricultural activities on the reserve. He went to Calgary for coal and for other supplies, attended and fed the livestock, vaccinated cattle, cut and hauled ice for the Agency. In 1913, Hodgson worked with one or two Tsuu T'ina labourers - Oscar Otter or John Onespot. John Onespot in his capacity as Chief Stockman was responsible for killing steers for rations in the Agency while Oscar Otter worked as scout. Other individuals who were ex-pupils, such as James Starlight, worked as general labourers for the Agency hauling goods, mail and supplies.

The Indian Agency Inspector reviewed the agency and checked the books in February of 1913. The Inspector rounded up the cattle. On March 13, 1913, Fleetham recorded that a surrender of approximately 1600 acres on the northeast corner of the reserve was completed. Fleetham merely noted: "went to town to cash \$4000 cheque for surrender."¹¹⁰ It was very cold. On March 3, 1913, Fleetham went into Calgary with Chief

Big Belly, James Starlight and John Onespot to have the surrender properly sworn before Magistrate Colonel Sanders. In late March, John Onespot took the Agency bulls up to the hay camp. Hay was purchased for \$5 a ton from a rancher near the reserve.

After the land surrender, Fleetham started to order the equipment and building materials to improve the farming and housing on the reserve. He went to the Cow Camp on April 11th to hand over the teams of horses to individual owners and to arrange for branding the horses. Extra supplies of tea were purchased to celebrate the land surrender. Spring plowing commenced five days later. The steam plow purchased from the surrender monies arrived on the evening of April 19. The farm instructor worked with the Tsuu T'ina using the new plow. On April 22, Fleetham went to Calgary to purchase 35 teams of horses and harnesses at Great West Saddlery and to collect 34 wagons from Cockshutt Plow Company. He noted that the "Indians made a great show and were happy."¹¹¹

The following day Fleetham sent several teams into Calgary to pickup the lumber for the new boarding school. The steam plow was at work and the farm instructor work with the Tsuu T'ina on the harrowing and seeding of the land. Work continued on the fields in May. At the beginning of May, 2000 trees were taken into Calgary to be cut into lumber for fencing. There was late snow and it slowed down farming operations. The snow, however, did not ruin the crops because the land was already seeded. John Onespot and other Tsuu T'ina men put up fences around the seeded land. There was a second visit from the Inspector in May. By the middle of May, John Onespot and Alex Weychen, a Cree man staying on the reserve, commenced plowing at the cow camp. Work continued on the land. Most of the Tsuu T'ina left the reserve in late May to see a circus in Calgary.

The Indian Agent was responsible for controlling liquor traffic on the reserve with the assistance of the Agency Scout. On January 6, 1913, Fleetham noted that he "had a long

talk with the Indians and let those off on suspended sentence on their promise to do better.”¹¹² Fleetham travelled into Calgary where liquor cases were heard before a magistrate at the Police barracks. The Scout continued to be responsible for reporting infringements and for collecting Indian witnesses.

It was often the case that Metis individuals were the suppliers of liquor to the Tsuu T'ina reserve. The supplying of liquor brought several months' imprisonment in the police barracks. For those found guilty of consuming liquor, sentences of up to two months' imprisonment in the barracks or the equivalent of time in hard labour at the agency. Each month during 1913 there were two or three cases in which individuals were tried for drunkenness. Fleetham attended the trials as a government representative. On May 28, a man and his wife and one other man were tried. The couple were sentenced to 2 months hard labour at the agency and the man to hard labour working with the cattle for one month. Fleetham referred to these individuals as “prisoners painting, weeding etc.” in his diary.¹¹³

By early June, Fleetham noted that there were “a great many Indians doing very little work.”¹¹⁴ There had been a heavy rainfall. One week later he noted that “some Indians working others gone to Blackfoot Reserve,” for the annual Sun Dance. Inspector Hughes arrived at St. Barnabas Boarding School on June 17. The carpenter and blacksmith continued their work through June. George Hodgson, the farm instructor and Frank Onespot, a pupil in the boarding school and son of the Chief Herder, and Otter rounded up a bunch of mares and brought them down to the east pasture on June 28.

Most of the Tsuu T'ina attended the Calgary Exhibition between July 1 and 5 under the watchful eye of the Indian Agent. Fleetham noted in his diary: “self went to town to look after Indians.”¹¹⁵ Once the fair was over, the work of the Agency resumed. Horses and cattle were branded. Two individuals were sentenced to 30 days hard labour at the agency on July

12 as a result of liquor violations during the Calgary Exhibition. Compulsory work without pay was used as a means of punishment. The two individuals spent the time working on the agency fences under the supervision of the farm instructor. The heat of late July and August of 1913 produced a good harvest. Fleetham noted that most of the Tsuu T'ina workers were out in the hay fields after July 21st. Cutting and hauling commenced on July 30 and the agency employees worked alongside the Tsuu T'ina workers. John One Spot, resigned his position as chief herder, on July 25th.

In early August, the plowing started for planting of fall wheat. Some individuals started hauling a little hay to Calgary for sale. Several Tsuu T'ina men who had gone to Winnipeg for an exhibition returned on the evening of August 18. Under revisions to the Indian Act in 1914, the consent of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs or his authorized agent, usually the resident Indian Agent was required for Indian participation in exhibitions, performances, stampedes or pageants where aboriginal costumes were worn.¹¹⁶ This requirement was not strictly enforced in the Tsuu T'ina case and Fleetham noted that quite a few Tsuu T'ina attended the Stampede against his wishes.¹¹⁷ Two days later on August 20th, there was a light frost and the agency staff started putting in the rye crop. By the end of August, everyone in the Band was employed cutting hay. The farm instructor and the blacksmith assisted the Tsuu T'ina workers who were putting up hay at the cow camp.

The new stockman, Isaac Allen, worked with the Tsuu T'ina at the hay camp and work continued on cutting and stacking the rye during the first week of September. Allen was paid less than his Tsuu T'ina predecessor. On the 7th of the month, there was a heavy frost and the potato crop and other vegetables were destroyed. In the second week of September, the farm instructor started cutting oats for feed and the Indian labourers cut green feed and started hauling the agency oats to stack. By the middle of the month, six

Tsuu T'ina men were hired for haying work at \$1.50 per day. The Farm Instructor started cutting grain for the Tsuu T'ina men and hauling oats to the agency. The work was finished by September 9. By the end of September many of the old men and women took up the potatoes that could be salvaged with the farm instructor. Fleetham sent 12 teams of horses to Midnapore for lumber for the new boarding school on September 30th. Shooting at the military range commenced on October 1, 1913. Fall plowing continued to the end of October.

A New Boarding School and New Concepts of Tsuu T'ina Education

On May 27, 1913, there was a vote on the proposed building of a Roman Catholic Church on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve. The establishment of a Roman Catholic Church on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve was perhaps the furthest thing from the mind of John William Tims in 1910. Tims gave an address about the Anglican Indian Mission Schools in the Calgary Diocese to the Pro-Cathedral Branch of the Women's Auxiliary in Calgary in that year. He described how the total gross cost for the four Indian schools between 1905 and 1910 had been \$76,000 with the average per capita cost of \$131.50. He noted that of the total \$76,000, \$37,000 had been paid by the Indian Department with \$33,000 from other sources mainly the Church of England.¹¹⁸ This left the schools at the end of the period with a liability of \$7035.51.

Despite the precarious nature of the funding for the schools, Tims' view was that the work should continue and that "the Church's greatest hold on the Indians [*was*] through the old pupils."¹¹⁹ There was irony indeed in this statement considering that one third of the students of generation one were dead. The Indian Department had paid for half of the operation deficit of the four schools in southern Alberta but there was a remaining debt of

\$3000 to be paid. Tims blamed the deficit on the cost of living generally and the necessity of paying higher salaries than formerly to school staff members.

The Sarcee Boarding School showed a deficit of \$241.68 in 1910 but the strictest economy in its operation resulted in a small balance of \$48.02 by 1914 (Table 15).¹²⁰ The Sarcee Mission continued to be funded primarily with monies received from the Church Missionary Society. In 1910, a total of \$1669.71 was received of which \$1000 was paid to Tims as his annual salary and \$360 for an allowance for his family. The remaining costs were used for stable expenses, repairs and for labour leaving a credit of \$135.91.¹²¹

Table 15: Receipts and Expenses of St. Barnabas Boarding School 1900-1909

Date	1900	Percent	1906	Percent	1909	Percent
# Students						
RECEIPTS						
Indian Dept.	\$1083.00	73%	\$1016.40	44%	\$900.36	40%
CMS	\$250	17%	\$240.00	10%	\$264.33	12%
MSCC	\$150.00	10%	\$747.26	32%	\$15.00	.7%
WA			\$162.00	7%	\$212.00	9%
Other			\$1.00	.04%	\$505.58	22%
Total	\$1480.00	100%	\$2310.02	100%	\$2,266.47	100%
EXPENSES						
Salaries	\$630.00	43%	\$562.00	24%	\$625.00	
Provisions	\$540.00	36%	\$673.10	29%	\$625.00	
Furnishings	\$30.00	2%	\$26.08	1%	\$23.70	
Clothing			\$21.08	.9%	\$39.30	
Fuel/Light	\$135.00	9%	\$202.60	9%	\$282.35	
Laundry	\$15.00	1%	\$16.25	.7%	\$10.70	
Repairs	\$25.00	2%	\$87.25	4%	\$73.45	
Stables	\$30.00	2%	\$141.14	6%	\$17.25	
Sundries	\$30.00	2%	\$55.50	2%	\$107.85	
Total	\$1480.00		\$230.02	100%	\$2266.47	
Balance	\$0.00			-\$494.44		-\$4474.50

With the increasing operating deficit of the four schools and general lack of enthusiasm among the adult population for attending Sunday services, Tims blamed the demise of Indian people on their new found wealth and penchant for materialism. In his

report to the 11th Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Calgary, Tims stated that the old customs and worship had been replaced by “emulating the white man in his search for material wealth” instead of “laying hold of the unsearchable riches of Jesus Christ Our Lord as set before him by our missionaries.”¹²² He found the Tsuu T’ina to be indifferent and careless in their attitude towards Christianity and in their laxity in observing the Lord’s Day. Tims was disturbed by the fact that settlers who would “invade” the reserve on Sunday to see and purchase beadwork.¹²³

Tims also blamed the increasing earnings of the Indians for allowing them to buy liquor more frequently, for carousal in the camps and for the “annual call upon the Indian to put on war paint and feathers which keeps in mind the heathenish and barbarity from which he is just emerging.”¹²⁴ Increased agricultural activities and work for material gain made it hard for Tims to locate the Indians on the reserve. Tsuu T’ina attendance was irregular and infrequent at weekly Church services. Tims blamed this on their occupations, which frequently drew them from their homes, either to the bush or hay field. Labourers would take their entire families with them. Distances between the work camps and St. Barnabas Church were too great for families to travel each Sunday or when services were held. Tims was forced to conduct services at the Cow Camp located 18 miles away from the mission or where men worked at logging and other endeavours. He noted that workers were dispersed across 12 miles of the reserve during the fall hay harvests.¹²⁵ His pulpit was a wagon box with two sides of a teepee for a background.¹²⁶

The position of Indian schools was the subject of a meeting held in November of 1910 in Ottawa in which church representative met with government officials. The government agreed to pay a special dispensation of \$5000 to ease the \$7000 debt loan of the Indian schools in southern Alberta by 1909. The Anglican Diocese of Calgary in the

following year assumed responsibility for the remaining financial shortfall. Tims found a renewed optimism regarding his mission with the increased financial support. He noted that a few Tsuu T'ina were dispensing with government support and despite their attendance at stampedes and festivals, a few "sterling characters who in rain or sunshine wind or storm will venture forth to God's House kneel at His Holy Table and give to Him a portion of their hard earned money."¹²⁷ He maintained that, among the adult population, the "best work [*was*] done individually and that the Indian should not be pressed to be baptized until they ask themselves."¹²⁸

While the "few sterling characters" provided hope, it was incumbent upon Tims to prove that his efforts had produced a modicum of progress while at the same time he had to demonstrate that there was an ongoing need for the Indian schools. Tims found proof of the value of the girls' training in the homes of ex-pupils where "the women make their own clothing and keep their houses and children clean and tidy." He informed the members of the Women's Auxiliary that the Indian men were doing more and more farming and haying the summer and logging in the winter. Tims, however, condemned the government for not furnishing ex-pupils with the material requirements that would bring them a standard of living that would allow them to demonstrate the level of progress they could achieve. He criticized the lack of government assistance in providing comfortable homes, proper cooking utensils and furniture for preventing the students from showing up "much better."¹²⁹

In 1911, Tims informed the Indian Department in his annual report that all of the surviving members of the first generation of Tsuu T'ina students were living on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve and that all of the young women were married. Tims noted that all of the young men with one or two exceptions were doing well and that two individuals held important positions as foreman and assistant of the cow camp.¹³⁰ One year later he noted

that many of the young men were employed by farmers in the vicinity and one unmarried girl preferred to be at home with her mothers but went out occasionally to do washing and other housework for the white people in the vicinity.¹³¹

By 1912, ex-pupils constituted 20 percent of the adult members of the band and approximately 39 percent of the Tsuu T'ina population was under the age of 20.¹³² Tims informed the Department that ex-pupils were in regular contact with the school and its workers and that the older girls would occasionally spend a day at the school with their young families.¹³³ In 1913, Tims submitted a survey of 25 ex-pupils, including 11 girls and 14 boys, who were living in the Tsuu T'ina community.¹³⁴ The ex-pupils were Tsuu T'ina with two exceptions. Fifteen of the students were married to each other or other individuals who had graduated from the Sarcee Boarding School at an earlier date. Pat Grasshopper, one of the students, who had been discharged from the boarding school after only four and one half months because he had scrofula, remained single.

Six of the ex-pupils had married individuals who had not attended school but were from the Tsuu T'ina community. Two Tsuu T'ina had married Cree individuals from other reserves. One other, Peter Manywounds, had married Jane Potts, who had been schooled at the Red Deer Industrial School and was the widow of Jim Big Plume. Peter Manywounds had succeeded to the house and field of Jim Big Plume. Three men, all of whom had regular employment with the Agency, had their own homes. The Indian Department was in the process of providing homes and furnishings for two other couples bringing the total number of ex-pupils who could afford or who had been provided with their own homes to five. Only one man had stock. Two men, Joe Big Plume and George Big Crow, lived with and assisted their fathers-in-law with stock and farming and one man assisted Chief Big Belly but was not related to him by marriage.

By 1912, St. Barnabas Boarding School was described as “much out of repair” and “very cold” in the winter.¹³⁵ It was clear to the Indian Department the building would have to be replaced. Indian Agent McNeill had even gone so far as to suggest that many of the Tsuu T’ina parents were averse to sending their children to the school because of its poor condition.¹³⁶ A singular image of the school and the mission was preserved in the correspondence of a representative of the Toronto Women’s Auxiliary who visited the Tsuu T’ina Reserve in 1912. The mission was described as lying in a beautiful valley but the mission house and school were depicted as being “very old” and in a “fearful state of dilapidation.” The WA representative urged her members to support the building of a new mission house because in winter the bread that Tims ate was often frozen. She met the girls coming back from their daily walk, “most of them dressed in navy blue coats and red hats” and how they represented a “picturesque picture.”¹³⁷

While a new boarding school, approved by the Indian Department as part of its plan to establish improved facilities, was under construction, Tims faced a new threat. In 1912, nine individuals including John Onespot, Dodginghorse, Chief Big Belly, Tony, Sleigh, Otter, Pechecosis, Two Youngman and Bull Collar signed a petition endorsing the building of a Roman Catholic Church on the Reserve. Some of these men were of Cree origin and were raised in Roman Catholic missions. The move to establish a Catholic Church underscored the religious pluralism that existed in the Tsuu T’ina community at the time (Plates 20 and 21). This religious pluralism required a new leadership. This leadership favoured individuals who were literate in the English language. In December of 1912, John Onespot wrote a letter to the Roman Catholic Bishop on behalf of Chief Big Belly:

“We are building little church here on the Sarcee Reserve since last summer and since we...the Indian department knows about and they wrote us and told us to await for awhile... We want to finish church before its cold. The other church people (white men) are trying to stop it, they don’t want other church beside their church. We are begging a favour

from your Lordship to reply to get it for us as soon as possible. We have not place to hold mass here. The Minister of C of E are trying his best to stop it, he goes down Ottawa two or three times about it now. This own our land and property which we are building a church on and we wanted a church just as it as they have. We are more R. C. Indians than any other church. We wanted church our way hoping we are not asking too much from Lordship and hoping that it will goes through alright.”¹³⁸

Conclusions - The Right of Occupation

The move to establish a Roman Catholic Church on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve constituted what Tims felt was the ultimate threat to the St. Barnabas Mission. He informed the Bishop of Rupert's Land, under whose auspices the Diocese of Calgary lay, that “The Catholics” had been lobbying the Head Chief Big Belly, whose children Tims had baptized in the fall of 1911. He informed that Bishop that Chief Big Belly, whom he described as a “thorough heathen,” had been persuaded in this regard. This action may have been more a challenge to Tims' power on the reserve than an attempt to usurp his presence through the Roman Catholic Church. It never occurred to Tims that religious expression could be a matter of choice or an assertion of will. Roman Catholics, despite the claim of John Onespot, remained in the minority. By 1913, there were 70 Anglicans, 11 Roman Catholics and 118 Pagans noted in the Annual Report of religious affiliation for the Tsuu T'ina community.¹³⁹

Tims made a broad appeal to all “loyal churchman” and to all “loyal Canadians” to oppose this action which he felt infringed the law of the land.¹⁴⁰ Tims argued that the English Church had, by previous right of occupation, a total claim on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve and that a great deal of friction would result if a second church was built.¹⁴¹ In a letter to R. B. Bennett, M. P. for Calgary, Tims stated that he believed there had always been an unwritten law that only one denomination should be allowed to have a church on a small reserve.¹⁴² The Indian Department intervened denying approval for the project because two



**Plate 20: Chief Big Belly (third from left, back row) and Catholic Group, c. 1919
(GA #NA 667-285)**



Plate 21: Roman Catholic Church, Tsuu T'ina Reserve (PAA #06-1692)

Previous attempts had failed to obtain the required majority vote for the construction of the church.¹⁴³ Tims protested vehemently against what he termed the “Roman Catholic invasion of the Sarcee Reserve”¹⁴⁴ Regardless of Tims’ actions or the failure to achieve the required majority vote, the construction of the Roman Catholic Church continued unabated at the same time the new Sarcee Boarding School was in the course of its construction.

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- ¹ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 30 June, 1912, A1912, Pedley, xxx.
- ² *Ibid.*
- ³ K. McCuaig, "From Social Reform To Social Services: The Changing Role of Volunteers: The Anti-Tuberculosis Campaign, 1900-1930," *Canadian Historical Review*, 61, (4), 1980, 480. McCuaig notes that by WWI, all major Canadian centers had some form of anti-tuberculosis organization.
- ⁴ A. B. Titley, *A Narrow Vision* (Vancouver, 1988), 83.
- ⁵ Canada. House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 27, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 30 June 1911, A1910, Pedley, xxxiii
- ⁶ *Ibid.* xxxi.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸ GA, M1356, f. 3, DIA, Circular, Untitled Terms of the Contract For The Maintenance and Management of Schools Effective April 1, 1911, 5 December 1912
- ⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹ ACCA, MSCC Papers, Series 3:1, Tucker Correspondence, McLean to Matheson, 25 November 1910.
- ¹² *Ibid.*
- ¹³ GA, M1356, f. 5, J. W. Tims, Annual Report to the CMS, 17 January 1911.
- ¹⁴ Canada. House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 27, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 30 June 1916, A1916, Pedley, xxxiii.
- ¹⁵ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1910, Pedley, xxxi.
- ¹⁶ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1912, Pedley, xxii. Also: GA, M1356, f. 3, McLean, Memorandum for Principals of Indian Industrial and Boarding Schools, 16 November 1911.
- ¹⁷ Canada, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 27, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 30 June, 1911, A1911, Pedley, xxxiii.
- ¹⁸ Canada, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 27, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 30 June, 1915, A1915, D. C. Scott, SGIA, xviii.
- ¹⁹ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1911, xxxiii.
- ²⁰ Canada, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 27, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 30 June, 1918, A1918, Scott, 14.
- ²¹ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1911, Scott, Superintendent of Indian Education, 275.
- ²² Canada, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 27, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 30 June, 1914, A1914, Pedley, Circular, 2 July 1912, 301.
- ²³ E. B. Titley, "W. M. Graham: Indian Agent Extraordinaire," *Prairie Forum*, 8, (1), 1983, 27.
- ²⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 6032, f. 150-14, pt. 2, Scott to Indian Agents, 12 March 1914.
- ²⁵ ACCA, MSCC, Series 3:1, Tucker Correspondence, McLean to Matheson, 25 November 1910.
- ²⁶ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1915, Scott, xxviii.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²⁸ UCA, ADC, Box 72, f. 14, Williams MSCC to Sidney Houlton, Synod Office, Calgary, 11 July 1918.
- ²⁹ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, A1910, McNeill, 191.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*
- ³¹ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Reports A1910, 1911.
- ³² CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1911, McNeill, 182.
- ³³ *Ibid.*
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*
- ³⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 3941, f. 121698-20, McNeill to Secretary, 17 March 1911.
- ³⁶ Interview with Tsuu Tina Elder, Mr. Frank Onespot, 20 March, 1995.

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- ³⁷ GA, M1233, f. 26, Tims, Daily Journal, 1911.
- ³⁸ GA, M1234, Interview with Reg Tims, 20 January 1973. Reg Tims claimed the calendar was given to his father, John William Tims, by Eagle Rib.
- ³⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 3941, f. 121698-20, McNeill to Secretary, 17 March 1911.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid.
- ⁴¹ "Bull Head's Spirit Still Powerful," *Morning Albertan*, 29 April 1911.
- ⁴² Ibid.
- ⁴³ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴ V. Satzewich and L. Mahood, "Indian Affairs and Band Governance: Deposing Indian Chiefs in Western Canada, 1896-1911," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 26, (1), 1994:42, 44.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid.
- ⁴⁶ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elders, Mrs. Mary Onespot, daughter of Chief Big Belly and Maggie Big Plume, and Mr. Frank Onespot, 8 October 1981. Quoted with permission of Tsuu T'ina Culture Program.
- ⁴⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 3941, f. 121698-20, Fleetham to Secretary, DIA, 17 August 1912.
- ⁴⁸ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elders, Mrs. Mary Onespot and Mr. Frank Onespot, 19-20 March 1990.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid., Markle, Inspector to Secretary, 26 December 1911.
- ⁵⁰ Canada. Indian Affairs and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), f. 772/32-4-1-145-2, v. 1, Colonel E. Fiset, Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence to Deputy Superintendent General, DIA, 1 December 1911.
- ⁵¹ Ibid., Fiset to Pedley, 29 April 1910 and Fiset to Pedley, 14 October 1910.
- ⁵² Ibid., Resolution, 20 December 1911.
- ⁵³ Ibid., R. R. Jamieson, Mayor of Calgary to Frank Oliver, Minister of The Interior, 14 November 1910, also: "Park on Reserve: Effort Being Made to Secure 1,000 Acres From Sarcees," *Calgary Herald*, n. d. in *ibid.*
- ⁵⁴ Ibid., Markle to Pedley, 6 January 1911.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid., Markle to Secretary DIA, 6 January 1911.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid., Fiset to Pedley, 11 December 1911.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid., Fiset to Pedley, 26 November 1912. Also: *ibid.*, Resolution Sarcee Indian Band, 18 December 1911.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid., Sarcee Band Resolution, 18 December 1911.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid.
- ⁶⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 4004, f. 222812-2, DIA Voucher, 30 October 1913.
- ⁶¹ Ibid., Surrender by the Sarcee Band, 28 February 1913.
- ⁶² NAC, RG 10, v. 7543, f.29120-1, Assistant Deputy and Secretary, DIA to Agent Fleetham, 29 September 1913.
- ⁶³ Canada. House of Commons, Sessional Papers, No. 27. Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 30 June 1914, A1914, Memorandum of Instructions for Sanitary visiting to Teachers and District Sanitary Visitors, 26 November 1912, 301.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid.
- ⁶⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 4068, f. 423020, Fleetham to Secretary, DIA, 3 June 1913.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid., Surrender of 5000 acres of Sarcee Reserve, n. d.
- ⁶⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 4004, f. 222812-2, DIA Voucher 31 October 1913 and *ibid.*, November 1913.
- ⁶⁸ Based on statistical information contained in DIA Annual Reports A1900 to A1918.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid., DIA Invoice, 30 April 1914.
- ⁷⁰ CHC, SP, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1916, Fleetham, 81.
- ⁷¹ Based on statistical information contained in DIA Annual Reports A1900 to A1918.
- ⁷² NAC, RG 10, v. 7543, f. 29120-1, 18 March 1913.
- ⁷³ Ibid., Assistant Deputy and Secretary to Fleetham, 29 September 1913.
- ⁷⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 4068, f. 423020, Fleetham to Secretary, 8 September 1913.
- ⁷⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 4004, f. 222812-2, Fleetham to Scott, 11 February 1913.

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- ⁷⁶ Ibid., Fleetham to Scott, 29 August 1914.
- ⁷⁷ "Industrious Indian is A Possibility," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 11 April 1913. Also: in NAC, RG 10, v. 7543, f. 29120-1.
- ⁷⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 7543, f. 29120-1, Fleetham to Secretary DIA, 11 February 1913.
- ⁷⁹ Ibid.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid.
- ⁸¹ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report A1915, Fleetham, 167.
- ⁸² CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1912, Markle, 187.
- ⁸³ Data for 1910 to 1920 are based on: Agricultural and Industrial Statistics and Realty of Indians in DIA Annual Report, A1910, 97 and 99; Land and Private Property and Buildings and Progress during Year in DIA Annual Report, 73 and 106 and Land and Private and Public Buildings and Property in DIA Annual Report, A1920, 64.
- ⁸⁴ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1912, Markle, 187.
- ⁸⁵ Data for 1910 to 1920 are based on: Personality of Indians in DIA Annual Report, A1910, 103, Livestock and Poultry in DIA Annual Report, A1915, 89 and Livestock and Poultry, DIA Annual Report, A1920, 68.
- ⁸⁶ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1916, Report of J. A. Markle, Inspector of Indian Agencies and Reserves for the Alberta Inspectorate, 82
- ⁸⁷ Ibid.
- ⁸⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 7543, f. 29120-1, McLean to Fleetham, 24 January 1913.
- ⁸⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 4068, f. 423020, Scott, Accountant, DIA to Pedley, 27 February 1913.
- ⁹⁰ INAC, f. 772/32-4-1-145-2, v. 1, Fleetham to Scott, 16 April 1914.
- ⁹¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 4068, f. 423020, W. Orr, In Charge Lands and Timber Branch, DIA to Dept. Minister, 27 February 1913.
- ⁹² INAC, f. 772/32-4-145-2, v. 1, Fleetham to Scott, 3 August 1916
- ⁹³ Ibid.
- ⁹⁴ Ibid., McLean to Scott, 19 October 1916.
- ⁹⁵ Based on Trust Account Sarcee Band in NAC, RG 10, v. 5945, 1914-1915.
- ⁹⁶ Canada. House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 1, Auditor General's Report 1914-1915, Department of Indian Affairs, H-125.
- ⁹⁷ NAC, RG 18, v. 67, f. 452-92, Comptroller, NWMP to Secretary DIA, 17 October 1913.
- ⁹⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 7942, Untitled Invoice, DIA to Fleetham, 7 June 1915.
- ⁹⁹ Based on GA, M1234, St. Barnabas Mission Ledger Book, 1895-1919.
- ¹⁰⁰ CHC, *SP*, No. 1, Auditor General's Report, Details of Expenditure, Department of Indian Affairs, 1914-1915, A1916, H-33.
- ¹⁰¹ Ibid. The total figure is exaggerated as per comment.
- ¹⁰² NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, McNeill to Secretary, 24 October 1910.
- ¹⁰³ CHC, *SP*, No. 1, Auditor General's Report, Department of Indian Affairs, 1910-1911, A1912, H-46
- ¹⁰⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 1627, McLean to McNeill, 10 January 1911.
- ¹⁰⁵ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1913, Fleetham to Pedley, 1 April 1912, 189
- ¹⁰⁶ Ibid., Report of Chief Medical Officer, 289.
- ¹⁰⁷ GA, M1234, f. 11, Untitled Comments of Chief Big Belly and other male leaders recorded by J. W. Tims, 1913.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁹ Jenness, *The Sarcee Indians of Southern Alberta*, 1938, 60. Jenness recounted that a certain Blood Medicine Man named "he who goes for it" fell ill and died. Before he expired he told his people to leave his body unburied for four days. While he lay dead in his tent a dog visited him and said "you shall come to life again; and hereafter every Indians who is at the point of death shall recover if they promise to perform the ritual I shall now show you. The dog then taught him how to hold a dog feast and the medicine man came to life again."

- ¹¹⁰ GA, M379, Diary of Thomas Fleetham, 1913.
- ¹¹¹ Ibid.
- ¹¹² Ibid.
- ¹¹³ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁵ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁶ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1912, Pedley to Oliver, xxvi.
- ¹¹⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 4068, f. 423020, Fleetham to Secretary, DIA, 5 August 1913.
- ¹¹⁸ UCA, ADC, Box 81, f. 6, Tims, Untitled Address To The Pro-Cathedral Branch of the Woman's Auxiliary at Bishop's Court, Calgary, 7 February 1910, in WA Minutes, 7 February 1910.
- ¹¹⁹ Ibid.
- ¹²⁰ Based on: GA, M1356, f. 9, Sarcee School Estimates for 1900, M1356, f. 10, Sarcee School Estimates for 1906 and M1356, f. 10, Sarcee School Estimates for 1909.
- ¹²¹ GA, M1356, f. 10, Tims, Sarcee Mission, Financial Statement, 1910.
- ¹²² UCA, ADC, Box 62, f. 20, "Report on Indian Work 1908-1909," *Report of 11th Synod*, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, 42.
- ¹²³ Ibid.
- ¹²⁴ Ibid.
- ¹²⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 7736, f. 23120, Fleetham to Secretary DIA, 16 August 1915. Fleetham describes the dispersal of Tsuu Tina workers across 12 miles of the reserve during the fall hay harvest.
- ¹²⁶ UCA, ADC, Box 81, f. 6, WA Minutes, 7 February 1910.
- ¹²⁷ GA, M1356, f. 6, Tims Report, n. d.
- ¹²⁸ Ibid.
- ¹²⁹ UCA, ADC, Box 62, f. 20, "Report on Indian Work 1908-1909," in, *Report of 11th Synod*, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, 1909, 42
- ¹³⁰ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1911, Report of the Ven. Archdeacon John William Tims, Principal for the year ended 31 March 1911, 564.
- ¹³¹ GA, M1356, f. 5, Report of the Ven. Archdeacon Tims, Principal of the SBS For the Year Ended 31 March 1912, 52.
- ¹³² CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1913, Scott, Accountant and Superintendent of Indian Education, 377.
- ¹³³ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1914, Tims, 555.
- ¹³⁴ GA, M1356, f. 3A, Tims, Untitled List of Ex-pupils in Order in Which They Left The School, 1913.
- ¹³⁵ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1912, Scott, 365.
- ¹³⁶ Ibid.
- ¹³⁷ UCA, ADC, Box 25, f. 2, Ninth Annual Report of the Calgary Diocese Board of the W. A. to the MSCC in Canada, 1912.
- ¹³⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 6609, f. 4120RC, John Onspot for Chief Big Belly to Bishop Legal, 4 December 1912.
- ¹³⁹ Ibid., John Mekin Memo to Acting Deputy Superintendent General, DIA, 23 May 1913.
- ¹⁴⁰ UCA, ADC, Box 67, f. 21, "Report on Indian Missions," *Report of 13th Synod*, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, 52. Tims informed the Synod in 1913: "The question had now reached a stage in which every loyal churchman yea, every loyal Canadian should be interested. Is the country to be ruled by the constituted authorities according to the law of the country or has the Roman Catholic Archbishop the power to authorize an infringement of the land while those whose duty is to enforce the law stand idly by?" In *ibid.*, J. W. Tims, "Report on Indian Missions," in Anglican Diocese of Calgary, *Report of 13th Synod*, 1913, 63.
- ¹⁴¹ Ibid.
- ¹⁴² GA, M1356, f. 3, Tims to R. B. Bennett, M. P. Calgary, 30 May 1913.

¹⁴³ The first vote resulted in 17 against, 23 absent but 13 present did not vote for a total of 54 present. NAC, RG 10, v. 6609, f. 4120RC, Fleetham to Secretary 27 May 1913.

*CHAPTER EIGHT:
A COMMUNITY IN CRISIS: THE MEDICALIZATION OF
THE TSUU T'INA COMMUNITY 1910-1920*

“Destiny is not history. Nor is it always tragedy.”¹
Marshall Sahlins, 1988

Introduction – The New Sarcee Boarding School

Construction on the new Sarcee Boarding School began in 1913 and the new building was completed in the following year. The new school dominated the reserve landscape of the Tsuu T'ina Reserve (Plates 22 and 23). The main building consisted of three storeys and a basement, measuring 70 feet by 30 feet and there were stables, a chicken house and storehouse on the property. Tims informed the department that the school site had an ideal view and that it could be seen for miles from any direction.² The total cost for the construction of the new Sarcee Boarding School was \$40,085.40, a vast sum during a period of wartime economy.³

The length of the new building had been shortened to reduce costs resulting in little space for the kitchen and dining room. Staff members found they had to take their meals at one of the tables vacated by the children.⁴ Coal and wood stoves heated the school with coal oil lamps providing the main source of light.⁵ The school initially was supplied with well water. The Department of Indian Affairs paid for the construction of the building while the furnishings were provided by the Diocese of Calgary. The Diocese contributed \$1000 to furnish the school and the Diocesan Women's Auxiliary contributed about \$2000 in furnishing and funds.⁶

Tims initially saw no difficulty filling the school to capacity once it was ready for occupation. The school, however, did not fill to capacity or as quickly as he had hoped in its first year of operation in 1914. There were 13 boys in the school but there was a scarcity of girls. Tims noted that there were five girls in residence but there were six girls in camp who



**Plate 22: St. Barnabas Church with Sarcee Boarding School in Background, 1921
(ACCA #P 7538-631)**

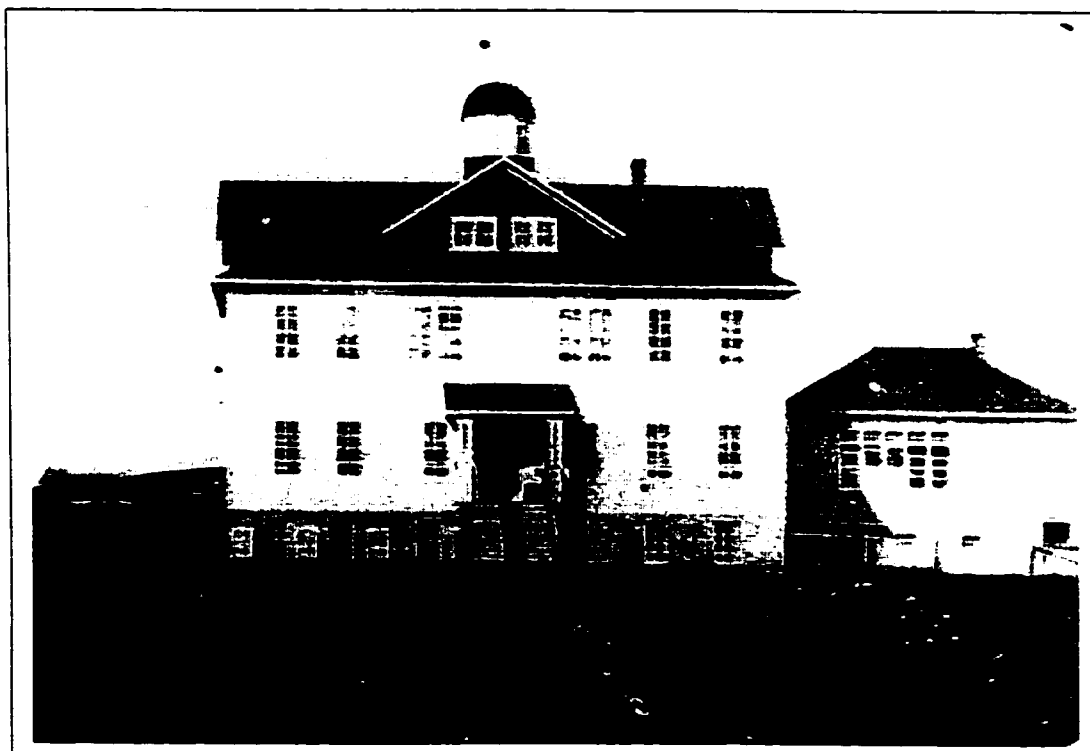


Plate 23: Sarcee Hospital (left) and Sarcee Day School, c. 1920s (GA # NA 4293-15)

ought to be in the school to bring the number to 24.⁷ With diminishing funds, Tims looked once again to the Tsuu T'ina Parish and to the Diocese of Calgary for contributions. He had informed Diocesan officials in 1911 that the Tsuu T'ina Indian Mission made little return financially but that the earnings of the Indians fluctuated and were very uncertain. His hope was that this might change with the sale of reserve lands.⁸

Enrollment in the school effectively doubled once the new boarding school was built. By 1915, the new boarding school had 37 pupils on the register with 36 reported as being in residence (Appendix 3.1).⁹ This number represented most of the children in the Tsuu T'ina community of school age. As a consequence of the larger intake of pupils in Standard One, teacher Winnifred Tims subdivided the class into several sections so that no students could be held back.¹⁰ Although Tims informed the Indian Department that "every child of school age on the reserve" was in the school, there were actually 10 students of school age who did not attend the school in 1917.¹¹

Most of the pupils in the new school were very young. With the increased enrollment, the burden of the work fell on the shoulders of the older students, particularly the boys. The increased size of the school meant that there was also a greater demand for fuel to heat the institution. Tims noted that the boys had managed to haul all of the fuel for the institution in the winter of 1915.¹² The greater enrollment and higher operating costs of the school meant that more time had to be devoted to supplying the school with garden produce. In 1915, Tsuu T'ina boys harvested 100 bushels of potatoes, a ton of turnips and about 100 heads of cabbages and cauliflower after having supplied the school in the summer.¹³

It was very hard for the young children who spoke only their own language when they first entered the Sarcee Boarding School. Edward Onespot, who was admitted to the

school in 1914 remembered, “In 1914 I was seven years old. I didn’t even know what is years and no in English. It took me three years to understand, to learn to understand.”¹⁴ The adjustment was difficult and the separation from family painful. The application of physical punishment was foreign to Tsuu T’ina students who had been raised in a culture in which this form of discipline rarely was used. But there were benefits. Edward Onespot learned “[a]rithmetic and hygiene and geography ...it was mostly geography and how to read and write and all that stuff but the teacher [*Miss Tims*], used to tell me, Ed, some day you going out into the world and you’ll be sorry if you don’t learn much [*it*]. I used to hate geography.” But in his adult years, he travelled around the world as found that “I was there and glad that she taught me all this geography stuff.”

Individuals, who were among the older pupils in the school time, recall that most of their school time in the winter was taken up with hauling coal from Midnapore or supplying the school with wood.¹⁵ When the first Boarding School was built in 1895, David Crowchild, recalled [*students*] “used to saw wood all day ... We kept that school going everyday sawing.” The larger second boarding school required more fuel to heat. David Crowchild hauled coal for the school six days a week from Midnapore. It took him half a day to go to the railway station in Midnapore. The total distance for the return trip was nine miles.¹⁶ Frank Onespot, who was in the boarding school at the same time, remembered, “I used to haul coal from Midnapore ... alone with a team. I go every morning and in the afternoon, I got to school for an hour ... then I get out again and I saw wood with some boys to help me.”¹⁷

Financial Crisis and The Boarding Schools in Southern Alberta

There were continuing problems with the admission of new pupils. In the fall of 1914, William Sleigh and Joseph Tony, two Roman Catholic students, were admitted to the

school through special dispensation from the Indian Department. While the admission of new students provided more capital and the new agreements between the Indian Department and the churches provided for an increased per capita grant starting in April of 1911, the operating deficit of Indian schools and missions in southern Alberta continued to increase.

By March of 1912, the net indebtedness for Indian Schools and Missions in Southern Alberta was \$2367.02 from \$1596.26 in 1910. This represented an increase of \$780.76.¹⁸ To meet part of the debt, \$450 was raised towards \$950 for repairs at the Sarcee Mission House by the local Diocese.¹⁹ The Executive Committee of the Missionary Society of The Church of England in Canada (MSCC), which had begun to contribute to the operation of the schools and missions, said that the state of affairs now “gives rise to serious anxiety by 1915.”²⁰ The projected deficit of the Indian schools in southern Alberta alone was \$4000 and the CMS could not long afford to provided assistance with the debts that had been incurred.²¹

Tims acknowledged that the cost of the new and larger boarding school had far exceeded his original estimations by 1914.²² With the withdrawal of the CMS as a main source of funding, Tims had found himself dependent upon the Indian Department and the local diocese for any shortfall in the operation of the boarding school. In 1912, the cost of the 18 children at the old Sarcee school had been \$149.37 per capita with a slight reduction to approximately \$140 in the following year. This meant that of the rough cost per capita of about \$140 the government paid \$100, the Women’s Auxiliary \$20 which left a balance of \$20 per pupil that Tims looked to the local diocese to meet.²³

Tims did not feel that the Diocesan contributions were excessive and pointed out that the withdrawal by the CMS had placed an extremely heavy burden on the Indian

missions and schools. He noted that while the CMS had contributed to the Mission in the past three and a half years the amount was only \$5764.50 or roughly \$1921.50 per year. The funds required to carry on that work for 1914 alone was \$2400.²⁴ Tims called for continuing support of the Indian schools and missions likening Indian people to straying sheep in the wilderness:

“The Church of England had sent forth her missionaries into the remotest parts to gather them into the fold of Christianity. They need to be nourished and carefully watched. Can there be any hesitation on our part with the splendid record and achievement of our Church in the past to hear the voice of the Good Shepherd saying to the Christians in this Diocese “Feed my sheep, yea and fed my lambs also.”²⁵

The new boarding school on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve only served to increase the existing deficit faced by the Diocese of Calgary. The larger school required more staff members and their salaries had to keep up with inflationary costs that were running rampant during the war years. In 1914, the first staff members and their annual salaries included: Mr. S. C. Tims as school assistant at \$300; Mrs. Dean, school matron at \$250; Winnifred Tims, teacher at \$240; Miss Quigley, Kitchen Matron at \$200; and Miss Bell, Assistant Matron in the school whose salary was also \$200.²⁶ To a certain extent, the new boarding school was a family operation. The school assistant and teacher were the son and daughter of John William Tims. By 1915, the total salaries in the school were \$1,300.82 an increase of \$493.32 from 1910 and the total operating cost had almost doubled from \$2109.45 to \$4093.91 for the same period (Appendix 5.2).²⁷

The tone of Tims' reports began to change regarding the financial situation of the schools He referred to the “severity of the conditions under which the Indian work was being carried out,” citing the insufficiency of the government grant, the gradual withdrawal of the CMS and the inability of the MSCC to make up the deficit.²⁸ Reductions of the total indebtedness of \$2770.98 for 1914-1915 had been brought about only through the assistance

of the Principals and staff members who did not collect their full salaries.²⁹ At the same time the financial status of the Indian schools was eroding, an appeal went out for a new house for the Tims' family. The Diocesan Secretary of the WA noted, "it is a disgrace to our church ... that a servant of God who [*has*] done and is still doing such noble and self-sacrificing work in His vineyard [*has*] to live day to day under such an unsafe and dilapidated roof."³⁰

The operating deficit of the school continued to grow after 1915 while the local Diocese considered raising funds for a new mission house for the Tsuu T'ina Reserve. By 1916 the net cash liability of the four schools was \$2411.88 in March compared with \$2575.44 of December for the previous year with the schools costing \$603.75 more than they had received.³¹ The Sarcee Boarding School accounted for more than half of the debt with an operating deficit of \$328.42 for 1915 (Appendix 5.2). The Sarcee Boarding School was closed temporarily in 1916 upon the recommendation of the Medical Officer because it was found to be unclean and the sewer pipes were found to be full of rags.³²

Inspector Markle informed the Indian Department in 1916 that although the per capita grants had been increased four consecutive years, they were insufficient to meet the advanced costs of foodstuffs that were required for the day to day operation of the boarding schools.³³ At a joint deputation of Anglican Bishops in 1916, the first discussions were held of the MSCC, founded in 1903, to administer to the general requirements of missions within the Anglican Church, taking over the operation of the Indian and Eskimo missions in Canada. In 1916, the Auditor of the Executive Committee of the Diocese of Calgary noted the reduction in the overall debt of the schools from \$2770.98 from the previous year to \$1898.37 had been brought about through "the loyal assistance of the Principals and staff members who had drawn only a portion of their annual salaries."³⁴

The four Indian boarding schools in southern Alberta continued to show a large operating deficit by the end of the fiscal year in March of 1917 with a projected deficit for the following year of \$5417.72.³⁵ Tims sent the Secretary of the Indian Department a telegram in June of 1917 informing him, on behalf of the Executive Committee, that “notwithstanding the most rigid economy in the management of our four Indian Boarding Schools we have incurred a debt of \$2000 since the first of January.”³⁶ The Executive Committee of the Diocese of Calgary adopted the resolution that the per capita grant be increased to accommodate the great increase in the cost of living. This would ensure the “Indian work” could be continued. Tims then forwarded a copy of the resolution to the Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs.³⁷

Tims contacted Duncan Campbell Scott in June of 1917 to request that students in the schools be classified as “destitute” so that they might receive rations of beef and flour from the government.³⁸ He informed Scott that a one hundred pound sack of flour purchased for \$2 before that start of World War I now cost between \$4 and \$5 in 1916.³⁹ This meant that for the 120 sacks of flour required for the Sarcee Boarding School there was an additional expenditure of \$360 on one article alone. The cost of buying meat for the schools was also much higher. Five years previously it was 6 cents per pound. By 1917, the cost had risen to between 9 and 11 cents a pound.⁴⁰ Scott, for his part, attempted to obtain capita costs to offset the increased cost of food, clothing and wages.⁴¹ When the increase was granted by the Indian Department, the Anglican Bishop of Saskatchewan challenged Scott, “when prices have gone up 50 percent and some almost 100 percent what real aid is an advance of \$10.”⁴² The Bishop informed Scott he did not blame him and understood fully the “recent poverty of the Government Treasury.”⁴³

The Structure of Work and The Routine of The School

Despite the looming financial crisis, there was very little difference in the actual routine followed in the new Sarcee Boarding School. The routine for students in the schools was the case in St. Barnabas School, remained inflexible and unvarying. Following the release of the Bryce Report, the school hours were shortened and more outdoor life was encouraged for the students. This meant in practice that the students performed more work for the school. Education in the boarding school entailed two things - religion and work. In his annual report for 1909 to 1910, Tims described "righteousness, sobriety and Godliness" as the basis of the school curriculum.⁴⁴ The increasing debts of the Sarcee school and the rising cost of living meant that any changes in either the market value or availability of garden produce increased the financial problems of the school. In 1912, the potato crop was killed by an early frost that reduced a significant source of income for the school.

Principal Tims instructed the children in prayers and Bible readings between 10:00 a.m. and 10:20 a.m. Each morning and between 7:15 and 7:35 each evening. Miss Tims, the teacher, devoted one half-hour each week to Church Catechism. Learning was often by rote with the children committing The Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments, catechism and various portions of the scriptures to memory.⁴⁵ The books used in the school were the Canadian Readers that had been used for many years by Tsuu T'ina students. The boys milked two cows for the school, looked after the team of horses and did all of the gardening under the supervisor of the Principal or House matron. The garden yield was sufficient for the school and included 100 bushels of potatoes, 40 bushels of carrots, 10 bushels of onions and 600 pounds of cabbages (Table 16).⁴⁶

The burden of work fell on the older children. In 1912, Tims reported that few boys of any size find the work they can in milking cows, tending horses, weeding the garden,

keeping the fences in repair and cutting up all the firewood required for fuel in the school.⁴⁷ The Mission also included a team of horses, and 30 hens. By 1916, work within the school took on industrial proportions. In half a year, students in the school produced a harvest worth \$563.25, looked after 7 cows, a heifer, a yearling setter, 2 calves, 30 chickens and 1 pig.⁴⁸ The quantity of garden produce from the school was more than the combined efforts of adults in the Tsuu T'ina population in any given year between 1890 and 1940.

Table 16: Student Production in Sarcee Boarding School 1912 and 1916

Item	1912	1916
Milk		1077 gallons
Eggs		46 dozen
Potatoes	100 bushels	250 bushels
Carrots	40 lbs.	3000 lbs.
Turnips		3000 lbs.
Beets		500 lbs.
Onions	10 lbs.	200 lbs.
Parsnips		200 lbs.
Cabbages	400 lbs.	500 lbs.

The division of work in the boarding school along gender lines and the continuity of a literate sub-culture of female students were reinforced by the founding of a reserve chapter of the Women's Auxiliary of the Anglican Church of Canada. Winnifred Tims founded this organization soon after she became teacher in the school in 1912. The girls of the Tsuu T'ina Reserve branch of the Women's Auxilliary were "taught to work and pray for others than themselves."⁴⁹ A babies' branch of the WA also was established with Miss Tims as the superintendent. The babies' branch functioned to maintain links between women in the community and the girls who were in the boarding school.

The Women's Auxiliary had reached an agreement with the MSCC in 1912 to assume all the work among women and children including the support of all women missionaries on reserves where there were Anglican missions in Canada. The WA was to

provide all furniture and equipment for girls' schools as it had with the new Sarcee Boarding School.⁵⁰ The extension of the WA out into the community therefore represented the direct offshoot of an institutionalized female mission culture of the Anglican Church. The presence of a nurse in the Tsuu T'ina community after 1915 also established a new basis for a female network within the reserve population in which the secular functions of childcare and responsibility for community health were based on scientific principles of measurement and monitoring.

While agricultural work outside the school involved mainly boys, domestic work inside the school now was defined exclusively as a female domain. The girls did all the washing on Mondays and on alternate weeks two of them were in the kitchen all morning making bread. The creation of a close mission-based female sub-culture involved an implicit hierarchy of individuals with tasks assigned on the basis of age and experience. During the housekeeper's absence in 1912, the head girl took charge of the kitchen for three weeks.⁵¹ Older girls did all of the breadmaking, cooking, and cleaning of the boarding school under the supervision of the kitchen matron. They were also taught bead work so that it could be shown at the Calgary Exhibition.

Girls were not required to do the work if they were too young. The girls worked with the matron for two hours or more one evening a week looking over the washing, sewing on buttons, darning and repairing the clothing of both boys and girls. One evening a week they were engaged in needlework and fancy work as members of the Women's Auxiliary.⁵² Girls also maintained small individual garden plots unlike the boys who worked together on the large school garden. These activities reinforced the division between public and private, domestic and industrial forms of work that the pupils were expected to follow in their future lives in the Tsuu T'ina community.

When girls were married directly from the school, this was always considered to be a trade off because of the loss of their necessary contribution to production within the school. In 1914, Elizabeth Big Wolf was married to David Dog. Mrs. Dean, the girls' matron, informed the WA head office in Toronto, "her trousseau reached us in good time and it was not much work in getting here ready." Elizabeth was the fourth girl married out of the school that year and Mrs. Dean noted that "it leaves us short of big girls and makes the work a little harder."⁵³

Table 17: Daily Menu in The Sarcee Boarding School 1910-1916

Breakfast: porridge with sugar and milk, bread drippings and tea

Midday meal: boiled beef, meat pie, hash or minced meat with vegetables steamed bread or rice pudding or apple dumpling and bread and water

Supper: Bread, sometimes soup, stewed fruit or jam sandwiches, buns and fried potatoes. At bedtime, there were buns or bread with more dripping for small children and meat sandwiches for older children

The diet of the school was simple but sufficient according to the description provided by Tims to the Indian Department in 1912 (Table 17).⁵⁴ The repercussions of the poor diet in the school, however, weakened the resistance of students to disease such as tuberculosis. Individuals, who were students in the school between 1910 and 1916, universally remember being poorly nourished. Vegetables and butter are noticeably absent from the list because they were the primary goods that were sold to support the school. The entire production process outside the school that was performed by boys was geared to the outside market.

Many Tsuu T'ina individuals now blame the sickness of the students on the lack of food, the excessive work loan and on the poor conditions in the school. One Elder, stated

“ It’s because we didn’t have enough to eat, we didn’t have not much vegetables and the health food we’re suppose to eat and they missionaries they’re looking after it and then the government take over that school and that was the time when they fed us pretty good. There were potatoes. When the minister was looking after us, they just had dessert for supper, stewed prunes and bread. We just had porridge and one slice of bread with grease on it and I really enjoyed it because I was always hungry.”⁵⁵

A similar account of the experiences of Mabel Dodginghorse was provided by her daughter Helen Meguinis:

“My mom was raised in boarding school. They might have been to grade three or four and she learned enough to write her name to use a few simple number and that’s it ... she said they just went to school to work, soon as they able to work around age 10. The girls would scrub floors, wash dishes and make beds and clean their clothes and when they got bigger, they look after the little ones, when they just come in.”⁵⁶

The children were allowed to go home one day a week usually Saturday. They were not allowed to speak the Tsuu T’ina language in the school and were punished if they were overheard speaking a native language. Within the school and the broader reserve community, Tsuu T’ina-English developed and continued to be used. The Tsuu T’ina language itself survived because there was enough contact between parents and children and because the children would often speak to each other in their own language when they were out of hearing of the staff members. The “secret” use of the Tsuu T’ina language commenced a lifelong pattern for many individuals of reserving the use of the native language for special sets of circumstances.

Frank Onespot stated, “our parents ... when visited them. We kept our language going...and we talk to each others in school ... when nobody’s around, you know.”⁵⁷ Frank Onespot was in the boarding school for ten years. He felt that he didn’t learn much in school: “nothing...but I learned how to work ... Just like, in Egypt, you know, my God.”⁵⁸ Mabel Two Guns remembered that the girls, “used to talk when they went to bed ... and matron, there was a matron on the girls’ side ... and in the kitchen or laundry room...but as soon as the matron come, they talked in English ... they weren’t there every minute.”⁵⁹

The spatial layout of the school included areas for schooling, recreation and work. The physical organization of the school space reflected hierarchies in the social organization of the mission and in the division of labour. There was a work room in the new school for girls. The boys had their own playroom. The hygiene of students was regulated with all children being given a weekly bath. The routine of the school included two hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon of classwork. Junior students attended both sessions but the seniors generally attended classes only in the afternoon. A senior girl was retained in the kitchen on Thursdays and Fridays. Tims took up part of the two hours of classroom time with scripture lessons in each part of the day. Between 4:00 p.m. and 4:40 p.m. each afternoon the boys would milk and feed the stock. The stables were cleaned, wood was cut, water pumped, dormitories tidied and other rooms between 8:00 a.m. and 10:00 a. m. Between 5:00 p. m. and 5:30 p. m. there were evening chores to be completed.

For girls, 7:00 to 7:30 each morning was spent preparing breakfast. Between 8:00 a. m. and 12:00 p. m. there was washing, scrubbing, and cooking to do. Tims noted that between 8 and 10 in the morning all were employed. Between 10:15 a. m. and 12:15 a. m a senior girl was employed to do chores except on Thursday or Friday and the girls were later employed to prepare supper between 5:00 p. m. and 5:30 p. m. Between 6:00 p. m. and 6:30 p. m. the dishes were cleared away and washed.⁶⁰

It was difficult to maintain staff in the Sarcee Boarding School and often staff members were not suited for working with children. The Indian Department encouraged the hiring of trained teachers for Indian schools. In 1911, Percy Stocken was transferred from the school to take a position with the Indian Department and Miss Crawford resigned. Tims retained the services of Mr. and Mrs. Grevett. Mr. Grevett had formerly been in charge of one of the church army labour homes in England. His wife, who acted as teacher and house

master, was an active worker among girls from the same background. Miss Lear, the girls' matron had been a missionary in China. In 1912, Winnifred Tims, the only daughter of John William Tims, replaced the Grevetts. She held a second class teaching certificate from Alberta.

Students in the boarding school between 1910 and 1920 remember the unrelenting routine. Most painful was the separation from their parents. Dick Big Plume, who was in the Sarcee Boarding School between 1914 and 1922, said that "it was like a jail house."⁶¹ Students were allowed to go home for only one half day each week. There was little classroom work and mental survival in the boarding school system took a certain kind of attitude. Dick Big Plume recalled: "Most of the time I worked but they taught me. I worked at the mission house doing chores for the Tims, chopping wood, hauling water...I was a tough guy and got through it."⁶²

Stanley Big Plume was also in the boarding school during this period. He recalled being let out to go home, "[*it was on Saturday*], one to six, they allowed you and if you're late, five or ten minutes late, they wouldn't let you out next Saturday or half an hour late, you lose two weeks holiday."⁶³ He remembered the roll call upon his return: "Saturday, the same damned thing, you locked up, you're not free just like jail."⁶⁴

The Greater Production Campaign in The Sarcee Indian Agency 1917-1919

There was continuing optimism regarding Indian education among department officials despite the increasing debt of the Indian schools and the realities for students within their walls. In 1915, the Superintendent of Indian Education reported that the moral, mental and physical welfare of the children attending the schools was receiving the "earnest attention of the principals and staff in charge. " As a result, "progress [*was*] evident and

“recognized by Indian parents who were anxious that their children receive the benefits which the schools afford.”⁶⁵

The Superintendent noted that 30 girls and 39 boys who were ex-pupils had received financial assistance totalling \$1499.45 by 1916. The repayment of loans made to native graduates across Canada, however, was not as great as expected during the war years.⁶⁶ A year later, Tims reported that all of the male ex-pupils were engaged in farming and that the women were employed doing housework. He noted that their advancement was encouraging and that they had comfortable homes and that the ex-pupils “practically all speak English.”⁶⁷

Table 18: Characteristics of Tsuu T’ina Labour Force 1910-1917

Date	N	Speak English	Write English	Work Force	Able Bodied Men	Farming	Stock	Other	H/F/T*
1909-1910	205					20	23	6	16
1914-1915	188	30	25	40	34	34	18	6	2
1915-1916	193	29	24	39	32	33	2	18	6
1916-1917	182	29	24	38	38	33	2	18	5

* indicates hunting, fishing and trapping

After 1915, only the stockman and one herder were engaged in stockraising. Other men turned to working for settlers and to hunting, fishing and trapping for at least part of their livelihood. By 1917, the Tsuu T’ina male work force included 38 men (Table 18).⁶⁸ Able-bodied men constituted approximately 18 percent of the total population of 182 persons. These individuals were engaged primarily in farming and were drawn from the first generation of school students. Consequently, approximately two-thirds of the workers could speak and write English as a direct result of their schooling by 1917.

A different picture of the reserve economy than that portrayed by Tims or described in the Annual Reports of the Indian Department emerged four years after the 1913 land surrender. J. A. Markle, Inspector of Indian Agencies, completed a review of the Sarcee Indian Agency in 1917. Markle's findings were shocking and attracted the immediate attention of the Indian Department. The Inspector informed the Secretary of the Indian Department that grain growing was not likely to be a paying business because of early frosts and hailstorms and that the land was better adapted to stock.⁶⁹

Markle further noted that the blacksmith devoted most of his time in the summer to the farming operations and that he and the farmer did the work that the "Indians should do for themselves" while the stockman and his assistant looked after all the cattle.⁷⁰ Markle reported that the blacksmith, farmers and interpreter had placed 88 acres of land under crop and prepared 100 acres of summer fallow. A few Tsuu T'ina men had been hired to plow the summer fallow because the gas plow purchased from the proceeds of the surrender was not working.⁷¹

Indian Agent William Gordon, appointed earlier in 1917, defended the management of the Agency. He informed Secretary John McLean that "it will take sometime to get the Indians to do their farm work properly without assistance as well as oversight and as the land is now under cultivation it would look very much like a backward movement to allow it to be neglected, poorly cultivated and allowed to return to grass and weeds."⁷² Gordon's comments only seemed to confirm the observations of Inspector Markle. The blacksmith, farmer and Indian Agent performed all of the agricultural work in the agency including some threshing for neighbouring settlers to earn money for the next season's work. A total of 70 acres of oats had been planted by the three men but the growing season of 1917 was disappointing with a harvest of only 30 tons of green feed and between 1500 and 200

bushels of oats that were used for feed to or purchase seed. The grain crop was destroyed by two hailstorms.⁷³

Gordon maintained that there was a general apathy among the Tsuu T'ina with regard to farming and that "land was given to Indians who have and never will farm when it means hard work."⁷⁴ He noted that it was well when the land was newly broken but when the long term care of the land involved more effort including summer fallowing and proper plowing Tsuu T'ina farmers were useless. The Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs reproached Agent Gordon for his poor management. McLean informed Gordon that there was no justification for employing a blacksmith at \$60 per month and the cost of rations when the work involved a total of \$11 for the three previous months.⁷⁵

There were six employees, including Agent Gordon, George Hodgson, the farmer, an Interpreter, the Blacksmith and Engineer, John Onespot, the Stockman and an Assistant Stockman, who worked for the Tsuu T'ina Agency in 1917. As Stockman, Onespot was paid \$50 a month and his assistant received \$30. Markle maintained that the six employees did all the work for the agency. McLean called for a reduction in the agency staff and a reorganization of the Sarcee Indian Agency.⁷⁶ Gordon argued for the retention of Isaac Allen, the blacksmith, because he was the only man on the Reserve beside himself who could repair machinery or run a gasoline engine or any complicated equipment. Gordon commented, "while I do not agree with the principle of doing Indians' work for them yet now that it has been begun it would be very unfair to the reputation of the agent in charge should the assistance be withdrawn."⁷⁷

Inspector Markle was highly critical of the expansion of farming operations that had occurred on the Tsuu T'ina reserve following the land surrender. He informed the Secretary that the "farming operations were enlarged at this reserve a few years ago and without very

careful thought as to whether the soil, climate etc. were well adapted for grain growing land also whether the Indians would willingly take up this work.”⁷⁸ He noted that a considerable sum had been spent on working outfits and that although grain prices had been high the results had not been profitable. The old farm machinery needed replacing and the Tsuu T’ina were generally reluctant to farm. Markle recommended, in addition, that the land under cultivation be seeded to grass or hay and that grain farming be discontinued. He called for a streamlining of the operations in light of the fact that practically all of the farming operations had been carried on with advanced or borrowed funds.⁷⁹ McLean subsequently instructed Gordon that grain growing should be discontinued on the Tsuu T’ina Reserve.⁸⁰

The Department of Indian Affairs requested that a survey of land use on the Sarcee Agency be completed following Markle’s report. The purpose of the survey was to define areas of non-productive and productive land under the Greater Production Campaign for Indian Reserves in the Prairie Provinces initiated by the Indian Department in 1918.⁸¹ Previous experimentation in farm expansion and wheat production were deemed to have been not worthwhile by government officials. The overall plan was to put “idle lands” to use instead through greater agricultural production, the expansion of farming by individual Indians and an aggressive program of granting farming and grazing leases for the remaining reserve lands.⁸²

The plan to integrate agricultural production on Indian Reserves into the mainstream Canadian economy was an ambitious scheme that was characteristic of wartime food production, a more scientific approach to agriculture and an increased awareness of lands and its value for the Nation. Scott noted in 1918 that the overall increased in the value of real and personal property and in the income of the Indian had been particularly gratifying.⁸³ The Indian Department appointed William Graham, an ambitious career civil servant, to the

position of Inspector of Indian Agencies in the southern Prairie Provinces in 1920 to administer the Greater Production Campaign. Graham had been the architect of the File Hills Colony in Saskatchewan.

Greater Production was based on an ideology of optimism and a new vision of progress in which scientific measures would be applied to achieve greater and more efficient agriculture production. This prevailing optimism, in turn, revised the basic premises of Indian education. Scott, in his annual report submitted in 1919, referred to the creation of opportunities for a “broader education,” and to the teaching of domestic science and useful trades in Indian schools.⁸⁴ Students were to be trained as “loyal citizens” to enable them to compete successfully with their white neighbours based on the broader educational opportunities that now were to be obtained in residential schools.

The Greater Production plan and the amendments that were made to the Indian Act between 1918 and 1919 illustrated the War’s impact on food production and Government determination to encourage Indians to develop the resources of their reserve lands.⁸⁵ Section 90 of the Indian Act was amended to allow the Superintendent General to lease uncultivated reserve lands without a surrender. Arthur Meighen, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs and Minister of The Interior from 1917 to 1920, defended this action maintaining that “... the policy of the department will be to get the consent of the band wherever possible.”⁸⁶ Meighen stated that the land would be used until such time as the Indian shows an inclination to cultivate the land himself.

The results of the survey of the Tsuu T’ina Reserve proved to be disappointing despite the plans of the Indian Department under the Greater Production Campaign. Indian Agent Gordon informed the Department that the Tsuu T’ina reserve had been broken without regard to section lines and that it would be futile to lease or surrender land because of the

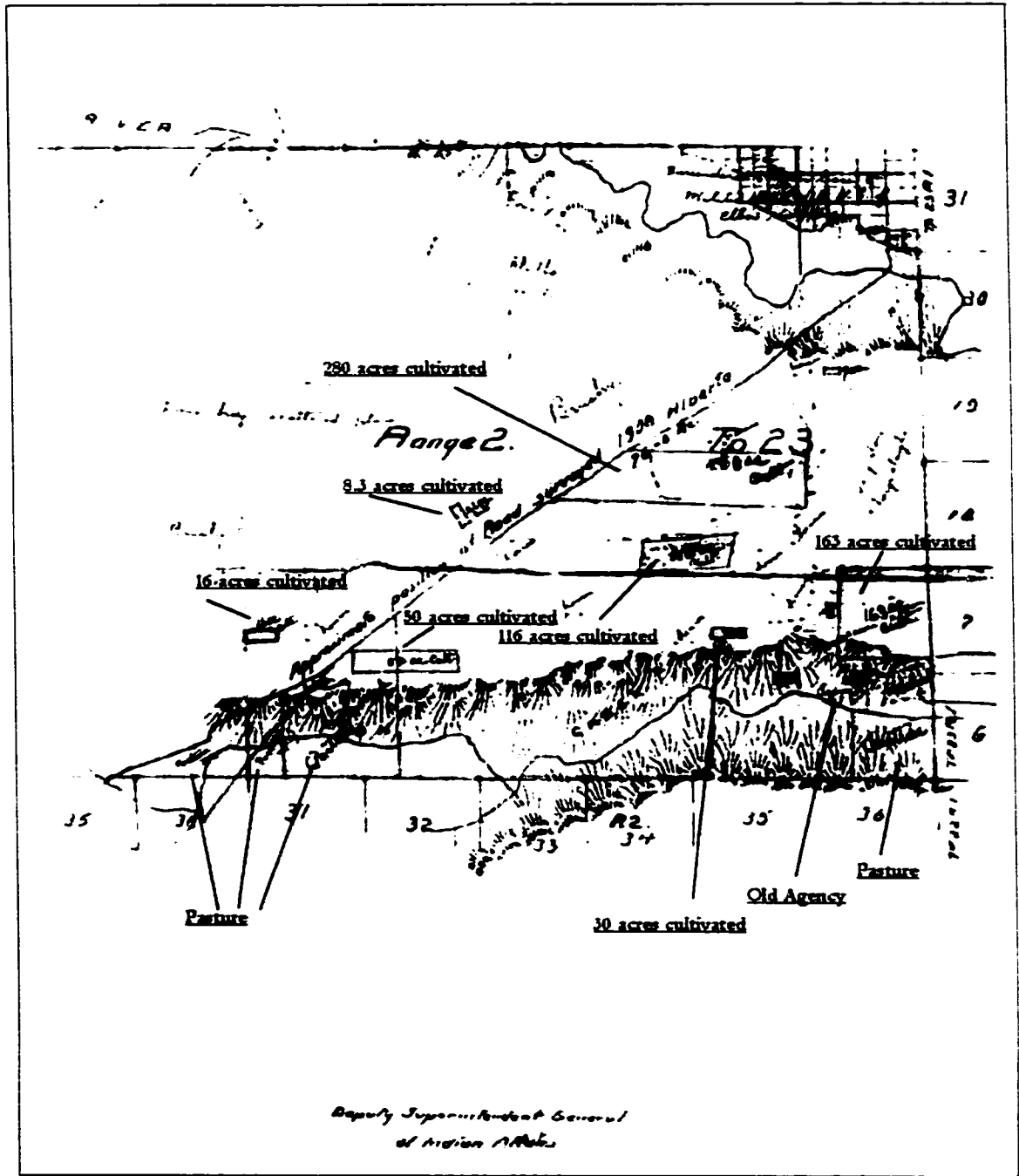


Figure 11: Sketch of Land Use Patterns By Indian Agent Gordon, 1919

two available portions, one which constituted the balance of the western township was leased and the northwest corner had been surrendered but remained unsold.⁸⁷

The map submitted by Agent Gordon reveals the scattering of Tsuu T'ina settlement with clusters of houses located adjacent to either cultivated fields or pasture lands (Figure 11). With the land sale in 1913 and the building of new houses, many families had moved completely away from the Old Agency Site. Chief Big Belly, for example, moved from Chief Bullhead's old house on the hill above the agency, to what was known as "middle village" beside the Catholic Church.⁸⁸ The old house had had homemade furniture and a cook stove. Lighting was from coal oil lamps.⁸⁹ Living conditions improved for those who moved to the newly built houses.

Agent Gordon reported that by 1919 the Tsuu T'ina were disillusioned with the process of surrendering land. He maintained that while the Tsuu T'ina understood that the monies from leases were placed to the credit of the band and used to pay for rations, repairs, and wages, they claimed not to have received any direct benefit from the lease and that the condition of the surrenders with regard to rations had not been carried out.⁹⁰ The Agent informed the Indian Department the Tsuu T'ina knew that if the land was placed on the market it would not command the minimum price that they had agreed to with the original surrender. Gordon noted that the system of leasing had been allowed to lapse in recent years but that he would make a concerted effort to obtain as many cattle to graze on the reserve as could be carried.⁹¹

The Greater Production Campaign had very little impact on the use of agricultural land on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve prior to 1920. A comparison of the total earnings reported within the Tsuu T'ina agency reveals a solidifying of basic patterns that would carry through into the 1940s (Appendix 5.1).⁹² Agent Gordon reported that the total amount earned by the

Sarcee Indian Agency in 1919 to 1920 was \$28,356.70. Agricultural production accounting for 61 percent or approximately \$17,000 of the total earnings of the Tsuu T'ina Agency between 1919 and 1920. This figure, however, is misleading because the total earnings also included the amounts that were spent by the Indian Department on education, medical treatment and the operation of the Agency including the salaries of its employees.

The land sale of 1913 created a small cash surplus in the capital and interest accounts of the Band, which totalled \$7046.45 at the beginning of the fiscal year in 1919 (Appendix 5.4). This amount was actually added to the \$5400 collected from grazing dues and hay permits and the \$6234.71 to obtain the earnings from farm produce. In 1918-1919, the earnings in the Tsuu T'ina Agency totalled approximately \$19,581.16 of which \$7046.45 represented the interest from the 1913 land surrender (Appendix 5.1). A total of \$5400 came from grazing dues and hay permits. This amount was substantially less than the \$7717.71 received in 1914 to 1915. There was also \$6234.71 earned from beef sales, the sale of hides and furs. After 1915, the Agency produced enough beef for the requirements of the Tsuu T'ina community and the beef continued to be purchased by the Indian Department and then sold back to the Agency.

Grazing leases earned \$5807.26 and the military lease at \$1800 made up approximately 80 percent.⁹³ The wages paid to Tsuu T'ina labourers chiefly consisted mainly of the \$420 paid to the Stockman and Herders. This amount was paid out of the capital account of the Tsuu T'ina Band. The more common practice of hiring Tsuu T'ina workers on a casual basis to do work at the Agency and Mission was continued. Five individuals earned a total of \$91 in 1917 to 1918 selling hay and doing odd jobs for the mission.⁹⁴ Mabel Two Guns, an ex-pupil, was paid to clean the St. Barnabas Church for \$19 of the total amount.

In a subsequent review of the Sarcee Agency in March of 1918, Graham described the reserve management as “one of the worst I have yet come across.”⁹⁵ He noted the “Indians are actually doing nothing and are being looked after by a staff paid directly or indirectly by the government.”⁹⁶ Graham was highly critical of the continuing system whereby everyone on the reserve received food rations. He described how the calves and other stock were gathered from the reserve in fall or early winter and looked after by employees of the Indian Department. Indians who owned the cattle sold the hay to the Department to feed their own stock. When the cattle were sold again to the department, Indians were given credit. Graham commented that, in many cases, the individual “... had done nothing whatever to raise the animal and in many cases he does not even know his own animal.” He argued that the system was entirely wrong and that instead of “uplifting these people has a tendency to lower them.”⁹⁷

Graham recommended that of the 600 head of cattle on the reserve, 300 head be sold off at once with the money placed in the Tsuu T’ina band fund and the remaining animals distributed among band members. This, he felt, would allow for a reduction in the Agency staff to the Agent, Farmer and Interpreter. The Tsuu T’ina were to look after their own calves during the winter. Graham suggested that the beef rations for the staff and able-bodied Indians be bought from the Indians because there was a sufficient supply to meet the requirements. Only the old and destitute, in his view, should have beef purchased for them. Graham felt that there was “ample money” coming in to meet the required expenditure.⁹⁸

While agricultural production on the Tsuu T’ina Reserve seemingly had proved to be a disaster, F. W. Paget, the chief accountant for the Indian Department, conducted another review of the finances of the Agency. His careful review of the cattle operations revealed that the Department’s herd of 300 cattle maintained at the Agency had contributed 20 bulls

and beef steers or 1772 pounds towards the quantity required for rations in 1917-1918. The balance of 16,800 pounds was bought from Tsuu T'ina producers. The wages of the Stockman and his assistant, the cost of their rations and the cost of hay for the Agency cattle had come from the Tsuu T'ina Band Fund. There had been no hay purchased for the Indian cattle. The cost therefore to the Indian Department had been nothing.⁹⁹ The Sarcee Indian Agency, for all intents and purposes, had become self-sufficient but certainly not along the lines envisioned by the Indian Department.

Scott was reluctant to follow-up on Graham's suggestion after receiving the accountant's report. He characterized the Tsuu T'ina as a "slothful and dependent band" but was reluctant to sell off the agency herd in case this might "throw the Sarcee Indians into the City of Calgary begging or scavenging."¹⁰⁰ He was therefore reluctant to get rid of the agency herd given that the present operation was not costing the Indian Department anything. Scott agreed with Agent Gordon's view that in three or four years it would be possible to produce sufficient beef for all requirements as well as to produce a surplus for the market.¹⁰¹ Scott asked Graham to recommend other ways to bring change on the Reserve without selling the herd noting that the Band were receiving \$1800 for the Militia Department for leasing the northeast corner of the reserve and that the Military Hospitals Commission had applied for the purchase of a section of reserve land that would fetch at least \$24,108.50.¹⁰² Graham's only response was that "it was a pity that white men employed on the Reserve do work for the Indians that they could well do for themselves."¹⁰³

The debate between Graham and Scott over what should be done with the cattle at the Sarcee Agency continued for much of 1918 and 1919. Scott informed agent Gordon in April of 1918 that the Indian Department wished to give up the practice of maintaining a separate herd of horses and cattle and that the female stock should be distributed to the

Tsuu T'ina.¹⁰⁴ Nothing was done about the herd in the summer of 1918. In the fall Gordon requested the customary advance of \$500 to pay the Indians for putting up hay for feeding cattle and bulls belonging to the Agency. The Commissioner notified Scott that he was opposed to this move and that the stock should be distributed and cared for by individual Tsuu T'ina.¹⁰⁵

Agent Gordon expressed his support for the distribution of the Agency cattle. He noted his surprise on his return to the Sarcee in 1917 to find that the practice he had observed during his earlier appointment as Tsuu T'ina Agency clerk of individual Tsuu T'ina caring for their cattle had been abandoned. Gordon pointed out that in the majority of cases fencing would have to be done and springs or wells dug before individual Indians could properly care for stock. He noted that this was apparently not considered when the new houses and stable of the Indians were built following the 1913 surrender.¹⁰⁶ Scott, in response, notified the Minister of The Interior that he wished to adhere rigidly to the terms of the Greater Production program and that the distribution of the 300 head of Department cattle would have to be followed.¹⁰⁷ Before the herd could be broken up, an outbreak of Spanish Influenza entered the Tsuu T'ina community and threatened its very existence.

Community Health and 1917 in The Sarcee Boarding School

The Spanish Influenza pandemic started in the Tsuu T'ina community, as was the case in many other places, in the fall of 1918. Prior to its outbreak, the health of individuals in the Tsuu T'ina community and of students in the boarding school had deteriorated and the population continued to decline. A follow-up study conducted by Dr. Bryce and Dr. J. Lafferty in 1911 had found that with few exceptions the children in the Sarcee Boarding School were tubercular.¹⁰⁸ With the increasing need for medical care for students in the

schools, the Indian Department had to categorically state that boarding and industrial schools were to be regarded “as educational institutions and not as hospitals.”¹⁰⁹

The duties of physicians appointed to the Tsuu T’ina Reserve became far more specific. Dr. H. McGill, appointed to the reserve and boarding school in 1912, was instructed to make monthly visits to the Tsuu T’ina Reserve and Sarcee boarding school. McGill was to inspect the building for sanitation and to isolate tubercular cases and ensure that a supply of nourishment for the sufferers was provided. He was required to submit monthly reports to the Indian Department and to treat all Indians who called at this office in Calgary.¹¹⁰

There were conflicting reports about students in the Sarcee Boarding School and about Indian health and tuberculosis among Indian people generally. In 1913, McGill reported that there were several pupils in the school “more or less affected with tuberculosis.”¹¹¹ One of the students had tubercular peritonitis and two or three had infected glands. McGill however noted that the only way to isolate the students was to place them in tents outside of the school and that there had been a marked improvement during the previous year when this measure was undertaken.¹¹² It was often difficult for department officials, Indian Agents and school staff to grasp the seriousness of the occurrence of tuberculosis.

There also were contradictions in official government reports. In his annual report for 1912 to 1913, Indian Agent Fleetham commented that “tuberculosis is the most prevalent disease and accounts for the greater part of the sickness and the majority of the deaths.”¹¹³ Pedley, the Deputy Superintendent, stated that there had been a “general absence of wide-spread outbreaks of acute contagious disease in the same annual report.”¹¹⁴ He attributed this to a greater awareness among Indian people due to: “the influence of the now

wide-spread sanitary knowledge under which the population of Canada as a whole lives” and the “unconscious assimilation of the ideas and practices of civilized communities.”¹¹⁵ But there were inconsistencies in Bryce’s comments in the same year. Bryce notified Pedley that he was unable to accurately fix the chief causes of the abnormal mortality among Indian people for the same year.¹¹⁶

The measures that were taken to curb the transmission and spread of tuberculosis after 1912 involved the education of entire reserve communities. Teachers and district sanitary workers were asked to report to the Indian Department when individuals occupied a house space that was less than 10 feet x 10 feet x 10 feet for each person. Indian mothers were encouraged to nurse their children and attend to the personal cleanliness of their children. There was a special emphasis of the danger resulting from the contamination of the floors of small “badly kept houses” with tuberculosis expectoration.¹¹⁷

There is strong evidence of the endemic nature of tuberculosis in the boarding school and in the Tsuu T’ina population long before the findings of the Bryce Report and reports of the Indian Agent. The comments of visitors to the Reserve often indirectly allude to the virulence of the disease in the community. In the 11th Annual Report of the Women’s Auxiliary to the Calgary Diocese, the new Sarcee School was described as having “everything nice arranged and splendidly kept.”¹¹⁸ The boys’ sitting room, however, was in need of pictures.

Edith Houlton, the Secretary of the WA, noted “the clothing and linen are all in good condition” and “speak volumes for the industry and capable management of the matron.” The Secretary waxed eloquently that “it is no wonder the Sarcee children look so well with such good food so excellently prepared.” She noted, however, almost as an afterthought to her comments: “here again we find the children very musical a later pupil

who died recently in the Calgary hospital of typhoid fever and tubercular trouble could play quite nicely.”¹¹⁹

The continuing seriousness of the health in the Tsuu T’ina community also was recorded in the monthly medical reports that the Indian Department requested after 1914. Dr. J. V. Follett, who replaced McGill during the war years, prepared a lengthy report on the health of the student in the school in 1915. Follett reported that 3 boys and 3 girls in the school suffered from “broken down TB glands” and that a number of others showed signs of tubercular bone and joint disease. He treated the children with tuberculin and a course of what he termed “hygienic, medicinal and antiseptic measures” but the students showed little improvement.¹²⁰ Follett further noted that despite departmental policy the boys and girls who were infected were allowed to sleep and play in the same rooms as the others with no attempt made at isolating the sick children.¹²¹

It was difficult for Follett to get to the reserve in winter months and there was no one on hand to keep any records or chart reactions of ailing individuals. Follett noted that where the matron acted as nurse the results were generally very poor. He recommended that a trained nurse be appointed for the whole reserve, that the children with active tuberculosis be isolated because they constituted a danger to the other children and that others requiring treatment be sent to the Calgary General Hospital.¹²²

Three months later Follett informed Dr. O. L. Grain, appointed to replace Peter Bryce as medical inspector of Indian Agencies and Residential Schools in 1914, of his findings. He informed Grain that “there [*was*] a great deal of tuberculosis of glandular and bone and joint variety among the children - the kind that gives some improvement.” Agent Fleetham informed the Department that the health of the Tsuu T’ina had been “fairly good”

but with the “exception of a few cases of scrofula and consumption and two mild cases of typhoid both of which were isolated and recovered.”¹²³

Grain visited the Tsuu T’ina Reserve and inspected the Sarcee Boarding School in 1915. He informed Scott that the students all appeared healthy with the exception of five children who should be treated at the Calgary Hospital for suppurating tubercular glands. Grain also recommended that a trained nurse be appointed to the Sarcee Boarding School.¹²⁴ Tims opposed the recommended measures. He informed Follett that Tsuu T’ina parents would never give their consent to have their children treated in the hospital. Tims told the doctor: “if we took the children forcibly we would have no spiritual influence over them at all and that he would resign his position.”¹²⁵

The health problems became so serious in the Tsuu T’ina community that the Indian Department appointed a field nurse to the community in 1915. The Indian Department by this time had appointed a number of nurses to reserve communities in order to provide what was referred to as “a system of medical relief.”¹²⁶ Tims originally expressed his willingness to find accommodation and board for the nurse provided she was an Anglican but he expressed outrage to the Indian Department when Follett appointed nurse Hester Skuce without consulting him.¹²⁷

Tims, from the start, tried to control the new nurse’s activities accompanying her whenever she made a visit to the houses on the Tsuu T’ina Reserve. There were continuing disputes between Tims and Follett. The doctor rejected Tims’ suggestion that the new nurse scrub the floors in the three rooms she used in the school.¹²⁸ The cost to retain the nurse and field matron in the boarding school was about \$1800 a year or about \$100 per person.¹²⁹ To save costs the Indian Department dispensed with the nurse’s position and the girl’s matron at the Sarcee School was charged without the responsibility of nursing the pupils. Tims

engaged a new matron with 20 years experience in nursing in the fall of 1916 to attend to the children and to attend to emergency cases in the Camp.¹³⁰ The nurse worked until the summer of 1918 when the Indian Department as a cost saving measure terminated her position.

Conclusions - Religion and Science in The Tsuu T'ina Community

Tsuu T'ina cultural practices by 1920 were an amalgam of modern and traditional beliefs, values and institutions that were held together in varying patterns of assimilation, complementarity, conflict and contradiction. Native methods of healing were used alongside those that were introduced. The impact of Western medical profession had not created a monopoly over the power of healing in the community. The import of new forms of medical knowledge displaced the role of the church in the community and of the minister in the sickroom and redefined the nature of boarding schools as institutions. It did not, however, displace the role of the traditional medicine man or woman. Tsuu T'ina individuals evolved for themselves a set of choices surrounding their care and their spiritual beliefs.

Their fate was neither inevitable nor one of complete tragedy despite the horror and the suffering this decade involved. For Tsuu T'ina individuals, the long awareness of the effect of epidemics was a part of historical thinking about disease. The creation of ideas regarding illness in the Tsuu T'ina community were infused with related beliefs about behaviour, morality and propriety of conduct. The occurrence of tuberculosis in the Tsuu T'ina community evoked a series of explanatory models. There was a consensus among officials of Church and State that tuberculosis could be controlled and managed. Regardless of their confidence, tuberculosis continued to be rampant in the Tsuu T'ina community during the next decade.

- ¹ M. Sahlins, "Cosmologies of Capitalism: The Trans-Pacific Sector of 'The World System'," *Proceedings of The British Academy*, 74, 1988: 52.
- ² INAC, f. 772/36-4-005, v. 1, Tims to Secretary DIA, 17 May 1911.
- ³ NAC, RG 10, v. 1129, Untitled Contract Between Department of Indian Affairs and Mr. W. A. Clark, 15 April 1913. The actual total amount spent by the Indian Department is found in: CHC, *SP*, No. 1, Receiver General's Report, Department of Indian Affairs, 1911-1912, A1913, H-67; 1912-1913, A1914, H-75, 1914-1915, A1915, H-51 and 1913-1914, A1915, H-55.
- ⁴ ACCA, MSCC, Series 8:3, Printed Report of The Executive Committee, Box 120, f. 3, Report of The General Secretary, MSCC to The Board of Management, Toronto, 9 September 1918, p. 2044.
- ⁵ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1916, Superintendent of Education to Scott, 167.
- ⁶ UCA, ADC, Box 67, f. 21.1, *Report of 14th Synod*, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, 1914, 41.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸ UCA, ADC, Box 62, f. 20, Tims, "Report on Diocesan Indian Work," *Report of 12th Synod*, 1911-1912, 52.
- ⁹ Data are based on: School Statistics in DIA Annual Report, A1910, 20, School Statistics in DIA Annual Report, A1915, 146 and School Statistics in DIA Annual Report, A1920, 88.
- ¹⁰ GA, M1356, f. 5, Report of the VAT, Principal SBS for The Year Ended 31 March 1915.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, This was also reported in ACCA, MSCC, Report of the General Secretary, MSCC to the Board of Management, Toronto, September 19, 1918, p. 4022.
- ¹² *Ibid.*
- ¹³ GA, M1356, f. 5, Report of the VAT, Principal SBS for The Year Ended 31 March 1915.
- ¹⁴ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mr. Edward Onespot, 24 October 1990.
- ¹⁵ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mr. Frank One Spot, 18 November 1995.
- ¹⁶ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Chief David Crowchild, 4 February 1975. Quoted with permission of Tsuu T'ina Culture Program.
- ¹⁷ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mr. Frank One Spot, 18 November 1995.
- ¹⁸ GA, M1356, f. 10, Tims to Executive Committee, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, 21 March 1912.
- ¹⁹ UCA, ADC, Box 67, f. 22, Tims to Executive Committee, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, 21 March 1912. In his letter Tims' estimate is \$2855.28 for the total indebtedness for Indian work.
- ²⁰ ACCA, MSCC, Series 8:3, Printed Minutes of Board of Management, Box 124, f. 1, Printed Report of The Executive Committee - MSCC, B. Barley and F. Baylis, Secretaries, MSCC, Report of The Committee on Work Among Indians and Eskimos, 1915, 47.
- ²¹ UCA, ADC, Box 67, f. 23, Report of Committee on Indian Work, 15 June 1915.
- ²² UCA, ADC, Box 67, f. 21.1, J. W. Tims, *Report of 14th Synod*, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, 1914, 64.
- ²³ *Ibid.*
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, 41-42.
- ²⁷ GA, M1356, f. 10, Employees at Church of England Boarding Schools as on 31st March 1915.
- ²⁸ UCA, ADC, Box 67, f. 21.1, Tims, "Report of The Board on Indian Work," *Report of 15th Synod*, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, 1916.
- ²⁹ UCA, ADC, Box 67, f. 23, Auditor to the Executive Committee, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, November 1915.
- ³⁰ UCA, ADC, Box 25, f. 2, Indian Secretary's Report, 12th Annual Report of the Calgary Diocesan Board of the W. A. to the MSCC in Canada 1915, 193-194.
- ³¹ UCA, ADC, Box 67, f. 21.1, Tims, "Report of The Board on Indian Work," *Report of 15th Synod*, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, 1916.
- ³² GA, M1356, f. 6, Fleetham to Tims, 9 May 1916.
- ³³ UCA, ADC, Box 67, f. 21. 1, Inspector Markle quoted in, "Report of The Board on Indian Work," *Report of 15th Synod*, 1916, 70.

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- ³⁴ UCA, ADC, Box 67, f. 23, Auditor to the Executive Committee, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, November 1915.
- ³⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 6730, f. 160-2, pt. 2, Tims, Estimates re: Cost of Indian Schools March Quarter 1917.
- ³⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 6730, f. 160-2, pt. 1, Tims, Telegram to Scott, 27 June 1917.
- ³⁷ UCA, ADC, Box 67, f. 27, Secretary Treasurer, Calgary Indian Missions to Scott, 15 December 1917.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, Tims to Scott, 29 June 1917.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.* Tims to Secretary, DIA, 16 December 1917.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Scott to Roche, 27 June 1917.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, Bishop of Saskatchewan to Mr. Scott, 27 July 1917.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁴ GA, M1356, f. 6, Tims, Report to the CMS for 1910, 17 January 1911.
- ⁴⁵ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1910, Tims, 375.
- ⁴⁶ GA, M1356, f. 5, Report of Principal of SBS of the year ended March 31, 1912
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 10, Tims, Sarcee School and Mission, Estimates 1916.
- ⁴⁹ GA, M1356, f. 5, Report of the Ven. Archdeacon Tims Principal of the Sarcee Boarding School for the Year ended March 31, 1912.
- ⁵⁰ ACCA, MSCC, Series 8:2, Box 120, f. 2, Printed Minutes of Board of Management, Official Minutes – MSCC, October 15-16, 1912, 26-27.
- ⁵¹ GA, M1356, f. 5, Report of Principal of Sarcee Boarding School for The Year Ended March 31, 1912.
- ⁵² CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report A1913, Tims, 554.
- ⁵³ WA, *Letter Leaflet*, 25, (5), March, Mrs. Dean, Sarcee Reserve in Reports of The Missionaries, 159.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁵ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mrs. Hilda Big Crow, 1995.
- ⁵⁶ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mrs. Helen Meguinis, 18 November 1995. Her mother was Mabel Dodginghorse (nee Two Guns).
- ⁵⁷ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mr. Frank One Spot, 18 November 1995.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁹ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mrs. Helen Meguinis, 18 November 1995.
- ⁶⁰ GA, M1356, f. 3, Tims to Secretary, A1913, 555.
- ⁶¹ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mr. Dick Big Plume, 17 May 1991.
- ⁶² Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mr. Dick Big Plume, 18 November 1995.
- ⁶³ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mr. Stanley Big Plume, 29 May 1975. Quoted with permission of Tsuu T'ina Culture Program.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁵ UCA, ADC, Box 25, f. 2, Indian Secretary's Report, 12th Annual Report of the Calgary Diocesan Board of the W. A. to the MSCC in Canada, 1915, 193-194.
- ⁶⁶ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1916, 155.
- ⁶⁷ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1917, Report on Sarcee Boarding School, 171.
- ⁶⁸ Data for 1910-1917 are based on information in: Personality of Indians in DIA Annual Reports, A1910, A1915, A1916 and A1917, 108, 103, 105, 107.
- ⁶⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 7107, f. 772/3, pt. 1, J. A. Markle, Inspector to Secretary, DIA, 2 October 1917.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, McLean to Scott, 14 October 1917.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*, Gordon to McLean, 1917.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.* J. A. Markle, Inspector to Secretary, DIA, 2 October 1917
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

- 75 Ibid., McLean, Asst. Deputy Minister and Secretary, to Gordon, 13 October 1917.
- 76 Ibid.
- 77 Ibid.
- 78 Ibid. Markle to Secretary, 7 November 1917.
- 79 Ibid.
- 80 Ibid., McLean to Gordon, 13 November 1917.
- 81 INAC, f. 119/36-2, pt. 66, McLean to Gordon, 6 February 1918.
- 82 Canada. House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 27, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 30 June 1920, A1920, Scott to Meighen, 1 December 1919, 52.
- 83 CHC, *SP*, No. DIA Annual Report, A1919, Scott to Meighen, 24.
- 84 Ibid., 24.
- 85 J. Leslie and R. Maguire, *The Historical Development of The Indian Act* (Ottawa, 1978), 113.
- 86 Quoted in *ibid.*, 112.
- 87 INAC, f. 119/36-2, pt. 66, Gordon to McLean, 13 February 1918.
- 88 Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elders, Mrs. Mary Onespot (nee Big Belly) and Mr. Frank Onespot, 19-20 March 1990. Mrs. Mary Onespot was the daughter of Chief Big Belly. Middle village included the families of George Big Belly, Pat Grasshopper and Mark Crowchild.
- 89 INAC, f. 119/36-2, pt. 66, Gordon to McLean, 13 February 1918.
- 90 Ibid.
- 91 Ibid.
- 92 Data for 1910 to 1920 are based on: Sources of Income, DIA Annual Report, A1910, 110, Sources and Value of Income in DIA Annual Report, A1915, 120 and Sources and Value of Income in DIA Annual Report, A1920, 76.
- 93 Based on NAC, RG 10, v. 5949, Trust Account Sarcee Band, 1918-1919.
- 94 GA, M1234, St. Barnabas Mission Ledger Book 1895-1919, entries for 1918.
- 95 NAC, RG 10, v. 7010, f. 772/3, pt. 1, William Graham, Commissioner to Scott, 30 March 1918.
- 96 Ibid.
- 97 Ibid.
- 98 Ibid.
- 99 Ibid., Memorandum, G. A. Paget, Accountant to Mr. Scott, July/August 1918.
- 100 Ibid., Scott to Graham, 9 April 1918.
- 101 Ibid.
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- 104 Ibid., Scott to Gordon, 23 April 1918.
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- 106 Ibid., Gordon to Scott, 4 September 1918.
- 107 Ibid., Scott to Graham. 16 September 1918.
- 108 Quoted in: NAC, v. 3957, v. 140754-1, Scott to DSG, 25 March 1911.
- 109 Ibid.
- 110 NAC, RG 32, v. 2763, f. 822-IA772, pt. 1, F. H. Paget for DSGIA to McGill, 6 March 1912.
- 111 GA, M1356, f. 6, McGill to Gentlemen (unidentified), 30 January 1913.
- 112 Ibid.
- 113 CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1913, Fleetham to Pedley, 1 April 1912, 189.
- 114 CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1914, Pedley, xxv.
- 115 Ibid., Bryce, 269.
- 116 Ibid.
- 117 CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1913, Memorandum of Instructions for Sanitary Visitors to Teachers and Distinct Sanitary Visitors, 26 November 1912, 301.
- 118 UCA, ADC, Box 25, f. 2, Emilia Houlton, Report of Indian Work - Calgary Diocese, 11th Annual Report of the Calgary Diocesan Board of the W. A. to the MSCC in Canada, 1914

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ NAC, RG 29, v. 3403, f.832-1-A772, J. V. Follett, Report of Medical Work in Connection with the Sarcee Reserve Indians, 1 March 1915

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1915, Fleetham, 52.

¹²⁴ NAC, RG 29, v. 3403, f. 823-1-A772, Memo O. L. Grain to Scott, Dept. Sup. General of Indian Affairs, 1915.

¹²⁵ Ibid., Tims quoted by Follett to Dr. O. L. Grain, Selkirk, Manitoba, 2 March 1915.

¹²⁶ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1916, Pedley, xxiii.

¹²⁷ GA, M1356, f. 6, Tims to Fleetham, + November 1916.

¹²⁸ Ibid., J. V. Follett to Tims, + May 1915.

¹²⁹ NAC, RG 29, v. 3403, f.832-1-A772, Follett to Fleetham, + November 1916.

¹³⁰ Ibid., McLean to Fleetham, 15 November 1916.

*CHAPTER NINE:
GENERATION TWO AND THE SPANISH INFLUENZA PANDEMIC 1918-19*

Introduction - The Second Generation

The second generation of Tsuu T'ina school students were in the Sarcee Boarding School between roughly 1909 and 1925. While their parents took up farming and engaged in various economic pursuits to support their families, these individuals experienced the terrible realities of rampant tuberculosis while in the school. The schooling experiences of this generation, the parents of many of today's Tsuu T'ina Elders, were framed by the war years.

The early optimism surrounding the 1913 land sale gave way as the dreams of utopia envisioned by Agents Fleetham and McNeill were shattered by the limitations of the reserve environment and the grim realities of disease and death. The Tsuu T'ina community reached its nadir between 1918 and 1919 when the pandemic of Spanish Influenza experienced worldwide reached into the Tsuu T'ina community. The struggles to live day to day and to sustain a sense of community were not eclipsed by events of the time but were profoundly influenced by them. While tuberculosis was, by now, endemic among the Tsuu T'ina people, Spanish Influenza represented the consummate threat to community survival.

The Daily Journal of John William Tims 1917

The mounting medical crisis in the Tsuu T'ina community eclipsed the war that was in the distant background. The promise of the year 1913, the year of the land sale, was eclipsed by events of 1917. The daily journal of John William Tims for the year vividly recounts the terrible realities of rampant tuberculosis and the horrifying experiences of students in the Sarcee Boarding School. His record describes the day to day grim realities of reserve life. The journal also reveals Tims changing role in the Tsuu T'ina community and how life went on regardless of the tragedy and suffering. Tims spent much of his time

visiting the sick in their homes and in the boarding school in 1917. He delivered two sermons each Sunday in St. Barnabas Church. Tims also took afternoon services in the nearby communities of Midnapore, Priddis, Fish Creek and Glenmore.

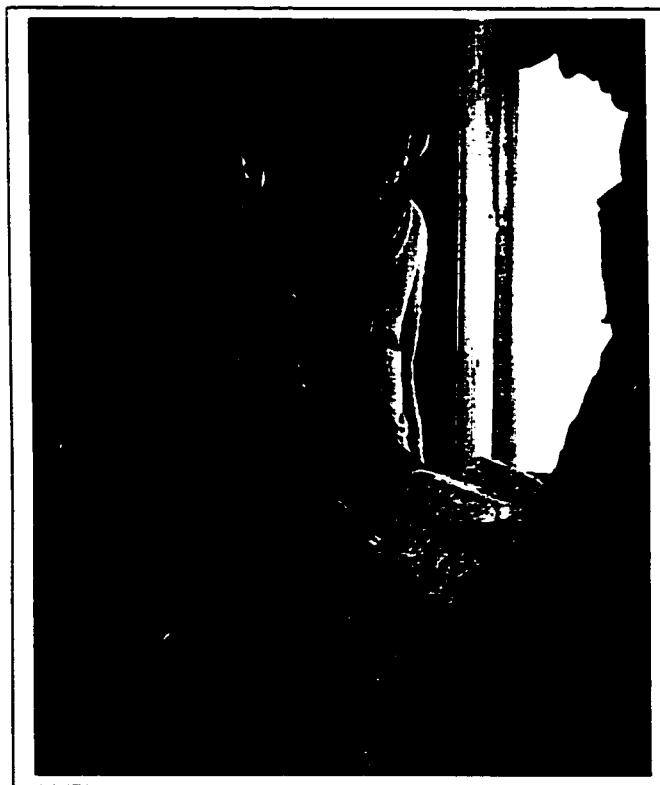
The Sunday Services on January 28th were attended by only 7 individuals from the Tsuu T'ina community but Tims noted that it was a very cold day. Tims travelled to Priddis for an afternoon service but almost froze on the return journey. The congregations in St. Barnabas Church tended to be larger but this was primarily due to the increased enrollment in the boarding school. The average attendance was 15 with larger numbers of up to 40 at Christmas and Thanksgiving.¹

Tims brought Nurse Maude Hill out to the reserve on January 11th of 1917. It was very difficult to maintain the staff in the school and at the mission. Tims hired a total of fourteen female workers for the mission and interviewed four additional candidates in 1917.² Most of the workers were single women who came from communities in Alberta or from other Anglican missions in western Canada. The Women's Auxiliary of the Diocese of Calgary paid for the salaries of the school teacher and the matrons in the boarding school. On January 15, Tims brought Miss Carlton, the new Assistant Matron, out to the reserve. Miss Carlton together with half of the individuals Tims hired left their positions after working for less than a month.

The nurse appointed to the Tsuu T'ina Reserve in 1917 by the Indian Department, routinely visited all of the homes on the reserve. She made between 15 and 20 visits a month to the Indian camps to attend to the sick and treated elderly Indians at the ration house where provisions were distributed on a bi-weekly basis (Plates 24 and 25). Nurse Hill attended women during childbirth and gave special instructions regarding the care,



Plate 24: Waiting at the Ration House, 1921 (CES #55190)



**Plate 25: Mrs. Bull Collar and Herbert (Bertie) Crowchild Getting Rations, c. 1920
(GA #NA 667-619)**

cleanliness and feeding of young children. Women were advised to protect their food from insects and dust and taught methods of washing and airing personal clothing and bedding. Nurse Hill reported that the greatest difficulty was to try to get the Tsuu T'ina mothers to understand the harm done by unsuitable food.³

The routines of everyday life reflected the changing ideology of the time. Tims' role of providing solace and comfort to the sick was, to a certain extent, displaced by the presence of the nurse in the community and frequent visits by the attending doctor. His routine now followed that of the nurse when she visited family homes and of the doctor who treated individuals primarily in the school. There were limitations on what the nurse could achieve regarding improvement of living conditions on the reserve. Despite the instructions that were given regarding the frequent scrubbing of the houses, Nurse Hill informed the Indian Department that the one drawback to sanitation was the fact that water had to be hauled a considerable distance from the Creek to the houses.⁴ The hauling of water to meet the requirements of a family often took an entire day. The wells, promised in the terms of the land surrender of 1913, had not been dug with the result that it was virtually impossible to keep the houses clean. All of the children with serious cases of tuberculosis were isolated in the school and tuberculin was administered to all pupils and others in the community.

Nurse Hill arrived at the Tsuu T'ina Reserve when it was bitterly cold. The weather was not unusual for January but it had serious consequences for students in the Sarcee Boarding School. The older boys in the boarding school spent two full days hauling six loads of coal from the Midnapore Station to the Tsuu T'ina Reserve in the first week of January prior to Hill's arrival.⁵ On the 13th of the month the heating pipes burst in the school and a man was brought from Calgary to fix them. On January 31st, the main intake pipe for the

school became frozen and the school was without heat or light for over a week. The next day, Tims noted that he was “just tired out with worry and walking” and had spent the whole day in bed.

John Moneas, one of the first generation of school students, was the first of eleven people to die in the Tsuu T’ina community in 1917. The others included three adults and eight children, five of whom were in the Sarcee Boarding School. John Moneas died on January 3. Tims held prayers with the family at their home. The Assistant Issuer made a coffin from the boards from the old buildings of the Agency. John Moneas was buried without service at the cutbank at the West Cemetery. On the afternoon of January 15th, Tims visited the sick children sent home to be cared for by their parents. These students included Tommy Waters, Nellie Night and William Sleigh. There were several calls from Indian houses to which Dr. Follett and Maude Hill, the nurse, responded. On January 3, Tims visited William Sleigh, a sixteen year old student, who had been sent home from the school because he was ill. Dr. Follett and the nurse informed Tims that there was nothing wrong but Tims felt that the boy was sick.⁶

Sleigh, a Cree man who had been voted into the Sarcee Band and the father of William, called at the mission house on February 3 to inform Tims that his son was sinking fast. The boy could not be persuaded to come back to the school for treatment on February 12. On the 19th of February Willie Sleigh died at his home. Tims visited the father in the morning but the man would not bring his son’s body to the church as “we had not helped him.”⁷ Farm Instructor Hodgson informed Tims that William Sleigh told his father before he died: “don’t cry, I know God loves me, I am going to heaven and some day you will die too and we’ll meet there.”⁸

Nellie Night, another student also was ill and at home. Dick Night, her father, asked for the doctor on February 4. One year previously the nurse had reported that both Billy Sleigh and Nellie Night were only suffering from a bad cold and influenza and were improving but both students died in 1917. Nellie Night died at age 12 on February 13. One other student had died two days before. Billy Big Plume, a student in the boarding school, was seriously ill with pulmonary tuberculosis in February of 1917. Tims wanted to administer Holy Communion but the boy could not rouse himself. Dr. Follett once again visited the school on February 3 to see the boy. He had instructed Tims six months earlier in the fall of 1916 that the boy had a tubercular affection of his right lung and that he should be kept away from work of any kind.⁹

A casket was prepared in readiness and Tims reported that several boys who saw the body "were frightened and ran home."¹⁰ The overwhelming terror, which the students felt, was so extreme that one of the boys who was 15 years of age was sick with fear. Agent Fleetham commented that he was worried the student would "go under if he did not get out of the building."¹¹ Tims wrote to Jack Big Plume, the boy's father, who was at the Blood Reserve to come home. The boy died on February 11 before his father had returned. The boy's body was placed in a casket and put in the church.

Mrs. Sarcee Woman died on February 12 and her two boys were brought down to the Mission. Jack Big Plume returned to the reserve and came down to the church to see the body of his son. Tims noted that Tuesday the 14th was a "sad day on this reserve." There were funerals for three individuals - Billy Big Plume, Nellie Night and Mrs. Sarcee Woman. Tims recorded that there was "such a crowd of Indians down all day, waiting for caskets to be brought from Calgary before services could be held, finally had to take them separately." The next day Tims asked the Indian Department to release the boys who were sick in the

school but his request was refused. He drew the savings of Nellie Night from the Bank and gave it to her father. The amount totalled \$15.45 less \$7 that had been advanced as a loan.

John McLean, Assistant Director and Secretary of the Indian Department, informed Tims that the three pupils had not received proper treatment and that "they should be kept in the school in order to receive proper supervision and the necessary medicines and treatment."¹² The Secretary also informed Tims that granting leave to sick students should be discontinued because that it would be detrimental to the health of the pupils. There was little that could be done to help the children or adults in the advanced stages of tuberculosis who had also contracted the flu. In March of 1917, Dr. McNab suggested opening the abdomen of a young boy with tubercular peritonitis and "allowing the air and sunshine to get in" in the hope that this last measure might relieve the young boy's terrible suffering.¹³

There were other seriously ill students who spent much of 1917 either being cared for at home by their parents or the nurse and doctor in the boarding school. By the 6th of February, Joe Big Plume wanted to keep his son Albert at home but changed his mind because the boy appeared to be making progress under the Nurse's care. Tims reported there was a scene at the school but the father finally gave in and left the boy. Dr. Follett called at the school on February 11 and examined Albert Big Plume. Follett informed Tims that nothing was wrong although he could not account for the boy's temperature.

On February 26th, Tims expressed his concerns about Albert Big Plume to the Indian Department. He informed John McLean, Secretary of the Indian Department, that Doctor Follett had told him that the student's lungs were clear but that he had a temperature. Tims noted that "the parents are almost heart broken at not being allowed to have him home. I think he has the best chance of saving his life by remaining in the school ... but if the lad is going to die it seems to me it is only kind to allow the parents (ex-pupils)

to have the boy for the remaining weeks of his life even if the Med[*ial*] Off[*iæ*] has to go a mile or two off the main trail to see him.”¹⁴

Joe Big Plume continued to take his son Albert home at intervals often for one night at a time. On March 14 of 1917, he brought his sixteen month old daughter, Angela, to the school for treatment. She died two days later. Joe Big Plume, like John Waters and George Big Crow, experienced the tragedy of losing two children in 1917. Tommy Waters, son of John Waters, who had run away from the boarding school many times between the end of January and mid-February, died on March 18 at age 12. Albert Big Plume died on April 26th at age 13 just prior to a heavy snow storm. Prior to his death, he had jumped out of the dormitory window in a delirium. After the child later died in the school Tims reported that it would be difficult to “obtain fresh pupils” with the increasing dissatisfaction of the Indians.”¹⁵

Tims’ journal for 1917 recounts that children routinely ran away from the school on the slightest pretext but most often this behavior followed the death of one of the students. Others frequently asked to be allowed to stay home for a night. Two boys from the school, Joe Tony and Tom Many Horses, were allowed to stay home on January 27th but returned to the school the following day. The boys who were in the Sarcee Boarding School continued to make repeated attempts to run away. After a quarrel with Fred Sarcee Woman, Frank One Spot ran away from the school on the evening of February 9th and returned three days later. Edward One Spot had got out of bed and ran away in the afternoon of February 7th on account of the cold in the school. Evening church services that day were cancelled because it was too cold and St. Barnabas Church, like the school, was without heat or light.

Boys who absented themselves from the school met with strict punishment.

Anthony Dodginghorse and Fred Sarcee Woman ran away after watering the horses in the evening of February 9th. The boys had travelled 14 miles by the time Tims started to look for them. One day later, Joe Big Plume and James Sarcee Woman did not answer the roll call at 2 p. m. but they were found later that afternoon by Tom Many Horses. The two boys were returned to the school and after supper they were strapped by Tims and given a "good talking to." Two more boys ran way the next day and spent the night in straw stacks near High River south of Calgary. The boys were brought back and locked in the Dormitory. The runaway boys presented Tims with a letter of apology for the trouble and asked for his forgiveness.

When children became ill in the boarding school, Tims found himself caught between official department policy or the demands of the local medical officer and the pleading of parents for the release of their sick children. In 1917 the Indian Department received a complaint from Mrs. James Starlight who requested that she be allowed to take her two boys out of the home because they were sick and she wanted to give them "proper attention" at home. McLean instructed Tims "in cases where the illness is not of a serious nature the doctor should grant permission to the parents to treat such children at home when they so desire."¹⁶

Frank One Spot ran away again on the 19th of March. He slept in a hay loft near De Winton. Fred Sarcee Woman and Anthony Dodginghorse ran way again on March 24th and spent the night having walked to the High River School. Two Young Men met them and brought them back. Both boys were strapped by the Assistant Agent and locked in the school dormitory. The runaway problem, however, continued. On April 15, eight boys ran off to nearby Midnapore but returned the same day. Agent Gordon informed the

Department Secretary that since the death of William Big Plume, boys had been running away from the school stating that they wished to go to the Dunbow School.¹⁷

Life in the Tsuu T'ina community and in the Parish of St. Barnabas continued. Occasionally Tims would take his meals at the school. On May 6, a powwow was held at Jim Starlight's house. Eighty-six fir trees were planted in front of the boarding school on May 11 to improve the appearance of the school. The Sunday Services at St. Barnabas Church were poorly attended on May 13th. Tims recorded that the annual Holy Pipe Dance was being held that "interferes with the service" and that only one person had come down from the camp. A dance held at Dick Starlight's again interfered with church attendance. The boys were given a holiday on May 25th having spent the entire day on the 15th planting potatoes. All but three returned the next day. Tims reported that there was another dance on May 27th held at Dick Starlight's house. The boys left the school to attend returning two days later.

All of the boys were allowed to attend the Calgary Exhibition on June 30 and on July 2 both boys and girls attended. The boys did not return. Tims sent word that if they did not return they would lose one week of their month long holiday in August. The boys were strapped when they came back to the school several day later and Tims temporarily stopped their half day holidays on Wednesday and Saturday. On July 26, the boys were given a leave to attend Treaty Day with their parents.

The girls in the school were allowed to go to Calgary the next morning with their parents. Tims received signed applications for six girls and one boy for the next school year. At the end of July the boys left for the month long holiday they were granted at the end of the school year. The girls stayed in the school sometimes going out for picnics on the reserve or on day trips to Banff or Calgary with school staff.

Tims hired Alec Bull to do the work in the school garden for \$1 a day plus dinner on the sixth of July. Six days later a hailstorm spoiled all of the garden produce. The raising of livestock and of garden produce had become vitally important to the ongoing operation of the boarding school. In 1917, an incredible total of 1428 gallons of milk, 243 pounds of butter, 217 dozen eggs, 23 fowl, 271 pounds of veal and vegetables for the summer months, for the stock and for later use were produced. Tims estimated the net worth of the produce and livestock at \$968.86.¹⁸ There was an additional amount of produce and livestock sold for \$197.72 for a total of \$1166.72 or about 20 percent of the school operating costs for the year.¹⁹

On the fifth of September, Inspector Markle visited the school. Markle's Report for 1917 was uneventful. At the same time, Tims was recording in his diary, Acting Agent William Gordon, who had replaced Thomas Fleetham in the spring of 1917, informed the department that there had been "an alarming number of deaths" in the last six months. Gordon reported that the Tsuu T'ina were uneasy and anxious and that the pupils in the School were "afraid as their superstitious fears had been aroused." Gordon reported that there had been 14 deaths out of a total population of less than 200 people. Of the fourteen, four were adults, two of them aged and two very young. Five pupils of the Sarcee Boarding School had died including two in the School.²⁰ Gordon informed the Department he felt that when a child was beyond hope, he or she should be allowed to die at home. Tuberculosis had become more of a palpable presence in the Tsuu T'ina community by 1917; the boarding school, a place of death.²¹

Crisis in The Community: The 1918-1919 Spanish Influenza Pandemic

In the fall of 1918, Indian Agent Gordon once again contacted the Indian Department about an alarming medical situation in the Tsuu T'ina community. He informed

the Department that a serious epidemic of Spanish Influenza had developed with all of the children in the school and four of the staff affected. Twelve others in the Tsuu T'ina community were also affected including one family in which there were five cases.²² By the time the Indian Agent had contacted the department, Jack Abskine, a young man of twenty years of age, had died of tuberculosis. He had been in the Anglican hospital on the Blackfoot Reserve for several months previously and was apparently cured. He had visited the reserve just before the outbreak of Spanish Influenza and fallen ill. Agent Gordon felt that the young man may have been the source of the initial infection.²³

John Onespot, the stockman, his wife and baby were affected as were the Interpreter and his wife. The school at the time was without a nurse and the position of Medical Inspector in the Department of Indian Affairs had been dispensed with due to government curtailments in expenditure at the end of the war.²⁴ The nurse had left in the middle of the month and at the height of the epidemic the Indian Department had a difficult time finding a replacement. Indian Agent Gordon did not think that taking isolating patients "away from friendship" was a good idea or that a nurse should be hired who was a stranger. He felt that for the Tsuu T'ina, "the less their usual habits of living are disturbed the more likely they were to recover."²⁵ All of the staff members in the school, except teacher Winnifred Tims, were affected by the outbreak.

The Spanish Influenza consisted of a series of waves of illness. By November 1918 Gordon reported that all 27 pupils in the school and four of the staff had to be helped by volunteers from Calgary and Okotoks. The Calgary volunteers were 3 representatives of the local Women's Auxiliary including Edith Houlton, their former Secretary. In the *WA Letter Leaflet* for 1919, it was reported that "[for] nearly a week these three brave women struggled on unaided, doing everything for the whole thirty-two patients, some of whom were

dangerously ill.”²⁶ At the end of the week, a nurse was secured as well as other volunteers from Calgary and the nearby community of Okotoks. The provincial government forbade public gathering during the outbreak and all church services were suspended on the Reserve as a result.

For sufferers, the onset of Spanish influenza was rapid. Severe headache and pain in the joints and limbs often accompanied a high fever. Sometimes these symptoms were followed by collapse. The high fever together with a hacking cough often produced bloody sputum. Most individuals recovered within a week but about 20 percent of sufferers developed secondary infections often leading to pneumonia.²⁷ Influenza pneumonia was untreatable in the pre-antibiotic era and most individuals “drowned” in their own body fluids. Roughly 40 to 50 percent of individuals who contracted pneumonia died.²⁸ Those with severe pneumonia lapsed into a “typhoidal state” characterized by a purple pallor brought on by cyanosis and delirium. The delirium often led to euphoria despite the obvious symptoms of the last stages of the disease.

The 1918-1919 influenza pandemic is estimated to have killed over twenty million people worldwide.²⁹ The paradoxical nature of the pandemic was that it most frequently resulted in the deaths of individuals between the ages of 20 and 40 instead of the segments of the population such as infants and the aged generally most susceptible to infectious diseases. Spanish influenza broke out in the Tsuu T’ina community during an unusually warm fall. By November, two of the pupils had died - Susie Sarceewoman aged 13 and Sam Crowchild aged 7. Gordon reported that they were given the best of care but were unable to recuperate. There were 30 cases in the general reserve population of which 19 recovered, 3 died, 4 were new cases and 4 had been sick for some time.

By April of 1919, the worst of the pandemic was over. There was a total of 13 deaths between October 1919 and March 1920. Three of the deaths were due to tuberculosis. Another three individuals succumbed from the combined effects of tuberculosis and the Spanish Influenza. Seven deaths were attributed to influenza.³⁰ Jane Manywounds, the wife of Peter Manywounds, and their two year old daughter were among the victims of the Spanish Influenza pandemic.

Many Tsuu T'ina believed that the Spanish Influenza came from the white people and that the soldiers brought it back from overseas after World War I. The deaths of friends, family members and loved ones was a tragedy for the entire Tsuu T'ina community. For the students in the Sarcee Boarding School, there was further trauma and terror. One Elder, Stanley Big Plume, recalled that he was sleeping with a dead boy beside him. He remembered the sufferings of his fellow students during the influenza epidemic: "that night I went back to bed and oh God, he (another student) was just sweating ... he was crazy ... couldn't understand what he was saying sometimes and just like that, he died that same night." There was also a lot of tuberculosis in the school. Stanley Big Plume commented:

"if we had the right kind of foods and brought up on the right kind of food...a lot of them boys could have made it and some of them were touched with TB ... there were a lot of TB, ... but they were undernourished, that's what the hell was wrong ... they killed all those kids."³¹

Mabel Two Guns, the mother of Helen Meguinis, remembered that at the time of the Spanish Influenza:

"my Mom said that you go out and you just near the death ... long ago, when someone died ... they don't cry ...they howl out loud ... its' a way ... they said that you just heart that all day ...and the little church down here ... the ones that were Catholic don't have the priest ... he used to come just once a month ... and even the Catholics were taken to this little church here ... and they wait their turns to go inside the church ... and just ... she was crying ... she said and she used to say that she wondered why she never got the flue."³²

And her daughter told her, “God never meant you to have it” and she lived till she was 75.

Another Elder recalled:

“There was a big flu. Everybody was sick. Nurses came from Calgary, Hold Cross came to help out. Everyone around was dying, one of my friends was asking for the nurse, I didn’t understand why everyone was dying. There was a funeral everyday – three are buried. Lots of nice boys and girls died during that period, plus adults on the Reserve. Food was very scarce during that period. Our meals were not enough, very low in all areas. Then the students develop TB in the lungs, around the neck as well.”³³

The Spanish Influenza epidemic significantly reduced the already declining Tsuu T’ina population. The two waves of tuberculosis between 1891 and 1900 then again between 1916-1920 had contributed to a continuing decline in the Tsuu T’ina population from 287 in 1890 to 189 by 1920 (Appendix 1.1).³⁴ This represented a reduction of 33 percent of the population. A total of 16 Tsuu T’ina individuals died between November 1918 and February 1919 from Spanish Influenza or from the combined effects of tuberculosis and influenza . This was roughly 10 percent of the entire population and there many more were affected by the illness. The deaths in the four months account for more than half of all the Sarcee deaths between 1916 and 1920 and were greater than the total number of deaths in any five year period between 1900 and 1925.³⁵

The Tsuu T’ina population had not reached its nadir after the Spanish Influenza epidemic and it continued to decline with most deaths caused by tuberculosis. The crude death rate was virtually double that of the birth rate by 1920 with the rate of natural increase of minus 31.46 per 1000. The Tsuu T’ina population therefore was not replacing itself. The Tsuu T’ina suffered a extremely high overall mortality rate of roughly 84 per 1000 between 1880 and 1920.³⁶ There was a net population increase only three times between 1880 and 1920. Between 1891 and 1900 a total of 199 Tsuu T’ina individuals died and of these individuals: 46 percent died of tuberculosis; 23 percent of influenza; 5 percent in childbirth;

3 percent of pneumonia and bronchitis; and 2 percent of other causes. Only 6 percent of the total number died of old age.³⁷

Between 1916 and 1920 there was a resurgence of tuberculosis in the general population. The cumulative effects for the Tsuu T'ina population was that the majority of individuals in two groups of age cohorts represented by generation I, schooled between 1896 to 1910 and generation 2, schooled between 1910 and 1920, did not reach reproductive age.³⁸ McIntyre suggested that the reduction of individuals in these age groups was a major reason for the overall decline in the birthrate in the population. This assertion, however, does not appear to be consistently the case. The percentage of individuals under the age of 6 and between the ages of 6 to 15 doubled between 1900 and 1917 while the percentage of those between the ages of 16-20 decreased by over one half (Appendix 1.2). There was a fluctuating birthrate but the death rate consistently was more than double the overall birthrate. This suggests that there was a fluctuating birthrate between 1890 and 1917 but that the death rate remained extremely high with individuals under the age of 16 primarily affected.

The MSCC Takeover in 1919 and a New Vision For The Tsuu T'ina Community

High death rates in Indian Schools were not the primary concern of the Indian Committee of the Diocese of Calgary or of the Missionary Society of The Church of England in Canada (MSCC) after 1918. The continuing financial crisis of the school led the Indian Committee of the Diocese of Calgary to adopt a resolution to surrender all control of school to the MSCC.³⁹ Prior to this, the MSCC had been the general government body for all missionary activity for the Church of England in Canada.

In 1919, the Indian Residential Schools Committee was formed to administer the Indian Schools on behalf of the MSCC. In March of 1919, Stanley Gould, the General

Secretary of the MSCC informed Tims that the MSCC had assumed full responsibility for the control, administration and upkeep of the Indian Boarding Schools and Mission in the Diocese of Calgary and that he would no longer retain his position as Secretary Treasurer.⁴⁰ Tims effectively had lost his control of the Indian missions and schools in southern Alberta.

The takeover of the Indian schools and missions also included the MSCC taking responsibility for the debt, which had been incurred. The operating deficit of the Sarcee Boarding School \$1453.98 before the schools were transferred to the MSCC in March of 1919 and the per capita cost had risen to \$198.88.⁴¹ At the same time the MSCC took over the missions and schools, the Indian Department notified the Indian Commissioner that one month of summer holidays would be allowed between the first day of July and the first day of October in each year for all Indian students.⁴² The Indian Department by then had issued instructions that all boys of a suitable size over the age of 15 years of age were to be employed by farmers in the vicinity during war time in the spring and summer to assist with the planting and harvesting of crops.⁴³

By the time the transfer of control of Indian Schools to the MSCC had taken place, it was clear that all attempts to found a self-sustaining religion community on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve had not worked nor had the idea of a self-sustaining school. The deficit on the Sarcee School alone amounted to \$1453.98 and for the four Indian Schools in southern Alberta the amount was \$8853.42 despite the fact that a debt of only \$78.59 was reported by the Indian Committee (Appendix 5.2).⁴⁴ The Sarcee Mission, which continued to be funded by the Church Missionary Society, had also incurred a small debt of about \$20 each year between 1910 and 1919. The Sarcee Mission Fund from which Tims drew his \$1000 per annum stipend at the end of 1918 just prior to the MSCC take-over had a net liability of

\$19.79.⁴⁵ Experiments with greater production and the creation of a rural economy based on stockraising and wheat had similarly failed.

A closer examination of the debts of the Sarcee Boarding School clearly indicates that the building of the new and larger school had increased the overall operating cost from \$2109.45 in 1910 to \$4093.91 in 1915 after the school was built. The total operating cost had soared with wartime inflation to \$7838.17 by 1918 (Appendix 5.2). The cost of provisions had more than tripled from a total of \$581 in 1910 to \$1867.65 by 1918. This increase was a direct reflection of the rising cost of living as well as it was of the increased requirements for provisions resulting from the doubling of school enrolment and number of staff. Fuel costs also rose from \$311.05 to \$716.85 for the same period with wartime price increases and the need to heat and light a much larger building.

By the end of 1918, the Sarcee Boarding School was completely dependent upon the Indian Department, the MSCC who funded the school through the local Anglican Diocese, and the WA of the Diocese of Calgary for its support. In the aftermath of the Spanish Influenza pandemic, the nurse continued to submit reports on a monthly basis. The reports were always of the same tone. The June 1919 report of Nurse D. T. Russel noted that “the health of the children with tubercular and other sores is much better.”⁴⁶ In the fall of 1919, the Matron informed the boys shortly after they had retired for the night that the armistice had been signed. She informed Tims, the students “spontaneously arose from their beds sang the National Anthem and then knelt once more to return thanks to God before getting back into their beds.”⁴⁷

In July of 1919, Tims informed the Lay Secretary of the Church Missionary Society that the mission house was an old building with no modern conveniences and no foundation. He complained that his small stipend of \$1000 was “as small as that of the

youngest clergyman in the Diocese and smaller than that of the scavenger on the streets of Calgary.”⁴⁸ Tims further noted that he hadn’t had a decent set of clothes to attend a Synod or other functions for years and that the health of his wife had been ruined through the draughts and cold of the mission house. He informed the secretary that he had experienced as St. Paul had, “the care of all the Churches.”⁴⁹ With the takeover by the MSCC, Tims expressed the hope that “some of the financial strain at last would be taken off my shoulders.”⁵⁰

Tims also had to face the fact that there were few followers left of the 19th Century Christian Evangelicalism in which he was trained. Tims informed the CMS Secretary that it was increasingly difficult to obtain workers with “the true missionary spirit.”⁵¹ The difficulty of finding replacements for retiring staff was compounded by the financial problems faced by the Indian Committee in the Diocese of Calgary. Tims informed the CMS Secretary in 1919: “I am sometimes very despondent about the work here and wonder if the time had not come for me to give it up and let a young man, more energetic man, take my place. I am getting tired of the long drive and one cannot visit any of our Indians without driving as they are so scattered. A younger man would enjoy what I after 36 years have wearied of. But Where are the men to be found? But perhaps God in His own time will provide the right man. Meanwhile I will direct my prayers with the Lord and will look up for the answer.”⁵²

Tims acknowledged the universal occurrence of tuberculosis in the Sarcee Boarding School by 1919. He noted, “the deaths of so many of the bright and devout had removed their influence” but it was, in his view, “worth while that they should have died in the knowledge of the Christian faith.”⁵³ Tims contrasted the value of the training the pupils had received with the realities of the living circumstances they faced once they left the boarding school. Tims informed the secretary of the CMS, that two pupils were discharged and seven

had died during the year. This left the School with 24 in attendance including 12 boys and 12 girls. The classroom was closed for a time so that the children could gather in the crops in the fall of 1919 and it was closed again until January of 1920 because of the influenza outbreak. Tims noted that “when many had passed away there had been a short-lived desire for a newness of life and of a desire to serve God.”⁵⁴

Reflections by Tims in his annual letter to the Church Missionary Society in 1919 reveal further disillusionment and despondency regarding the Indian Schools and the status of the Sarcee Mission. The school had clearly by then become an intrinsic part of the program for raising capital to ensure their continuation. Tims remarked that “the schools are becoming more of an industrial character” and that the large amount of money raised on the Farms and Gardens together with the MSCC grants and WA contributions provided the rest of the required monies.⁵⁵

The new emphasis on the school as a place of work and as a self-sustaining community in its own right was truly the hallmark of Anglican education in the southern Alberta mission prior to 1920. The closing of the High River Industrial School in 1923 brought an end to the era of industrial training for work beyond the reserve for Tsuu T’ina students but their labours within the school had continued.⁵⁶ Most of the other industrial schools in the West had been closed by that time. Tims reported that the Sarcee Boarding School had not branched out into farming because there were only a small number of pupils old enough to handle the plough and the team.

In 1919, the year of the Spanish Influenza, a total of \$200 had been raised from the large 5 ½ acre garden at the Sarcee Boarding School. The yield included 9 ½ tons of potatoes, 3 ½ pounds of carrots, 1 ¼ tons cabbage, 1380 pounds of beets, 300 pounds of onions, 36 pounds of parsnips, 3 ½ tons mangels, 1 ½ tons turnips and 12 tons of rape for

the pigs and the cows.⁵⁷ This harvest of root crops was higher than the total produced by all Tsuu T'ina farmers for any season on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve! In the following year, the estimated sales from the Sarcee School garden and farm was \$500.⁵⁸

The Greater Production Scheme of the Department of Indian Affairs was phased out in the 1920s. The expansion of agriculture on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve had proved to be too costly with little direct financial return. The entire work force was ailing or grieving the loss of community members. The costs of operating the Tsuu T'ina Agency had decreased from \$10,204.62 in 1900 to \$7592.84 by 1920 (Appendix 5.3). This decrease was due to the fact that increased revenues from grazing dues and hay permits and accrued interest from the 1913 land sale and payments for leased land could offset many of the operating costs of the Agency including the payment for additional medical expenses during the outbreak of Spanish Influenza.

In the winter of 1919-1920 there was a considerable loss of livestock in Alberta and in some cases up to 40 percent of each herd perished.⁵⁹ There were charges of mismanagement by government officials and after three years of operation the total expenditure on the project far exceeded the revenue from the sales.⁶⁰ In February of 1922, Scott informed Graham that there could “scarcely be further justification” for the continuation of the experiment and the great production farms were consequently phased out in the 1920s.⁶¹

Tims' Vision of a Moral Christian Community and Religious Pluralism

The building of a new boarding school in the Tsuu T'ina community made little difference in the number of church adherents. Between 1890 and 1895, the members of the Tsuu T'ina community had been registered as 100 percent Pagan (Appendix 4.1). By the turn of the century, there were 23 Anglicans and 7 Roman Catholics, most of whom were

students in the Sarcee Boarding School. By 1915, there were 27 Roman Catholics, 68 Anglicans and 93 Pagans. Roman Catholic adherents in the community grew out of a core group of individuals of Metis or Cree origin who had been schooled in Catholic missions elsewhere then transferred to the Tsuu T'ina community. Their descendants often chose to follow the faith of their parents. In certain cases, it was a matter of political strategy. Chief Big Belly, for example, joined the Catholic Church on the reserve. He was a respected religious traditional leader and may have affiliated himself with the Roman Catholic Church to challenge the control of John William Tims in the community.

In 1920, the number of pagans was roughly the same as the number of Anglicans. The total number of Anglicans in the Tsuu T'ina community for the most part reflected the two generations in the reserve schools and for whom baptism and confirmation were part of their educational experiences. The statistics of religious affiliation however probably reveal more about successive generations of individuals in the boarding school than the choices that were made around religion during their lifetimes. Parochial statistics for the period are more revealing in this regard. Between 1898 and 1901, Tims reported that there were 64 church members in a population of 206 Tsuu T'ina and that there had been 6 adults and 11 children baptized.⁶² Tims performed 3 marriages and there were 12 communicants for the entire period. A total of \$100 had been raised to support the local parish and missionary activity in the Diocese and overseas.

Tims claimed that 68 individuals had been baptized in the community by 1910. Collections from St. Barnabas Parish totalled \$60 in 1910. Parochial Statistics for 1912 indicated a total of 18 church families consisting of 75 persons. There were also 18 individuals from other families not claimed by the church for a total of 93.⁶³ The total population in the Tsuu T'ina community by this time was 206. Individuals clearly were

practising choice in selecting religious affiliation and were not necessarily following family convention. The total number of communicants by this time was 31. This was roughly twice that recorded between 1899 and 1901.⁶⁴

Anglicans continued to be outnumbered by those identified as “Pagan” until 1930. Between 1914-1915, statistics submitted by Tims to the Indian Department indicate there were 46 percent Pagan, 40 percent Anglican and 14 percent Roman Catholic in the Tsuu T’ina community. By 1930, these percentages had changed to include: 30 percent Pagan, 57 percent Anglican and 31 percent Roman Catholic (Appendix 4.1). While statistics of religious affiliation alone did not necessarily mirror the actual nature of religious practices in the Tsuu T’ina community, they together with other parochial statistics suggest only general trends before and after 1920.

Tims expressed disillusionment with his mission shortly after the war years. He was disappointed that Tsuu T’ina parents, the majority of them ex-pupils and new graduates by 1918, would not come to church to set an example for the younger generation. Both generations of boarding school students were not attending church regularly. Tims noted that the excuse for many was the distance from Indian homes to the St. Barnabas Church. Tims informed the Secretary of the CMS in 1919 that the mothers had to dress the children and bring them in cold weather. While Tims could easily walk from his home to the church, he was critical that Tsuu T’ina families had to depend upon the “the man” of the family to catch and harness a team of horses to drive them to the church.⁶⁵ Tims called for a renewal of faith with the third generation of students stating “the School is our only hope.”⁶⁶

The only place in which the ideal of a moral Christian community could be sustained in Tims’ view was the school. His was a vision of extremes that found little foundation in reality. Tims’ own comments ten years earlier were very telling in this regard. In 1910, he

informed a meeting of the Women's Auxiliary in the Diocese of Calgary that the young Indian who professes Christianity [*was*] expected to live up to a much higher standard than the white men themselves. He was, in fact, "expected to be an angel."⁶⁷ But the price for attempting to inculcate this perfection was that the standards imposed were not attainable. His actions, in essence, had profoundly changed the Tsuu T'ina community in two ways. First, it had imposed a model of perfection that was unattainable and at variance with the realities of reserve life.

The second change came with the set of values imposed when there were infringements of the rigid code of behavior within the mission. His mission had inculcated a strong sense of shame in the community both of self and of family. This sense of shame is most clear in his characterizations of the Tsuu T'ina people outside of his own influence. The message he felt he brought for "Salvation through Jesus Christ" was opposed to the "spirit of reckless ness and dissoluteness, oppos[ing] ... all good" of traditional Tsuu T'ina religious practices.⁶⁸ Tims wrote to the Indian Commissioner in 1884 at the beginning of his career as a missionary. Tims referred in this correspondence to "the necessity of letting the Sun's rays into the dark huts of the [Indians]" very much embodied the orientation of his work.⁶⁹

Citing the purpose of evangelistic work, Tims referred to "the effort to get hold of the heathen, and to teach them Christianity, which embraces the sinfulness of sin and the need of a Saviour."⁷⁰ Tims appeared to confuse his role with that of the God he prayed to. His own shortcomings were never mentioned. The legacy of his mission with its strong message of shame and guilt diffused out into the Tsuu T'ina community over a 25 year period. Tims, for example, noted that if an Indian bought a bottle of whiskey from a half-

breed in Calgary, he faced the taunting of others and this shame would keep him from church for along time.⁷¹

Facing the last decade of his ministry in the St. Barnabas Parish, Tims informed the Secretary of the CMS in 1919 that he continued to visit white settlements in the district, conducted services in churches and school rooms and travelled about 600 miles in the past year. Tim's mission now was fundamentally disassociated from the Tsuu T'ina Reserve and from the human beings who moved across its landscape. It never occurred to Tims that there could be negative consequences of his mission.

Conclusions - Science and Religion in The Tsuu T'ina Community 1910-1920

The inculcation of shame among members of the Tsuu T'ina community was an implicit part of a 19th century evangelical Christian worldview in which humankind was seen as inherently depraved but potentially redeemable. This theme, fused with and was supplanted, in part, by an emerging scientific philosophy directed at improving the social environment of the "poor" by the turn of the 20th century. The system of medical care was created by a collective world view and shared pattern of usage that operated at the local level of the Tsuu T'ina reserve. This new system worked as part of a series of coexisting systems within Tsuu T'ina society and illustrated the way that cultural, historical, socio-economic and political actors shaped the content and direction of health care in the Tsuu T'ina community.

For health care reformers, such as Bryce and Follett, disease was to be brought under control through application of rigid standards of hygiene and health care. Their focus was on the school as the main spreader of disease and this invariably brought them into conflict with church officials such as Tims. For Tims, and some government officials, the new improved boarding schools represented a form of sanctuary in which Indian students could receive "proper" care along with spiritual guidance. The low level of knowledge regarding

tuberculosis was clearly reflected in the reports of nurses, doctors and church and government officials who assumed that the lack of visible signs of tubercular trouble meant the absence of the disease.

Officials and medical officers certainly were aware of tuberculosis in native communities from the turn of the 20th century. As early as 1911, Duncan Campbell Scott had acknowledged that “it will be almost impossible to get pupils who have not some taint of TB.”⁷² The limitation of knowledge with regard to tuberculosis, however, was evident in the *Memorandum For The Guidance of Teachers in Indian Schools* prepared in 1912 by J. D. McLean, Assistant Deputy and Secretary of the Indian Department. McLean noted in his memorandum: “it is now evident that tuberculosis, that dread disease to which so many fall victim, is curable in its early stages and its spread preventable. Fresh air, nourishing food and clean and sanitary homes are the essential preventives.”⁷³ From the 1890s on, tuberculosis represented a threat to Tsuu T’ina community survival. The outbreak of Spanish Influenza, however, finally brought the plight of the Tsuu T’ina people to the attention of Indian Department officials and health care reformers.

Much of the debate about boarding schools and the special case of the Tsuu T’ina was anchored in contrasting sets of values and beliefs about what constituted “health” in the Tsuu T’ina community. The overlapping discourses of what constituted Indian health were entrenched in the broader debate about science and religion and power. It was impossible in the final analysis to identify the home or the school as the primary spreader of the disease. It was clear that tuberculosis existed among a number of other diseases and in relation to a variety of other factors which had contributed historically to the poor health of the Tsuu T’ina and to their declining numbers.

When the Spanish Influenza pandemic broke out in 1918, it ran rampant in a population already weakened by the cumulative effects of disease, malnutrition and poor diet, unsanitary living conditions and stress. The consummate threat that the cumulative effects of disease brought to a small population raises many questions about the nature of human survival and the strength to endure in the face of possible extinction. Diseases such as tuberculosis and Spanish Influenza ran their courses through the Tsuu T'ina community regardless of the interventions that were attempted. Judging the morality of the government or church officials involved is therefore perhaps too facile. Their own decisions were based on beliefs about religion and science far removed from the context of present sensibilities, beliefs and knowledge.

The decade 1910 to 1920 was a time of rapid change in which the effects of World War I were felt directly in a small Indian reserve in southern Alberta. Health issues eclipsed and entered into all aspects of decision-making in the community. Individuals experimented with religious practices and customs but the primary focus was on the healing and recovery of the sick. For individuals who experienced the horrors and the terrors of the Sarcee Boarding School and the grief of losing relatives and family members, memories too painful to recall are not spoken of. They are, however, represented in the fear of an eighty-eight year old man, who was still too afraid of Archdeacon Tims in 1995 to recount the details of life in the school.⁷⁴ By 1920, the Tsuu T'ina community was united by collective bonds of grief, suffering and loss. Saving the Tsuu T'ina people and not their salvation became the focus of the policies of the Indian Department in the following decade.

- ¹ UCA, ADC, Box 41, f. 6, Register of Services, St. Barnabas Mission, 1895-1930, entries for 1917.
- ² Ibid., Entries for January 4, 12, 15, 31, March 5, 27, April 5, May 29, July 31, August 8, September 3, October 16 and November 12, 1917.
- ³ GA, M1356, f. 6, Maude Hill, Report For September 1917.
- ⁴ Ibid. Untitled Report by Maude Hill, 31 December 1917.
- ⁵ GA, M1233, Tims Daily Journal, 1917, entries for January 2 and January 4.
- ⁶ Ibid., f. 6, Tims to Sec. DIA, 26 February 1917.
- ⁷ GA, M1233, Tims Daily Journal 1917, entry for February 19.
- ⁸ Ibid.
- ⁹ GA, M1356, f. 6, Follett to Fleetham, 23 September 1916.
- ¹⁰ GA, M1233, Tims Daily Journal 1917, entry for February 9, 1917.
- ¹¹ GA, M1356, f. 10, Fleetham to Tims, 18 February, 1917.
- ¹² Ibid., f. 6, McLean to Tims, 17 February 1917.
- ¹³ Ibid., Dr. D. S. McNab to Tims, 10 March 1917.
- ¹⁴ Ibid., Tims to Sec. DIA, 26 February 1917.
- ¹⁵ Ibid., Tims to Sec. DIA, 28 April 1917.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., f. 3, McLean to Tims, 5 June 1917
- ¹⁷ NAC, RG 29, v. 2919, f. 851-1-A772, pt. 1, Gordon to McLean, 16 May 1917. This refers to St. Joseph's Industrial School at Dunbow, Alberta south of Calgary.
- ¹⁸ GA, M1233, Oversize Ledger, Receipts and Expenditures, Sarcee School Farm, Stables and Garden, 1917
- ¹⁹ Ibid. Also: GA, M1356, f. 10, Sarcee Boarding School, Financial Statement for Year Ended March 31, 1917.
- ²⁰ NAC, RG 29, v. 2919, f. 851-A772, pt. 1, Gordon to Assist. Dept. and Superintendent, 16 May 1917.
- ²¹ The idea that a disease could be a "presence" in historical analysis is best represented in M. Bliss, *Plague: A Story of Smallpox in Montreal* (Toronto, 1991).
- ²² Ibid., Gordon to McLean, 31 October 1918.
- ²³ Ibid., Gordon to Asst. Deputy and Superintendent, 15 November 1918.
- ²⁴ Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 87.
- ²⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁶ WA, *Letter Leaflet*, 30, (3), January 1919, 100.
- ²⁷ D. A. Herring, " 'There were Young People and Old People and Babies Dying Every Week:' The 1918-1919 Influenza Pandemic at Norway House," *Ethnohistory*, 41, (1), 1994, 81.
- ²⁸ Burnet and Clark, 1942, quoted in *ibid.*, 88.
- ²⁹ Ibid.
- ³⁰ NAC, RG 29, v. 2919, f. 851-A772, pt. 1, Gordon to Assistant Deputy and Superintendent, 14 April 1919. Gordon reported that seven death were due to influenza: Sophie Sarcee Woman, 13, Sam Crowchild, 16, Jessie Night, 21, Jennie Hunter, 22, Jane Manywounds 35 and her new born, the girl of Manywounds, 2 and Didymus Hunter, aged 20. Three deaths from chronic tuberculosis were Jack Abskinas, 21, Mrs. Bertie Crowchild, 21 and Fred Sarcee Woman, 16. Three others died when their TB was accentuated after they contracted the flu: Lucy Tony 6, Tom Many Horses 16 and Peter Onespot aged 22.
- ³¹ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mr. Stanley Big Plume, 29 May 1975. Quoted with permission of Tsuu T'ina Culture Program.
- ³² Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mrs. Helen Meguinis, 18 November 1995.
- ³³ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mrs. Hilda Big Crow, 13 August 1990.
- ³⁴ Data for 1910 to 1920 are based on Census Return of Residential and Nomadic Indians in DIA Annual Report, A1910, 54, in DIA Annual Report, A1915, 2-3 and in A1920, 52.

- ³⁵ McIntyre, "Sarcee Demography, 1880-1915," 41.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, 34.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, 198.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, 40.
- ³⁹ UCA, ADC, Box 72, f. 14, Copies of Resolutions adopted by The Executive Committee of the Anglican Diocese of Calgary at a Meeting Held on January 3, 1919 in Answer to questions contained in a letter from the Bishop of Huron to the Bishop of Calgary on December 20, 1918.
- ⁴⁰ GA, M1356, f. 3, S. Gould, Gen. Sec, MSCC to Tims, 15 March 1919.
- ⁴¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 6730, f. 160-2, pt. 1, Scott to Roche, 27 June 1917.
- ⁴² NAC, RG 10, v. 6032, f. 150-37, McLean Asst. Deputy and Secretary to Graham, 25 April 1919.
- ⁴³ GA, M1356, f. 3, Scott to Tims, Circular, 19 February 1918.
- ⁴⁴ UCA, ADC, Box 72, f. 14, Copies of Resolutions, Executive Committee, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, 3 January 1919.
- ⁴⁵ UCA, ADC, Box 67, f. 21.1, Indians Missions and Schools, Summary of Receipts and Payments For The Year Ending December 31st, 1918, Report of 17th Synod, 1919, 51.
- ⁴⁶ GA, M1356, f. 6, D. T. Russel, Nurse's Report, June 1919.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 5, Report of the Venerable Archdeacon Tims, Principal of the Sarcee Boarding School, 1919.
- ⁴⁸ UBA, CMS, Letter #11, Tims to Lay Secretary, CMS, 25 July 1919
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Tims to Lay Secretary, CMS, 25 July 1919 Biblical quote from 2 Corinthians II: 28.
- ⁵⁰ GA, M1356, f. 5, Tims, Annual Letter to CMS for Year Ended 31st December 1919.
- ⁵¹ UCA, ADC, Box 67, f. 21.1, Resignation of Archdeacon John William Tims as Secretary Treasurer of Indian Missions, in *Report of 16th Synod*, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, 1918.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, Tims, Annual Letter to CMS, 31 December 1919
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Tims to CMS, 31 December 1919.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁶ See: E. B. Titley, "Dunbow Indian Industrial School: An Oblate Experiment in Education," *Western Oblate Studies*, 2, 1992, 112.
- ⁵⁷ GA, M1356, f. 5, Report of the Ven. Archdeacon Tims, Principal of the SBS, Sarcee Reserve, 1919.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 11, Estimates - Sarcee School, October to December 1919.
- ⁵⁹ Titley, "W. M. Graham: Indian Agent Extraordinaire," 30.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 31.
- ⁶² UCA, ADC, Box 67, f. 27, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, J. W. Tims, Triennial Report of Indian Missions Covering The Three Years Ending 31st December 1901, St. Barnabas Mission, 1901.
- ⁶³ UCA, ADC, Box 60, f. 76 Annual Return of Parochial Statistics from January 1, 1912 to December 31, 1912, St. Barnabas Mission.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 5, Tims, Annual Letter to CMS, 31 December 1919.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁷ UCA, ADC, Box 81, f. 6, WA Minutes, 7 February 1910.
- ⁶⁸ GA, M1234, Box 1, f. 15, Tims Annual Letter to CMS, 31 January 1901.
- ⁶⁹ GA, M1233, f. 6, Tims, "Impressions Regarding Missionary Effort Amongst The Indians," Address given to the first convention of Indian workers in the Province of Alberta, Edmonton, 6 January 1909.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁷¹ UCA, ADC, Box 81, f. 6, WA Minutes, 7 February 1910.
- ⁷² NAC, RG 10, v. 3957, f. 140754-1, Deputy Superintendent to Scott, 11 April 1911.
- ⁷³ CHC, SP, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1912, J. D. McLean, Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Memorandum For The Guidance of Teachers in Indian Schools, 14 January 1911, 439.

⁷⁴ Interview with Tsuu Tina Elder 3, 18 November 1995.

*CHAPTER TEN:
THE MEDICALIZATION OF THE TSUU T'INA COMMUNITY 1920-1930*

“Confidently it may be said that the Indian has justified the trust that the early missionaries placed in him, his mentality and temperament and constitution fitted him for progress and he has valiantly borne the ordeal of contact with our boasted civilization.”¹

Duncan Campbell Scott, 1921

Introduction - Medicine, Rationality and Indian Policy 1920-1930

Duncan Campbell Scott, the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, expressed the post-war optimism of the time in his annual report for 1920 to 1921. Scott seemed assured in his belief that despite the health crisis of the preceding decade that the Indians of Canada had been tested successfully by their contact with “civilized society.” Expressing a view grounded in a form of Social Darwinism in which only the “fittest survive,” Scott maintained “that although the Indian had been wasted in his struggles, he has not been worsted and the vestiges of the tribes that remain are of the strong stock as the years go by.”² The implication of this was the Indian was now more suitably fitted for progress than ever before.

There was a clear contradiction in the views of the Deputy Superintendent General. Despite Scott’s optimistic perspective regarding Indian health, he expressed his concern that continuing poor health among the Indian people might adversely affect surrounding white settlement. Scott maintained “as health conditions among the Indians affect the welfare of the continuous white population, the health question as a whole is one of extreme importance which the department has ever sought to minimize.”³ He did, however, reaffirm his belief that progress had been made and confidently referred to the Indians of Canada as a “class self-supporting,” in his annual reports before 1925. Scott noted in his annual report three years earlier in 1922, that the expenditure for destitute Indians was practically all made from public funds or the tribal funds of the Indians with the bulk of expenditure arising from administration, supervision and education.⁴

Scott commented in 1925, “the health of the Indians has been normal and it is noted with satisfaction that they are now more ready to take advantage of modern methods of treatment.”⁵ Scott the following year noted:

“[T]he department endeavours to give the Indians some knowledge of the diseases and the best preventive methods. Through agents, physicians and field matrons, health propaganda is promoted on the reserve and circulars are issued which are sent to the Indians as well as to their agents giving instructions in simple language regarding the care of tubercular patients and the means of avoiding the spread of the disease. Simple talks on sanitation, diet and home-making [*were*] given.”⁶

Scott maintained that many of the Indian women “gratefully accepted” the advice of the nurse and field matron regarding the care of the children.⁷ The Indian women and girls were encouraged by the nurse and field matrons to cultivate gardens and they are instructed in methods of canning fruit and vegetables for the winter months.⁸

The nurse was to work in cooperate with the Indian Agent and departmental medical attendants to improve sanitary conditions. The nurse was to deliver simple talks on diet and sanitation, and homemaking as well as instruction on the health of children. The field matron on the other hand was to take a more active role. She was to encourage Indian women to “make their homes more like those of white people.” The field matron was to teach Indian women methods of canning fruit and vegetables to “provide for the future” instead of thinking only of daily needs. Scott noted, “one great drawback is the fact that older Indians are inclined to place their faith in the Indian medicine men and refuse treatment by white doctors.”⁹

Scott typified the philosophy of Indian management as one of a “parental policy,” the expense of which could only be eliminated once “the Indian ceased to be a ward and will rather tend to increase until the department has come into contact with all the Indians in the country.”¹⁰ The Deputy Superintendent General felt a strict measure of restriction in this regard was in the best interest of Indians. He linked this to a policy of what he termed “of

situation and an appeal to reason and experience” which would be best in the long run.¹¹ In keeping with the Greater Production Scheme, initiated in the previous decade, there was a continuing emphasis on the expansion of reserve agriculture, the development of natural resources and the leasing of idle lands in the early 1920s. Indian progress, in the statistics published in the Annual Reports of the Indian Department, continued to be measured in terms of real and personal property, sources and value of personal and band earnings. In Scott’s view, the “way to emancipation is through agriculture.”¹²

The Indian Department maintained that education was to be based on a renewed partnership between the Government and the Churches. The Churches relieved the Department of a large expenditure, which would have to be met if a state system of Indian Education prevailed. The State, at the same time, would “lose the moral and civilizing influence of the churches in its ultimate designing of advancing the Indian toward full citizenship.”¹³ In 1925, Scott stated, “more medical and dental attention will result no doubt in a more robust type of graduate.”¹⁴ The policy of granting limited assistance to ex-pupils was continued. Women were given sewing machines or household furniture and men, grants of cattle, horses, implements, harness or buildings materials. Scott could still maintain that the “the training of the younger generation of Indians continue to be one of the most important activities of the department.”¹⁵ Education in native communities was also extended through health education in the form of a travelling nurse “whose duty it was to inspect the Indian schools and go into the homes on the reserve giving assistance and advice.”

Indian Schools fell under increasing government control and regulation, at least on paper, during the 1920s. Officials maintained that more centralized control and better supervision on the part of the churches had resulted in more efficient administration of the

individual residential schools. Scott indicated this in his annual report of 1920 noting, “[o]ur schools compare favourably with white schools similarly situated with respect to the work in the class-room and in accommodation and equipment provided.”¹⁶ The cultivation of large acreages was encouraged at all the residential schools and school gardens at the day schools. Pupils were encouraged to “receive a general knowledge of agriculture.”¹⁷ A war bonus of \$150 had been paid to teachers in the employ of the Indian Department in 1918.¹⁸ There were attempts to employ better qualified teachers.¹⁹ By 1925 teachers at Indian Schools were paid on an increasing scale based on civil service basis from \$720 to \$1080 per annum with principals paid from \$740 to \$1380 per annum.²⁰

The inevitability of progress based on reason seemed to encapsulate evolving Indian Policy in the 1920s. The almost desperate clinging to the idea of progress counterbalanced the industrial depression of the 1920s and the low prices of agricultural produce that Scott noted had reduced Indian earnings by 1922.²¹ Scott could always blame falloffs in production and in wage earning power on the “ordinary vicissitudes of agriculturists” and find hope in the fact “that failure in one district might be offset by success in another.”²² The ideal of progress also provided a rationale for continuing to apply modern scientific methods of medical prevention and cure to the native population. Views which emphasized these new forms of “control” also were extended to new departmental legislation that placed Indians under provincial laws and regulations relating to hunting.²³

The Corbett Report 1920

The nursing care of Tsuu T’ina individuals continued in the Sarcee Boarding School and in the “camps” of the Tsuu T’ina. Nursing reports reflected the generally poor knowledge of tuberculosis that was prevalent at the time. These reports usually began with the statement that the general health of the children had been good. At the same time the

same reports clearly documented that some form of tuberculosis affected almost every child in the boarding school. While the positive effects of hygienic measures were evident, the precise mechanisms for the transmission of tuberculosis were still not clearly understood. The voluntary tubercular associations founded in each province advocated the philosophy of community involvement and the policy of prevention.

There was a poor general knowledge of the disease among health care professionals. It was thought, for example, that effective cures could be brought about through that application of dressings to tubercular sores. Proper nutrition, good hygienic measures, rest and exposure to the fresh air were thought to be equally efficacious. While these factors bolstered the immune systems of patients, it was not until 1944 that the era of effective chemotherapeutic drugs began. The discovery of streptomycin in 1944 was followed by the development of 11 other drugs that were successful in treating tuberculosis over the next 15 years.²⁴

The nursing reports from the School and Reserve before 1921 revealed the continuing threat of tuberculosis. In January of 1920 Nurse Jessie Underhill described a student in the school:

“ ... with tubercular sores [*who*] is now confined and isolated in the Infirmary. His condition is not good. The disease seems to be spreading through his system and at times he suffers a good deal. The neck and arms have open sores running which is very painful when dressed. His leg is in the same condition. He is receiving good care and nourishing food.”²⁵

By March of 1920, the boy became worse as the disease spread. He was taken home and died on March 25th. In July, the nurse reported that there were seven cases of scrofula in the school.²⁶ By October of 1920, the nurse found that six or approximately 25 percent of students in the school were seriously ill with tuberculosis.

The turning point in the treatment of the Tsuu T'ina was the completion of the Report on the Sarcee School by Dr. F. A. Corbett to Scott in 1920. Corbett had been asked

to complete an inspection of the Blackfoot and Sarcee schools following Scott's visit to the west in December of 1920. The Sarcee Boarding School completed in 1914 was found by Corbett to be very cold in winter. He described the 17 boys and 16 girls in a condition "bad in the extreme" with all the children except four showing the presence of tuberculosis. Sixteen students in the Sarcee Boarding School were found to have suppurating glands or open ulcers and sat at their desks with their sores covered by bandages. A shocking 35 percent of the children showed some aspect of pulmonary involvement with one active case.

Corbett described the conditions in the school as "neither clean tidy nor sanitary" and its condition and management made it "unfit for carrying on the work of a boarding school."²⁷ Corbett, at the same time Duncan Campbell Scott championed the progress made in Indian health by the Indian department, described the condition of one little girl in the infirmary as pitiable:

"She lies curled up in a bed that is filthy in a room that is untidy, dirty and dilapidated in the northwest corner of the building with no provision of balcony, sunshine or air. Both sides of her neck and chest are swollen and five foul ulcers are discovered when we lift the bandages. This gives her pain and her tears from her fear of being touched intensifies the picture of her misery."²⁸

The unhealthy condition of the children was, in Corbett's view, not entirely the fault of school officials. He found that conditions in many of the reserve homes were poor and most of the children had come to the school in ill health. Corbett described conditions of the ten houses in the community as "truly deplorable." The fireplaces, despite the new and good construction of the houses, had been blocked up to prevent the cold from coming in and when lit they smoked so badly that they could not be used. Corbett called for a "vigorous and long campaign of education in sanitary house dwelling" to prevent dirt and debris from accumulating and the use of soap and water for washing clothes and floors which had been neglected.²⁹

The Corbett Report detailed the grim plight of the situation in three of the houses on the reserve. The occupants of the first house included an old man who was partly blind with his right lung chronically tubercular. An old and helpless woman sat on a pile of rags in one corner while a second old woman who could not walk sat on a very dirty bed. Corbett reported that the couple had had six children four of whom had died from tuberculosis. Conditions in a second home were no better. The mother had a tubercular cavity in the apex of her right lung. A daughter, sent home from the school several years previously, had large suppurating glands, abscesses and ulcers on both sides of her neck. The mother had had three children all dead; the first was born dead, the second lived two months and the third, two years. In a third home, Corbett found five children all showing evidence of tuberculosis. The mother had a tubercular lung and the father had scars from scrofula on both sides of his neck.

The degrading living conditions found by Dr. Corbett reflected a community at its nadir. He found that only three of twenty men examined could be classified in “average good health.” Corbett informed Commissioner Graham that because many of the people in the band were old and the children so unhealthy, “vigorous, prolonged and radical measures” had to be taken regarding school and home life.³⁰ Corbett recommended that to bring the Tsuu T’ina to a “place of comparative safety and future usefulness,” the school should be closed and converted into a Sanatorium and placed under the charge of a “competent medical man and trained nurse.” He stressed the need for medical care and instruction in hygienic living to the children and all those suffering, routine monitoring of the houses to ensure that they were kept clean, and surgical attention in hospitals for those in need.

The Aftermath of The Corbett Report

In the wake of the Corbett Report, there were admissions that the poor conditions on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve had been known for some time. Duncan Campbell Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs admitted to James Lougheed, Minister of The Interior, that "The Anglican schools in the diocese of Calgary [*had*] always been badly managed" and recommended that the measures proposed by Corbett be instituted.³¹ Ten days after the report by Dr. Corbett had been sent to Commissioner Graham, the Private Secretary of the Minister of The Interior informed Scott that he should take "whatever steps were necessary to improve the disgraceful conditions particularly in the Old Sun and Sarcee Schools."³²

While Scott acknowledged that the Indian schools in southern Alberta had been poorly managed, the primary blame for the terrible conditions in the Tsuu T'ina community was placed on the shoulders of Indian Agent Gordon. Commissioner Graham wrote to Scott, "I do not think the Doctor's report will be a surprise to you." He further commented, "I never saw such dirty houses in my thirty-five years experience living among Indians."³³ Graham informed Scott, "I cannot help thinking Agent Gordon has not given all the attention to the sanitary end of the work that he should have given to it particularly at an Agency like the Sarcee where an Agent has so little to do compared with other Agents, where there are four or five times as many Indians and where farming and stock raising are carried on extensively"³⁴

The Department acted in a short time. Duncan Campbell Scott instructed Graham that the Sarcee Boarding School was to be turned into a hospital and that the whole reserve should be considered as a "hospital area."³⁵ Communications between the Indian Department and the MSCC were terse. Scott informed Stanley Gould, General Secretary of

the MSCC, that it was necessary “to suspend the educational work” in order to “alleviate the shocking conditions” at the schools on January 8, 1921.³⁶ These actions placed all educational activity on a hold. With the definition of the boarding school as a hospital, Tsuu T’ina formal education was, for the first time since 1885, placed outside of church control and since 1894, outside the context of the residential school system.

The response by the Executive Committee of the MSCC and the Indian Committee of the Anglican Diocese of Calgary was to disclaim any culpability for the conditions found by Dr. Corbett in the Sarcee Boarding School and in the other Indian boarding schools in southern Alberta. Gould informed Scott that “the directions of the local doctor were carried out by the members of the staff and the conditions described by Doctor Corbett must be ascribed to the wrong diagnosis of the local medicine man.”³⁷ The Corbett Report was treated as new information by former members of the Indian Committee of the Diocese of Calgary. Tims, for his part, blamed the local doctor and the school nurses claiming that “Mr. Gentleman and Miss Bloomer spent a great deal of time treating sore places on the girls. Dr. [Corbett] pronounced this ‘to be itch’ and claimed that the treatment directed by the local Doctor was entirely wrong.”³⁸

The Appointment of Dr. T. F. Murray and The Reserve Hospital

The appointment of Dr. Thomas Murray as Indian Agent to the Tsuu T’ina Reserve marked the ascendancy of a new scientism in the Tsuu T’ina community. Murray was appointed through a special Order in Council in order to alleviate the deplorable physical conditions of the Indians at the Sarcee Agency.³⁹ Murray was to be paid at a salary of \$2500 per annum for his dual role as Agent and Physician on the Sarcee Reserve. Murray immediately submitted a long requisition for clothing for the pupils and patients at the Sarcee hospital to the Indian Department.

The appointment of Thomas Murray, a Roman Catholic, was met with considerable consternation by Tims and members of the Indian Committee of the Diocese of Calgary. In the spring of 1921, the Committee conveyed its disapproval of the appointment to the Indian Department. It was felt that instead of appointing a Protestant agent “whose sympathy and co-operation” could be counted on and the appointment of a Roman Catholic instead, was a “rank injustice” and an “unprovoked affront” to the Anglican Church.⁴⁰ The Indian Committee chaired by Tims passed a resolution to request that the Indian Department revoke the appointment and replace Murray with a Protestant “preferably a member of the Church of England instead.”⁴¹ In the fall of 1923, Tims lobbied for a return of control of the Sarcee School to the MSCC but Scott politely demurred.⁴²

The clear separation of church and state in the appointment of Murray extended to the refusal by the Indian Department to accede to the selection of nurses by the MSCC. The secretary of the MSCC visited the Sarcee Reserve in 1921. The Church continued to play an active role in the running of the Sarcee Hospital and Sarcee Day School. Up to 1930, the MSCC tried upon the urging of John William Tims to control the hiring of nurses for the Sarcee Hospital. In 1923, a nurse was nominated and the MSCC Indian Committee approved the selection.⁴³ The Indian Department refused the application and hired another individual instead.⁴⁴

Duncan Campbell Scott commented in November of 1921 that Murray was appointed with “a view of saving the remnant of [*the*] band.”⁴⁵ Murray’s appointment displaced the central control of the church in the Tsuu T’ina community and consequently relegated the mission of John William Tims to a secondary position. This process of instituting secularized control by the State in the reserve community mirrored the broader changes that had occurred already within Canadian society. There were, however, significant

differences between the reserve community and mainstream society which derived from the segregation of the Tsuu T'ina community economically from the industrial state.

Government officials promoted an alternative model of a self-sufficient agrarian society. This new model, which completely supplanted previously ideas of evangelically-inspired morality, was based exclusively on the scientific control over nature, with the medicalization of the Tsuu T'ina the fundamental component. The conversion of the Sarcee Boarding School into a hospital symbolized the transfer of control in the Tsuu T'ina community from Church to State. Tims and Murray completed an inventory of the contents of the school and the stock with the value placed at \$4392.75 before the transfer was enacted.⁴⁶ The new concept of community developed tangentially to the implementation of rigorous measures to save the Tsuu T'ina population. The Sarcee Hospital was established in the first year of Murray's tenure on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve.

In October of 1921, Murray submitted a complete review of the Sarcee Indian Agency. His review of medical conditions in the Agency confirmed the earlier report by Corbett.⁴⁷ Four cases of active pulmonary tuberculosis were found in the school. Two of these were advanced cases and the affected individuals died within two months. Every child in the boarding school and in the community was found by Murray to have some degree of glandular involvement. There were also two cases of tubercular joint. Murray reported that there had been no attention to oral cleanliness and that many of the children in the school had never used a toothbrush. He indicated that when he visited the boarding school in April of 1920 the floors were dirty, the windows stained and unclean and in the case of those who were ill, "the bed linen [*was*] stained with blood and puss marks old and recent" with the explanation given that there had not been sufficient funds to provide a staff to maintain cleanliness.⁴⁸

Murray found that there were five cases of active pulmonary tuberculosis in the adult population. Three of these were in the advanced stages and two had died. One who was the head of a household was treated at home. The other case was a girl who also received treatment at home. Murray pointed out that in both cases the individuals lived in houses that were isolated from the usual groups. The majority of the older members of the Band were found to be affected by eye disease and many individuals had the healed scars from scrofula. Murray reported that “practically every Indian on the Reserve was dirty” and that “personal cleanliness was non-existent.”⁹⁹ This was particularly true of the older people whom he described as “hav[ing] the dirt of years caked on their bodies.” Excema and body lice were common. He noted that while the old men took sweat baths in the summer months but the old women had no means of cleaning themselves. Their eyes and teeth also had been neglected.

Murray’s report describes a community in crisis. Living conditions in the Tsuu T’ina community were grim. He found the houses in the community to have dirty floors strewn with rags, food and other debris. Murray noted that there was a larger percentage of old people who lived with the younger ones and who persisted in sleeping on the floors. He described their mattresses and bed clothing as ragged and filthy because they did have not the means to secure new or cleaner ones. Canvas and poster-lined walls were often the only means of keeping out the winter winds. He found the houses were very cold and the walls and floors did not keep out cold draughts. Refuse often was strewn about the houses. Where a window was broken Murray noted that it was usually stuffed with old clothes to keep out the wind. It was common practice to smoke and spit on the floors when visiting took place.

The general health of the members of the Band was much below par and with one or two exceptions there was no individual who was physically able to perform a day’s labour or

work day after day. Murray indicated that members of the community tired easily and did not have the stamina to keep going. Murray suggested that there was a “large measure of laziness” associated with this but that most individuals were simply too ill to be physically capable of working.⁵⁰

The physical condition of most members of the Tsuu T’ina Band was directly traceable to a lack of good, nourishing food. Murray indicated that dried beef, bannock and tea formed the majority of meals on the reserve and that a day or so following the issue of rations there was a paucity of even these basic foods. The desperation of individuals was clear. Murray noted that no provisions were made for the next day and only hunger made individuals get out to cut wood and sell it in Calgary in order to purchase food.

Children fared worse than adults with no milk, butter or fat meats and because they could not assimilate the food eaten by adults. Murray noted that as a consequence of the lack of food, children up to the age of four were breast fed. The children were described as “fat and flabby without muscle tone” and as “fit prey for the Bacillus Tuberculosis which lurks in every home.”⁵¹ The consequences of the malnutrition in the early years was hard to overcome and Murray indicated that the result was that practically all of the children showed some manifestation of tuberculosis.

Murray immediately implemented remedial measures to save the surviving members of the Tsuu T’ina community. These included, “constant, persistent instruction and supervision at the school and, on the Reserve, by word and example they have been shown how to live and how to live properly.” Murray noted that, [p]ersuasion of every description has been used to attain cleanliness, good health and correct sanitation but to date the results do not justify the energy expended.⁵² He noted in his initial report, however, that a change for the better had been made and that some of the Tsuu T’ina trying to live as he directed.

Murray also informed Scott that “a more interested Missionary is necessary on this Reserve, one who would visit the Indians in their homes at least occasionally.”⁵³

The new hospital included sleeping porches for the children (Plates 26 and 27). New staff positions were created including those of Assistant Nurse, Janitor and Cook paid at the rate of \$40, \$50 and \$60 per month, respectively.⁵⁴ The school building was completely overhauled and a new well dug. The establishment of the hospital with medical treatment the primary focus not only redefined the role of education but fundamentally altered the purpose and function of the Indian Agency in the community. In the fall of 1921, Inspector Christianson completed an inspection of the building. He reported that formerly the school building had been “filthy and dilapidated both inside and out” with everything around the place in about the same condition. The boys in the school also had done a great deal of damage such as breaking down fences, breaking locks and everything in the building. Under Murray’s influence, all of the houses had been cleaned and the Hospital was “spotlessly clean.”⁵⁵ In November Indian Commissioner Graham informed Scott after receiving Christianson’s report that “I think we made a great mistake in placing Gordon in charge of an Agency.”⁵⁶

Social Conditions and The Reserve Economy 1921

In 1920, Chief Big Belly, successor to Chief Bullhead, died of heart disease at age 54. Indian Agent Gordon reported that the death of his little girl of tubercular meningitis had hastened the demise of the late Chief. On the 19th of September 1921, Murray notified Graham that the Indians of the reserve had requested permission to elect a new head chief.⁵⁷ The Indian Commissioner urged the Indian Department to defer making the appointment of a new chief. Graham noted that “a Head Chief on this Reserve is more of a nuisance than a benefit.”⁵⁸ He found that they did not cooperate with the Government in carrying on the



Plate 26: Sleeping Porches Added on To Sarcee Hospital (GA # NA 4397-25)



Plate 27: Patient with his grandmother, Sarcee Hospital, 1925 (ACCA #P 7538-633)

work of the Indian Agencies.⁵⁹

Graham contacted John McLean, Secretary and Assistant Deputy Superintendent and asked W. M. Graham Commissioner for the Department of Indian Affairs in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, in December of 1921 to request that the appointment of a new chief be deferred.⁶⁰ The Departmental Secretary then advised Murray that "I wish to advise you that this Department has no intention of taking immediate action concerning the election of a head chief to succeed the late Chief Big Belly."⁶¹

In June of 1923, Murray notified Graham that Joe Big Plume had been selected to succeed Chief Big Belly. Although Graham informed the Secretary that "if there is any way in which we can discourage the appointment of a Chief for this Band I would like to do so," Joe Big Plume was sworn in as chief on August 23, 1923.⁶² His appointment marks the beginning of the modern era of leadership for the Tsuu T'ina. Joe Big Plume, who was married to ex-pupil Mary Big Crow, was the first graduate of the Sarcee Boarding School to become chief (Plate 28). His declaration was sworn and signed in English (Plate 29).⁶³

While the role of chief was left unfilled for two years, the state of the reserve economy reflected the overall neglect that was evident in the Sarcee Boarding School and in the homes of Tsuu T'ina families by the time Murray arrived. There were, however, over 300 head of cattle missing according to the books turned over to Dr. Murray by Indian Agent Gordon. The long bitterly cold winter of 1919 to 1920 that had taken its toll on cattle herds in southern Alberta had similarly affected the Tsuu T'ina Reserve. The actual number of cattle included only 278 head. Murray concluded that the totals put on the books at the time by Agent Gordon did not exist.⁶⁴

The farm machinery, equipment and harnesses required repair and overhauling and this had delayed the planting of crops in 1921 when Murray became Agent. The threshing



**Plate 28: Boarding School Student Mary Big Crow, later Mrs. Joe Big Plume, c. 1902
(GA # NA 1020-41)**



Plate 29: Chief Joe Big Plume with wife, Mary in Calgary, c. 1925 (GA #NA 4397-44)

outfit purchased in 1913 had broken down and had been left in the field since October of 1920. All of the farm buildings were found to be in need of cleaning, painting and reorganizing. Planting of the agency crop was delayed because the farm instructor had to repair all of the machinery. All the buildings had to be cleaned out and all shovels, axes, blacksmith and carpenters tools sharpened and repaired. The land surrounding the buildings was scraped and levelled and cleared up. The slaughter house was whitewashed, cleaned inside out and windows and screens put in and the refrigerator repaired. The cow sheds at the Cow Camp had blown down in the early spring of 1920 and no effort was made to repair them. Corrals were broken down at the cow camp. The fences on all sides of the reserve were down.

It was not possible for Murray initially to estimate the number of acres under cultivation. The land was prepared in April and May with seeding delayed to the first week in June. The dry year and late seeding combined for a poor crop. Only 20 acres of the Agency oats and 15 acres of Indian wheat were considered fit for threshing. Oats were fit only for feed and the hay crop was particularly poor. The agency crop fared no better. A total of 80 acres of cultivated hay yielded only 12 tons. One field of brome grass gave one and a half tons on 40 acres. A 20 acre field yielded 3 and 1/3 tons of rye. Murray, upon the advice of the farm instructor, proposed to break up the entire area in the valley of 100 acres and sow it down to grass for the hay requirements of the agency hospital and agency stock.

The huge Gardener lease of the western township was cited as a source of trouble. Murray noted that the cattle had been allowed to graze on reserve lands outside of the lease area and that after each successive roundup 200 head of his cattle had shown up on reserve lands. The cattle destroyed the adjacent hay meadows. Murray had complained to Gardener on numerous occasions and had to resort to threats of impoundment. Gardener informed

Murray that he had given up his 12 sections of the Eastern Township on the east side of the Elbow. Murray proposed to turn reserve stock to graze there during June, July and August and preserve hay meadow.

Former Indian Agent Gordon, who had been transferred to the Indian Agency at Norway House, was blamed for the poor state of the reserve economy. Christianson, in his review of the Sarcee Indian Agency in October of 1921, noted that “[Gordon’s] management has practically made the cattle business a failure and being afraid to show the actual losses was carrying dead animals on the books instead of writing them off.”⁶⁵ The Inspector noted that “farming has been a joke” as there are only little patches of cultivation here and there on the Reserve and what was done might just as well not have been farmed at all as the land was only scratched instead of being properly plowed. Christianson stated that “it was not any wonder, therefore, that the Indians got nothing in return for their labour.”⁶⁶

At the same time as the Inspector reported on the improvement in general conditions on the Sarcee Reserve, he also noted that farming had essentially come to a standstill on the reserve. There were between three hundred and four hundred acres under cultivation. The lack of rain during the summer of 1921, grasshoppers and poor farming practices meant that none of the grain was fit to thresh. Only 35 acres of the total had been threshed with the rest being put up for green feed. The Agency farm fared no better with 80 acres of cultivated hay yielding only 12 tons of hay and a 20 acre field of rye producing only 3 1/3 tons.⁶⁷ The farm instructor recommended breaking up the entire flat in the valley of about 100 acres and sowing it down to grass to supply hay for the agency and hospital.⁶⁸

Christianson concurred with Murray’s finding that 200 head of cattle were missing according to books turned over to Murray by William Gordon, the former Agent. The Inspector found that the cattle did not exist at all. Gordon who had left for Norway House

was not there to defend his actions. Graham defended Indian Department inspectors who had not inspected many agencies in his jurisdiction for from three to five years. He informed Scott that it was impossible to count cattle in the summer when inspections generally were conducted.⁶⁹ The reorganization of the Tsuu T'ina Agency in 1921 was part of a bigger restructuring which occurred in the prairie provinces at this time with a total of 14 agents being removed. The summary report by Graham singled out the fact that Inspector Morrison since coming to Regina made complete inspection of 11 Agencies most of which had not been inspected for from 3 to 5 years."⁷⁰

The drought in two successive growing seasons 1919 to 1920 and from 1921 to 1922, resulted in a scarcity of hay. It was therefore necessary to purchase an additional 75 tons to put the stock through the winter. The actual herd consisted of only 278 head including 11 bulls and 269 head.⁷¹ The horses were found to be old. The Indian Commissioner noted that despite the dire conditions, there was very little owed to merchants in Calgary on credit.⁷² The practice of leasing land which had been followed since the 1890s had set a pattern of overgrazing which actually worked against the development of the cattle industry on the reserve. The lease holder included 12 sections of the Western Township had been shown to consistently have 200 head of his own stock outside of the lease area. The cattle fed on the Indian hay meadows. Another drought in 1923 threatened an absolute crop failure in the southern Prairie Provinces.

Murray was allowed to hire a farm labourer instead of retaining an interpreter. Murray informed the Indian Department that an interpreter was no longer necessary at the Agency.⁷³ A new farm instructor had been hired in April of 1920. Mr. Hetherington was considered to be a first class man who had a thorough knowledge of farming and stock raising. Hetherington could handle all kinds of farm machinery and small engines. There was

also one Tsuu T'ina man employed as an Interpreter but "instead of his time being spent hanging around the office he had been kept busy preparing new land for next spring repairing fences etc."⁷⁴

Redefining The Boundaries of Church and State

When the MSCC took over the responsibility of schools from the Diocese of Calgary, they assumed an accumulated debt of approximately \$8853.42 with the property of the Missions and Schools valued at \$40,000.⁷⁵ Tims argued that the amount of real property reflected "the energy, resources, self-sacrifice and foresight of the British Missionaries employees."⁷⁶ The takeover by the MSCC brought into play the debate regarding the efficacy of day versus boarding schooling for Indian students. The MSCC brought pressure to bear on local dioceses to provide further support for the Indian Missions. The report of the 19th Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Calgary in 1922 noted a contribution of \$242 had been made at St. Barnabas Parish. The Anglican Forward Movement provided more money at the parish level. Tims informed the local diocese in 1919: "but for poor crop conditions in both past years there would have been a much better showing financially. Some Indians in the South who used to contribute to the support of the Church have now to draw rations from the Government as 'destitute.'"⁷⁷

MSCC Secretary Gould as well as other Anglican Church officials vigorously defended the boarding school system as the only possible solution for the whole problem of Indian education. Boarding Schools were seen therefore as the solution to the ultimate problem of "Indian enfranchisement and citizenship."⁷⁸ The MSCC had a sense of its own historicity and sought to document with photographs the histories of the Anglican boarding schools starting in 1921. A lantern slide presentation was prepared as part of the history-writing.⁷⁹ A Joint Sub-Committee of the Interim Finance Committee of the MSCC

recommended that Tims be asked to collaborate in writing a short history of the Indian work in the Diocese of Calgary.⁸⁰ Provisions were made for the annual inspection of the school by provincial inspectors in early 1922.⁸¹

In the fall of 1921, the Department of Indian Affairs introduced new regulations for the operation of Indian Day Schools. The new regulations provided for 200 days of schooling in each year with holidays. Morning sessions were to be between 9 a.m. to 12 noon and the afternoon from 1 p.m. to 4 p.m. with a recess during each session. Teachers' salaries were payable on a quarterly basis.⁸² The Sarcee Day School was a unique case that did not conform in any way to the usual reserve day schools.

The MSCC continued to oppose attempts by the Department of Indian Affairs to minimize the role of day schools.⁸³ Local dioceses were made responsible for all Indian day schools, including the Sarcee Day School, after 1921. The Sarcee Day School was rarely mentioned in the annual reports of the MSCC other than to refer to the fact that "due to the prevalence of TB the school had passed to government control."⁸⁴ Scott reassured church officials that the Department would support and encourage the continuing operation of day schools whenever they were attended regularly.⁸⁵

The issue of which church level had jurisdiction over the day schools was resolved by placing them under diocesan responsibility.⁸⁶ But there were ongoing debts associated with the continuing operation of both day and residential schools. The operation of the Indian schools was still a matter of polite agreement on both the part of government and church officials to sustain the partnership between the Government and the Churches.⁸⁷ The possibility of a state run system of Indian education was rejected. This was justified on the basis that the State might "lose the moral and civilizing influence of the churches in its ultimate design of advancing the Indian toward full citizenship."⁸⁸ This was, in part, due to

an inflationary increase in the cost of living but also the poor management of the institutions.⁸⁹ The continuing operation of residential schools in Canada was a drain upon all of the churches involved. By 1924, the Secretary of the MSCC reported a deficit of \$25,000 due to the increased cost of hiring certified teachers, and miscalculations of farm produce and of the per capita grants to be received.⁹⁰

The more pragmatic concerns of integration into Euro-Canadian society in the 1920s were a marked departure from the earlier CMS-inspired policy of “uplifting the poor, degraded savage.” Regardless of the changes that had occurred in the educational policies of the Church of England in Canada, the older generation of missionaries still advocated the strong proselytizing evangelical orientation which contrasted heathen and Christian Nations.⁹¹ In an address presented at the Centenary Celebration of the Church Missionary Society in 1920, Tims could still refer to the “debauchery and iniquity of the Indian races which the first missionaries encountered.”⁹²

Each time the Indian Committee met to discuss the crisis in the Sarcee Boarding School, the issue of a new mission house on the Tsuu T’ina Reserve was tabled. The Secretary of the Indian Committee of the Diocese of Calgary informed Gould that the house was “in a most dilapidated condition.”⁹³ Tims had, by 1920, secured the permission of the MSCC to increase his annual stipend to \$1200 per annum in 1920 with \$200 still derived from the Church Missionary Society.⁹⁴

In February of 1921, the MSCC and the Diocese of Calgary agreed to share in the erection of a new mission house for a total cost of \$5000 (Plate 30 and 31).⁹⁵ A sum of \$600 left by the late Mrs. McNeill also was used towards the cost together with special funds provided by the Women’s Auxiliary from a Diocesan grant and from the MSCC out of the funds at its disposal from the Anglican Forward Movement. At the same time, the financial



Plate 30:
Sarcee Boarding School Students with John William Tims (second row, far right) and Winnifred Tims (back row, right), 1925 (ACCA #P7538-634)

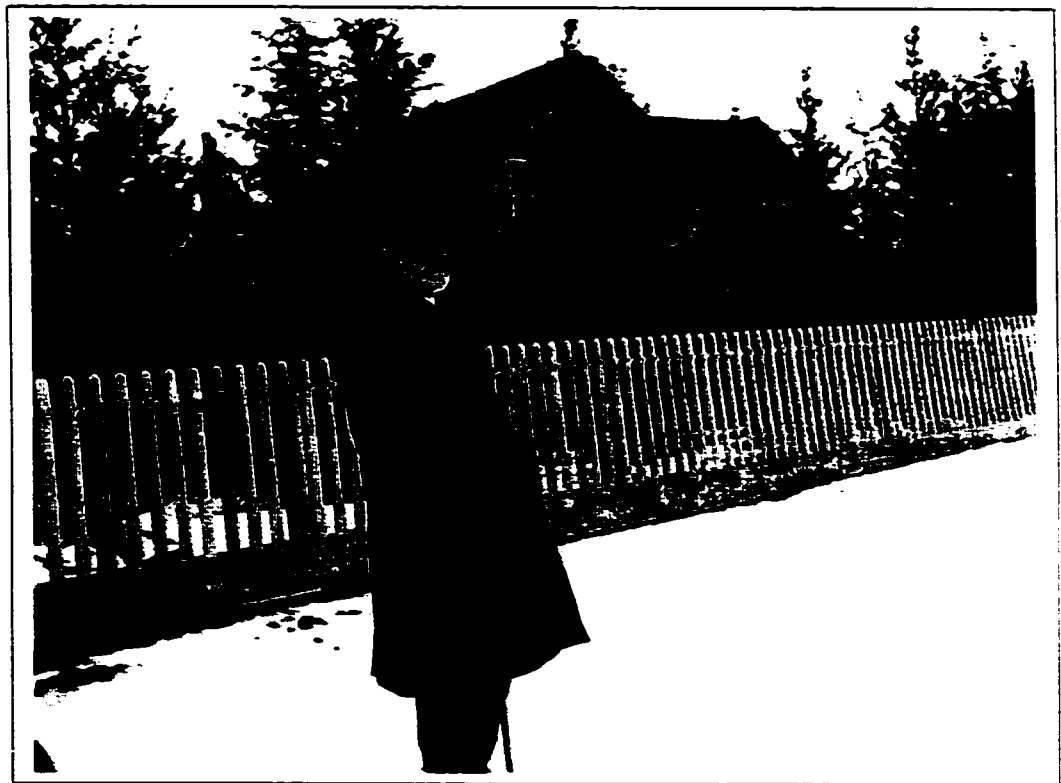


Plate 31: John William Tims in front of New Mission House, c. 1925 (ACCA #P 7538-630)

statement for the Sarcee School for the year 1920 showed a deficit of \$193.61.⁹⁶ Receipts for the school just prior to the MSCC takeover indicate that \$701.57 was earned from the produce of the school garden. This meant that the few healthy students had toiled to make the farm and gardens profitable.

The question of whether a new mission house should be built at all was raised by the Canon when it was clear that “the Sarcee Indians [*were*] rapidly dying out” and it was doubtful that the expenditure of money upon a new building was justified given that the work on the Tsuu T’ina Reserve might come to an end through “the death or removal of the Indians.”⁹⁷ Tims, in response, spoke in favour of building the house near St. Barnabas Church, because it would always be a good location for carrying on the work among white settlers.⁹⁸ He felt that white settlers would ultimately become resident on the lands owned by the Tsuu T’ina. Tims proposed that the Diocese of Calgary should redefine his mission work to include white people and Indians. This he felt was justified because abandoning the mission altogether would be the fulfillment of his longstanding dread that the Roman Catholic Church would gain full control of the reserve. There was even discussion of whether the Anglican Church of Canada could secure freehold of the land upon which the mission was built.⁹⁹

When asked to respond to the conditions in the Sarcee School in the Corbett Report, Tims stated that it was impossible to keep patients as clean and tidy as would be the case in ordinary circumstances because of the nature of tuberculosis. He noted that when Corbett visited the school “it was impossible to secure sufficient help to carry on the work and that he could not even get a woman to go in and do any scrubbing or cleaning.”¹⁰⁰ The MSCC for its part appointed a special subcommittee on May 5, 1921 to interview the authorities of the Indian Department with regard to the condition of the children in the Sarcee Boarding

School and the future of that institution.¹⁰¹ Members of the Committee claimed that they the physical condition of the children in the Sarcee Boarding School to the notice of the Department as early as May of 1920.¹⁰² The only letter in this regard dates to January of 1921 one month after the release of the Corbett Report. In the letter, the Indian Committee recommends that additional accommodation should be provided in the school “for the few Sarcee children who are free from TB infections; providing that satisfactory arrangement can be made for the transfer of the latter from the Sarcee to the Old Sun Boarding School.”¹⁰³

Tims’ conduct following the release of the Corbett Report revealed the marked contrast between the living standards he set for himself and the conditions in which Tsuu T’ina community members lived. Tims applied to the Diocese of Calgary in 1921 for \$300 toward the payment of a nurse for his ailing wife.¹⁰⁴ Throughout the 1920s, Tims lobbied for and often received improvements to the new mission house. He continued holding services in the white parishes of Fish Creek, Red Deer Lake and Glenmore. In November of 1926, he asked the executive committee of the Diocese of Calgary for a grant of \$100 for travelling expenses to the neighbouring churches.¹⁰⁵ In 1924, a water tank, then an unheard of luxury, was installed in the basement of the mission house.¹⁰⁶ After Murray took over, Tims complained to the Bishop of Calgary about the long trips of two to fifteen miles that he had to take to see Indians and white people. Tims also complained about the menial tasks he now had to perform. He noted that “since the School was taken out of my hands I have to do all my own chores which with the horse to look after takes time.”¹⁰⁷

Rebuilding The Community - The Sarcee Day School

The rebuilding of the Sarcee Indian Agency took a monumental amount of labour and capital. Housing conditions on the reserve also were improved. With the boarding school redefined as a hospital, there were immediate changes brought about in the schooling

of the surviving Tsuu T'ina children. Murray introduced a schedule showing the number of hours daily each child was supposed to attend school with the length of the period depending on the health of the individual child.

Winnifred Tims continued to teach in the day school which first was located in the hospital. After 1922, there were changes made to the Indian Act which now included provision for methods to enforce compulsory attendance and to retain students until the age of 18 if this was recommended. Students in the Sarcee Day School were given the opportunity to study at a senior level beyond Standard VI for the first time and the Indian Department encouraged the teaching of high school subjects in both residential and day schools.

When the boarding school was constructed, most eligible Tsuu T'ina children were taught there. After Murray took over, eligibility to attend school was determined by the health of an individual candidate. Eighteen of the twenty-two children enrolled attended the school in the fall of 1921 while 3 were hospital patients. Each year after then, there were one or two students who were hospital patients and by 1930, approximately 70 percent of those eligible for schooling attended the Sarcee Day School (Appendix 3.1).

The establishment of the hospital in the Tsuu T'ina community redefined the role of institutions such as the day school and of the Agency. Scott informed Graham, "Dr. Murray was appointed with a view to saving the remnant of this band and that quite apart from the institution it is necessary to give serious consideration to the condition of the older Indians and the state of the reserve generally." Scott considered that the boarding school should be not only a hospital but also a "house of refuge for the old Indians."¹⁰⁸

While conditions in the school had improved, students were still very lonely being separated from their families. Many students continued to board in the school. Tsuu T'ina

Elder, Helen Meguinis, recalled:

“*[m]y* early experiences was being lonely and afraid. I never slept alone so that to me was a lonely also eating at home anytime make me wonder. Breakfast was on time Dinner was on time and supper was on time at the residential school. At home I was as a young child. I was always eating bannock and visiting relations with Mom and Dad. Playing with my friends. Once I was in the Residential school I learned everything revolve around the clock...time. Even the sleeping was on time. School was started in September. I enroll as a student at 6 years old. School started at 9 to 3:30. During that period, Dora Bull and myself often fall asleep. We then was ask to leave the classroom and play outside.”^{109(19U)}

Childhood for members of Generation Three, who grew up and attended the Sarcee Day School, was a relatively untroubled time. Helen Meguinis remembered her childhood at the time:

“camping out was the way of life back then. Haying season was July and August picking berries also was nice, 8 camps will move there, the woman will go pick berries with their children, the men would go hunting and fishing while the boys will go with their father’s. I had lot of experiences as a little girls now I realized it was a learning experience, learning to share with a various of peoples and age groups. The old man Past Grasshopper will tell stories or legends of long ago also that the time we as children didn’t realize there was a world out there. To me the feeling was we were here we have lived an isolated life, after I became a young girl sin my teens were still isolated, there was no TV’s phone, electricity, plumbing, newspapers. It was strange visiting Calgary during the stampeded was our only contact with alien people of Calgary. To me when I think of growing up I was living in cocoon afraid to explore outside the safety of my reserve.”¹¹⁰

There was still work to do as a part of schooling. Louise Big Plume, remembered:

“Our school was in a hospital ... I had to do dishes and I had to scrub the stairs from the attic to the basement.”¹¹¹ Life continued very much as it had for Generation Three, who completed their schooling during the 1920s. Men were expected to become farmers and to join the reserve economy. For women, there were more restrictions but this depended on one’s family and circumstances. One Elder stated that as a young girl following her graduation from the Sarcee Day School, her parents picked her husband for her:

“I didn’t make my choice. I was married when I was 18. I stayed with Mom and Day for two solid years, never went no where except with Mom ... I chopped wood and did my evening chores. I was out in 1930 and I got married in 1932 ... I was married for 50 years.”¹¹²

Frank Onespot, son of John Onespot and Susan Otter, finished school in the early 1920s. He remembered the early days:

“[a]fter I got out of the school, my father was strict and put me to work. I was about 16 years old. I helped my father with cattle and horses. There was hardly any farming. Sarcee people liked to farm, except the old people. I got married in about 1918 to Alice Crowchild. She died. Before that, we had children: Arthur and a girl whose name I don’t remember. I married again in 1931 to Marry Big Belly. When I married Alice, we moved into a 2 room house. They gave us the house. I did a lot of things to make a living. I had a few cattle and sold beef. You had to have a special permit for that. Somebody else figure out the price. I trapped. I cut posts and rails. I sold hay in Calgary.”¹¹³

Hilda Big Crow added:

“[I]t was a hard life in the old days, but we still managed to support ourselves. We did it by working hard. I always had a garden wherever I lived. We grew our own vegetables so that’s we’d have good during the winter. We also did a lot of odd jobs. We cut pickets and sold them to farmers. Sometimes were worked for the white people. We picked potatoes and worked in their gardens and on their farms. They paid us with food and well as money. I used to get ten dollars a month for working at the old school and the old hospital. I had to scrub all the rooms from top to bottom. I also picked potatoes for the Agency.”¹¹⁴

There were also trips into Calgary to buy food:

“[t]here weren’t many houses in Calgary at that time... There were just boards in the lot where Eaton’s is today. That’s where the Sarcee people left their horses and wagons whenever they went shopping. The old people used to make a fire in a tin and brew a big pot of tea right in the middle of downtown. Then they go into a store and buy some sweet buns to go with the tea. We sit down and have lunch right there in the middle of downtown.”¹¹⁵

Redefining The Parish of St. Barnabas

The Department of Indian Affairs released funds to construct a small day school located beside the old boarding school building. Winnifred Tims conducted the school until her retirement in 1930. In 1921 there were 22 children enrolled, eighteen attended and four were hospital patients. Changes in Indian education policy in the 1920s reflected the concerns of the Department of Indian Affairs to bring the standards of education up to that provided for white students.

Beginning in 1923, the provincial course of study for public and separate schools was used in all Indian Schools to standardize educational content and the former religious

orientation of curricula was relegated a secondary role in the classroom. Opportunities for high school work in day and residential schools were also encouraged.

Language, reading, domestic science, manual training, and agricultural and physical training were emphasized in the new curricula.¹¹⁶

The passing of new regulations for Indian Day Schools in November of 1921 effected a consistent school schedule, which included statutory holidays, summer holidays of two months and regular school hours.¹¹⁷ Salaries of teachers and other workers in the hospital were tied to the new salary schedule of the Civil Service. For teachers, the salary scale ranged from \$500 to \$800 per annum depending on qualifications with a special bonus of \$150 provided in the 1921-1922 fiscal year. This level of salary was not paid to itinerant native workers. Mary Bull Collar, for example, was paid \$10 for one week of work in the Sarcee Hospital in 1923 when the general helper was away on sick leave.¹¹⁸

The health crisis among the students in the Tsuu T'ina community brought into relief the broader issue of what role the Church and State should play in Indian Education. The clear separation of church and state in this regard was reflected in a government estimate for the fiscal year 1921 to 1922. This report referred to the partnership between Government and the Churches in "advancing the Indian towards full citizenship" in tandem with "the moral and civilizing influence of the churches."¹¹⁹ By 1923, the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs McLean informed Westgate that the students should be allowed to remain in school until they reached the age of 18 years.¹²⁰

The Sarcee School was the subject of a debate in the House of Commons in the spring of 1923. The poor conditions of the Tsuu T'ina and the necessity for establishing a hospital on the Sarcee Reserve were described. The increase of \$16,359 in the estimate for hospitals, medical attendance etc. had been chiefly due to the care required on the Tsuu

Tina reserve of a total of \$18,962. Sidestepping the issue of culpability in the poor conditions found by Corbett and others, Charles Stewart suggested that he would be the last to say anything against teaching the Indian Christianity but he believed the first duty of the state was to teach [*the Indian*] how to make a decent living.¹²¹

The Indian School on the Tsuu Tina reserve was transferred officially from the MSCC to Government control on the 1st of August 1922. The Parish of St. Barnabas continued but in a peripheral role to the school. Within the community the annual church contributions totalled \$242 in 1922. The money was used to pay for various Diocesan assessments including the clergy, the China Famine Fund, the Bible Society and other special projects. Most of the monies collected in the four Indian parishes in southern Alberta went to the Anglican Forward Movement, a nationalist-inspired program within the Anglican Church of Canada to promote missionary activity.

The Tims family attempted to consolidate their control on the Reserve in other ways. He informed the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society in 1920 that he hoped “to remain in harness for many years.”¹²² To counteract what Tims termed “the drink evil,” a Temperance Society was started with nine adult members. The Temperance Movement made its presence felt in the Sarcee Day School and in the reserve community. Tims reported that two individuals from the community had taken an oath of temperance at the Sunday Service in 1927. In 1927 the organization presented a “beautiful set of charts and lessons which they are desirous of presenting for use in these schools.”¹²³

Tims continued to play a role in the school. He opened the school daily with prayer and Bible readings and conducted prayers for the pupils and staff every evening. Tims opened the school each day with prayer and Bible reading and conducted prayers for the pupils and staff who cared to attend every evening. Students in the school began to

participate in the exhibitions at the Calgary Exhibition and succeeded in carrying off several prizes for drawing, modelling, darning and needlework.¹²⁴

Tims' daughter Winnifred continued to teach in the school and to hold Sunday school for 18 students. The close relationship between Miss Tims and some of her students is revealed in letters written to her in England in 1927. The children eagerly reported the prizes the school earned at the Calgary Stampede the previous summer. They missed her presence. Hilda Big Crow (nee Manyhorses) wrote, "I am very pleased with your post card you sent me and I was glad you having forgotten we girls."¹²⁵ Much later in her life, she would recall, as an Elder, "Miss Tims was our teacher, she was pretty good, she was pretty understanding."¹²⁶

Miss Tims, as she is still referred to by Tsuu T'ina Elders of today, is fondly remembered by other students. Violet Crowchild felt, "Miss Tims...was a good teacher...she taught us math, English, geometry, history and hygiene. She didn't mind with [*the*] Sarcee language."¹²⁷ Many remember Miss Tims as being strict but a good teacher. Rose Runner recalled, "Miss Tims was a good teacher, she would let us speak Sarcee...Miss Tims used to tell us about alcohol, she had a picture of the body and she told us what alcohol did to the liver, kidneys and intestine."¹²⁸

A second letter from Louisa Dodginghorse begins: "I'm still remember you dear. I'm missed you when we started the school" and continues: "I will pray to God for you to come home safely."¹²⁹ The letters apart from illustrating the power of the underlying Tsuu T'ina language in their construction, well illustrate a more positive aspect of school life during what was the end of an essentially dark chapter in Tsuu T'ina history. They elude a simple explanation and, perhaps, exemplify the complexity of the social relations of the community and of Tsuu T'ina history generally at this time.

Conclusions - The End of an Era and a New Beginning

Tims informed the Bishop of Calgary in 1923 that there was “nothing of outstanding importance to record.” Following the MSCC takeover, Tims reduced the number of services to one each Sunday instead of the four he had given previously. By then, the average Tsuu T’ina attendance at Sunday services at St. Barnabas Church was 35 with 11 individuals receiving Holy Communion. The attendance swelled to between 60 and 75 Tsuu T’ina at Easter and Christmas Day with an additional 20 white people in attendance. During the year, there was no church attendance during the hay season at the end of the summer or early fall and during the Calgary Exhibition when Tims noted all Indians had gone to the fair. In January, many individuals left the reserve to hunt or to visit relatives. There was also no attendance during the holding of traditional religious practices. In mid-June, the Tsuu T’ina camped at the Elbow River crossing and held the Sacred Beaver Bundle Ceremony.¹³⁰

Tims baptized five infants and two adults and four males had been confirmed in 1923. The total collection for the year was \$193.19.¹³¹ He described the Sarcee population as: “consisting of 155 including 14 Crees and 10 Stoneys which reduced the bona fide Sarcees to 131 of whom half were members of the Anglican Church.”¹³² The Tsuu T’ina population continued to be a heterogeneous one. Of the 160 Tsuu T’ina individuals in 1921, only one third claimed a pure Tsuu T’ina ancestry.¹³³

After forty years, Tims claimed that of the total Indian population on reserves in southern Alberta, 479 were heathens, 1082 were Anglicans and the rest belonged to other churches.¹³⁴ By 1924, Tims reported that 90 of the 160 people on the Reserve were Anglican and that the average church attendance was 40.¹³⁵ He noted that “personally the relief afforded me by the removal of the constant worry about finances is enormous.”¹³⁶ Each of the four reserves in Southern Alberta was recognized as a regularly organized Anglican

parish appointing a native lay-delegate to the synod. All delegates were ex-pupils of the schools. St. Barnabas Parish had its own church warden and vestry. Each of the parishes had church wardens and vestries. In 1924, Chief Joe Big Plume, was the first Tsuu T'ina lay delegate to the Calgary Synod.¹³⁷ Just prior to his retirement after the harvest service in the fall of 1930, Tims claimed there were 79 Anglican, 35 Catholics, 11 others and 28 heathens in the diocese.¹³⁸

Tims maintained his position at both the St. Barnabas Church and the reserve hospital after Murray's appointment and up to his retirement. Tims visited the Sarcee hospital for evening prayers whenever he conveniently could. He expected all those confirmed into the Anglican faith to attend the weekly church services held each Sunday. Tims' views remained inflexible regarding the Indian boarding schools. He informed the 27th Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Calgary:

“but for the indomitable perseverance of our late Cyprian Diocesan for retaining our Indian Schools we should have lost them many year ago and the church's work on the four reserves would have been at an end. Through his tenacity and courage we owe, under God the position of Indian work in the Diocese held today and I am glad that he had been permitted to live and see such a fulfillment of the prophecy of Isaiah: ‘The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose.’”¹³⁹

Throughout the 1920s Tims developed a “founding father” role for himself in the history of the Diocese of Calgary. In an address commemorating the CMS founding in October of 1920, Tims referred to the “dangers of working among the western tribes. But that readily the Indian began to grasp the truths we sought to impress upon them.”¹⁴⁰ He noted that after a period of forty years it was possible to see “striking changes” among the prairie Indians and “we can only exclaim What hath God wrought!”¹⁴¹ But there were no longer replacements available to take up the work of Tims' generation of missionaries. Although he continued to proselytize, Tims lamented the fact that it had been impossible to

secure a young missionary to take up the work as the “senior men fall or retire.”¹⁴²

The Indian Commission appointed in 1919 by the MSCC was dissolved at the end of 1920 and a new Commission with headquarters at Winnipeg with the Reverend Dr. Westgate as Secretary Treasurer was formed on January, 1921. The MSCC did not assume direct responsibility for the administration of the Anglican Boarding Schools until January 1 of 1922. The MSCC in light of post-war cost attempted to reorganize the school system on a more efficient basis. By the mid-1920s, Tims could claim that “our work continues much on the same lines as formerly.”¹⁴³

The mission of John William Tims could never be completed. The idea of establishing a moral Christian community on the Tsuu T’ina Reserve was based on a model of human behavior and perfection that could not be realized. The realities of the day to day operation of the mission were far different than the ideals of the mission They were based, ironically, on an ever-increasingly materialistic vision of community. Students in the Sarcee Boarding School were victims as well as survivors of this vision.

The definition of a sudden medical crisis among the Tsuu T’ina in 1921 was, in part, a distortion of reality by health care reformers. The Tsuu T’ina population had declined at a more or less consistent rate from the time of their move to the Fish Creek Reserve. The threat to community survival had been constant throughout this period. The Spanish Influenza Pandemic brought both the declining population and the degrading conditions of reserve life to the attention of State officials and the general Canadian public in the post-World War I era. Reformers immediately sought to address these problems by instituting a new and thorough regimen based on the principles of scientific medicine. A new emergent scientism provided the basis for a new model of the Tsuu T’ina community and redefined the boundaries of Church and State.

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- ¹ Canada. House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 27, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs for Year Ended 31 March 1921, A1921, Duncan Campbell Scott, 7.
- ² Ibid.
- ³ Department of Indian Affairs, *Sessional Papers*, No. 27, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 31 March 1926, A1926, Scott, 10.
- ⁴ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1922, Scott, 7.
- ⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶ CHC, *SP*, No. 14, DIA Annual Report, A1925, Scott, 12.
- ⁷ Ibid. Scott, 15.
- ⁸ Ibid.
- ⁹ Canada. House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 27, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 31 March 1923, A1923, Scott, 15.
- ¹⁰ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1922, Scott, 7.
- ¹¹ Ibid.
- ¹² Ibid.
- ¹³ NAC, RG 10, v. 6001, f. 1-1-1, pt. 1, Estimates To Provide a Further Amount For Indian Education, 1921-1922.
- ¹⁴ Canada. House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 14, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs for Year Ended 31 March 1925, A1925, Scott, 15.
- ¹⁵ Ibid., 13
- ¹⁶ Canada. House of Common, *Sessional Papers*, No. 27, Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 31 March 1920, A1920, Scott, 33
- ¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ Canada. House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 14, Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 31 March 1924, A1924, Scott, 6-7.
- ²⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 6006, f. 1-1-3, pt. 1, Scott to Schools Branch, 14 May 1925.
- ²¹ CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1924, Scott, 32.
- ²² Ibid., Scott, 7.
- ²³ Ibid.
- ²⁴ A. Brancker, *et al*, *A Statistical Chronicle of Tuberculosis in Canada: Part 1*, 1992, 104.
- ²⁵ GA, M1356, f. 6, Jessie Underhill Nurse, Report of the Nurse for the Quarter Ended 31 December 1920, 14 January 1920.
- ²⁶ Ibid., Report of Nurse at Sarcee School to the 30th June 1920, 20 July 1920.
- ²⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 4092, f. 546898, Dr. F. A. Corbett to S. M. Graham, 7 December 1920.
- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ Ibid.
- ³⁰ Ibid.
- ³¹ Ibid., Scott to James Lougheed, 11 December 1920.
- ³² Ibid., Private Secretary SGIA to Scott, 17 December 1920
- ³³ Ibid., Graham to Scott, 7 December 1920.
- ³⁴ Ibid.
- ³⁵ Ibid.
- ³⁶ Ibid., Scott to Gould, 8 January 1921.
- ³⁷ Ibid., Gould to Scott, 17 January 1921.
- ³⁸ Ibid., Report of the Executive Committee of The MSCC Meeting (re: Corbett Report), 12 January 1921.
- ³⁹ NAC, RG 32, v. 2763, f. 822-IA772, pt. 1, 12 May 1921, O/C, P. C. 1535.

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- ⁴⁰ ACCA, MSCC, Series 2:15, Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools and Indian Schools Administration, Box 16, f. 1, Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools Commission - Minutes of Meeting, 12 April 1921, 519.
- ⁴¹ Ibid.
- ⁴² ACCA, MSCC, Series 2:15, Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools and Indian Schools Administration, Box 23, f. 1, Report of the Field Secretary on His Visit to The Sarcee Reserve, October and November 1923, 1121. Scott informed the MSCC executive that as the report of the Medical Superintendent showed excellent results were being obtain under the existing arrangement he would prefer that it should not be disturbed at the present time.
- ⁴³ ACCA, MSCC, Series 2:15, Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools Administration, Box 16, f. 1, "Correspondence From Headquarters Toronto," in Minutes of the Meeting of the Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools Commission, 6 December 1923, 3.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid., "Correspondence From Indian Department," in Minutes of Meeting of the Indian and Eskimo Commission MSCC, 15 February 1924, 6.
- ⁴⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 7101, f. 772/3-1, pt. 1, Scott to Graham, 8 November 1921.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid., Gould to Scott, 12 October 1921.
- ⁴⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 7101, f. 772/3-1, pt. 1, Murray to Graham, 15 October 1921.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid.
- ⁵¹ Ibid.
- ⁵² Ibid.
- ⁵³ Ibid.
- ⁵⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 1132A, Scott to His Excellency Governor General, 2 September 1921.
- ⁵⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 7101, f. 772/3-1, pt. 13, Christianson, Inspector to Graham, 1 October 1921.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid., Graham to Scott, 5 November 1921.
- ⁵⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 7938, f. 32-120, Murray to Graham, 10 September 1921.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid., Graham to Secretary, DIA., 24 September 1921
- ⁵⁹ Ibid.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid., Graham to Scott, 5 November 1921.
- ⁶¹ Ibid., A. F. MacKenzie for Secretary DIA to Murray, 10 October 1921.
- ⁶² NAC, RG 10, v. 7938, f. 32-120, Graham to Secretary, DIA, 5 July 1923.
- ⁶³ Ibid., Declaration of Chief or Councilor, 21 August 1923.
- ⁶⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 7101, f. 772/3-1, pt. 1, Murray to Graham, 15 October 1921.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid., Christianson to Graham, 31 October 1921
- ⁶⁶ Ibid.
- ⁶⁷ Crop yields on the Blackfoot Reserve had been 5.17 bushels per acres of wheat and 20-49 bushels per care in oats in the growing season of 1919-1920. See: CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1920, Scott, 11. In 1920-1921, the general yield on the prairies was 10 bushels per acre of wheat, 17 ½ bushels of oats and 10 bushels per acres of barley. See. CHC, *SP*, No. 27, DIA Annual Report, A1921, Scott, 9.
- ⁶⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 7101, f. 772/3-1, pt. 1, Murray to Graham, 15 October 1921.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid., Graham to Scott, 22 November 1921.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid.
- ⁷¹ Ibid., Murray to Graham, 15 October 1921.
- ⁷² NAC, RG 10, v. 8857, f. 772/18-10, Graham to Scott, 13 January 1923.
- ⁷³ NAC, RG 10, v. 7101, f. 772/3-1 pt. 1, Murray to Graham, 15 October 1921.
- ⁷⁴ Ibid., M Christianson, Inspector to Graham, 31 October 1921.
- ⁷⁵ UCA, ADC, Box 67, f. 24, Tims to Reverend C. Swanson, Lethbridge, 25 January 1927.
- ⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ UCA, ADC, Box 67, f. 21.1, Tims, "Report on Indian Work," *Report of 19th Synod*, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, 1922, 68.

⁷⁸ NAC, RG 10 v. 6032, f. 150-40A, pt. 1, Gould to Scott, 16 April 1920.

⁷⁹ ACCA, MSCC, Series 2:15, Indian and Eskimo Schools and Indian Schools Administration, Box 16, f.1, "Correspondence," in Minutes of the Meeting of the Indian and Eskimo Commission, 12 May 1922, 3.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, Minutes of the Indian and Eskimo Commission, 24 June 1924, 52.

⁸¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 6015, f. 1-1-6-ALTA, pt. 1, R. F. Ferrier, Superintendent of Indian Education to J. T. Ross, Deputy Minister of Education, 18 February 1922.

⁸² NAC, RG 10, v. 150-40A, pt. 1, Indian Day School Regulations, Department of Indian Affairs, 10 November 1921.

⁸³ RG 10, v. 6001, f. 1-1-1, pt. 1, Bishop of Saskatchewan to Scott, 1 January 1925 at the December 12, 1925 Meeting of The Indian and Eskimo Commission.

⁸⁴ ACCA, MSCC, Series 2:15, Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools and Indian Schools Administration, Box 23, 1, Report of The Field Secretary, MSCC for the Year 21 August 1921 to August 31, 1922, Indian Schools Administration, Visit Reports, 1922, 15.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, Scott to Lloyd, 9 January 1925.

⁸⁶ ACCA, MSCC, Series 8:2, Printed Minutes of Board of Management, Box 120, f. 4, Board of Management Minutes, 29 September, 1921, 28

⁸⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 6001, f. 1-1-1, pt. 1, Estimates to provide a further amount for Indian education, Superintendent General, 1921-1922.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 6730, f. 160-2, pt. 1, Gould to Reverend Joe Guy OMI Ottawa University, 21 December 1925. Gould refers to recent statistics published in the Ottawa Citizen on December 15th p. 14). With prices in 1913 based at 100 the index figure of wholesale prices in November 1925 was 161.1 compared with 156.6 for October and 157 for November. The permanent increase in the cost of living may be taken as about 61 percent.

⁹⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 6730, f. 1-1-1, pt. 1, Gould to Scott, 23 September 1924.

⁹¹ GA, M1234, f. 43, Foreign Missions Being Papers Read at a Conference of The Clergy, 29 September 1920. The Speakers still referred to the church's "marching orders" to "go into the world and preach the gospel to every creature."

⁹² *Ibid.*, J. W. Tims, "History and Present Status of the Work Among the Native Races in Rupert's Land at the Centenary Celebration, October 1920."

⁹³ UCA, ADC, Box 72.14, Houlton to Gould, 23 September 1920.

⁹⁴ UCA, ADC, Box 124, Reports of the General Secretary and WA, MSCC, 21 October, 1920, 27.

⁹⁵ UCA, ADC, Box 72, f. 14, Memo of Conference Held in the Synod Office, Calgary, 5 February 1921.

⁹⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 6001 f. 1-1-1, pt. 1, Westgate to Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, 12 April 1921.

⁹⁷ UCA, ADC, Box 72, f. 14, Sydney Hamilton, General Secretary, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, Meeting Held re: New House, 16 February 1921.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 4092, f. 546898, Executive Committee of The MSCC, Meeting (re Corbett Report). 12 January 1921.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ ACCA, MSCC, Series 2:15, Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools and Indian Schools Administration, Box 16, f. 1, Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools Commission, Minutes of Meeting of Committee, 6 December 1921.

- ¹⁰⁵ UCA, ADC, Box 11, f. 27, Tims to Executive Committee, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, November 1926.
- ¹⁰⁶ ACCA, MSCC, Series 2:15, "Correspondence From The Missions," Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission, Minutes of Meeting of Committee, 24 June 1924, 21.
- ¹⁰⁷ GA, M1234, f. 15, Tims to Right Reverend Bishop of Calgary, 25 January 1923.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, Scott to Graham, 16 November 1921.
- ¹⁰⁹ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mrs. Helen Meguinis, 9 August 1990. Quoted with permission of Tsuu T'ina Culture Program.
- ¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹¹ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mrs. Louise Big Plume, 1995.
- ¹¹² Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder 4, 15 March 1995.
- ¹¹³ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elders, Mrs. Mary Onespot and Mr. Frank Onespot, 18 November 1995.
- ¹¹⁴ Edited Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mrs. Hilda Big Crow by Tsuu T'ina student, in W. Elofson and J. Feldberg, (eds.), *The Sarcee Elders* (Calgary, 1990), 7.
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁶ DIA Annual Report, A1926, Scott, 17.
- ¹¹⁷ NAC, RG 10, v. 150-40A, pt. 1, Indian Day School Regulations For The Guidance of Inspectors, Indians Agents and Teachers, 10 November 1921.
- ¹¹⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 6338, f. 701-5, pt. 2, Voucher, 31 December 1923.
- ¹¹⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 6001, f. 1-1-1, pt. 1, Estimates to provide a further amount for Indian Education. Superintendent General, 1921-1922.
- ¹²⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 7184, f. 1/25-1-5-7, pt. 1, McLean, Secretary DIA to Westgate, 6 March 1923.
- ¹²¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 6001, f. 1-1-1, pt. 2, Extract from House of Commons Debates, 23 April 1923, 2226.
- ¹²² UBA, CMS, Letter #16, Tims to Rev. F. Baylis, Secretary, CMS, 20 August 1920.
- ¹²³ NAC, RG 10, v. 6001, f. 1-1-1, pt. 2, Corresponding Secretary, Alberta Provincial Woman's Christian Temperance Union to Minister of DIA, 19 February 1926.
- ¹²⁴ UCA, ADC, Box 67, f. 21.1, Tims, "Report on Indian Work," *Report of 19th Synod*, Anglican Diocese of Calgary 1922, 69.
- ¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 30, Hilda Manyhorses to Miss Tims, 30 September 1926.
- ¹²⁶ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mrs. Hilda Big Crow (nee Manyhorses), 26 June 1995.
- ¹²⁷ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mrs. Violet Crowchild (nee Otter), 30 June 1995.
- ¹²⁸ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elders, Mr. George Runner and Mrs. Rose Runner, 20 May 1995.
- ¹²⁹ UCA, ADC, Box 67, f. 21.1, Louisa Dodginghorse to Miss Tims, 13 September 1925.
- ¹³⁰ UCA, ADC, Box 41, f. 6, Register of Services, St. Barnabas Church, entry for June 18, 1922.
- ¹³¹ GA, M1234, f. 15, Tims to Rt. Rev. Bishop of Calgary, 25 January 1923.
- ¹³² *Ibid.*, Tims to Rt. Rev. Bishop of Calgary, 25 January 1923.
- ¹³³ Jenness, *The Sarcee Indians*, 10.
- ¹³⁴ UCA, ADC, Box 67, f. 21.1, Tims, Report on Indian Missions, *Report of 20th Synod*, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, 1924, 56.
- ¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 57.
- ¹³⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 56.
- ¹³⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹³⁹ UCA, ADC, Box 67, f. 21.1, J. W. Tims, "Report on Indian Work," *Report of 27th Synod 1927*, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, 9/10, November, 1927, 52.
- ¹⁴⁰ GA, M1234, f. 43, Tims, "History and Present Status of The Work Among The Native Races in Rupert's Land, October 1920."
- ¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 69.

¹⁴³ UCA, ADC, Box 67, f. 21.1, Tims, "Report on Indian Missions," *Report of 20th Synod*, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, n. d. 1924, 56

CHAPTER ELEVEN:
REBUILDING THE RESERVE COMMUNITY 1921-1930

Introduction – Re-defining The Reserve as “Medical Space”

The organization of the Tsuu T'ina Reserve was changed drastically during tenure of Dr. Thomas Murray. The Reserve was re-defined by State officials as a “medical space.” The Sarcee Hospital, which now dominated the reserve landscape provided the setting in which new rules, regulations and forms of measurement were implemented in the name of social reform. The medicalization of Indian Reserves in Canada, particularly in the Canadian West, was, in its essence, synonymous with the process of secularization in these communities. Murray's appointment was therefore very much in keeping with the ideological context of the time. His presence represented the advent of scientific medicine in the Tsuu T'ina community.

There was also increasing public awareness of health conditions on Indian Reserve in Canada. Dr. Peter Bryce, who had first drawn attention to the crisis of health care in reserves, published his, *The Story of A National Crime Being A Record of the Health Conditions of the Indians of Canada from 1904 to 1921* in 1922.¹ Bryce maintained that the Federal Government had deliberately blocked the release of information based on Bryce's report of 1908 and 1909 and actually attempted to hinder the treatment of active cases of tuberculosis. The publication of Bryce's book fuelled a growing reform movement among health care officials who worked on Indian Reserves in Canada.

The Indian Department created a separate Medical Branch appointing Dr. E. L. Stone as medical officer in 1928. There were also new regulations regarding the control of disease. In the summers of 1926 and 1927 a committee of researchers under the auspices of the Canadian Tuberculosis Association carried out a survey of TB among the Indians of

British Columbia. Scott noted, based on the B. C. findings, that tuberculosis was about five times more common among Indians than among the general population. He cited its recent introduction, low resistance, poor food and living conditions and ignorance of the disease as the main factors leading to its spread among native people. Tuberculosis was defined as the “great foe of Indians” that could be overcome through “modern, scientific methods of prevention and cure.”² The solution therefore in Scott’s view “depended as much on the improvement of economic conditions as on medical attendance and public health instructor.”³

The Practice of Scientific Medicine in The Tsuu T’ina Community

Dr. Thomas Murray, in his capacity as physician to the Tsuu T’ina, initiated a campaign of cleaning up the houses with one day a week throughout the year reserved for scrubbing and cleaning. He personally inspected the houses each month. Prizes were occasionally given to women for the cleanest houses on the reserve. Fences were constructed and the surrounding grounds cleaned up. Scott agreed to have the houses relined and rebordered. Clothing was ordered for the students in the schools. Scott informed Commissioner Graham the plan was that the Sarcee Boarding School should remain a hospital as well as a “house of refuge for the old Indians.”⁴

The former cyclical pattern of poor food and poor rations interspersed with the collection and sale of wood was discontinued. Murray encouraged families to maintain a dairy cow to ensure a ready supply of milk for children. Two Tsuu T’ina families were supplied with milk directly from the hospital in 1923 because one family head was blind and another in the advanced stage of pulmonary tuberculosis.⁵ Most families, however, did keep cows (Appendix 4.1). This practice meant that Tsuu T’ina families now maintained cows for non-economic reason. Garden plots also were kept with most families at least raising

potatoes to supplement their diets.

The Sarcee Hospital maintained its own stock and raised its own vegetables. All diseases by 1926 were treated in the Sarcee Hospital. Confinement cases among younger women in the community were also treated in the hospital. Murray informed Scott that women were glad to have this convenience and the greatest boon was to their newborn infants who would begin life “amidst sanitary conditions.”⁶ By 1926, he reported that every family with children had a regular supply of milk and that most of them had their own milk cows or obtained milk from neighbouring farmers. He informed Scott, “the value of milk as the proper food for their children had been so constantly impressed on the Indians that they have now begun to realize the fact of its efficacy.”⁷

The newly appointed nurse was given her own horse and buggy and she made frequent visits to all families and attended all confinement cases. The nurse’s role changed in the Tsuu T’ina community with the improvements in the health of the reserve population. Murray noted that it was now mostly of a preventative nature. The nurse also gave prenatal instruction to pregnant women particularly with regard to diet. The nurse insured that babies and children were properly cared for and rendered aid and instruction to the mothers in the care and feeding of their children.

To reduce infant mortality, mothers and newborn children were attended to for a period of ten days. Infants were supplied with clothing made from cast-off surgical shirts for which there was no other use. New mothers were instructed in the care and handling of babies and were monitored to ensure that instructions were followed. The provision of health care for children and adults extended beyond the hospital. Murray instituted care under a medical specialist to alleviate defective vision and blindness and the removal of tonsils and adenoids to prevent infection.

Murray prepared a special report on the hospital for Scott in 1923 summarizing the results of his work on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve. Murray noted that three cases of active pulmonary tuberculosis had been treated and the disease successfully arrested among the school children. Two cases had been treated on the reserve. One person was entirely recovered while the other was slowly approaching the final stages. Murray commented that everything was being done for this man and that precautions were being taken to safeguard the other members of his family and of the Band.

Murray was successful in treating scrofula or tuberculosis of the cervical glands. He informed Scott that there were only two cases of glandular involvement among the children whereas two years previously every child in the school had running sores and glandular trouble. The procedure he used was to open the glands and to curette or scrape and clean them repeatedly.⁸ Murray kept a vigilant lookout for any signs of the disease and anyone who was suspect was watched closely. By June of 1923, Murray could inform Scott that pulmonary tuberculosis had been arrested successfully among the school children and that they had been brought up to par physically.

Patients from other reserves were also brought to the Sarcee hospital for treatment. Murray also treated individuals from the Stoney, Peigan, Saddle Lake, Blackfoot, Blood and Hobbema.⁹ Hospital-based care was extended to all those in the Tsuu T'ina community. Under Murray's direction, the hospital building was completely cleaned, painted and kalsomined. A two storey modern verandah was added as sleeping accommodation for the 30 children in the school. The verandah was in constant use since its erection and Murray informed Scott that he felt that "it had added fifty per cent to the present-healthy conditions of the children."¹⁰

The improvement of conditions generally were well received by the Tsuu T'ina people. Dr. Murray, remembered today as “the man who saved the Sarcee People,” was well respected in the Tsuu T'ina community. Elders recalled that “[e]verything changed.” We were still farming then. It was good.”¹¹ For others, it was the era in which “the government took the control away from the Church,” in order “to improve the health and “[be]cause the children were not looked after.”¹²

Rebuilding The Reserve Economy 1924-1930

Re-building of the Reserve economy was an integral part of the medicalization of the Tsuu T'ina and of community recovery. The process of regulation and control of Tsuu T'ina health extended into all spheres of life and activity. Efforts to raise the standards of health on the reserve were inseparable from other areas of activity. Sanitary conditions in the homes on the reserve were improved. Murray also encouraged families to maintain gardens to supplement their diet of beef and bannock. He informed Scott that most of the families had put in vegetable gardens varying in size from a few square feet to an acre and a half.¹³ Murray's actions restored a sense of community pride. He noted, “[t]he Indians are gradually showing more appreciation for their Reserve and have demonstrated this by repairing and keeping in repair the Reserve fences, gates and roads and also those of their own private property.¹⁴” Repair work formerly paid for now was done voluntarily by community members.

During the season of 1922 to 1923, the Tsuu T'ina put up a sufficient quantity of hay to winter their stock. Under the instructions of the farm instructor, the calves were weaned at the proper time and looked after during the winter months so that not a single calf was lost. These measures resulted in a slight increase in the size of the Band herd. Murray could report by 1923 that “the standards of health, cleanliness and sanitation have been raised.” All

the buildings, fences and roads were in better shape. Murray also maintained that “the health of the rising generation has been safeguarded and should result in a healthy and hardy future for those now under the Department’s care.”¹⁵

The reserve economy stabilized after 1924 with the decreasing threat to community survival and improved overall conditions. The hay camps at the end of the summer continued to be places in which learning took place and where all families lived apart from the agency and mission. The hay harvest was organized either within large family units or with two or more families pooling resources of labour, horses and equipment.¹⁶ In 1923, the families of George Big Plume, James Starlight, John One Spot, and Alec Bull supplied their own hay. Pat Grasshopper, Peter Many Wounds and Two Guns teamed together as did Poor Eagle and Wolf. Jack Waters, well-known as a chuckwagon driver, teamed with Dick Starlight while David One Spot worked with his son, Edward. Oscar Otter and George Runner worked together.

The organization of the hay harvest resulted in the temporary reassignment of decision-making authority. Chief Joe Big Plume, for example, worked under James Simeon during the hay harvest in 1923. While a report in the *Calgary Herald* noted that this was only a “temporary arrangement,” it was clear that the underlying flexible nature of the Tsuu T’ina kinship system accommodated such arrangements. Women also worked alongside the men assisting in the harvest, driving the tractors and assisting in the preparation of meals. The actual constitution of the Tsuu T’ina labour force was dictated by a number of factors. The health of the individual was of primary concern and sick individuals were not required or allowed to work with Murray in charge. Edward Curtis, the photographer, noted that when he visited the Tsuu T’ina Reserve in the summer of 1922, there were nine workers all over the age of sixty who were actively stacking wheat for 45 cents per acre.¹⁷

The practice of leasing large tracts of reserve land continued to be the mainstay of the reserve economy. The entire area of township 23 or roughly 18,040 acres except surrendered portions lying west and east of the Elbow River totalling 18,040 acres was leased to rancher Clem Gardener for five years starting in 1920 (Figure 12).¹⁸ The annual rental was \$3600. Gardner maintained 2500 head of stock on the reserve. Therefore a total of approximately two-thirds of the reserve was under lease by this time.¹⁹ Two successive dry seasons had resulted in a shortage of hay. The Indian Agent said that the end of the lease would solve the hay problem. Indian labourers were hired to repair and maintain the roads on the reserve. Government officials felt that this work should be done without pay but repairs to bridge and roads on the reserve came from the funds of the band.

Oil and gas exploration which had commenced on March 7, 1906 with an agreement with the Calgary Natural Gas Company for prospecting rights for a period of two years, continued throughout the 1920s. The policy of the Indian Department was to grant exclusive rights to one individual. S. W. Dingman of Calgary, for example, was granted exclusive exploration rights to the Tsuu T'ina Reserve for a period of one year in 1926. Tsuu T'ina individuals largely were excluded from decision-making in the reserve economy and were often unaware of land transactions. This changed in 1929 when the Tsuu T'ina began making inquiries about the oil and petroleum rights and leases on the reserve and about the fees that had been levied. But the record keeping by Indian Department officials had been poor and cancelled leases were often not recorded.

The Tsuu T'ina continued to maintain a large herd of what the Indian Commissioner termed "worthless ponies." Several individuals owned as many as several hundred head each and Running Antelope, an aged warrior, was said to own 900 horses. Sixty of the ponies were sold to the Russian Government in 1926 for about \$18 a head but the Indian

Commissioner lamented that it should have been 260 animals.²⁰ The disappearance of Indian ponies, the traditional symbol of Tsuu T'ina wealth and prestige, was felt to be measure of progress by the Department.

Rebuilding the reserve economy involved restoring a sense of purpose to economic pursuits in the Tsuu T'ina community. Murray could tentatively suggest that by 1926 there was more interest taken in farming. Particular emphasis was placed on the breaking of new land and proper fallowing methods. Patterns of land use, however, actually changed very little with only 772 acres of roughly 1 percent of reserve land under cultivation (Appendix 1.5). Individual holdings were increased and Murray encouraged more reliance on individual effort. His view was that "kindly firm instructions and supervision in health and industrial matters" resulted in an improvement in both.²¹ Good health, in other words, went hand in hand with economic improvement.

The pressure to sell reserve lands continued throughout the 1920s. Attention was focused on the north half of Township 42 of the reserve. The rationale for the sale was that the proceeds could be used to purchase rations each year with a small disbursement paid directly to each band members. Indian Agent Gordon had found no difficulty with replacing the seven houses and stables located on this property or with breaking new land to make up for the 120 acres of cultivated land in this area.²²

The Department of Militia and Defence continued to stage rifle and drill practices on the leased land and proposed in 1921 to purchase the reserve lands that were used for this purpose.²³ The lease of the area surrendered in 1913 as a training camp was extended to ten years in 1921. The annual rent throughout this period was \$2,000 for what was then determined to be 1055.51 acres of reserve land. The debt of Indians on the Blood, Peigan and Sarcee Reserves amounted to \$1000. This was considered to be very little money by the

Indian Commissioner.²⁴ The surrender of reserve land therefore could not be justified on the basis of accrued debt by the Tsuu T'ina band.

In 1922, the Department of Militia and Defence petitioned the Department of Indian Affairs for an additional area consisting of approximately 11,050 acres to the South and West of the Elbow River. The second area was to be leased at a rate of five cents an acre and used as a proposed site "for Artillery targets and Danger Areas."²⁵ The area was bounded on the north and northeast by the Northern Boundary of the reserve and the Elbow River; to the south and southwest by the Priddis and Grasshopper Trails and the southern Boundaries of Sections 25 to 30 of Township 23 to the west of Ironshirt and Lott's Creek (Figure 12).²⁶

The proposal was received favourably by the Indian Department. Murray, however, expressed his concern that Indian engaged in haying and harvesting at various times of the year should be protected from stray fire. Murray suggested to Scott that the westerly boundaries be extended through the center of subdivisions 27, 28, 9 and 45 and from there to a point on the northern boundary of subdivisions 4 of section H (Figure 12). There was disagreement over whether to lease the land for military purposes or for 100 acres of hay production and cattle leasing. The Indian Department advanced the Tsuu T'ina a sum of \$552.50 being the first year's rental in advance on the basis of five cents an acre.²⁷

The second lease to the DMD started the long process of destruction and contamination of Tsuu T'ina Reserve land. This agreement represented a new definition of shared land use in which an area of the reserve was to be used on a part-time basis during the year while hay was harvested from the area in the fall. The land was used for four months each year between June and September. The area included about 100 acres of hay land for which the Tsuu T'ina were compensated. The area was guarded by mounted patrols

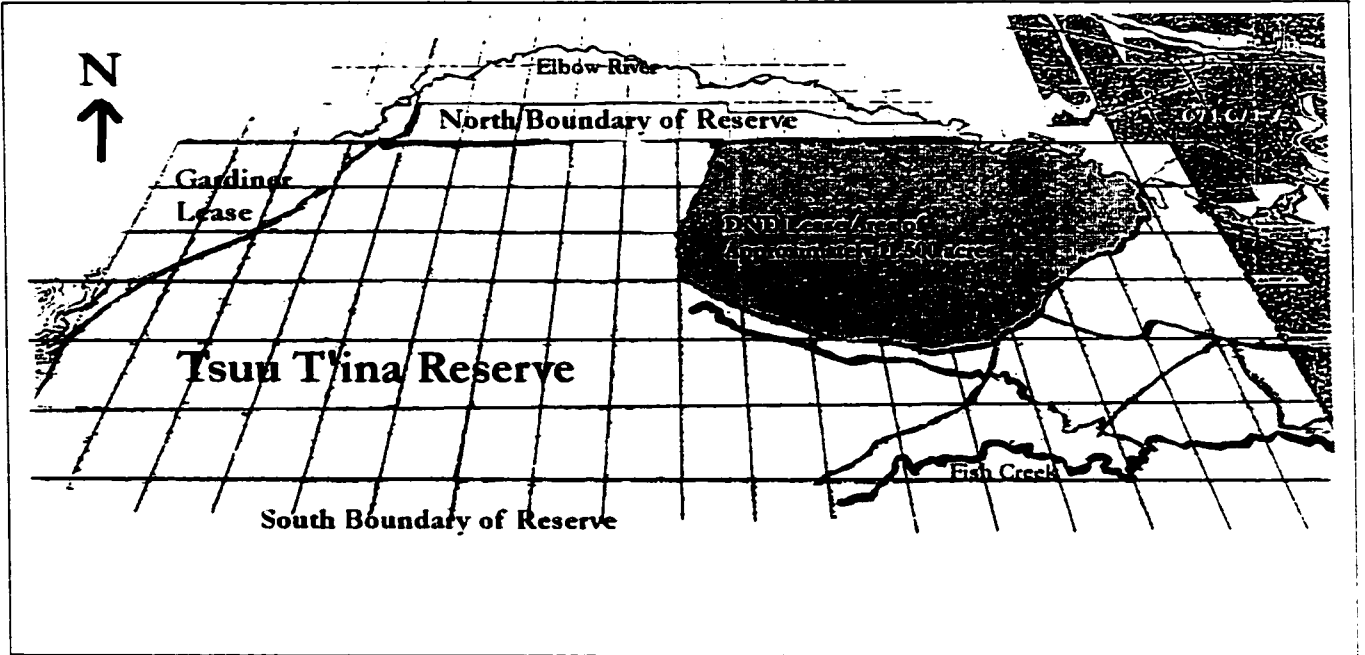


Figure 12: Gardiner Lease and DND Lease of Tsuu T'ina Reserve Lands

when firing was in progress. Roughly 100 acres on the westerly portion of the new leasehold were used for growing hay. The first agreement, signed in May of 1924, described the new lease as consisting of 9300 acres but the actual area was closer to 11050 acres.²⁸

Like other capital projects, the DMD leases provided seasonal employment. Tsuu T'ina labourers were employed in the ploughing, brush cutting and teamster work required to clear the land. The new lease area was to be fenced under the terms of the agreement and Tsuu T'ina labourers were hired to complete the work.²⁹ The nature of the work favoured those with teams of horses. The work crew included 4 labourers for 3 days at \$3.50 per day, 2 men with teams for 3 days at \$5.50 each per day and 1 foreman for 3 days at the rate of \$4.50 per day.³⁰ In 1929, the Department of National Defence burned approximately 200 acres of willow brush on the artillery lease and employed Tsuu T'ina labourers for brush cutting and all teamster work.³¹

Earnings of the Tsuu T'ina Agency remained the same between 1915 and 1930 with total earnings of approximately \$20,000 per annum (Appendix 5.1). The reported "earnings," however, continued to include the total amounts paid by the Indian Department for the salaries and operating costs of the agency, the additional medical costs of running the Sarcee hospital, supplies for the destitute as well as for agricultural equipment and supplies. By 1925, the cost of running the Sarcee Hospital was \$13,426.³⁴ with the agency costs including salaries and rations totalling \$7099.91.³² Wages of agency and hospital personnel were included in the total earned and therefore inflated the figure to approximately \$5764 in 1924 to 1925. A total of only \$420 was paid to a single Tsuu T'ina labourer. This was paid to George Crane, who acted as labourer and interpreter for the Agency for nine months in the same period.³³ His wages was roughly equivalent to that of the Agency Clerk who was paid \$200 per annum for part-time work.³⁴

The major source of earnings by Tsuu T'ina individuals was from the sale of hay to the agency but the total per capita income was very small. The actual "earnings" of the Tsuu T'ina Agency for 1924 to 1925 and from 1929 to 1930 came mainly from land leases for grazing, military and oil and gas exploration. In 1924 to 1925, earnings for the Agency were \$3974.72 of which \$3442.50 or 90 percent came from land leases.³⁵ Earnings from outside of the agency came from grazing leases and the two Department of National Defence leases which contributed a total of \$2552.50 per annum to the Interest Account of the Tsuu T'ina Band between 1924 and 1925 (Appendix 5.4).³⁶ A pound was built on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve in 1923 to gather stray cattle. Settlers and owners were charged with illegal grazing and charged a fee each year.³⁷ This practice added \$286.53 to the earnings in 1929-1930. In 1929-1930, a total of \$6019.25 was collected for leases, which made up virtually all of the total earnings of \$9695.35 within the Agency.³⁸

There were continuing opportunities for employment at the Sarcee Indian Agency but the work was temporary and the salaries well below that of non-native employees. The Agency retained two labourers, Peter Manywounds and Charlie Crowchief, who were paid at the rate of \$540 per annum for supplying the agency and hospital throughout the 1920s. Prior to the establishment of the hospital Tsuu T'ina women were hired to do washing, scrubbing and cleaning in the mission and school. They earned \$1 to \$1.50 per day for their work. Women such as Mrs. Maggie Big Belly, Mrs. Medicine Gun and Mrs. Sarah Crowchild performed this work for four days each month in the early 1920s but their work was discontinued after the appointment of Murray.³⁹

The Business of Running The Tsuu T'ina Reserve

Regular inspections of the hospital and Agency were conducted following Murray's appointment. Reports were highly favourable of the changes that had been implemented. In

1924, Graham reported to Scott:

“[y]ou would not know it was the same children that we had in this institution three years ago. There is a complete change. The building is well kept and there is an efficient staff. Matters on the reserve are in good shape. I would however like to see another fifty head of breeding cows at this Agency. We have pasture and it seems to me we should be raising the cattle. The system of managing the reserve is entirely different to what it was before Dr. Murray took it over. It is now carried on in a business way.”⁴⁰

A second report completed by Dr. Corbett in July of 1922 found a “gratifying change for the better.”⁴¹ The children all appeared well fed, cared for and happy. The two remaining cases of open sores were treated and operated on. Murray had ensured that milk was supplied each day and Corbett reported that 28 gallons were used in the school each day. He found the houses and tents much improved in cleanliness and sanitation and informed Scott that he felt confident the reserve could be reclaimed from “what seemed to be impending disaster.”⁴² Graham, the Indian Commissioner seemed equally impressed by the changes which had been put into effect. He informed Scott that the system of managing the reserve was entirely different and that it was now carried on in a “business way.”⁴³

Continuing Mortality in The Tsuu T’ina Community

The overall improvement in sanitary conditions and the constant medical supervision provided by Murray lowered the mortality from pulmonary tuberculosis. In 1926, however, he reported that the disease was still persistent and a constant menace.⁴⁴ It was necessary therefore to be vigilant, to isolate active cases and to treat this form of disease in its incipiency. The school children were examined at regular intervals and any sign of tubercular involvement received immediate treatment. Murray noted that glandular involvement had decreased, as had other diseases, with the improved diet of milk, butter and eggs.

Infant and child mortality dropped significantly during the first few years of Murray’s office but deaths continued to outstrip births. This was due, in part, to the aging population. In 1924 and 1925, there were six births and 1 death recorded.⁴⁵ In April of 1926, Murray

informed John McLean that the mortality on the reserve was “among the aged widows of whom we still have a considerable number.”⁴⁶ Murray calculated that the infant mortality was at the rate of one to six or 16.6 percent. This was roughly twice the infant mortality for Canada, which was 8.8 percent per year.⁴⁷

Murray informed Stone that between April 1927 and March 1929 there had been 6 boys born and 4 girls (Table 19).⁴⁸ There were nine deaths including a young girl age 3 who

Table 19: Sarcee Agency Births and Deaths 1921-1930

Year	Population	Births	Deaths
1921	159	4	9
1922	153	5	5
1923	153	5	5
1924	157	7	6
1925	157	7	5
1926	156	5	6
1927	146	5	15
1928	144	5	7

had died of tubercular meningitis and a 20 year old man who had been the victim of pulmonary tuberculosis. An aged man had died of a cerebral haemorrhage at aged 91, and three others, between the ages of 36 and 62, had died as a result of liver disease, of septicaemia after refusing treatment and of freezing to death on the open prairie. One band member had died at age 14 of tubercular meningitis at the Ermineskin Boarding School at Hobbema, another of senile dementia at the Provincial Insane Asylum in Ponoka Alberta at age 84 and one young woman, who had been living on the Blackfoot Reserve and had only come back to the reserve a few days prior to her confinement, at age 20 of eclampsia.⁴⁹

Scott noted that the infant mortality rate was roughly twice the rate of the national average.⁵⁰ He promoted the idea of baby clinics in which prizes, paid out of band funds, were given for babies in three month intervals with one grand prize for the best baby from

all age groups. Scott took an intense interest in the baby clinics and sent his personal congratulations in 1926 when a \$5 prize was given to George Crane Junior as the best baby for the month of August.

The population of the Tsuu T'ina continued to decline between 1920 and 1930 regardless of the measures put into effect. This was due, in part, to the fact that there were many old people on the reserve but the mortality of infants and children kept pace with losses of adults. There was net decrease of 15 individuals during this period. Murray reported the number of births and deaths to the Indian Department in 1929 (Appendix 1.1). He informed the Indian Department that of the total who died, 30 were adults and 26 were children under the age of 7. The average birth rate was 32 per 1000 and the average death rate 53.7 per 1000.⁵¹

Stone reviewed Murray's findings. He noted, "though there was evidence of real progress ... there were a lot of old people who are dying off but the deaths among children during the past two years have been much below the average for the time you have been there."⁵² It was clear, however, that the overall decline in the Tsuu T'ina population continued with the crude death rate more than double the crude birth rate between 1920 and 1930 (Appendix 1.5). The cumulative effect of the rapid population decline of over two decades was a dramatic change in the percentages represented by each age group in the Tsuu T'ina population. McIntyre, in *Sarcee Demography*, suggests that by 1925, the Tsuu T'ina could be classified as an aging population with the mean age of 30.5 compared with an estimated mean age of 18.8 in 1880.⁵³

While the early population characteristics of the Tsuu T'ina are uncertain, it is clear that there were distinctive changes in the overall population profile. The rapid decline among the students in the boarding school is primarily reflected in the percentage of individuals (27

percent) who were between the ages of 21 and 65 which was roughly 1/3 of the percentage in 1900. Individuals over the age of 65 now constituted 23 percent of the total population instead of 6 percent as it had in 1900 (Appendix 1. 3). While it would take several generations to change, this aging population together with a declining birthrate resulted in a polarity between young and old in the Tsuu T'ina population with fewer individuals in the middle age range.

The structure and nature of family life also had drastically changed by 1925. With the diminution of individuals who would have married and produced offspring, the number of couples who had children were in the minority. By 1925 only 27 of 62 "families" defined on the treaty rolls had children with the average number of children per family of 2.2. The largest family included five children. There were five families in which either the wife or the husband had died.⁵⁴ One half of all the parents had been schooled in the boarding school system by this time. The cultural composition of the reserve population was diverse. During his ethnographic research in the community in 1921, Jenness stated that the Sarcees were decreasing by 7 percent or 8 percent per year [and that] "[m]any of those on the reserve are Crees who understand very little Sarcee and there are several Blackfoot."⁵⁵

Symbols of Community Identity - The House of Jim Starlight Senior 1929

The settlement on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve by 1919 reveals clusters of houses arranged in lines adjacent to the small tracts of land which were farmed (Figure 13). These settlements were widely dispersed throughout the reserve and no longer corresponded in any way to the band structure that characterized Tsuu T'ina society at the turn of the century. Work now defined the settlement pattern on the reserve. The traditional band structure of Tsuu T'ina society was undermined through the introduction of new forms of socialization and schooling, different settlement patterns, monetarization and the decimation of the Tsuu

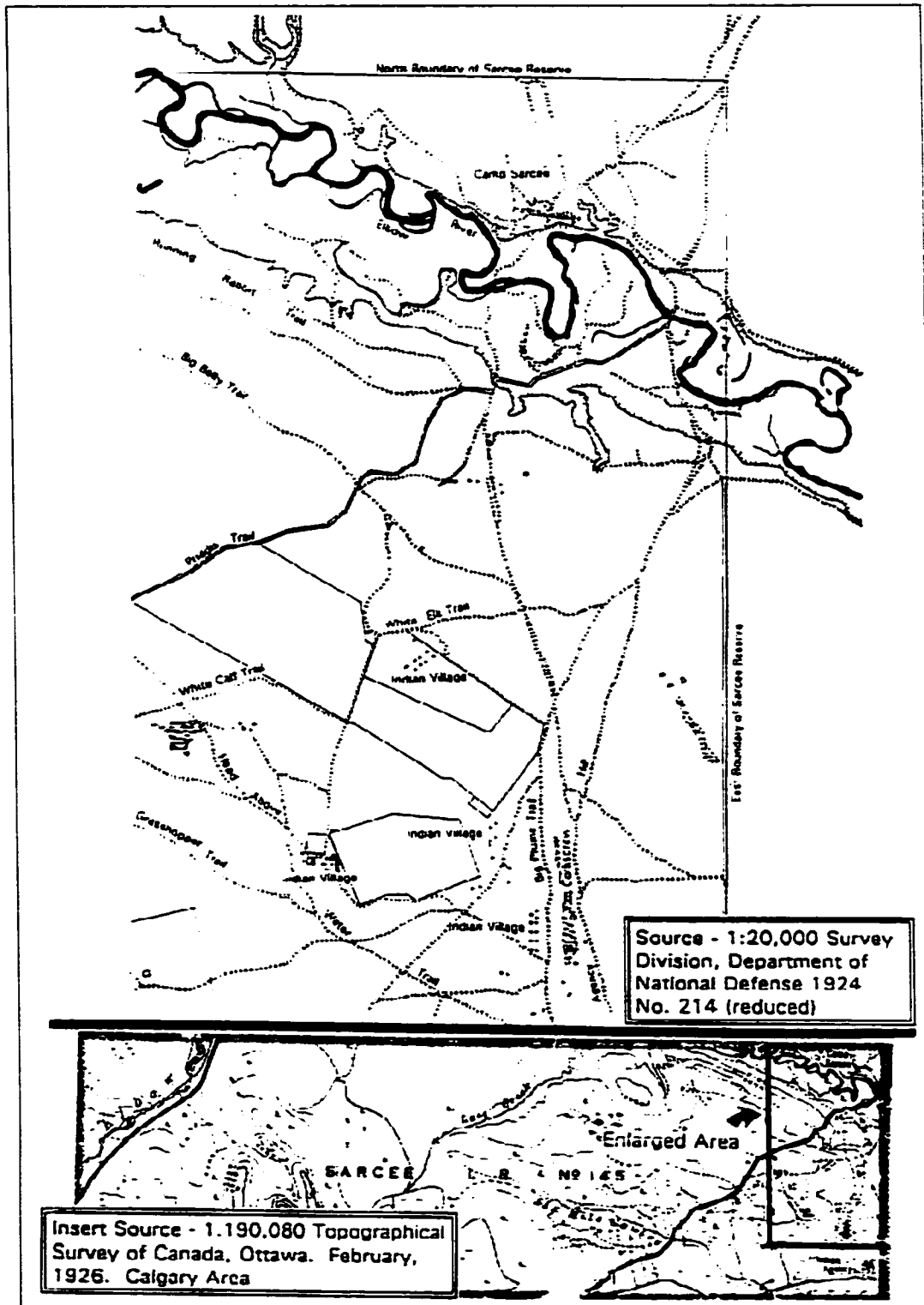


Figure 13: Tsuu T'ina Settlement Patterns 1924-1926

T'ina population by disease and malnutrition.

The dispersal of the Tsuu T'ina from the Old Agency had begun much earlier. In 1921, the anthropologist Diamond Jenness was staying at John Whitney's located six miles west of the Agency near the Cow Camp. The newly-built Catholic Church was located nearby. Jenness complained that he had to travel sixteen miles to and from a camp on horseback to purchase artefacts for the National Museum in Ottawa.⁵⁶ The main camp of Tsuu T'ina were located at a distance of ten miles from the Cow Camp.

By 1929, Scott reported that “[v]ery satisfactory reports are being received from the Sarcee Reserve, where the appointment of a business-like doctor as Indian Agent in 1921 has given splendid results.”⁵⁷ A photograph of the house of James Starlight Senior was sent to Scott in 1929 as a model of the improvements Murray had made (Plate 32).⁵⁸ The house, as the definitive symbol of the Tsuu T'ina community at the time, represents an extension of the ideals of western medicine in which the house as hospital and as place of disease control mirrors the transformation of the school and the Tsuu T'ina community.

While the medical model of community clearly prevailed, there were inner realities and meanings that the photograph had which were not of interest to government officials. The house, its contents and its occupants all reflect the cultural duality of the period. While the house conforms to the norms of the medicalization model that was imposed on the Tsuu T'ina community, it also reflects in its furnishings, the clothing of its occupants and other subtleties that it is an Indian household. The photograph shows James Starlight smoking a pipe in his chair while his wife, Annie Onespot sits close by. Daughter Ruby sews and son James Starlight Junior plays on the floor. The house is scrupulously clean with a decorated carpet covering the entire floor. A large corner cupboard holds crockery and ornaments. There are photographs on the wall taken by Murray and others. The



Plate 32: The House of James Starlight Senior, 1929 (NAC #C 142839)



Plate 33: From left to right: James Starlight Sr. and wife, Annie Onespot with children Ruby (left), Violet, James Jr., Reggie (back center), 1910 (GA #NA 159-2)

photographs document economic activity and Indian rodeo days on the reserve.

The Starlight home was described in the local press in 1929. For individuals such as James Starlight, making a living meant being involved in a variety of activities throughout the year. Firewood and posts could be sold. Individuals could collect a total of \$24 from the sale of trees at Christmas time in the city of Calgary. Several individuals owned good-sized farms but still relied on the loan of ploughs, discs, harrow and seeders. The farm of Oscar Otter was ten miles off one of the main trails on the reserve. His young son, Alfred was feeding the chickens. The four-roomed house was described as “spotlessly clean and comfortably furnished the walls hung with beautiful beadwork.”

James Starlight was a successful farmer in the reserve community. He raised a crop of 1100 bushels of wheat and 1250 bushels of oats in the growing season of 1928.⁵⁹ The Starlight house was described in a newspaper article in 1929 by Winnifred Tims: “Comfortable rugs on the floors, fine sideboard, cabinet filled with dainty china tea cups and other dishes, upholstered settee and armchairs, framed pictures on the walls, a sewing machine, all those, compared with the log shack of thirty years ago with mud roof and floor and not even a window are evidence of an almost incredible advance.”⁶⁰

James Starlight owned the largest farm of the 20 to 30 member work force among the Tsuu T'ina. His land in 192 included 30 acres of wheat, 40 acres of oats and 75 acres left to summer fallow. He alone employed a white labourer, Montana Joe, to help him and only son James Starlight Jr. assisted his father in the fields. Older men farmed only a few acres. Younger men were given land on a trial basis then larger holdings if they proved to be adept at farming methods.

Individuals such as Oscar Otter, Alec Bull, George Big Plume, Dick Night and John One Spot farmed between 60 and 100 acres of land. John One Spot was the only one to raise dairy cattle for selling milk in Calgary and he maintained the largest herd of cattle at 80 head. Mrs. Dick Starlight, whose husband was blind, farmed 40 acres on her own and sold firewood and hay at other times of the year to supplement the family income. Dr. Murray as Indian Agent maintained all records of animal and crop sales and controlled all monies that passed through the Agency from individual sales.

The Starlight house, like the tipi, represents a product of human design and decision-making in which everything was encoded to represent a specific set of social relations, social hierarchy and cultural beliefs.⁶¹ The house fundamentally represented the ideals of the Social Purity Movement and by extension the forms of moral reform that supplanted earlier ideals of evangelical-inspired Christian morality. The house existed at the interface of internal constructions of community, the collective experiences of the “past” and the recent imposition of a totalizing medical set of cultural understandings and methods.⁶²

While the creation of an dominant institutional medical culture was introduced into the community, it was clear that both traditional and new methods coexisted and were adopted in the treatment of tuberculosis. The underlying collective experiences and memories of past epidemics of smallpox and other diseases shaped Tsuu T’ina decision-making regarding health. The hospital as the authoritative source of medical knowledge represented the ascendancy of science as the basis of management of the Tsuu T’ina community but not of an underlying unifying community ideology accepted by the Tsuu T’ina. It also represented the acceptance of government responsibility for public health and the intrinsic link between the occurrence of tuberculosis and poverty in the minds of reformers.⁶³ Tuberculosis was, as Osler observed, “pre-eminently a social disease with a

medical aspect.”⁶⁴

The establishment of a hospital in the Tsuu T'ina community and the segregation and monitoring of the “sick” represented a set of choices surrounding the requirements of health care in native community. The choices, made by agents of the State, had their origins in the secularizing trends in Western society at the time that facilitated the development of scientific medicine. As much as the hospital was an extension of the beliefs of the wider system, there was still a set of private practices available that pertained to the moral therapy of individuals in the community according to an underlying set of traditional religious values and beliefs. In either case, there was no definitive cure nor were the precise mechanisms of transmission understood.

In the Tsuu T'ina language, tuberculosis was referred to as *di'ikus* meaning “he coughs.” This suggests that the recognition of the disease was along an entirely different spectrum than that of white society. Chronic pulmonary tuberculosis was the most common form of tuberculosis in the general population and was responsible for 90 percent mortality. The occurrence of tuberculosis also affected the Starlight family (Plate 33). Mrs. Annie Starlight died of tuberculosis in 1932. Several children in the family also died of tuberculosis. The cumulative effects of tuberculosis in a small community completely changed the population profile and composition with each successive generation. By 1929 when the photograph was taken an entirely new generation of adults had come to replace those of the previous decade.

The photographs on the walls of the Starlight house themselves reflect the changes that had occurred in the Tsuu T'ina community. The continuing existence of tipis at restricted venues of the Calgary Stampede or at Banff Indian Days moved the sense of the Tsuu T'ina past into the public domain of the exhibition in which the image presented had

to be understood and intelligible to outsiders. But the continuing nature of a private expression of “Indianness” that these events fostered and developed allowed for the preservation of traditional skills and knowledge.

From the first days of the Calgary Exhibition, the Tsuu T’ina had participated in public rituals and displays of Indian culture. Photographs of Tsuu Tina individuals taken in the decade prior to 1920 reveal the scourge of tuberculosis and the legacy of the immediate past of reserve life on the population. Even after the Tsuu T’ina hospital and new day school were created, students at the school continued to be prize-winning exhibitors at the Calgary Stampede for modelling, darning and needlework.⁶⁵ The individuals who raised their tipis at the Indian Village at the Calgary Stampede were from the most powerful families on the reserve. They reenacted a Tsuu T’ina past that was mythical but readily “readable” to stampede visitors. The construction of Tsuu T’ina history generated and was constitutive of a highly-codified community identity.⁶⁶

At the same time, the Calgary Exhibition became a central part of summer activity, there was an Indian version of the stampede held on the Tsuu T’ina reserve in the fall of 1921. During Murray’s early tenure on the reserve, he allowed the stampede to be held not realizing that it contravened official government policy. The Indian Act prohibited the participation of Indians in stampedes or pageants outside their own reserves or employment of Indians in these activities without the permission of the Indian Agent.

Scott maintained, “the attractions of stampedes, pageants, and annual fairs are powerful and the program of such celebration seemed opposed to the civilizing influences which are at work on the reserve.”⁶⁷ Such participation was felt to be an impediment to progress and was an indictable offence.⁶⁸ The holding of a giveaway dance in the spring of 1922 on the reserve resulted in the trial of Tsuu T’ina individuals who had given away

presents at the dance. But participation in fairs in which agricultural produce and livestock were exhibited was later encouraged.

Modernity and Its Meanings in The Tsuu T'ina Community

The development of secular displays of Indian identity were part of a complex of new practices which defined modernization in the Tsuu T'ina community. Modernization in the reserve community was only understandable with reference to the local factors, beliefs and values that influenced economic, religious, political and social change. The economy of the modern era of the reservation culture rested on the pattern of leasing large portions of the reserve lands. The monies from land leases and former sales was used to purchase rations for individuals on the reserve. For individual ranchers, it was possible to sell beef to the Indian Agent who in turn sold it back to the Indian Department to feed the destitute. These were the self-supporting among the working population. But self-support did not entail social advancement or social integration into white society.

The overarching power of the Indian Agent formed the basic economic unit around which production took place. Tsuu T'ina individuals, primarily men, were hired primarily as seasonal labourers. The "Agency" structure of hierarchical employment and the hiring of one or two Tsuu T'ina individuals on a full-time basis continued. The pattern of "outside management" of the native economy initiated in the 1880s was sustained throughout the 1920s and 1930s. The boarding school had been the prototype for this model. The forms of economic activities encouraged within the confines of the school conformed to the pattern and organization of work on the reserve. The new pattern of Tsuu T'ina settlement involved an element of choice but tended to favour small groups of extended families dispersed throughout the reserve. The main difference between the new configuration of settlement and that of the former band system was one of degree and not kind. The functional basis for

settlement, however, was radically changed. Extended family groups were now established on selected areas of land and tended to function as units of production.

The hospital replaced the factory as the overall organizational metaphor in the Tsuu T'ina reserve community after 1921. The system of medicine that was introduced existed in the wider social system and brought different personnel, facilities and equipment into Tsuu T'ina daily life. The values of the factory taught in the school and inculcated in the reserve community now were replaced by those of the clinic. The medicalization of the Tsuu T'ina separated and defined individuals as "patients" and created a separate "medical space" that extended out from the hospital into the Tsuu T'ina community. Tuberculosis formed a palpable "other presence" in Tsuu T'ina history from the 1890s on. In the 1890s a mortality rate of 200 per 100,00 was still common in certain parts of Europe. The same held true of Canadian cities in the 1880s.⁹ In the Indian communities of southern Alberta a mortality rate of 8000 per 100,000 was not uncommon by 1910.⁷⁰

With evolving settlement patterns, the process of secularization in the Tsuu T'ina community did not entail the displacement of religion from the center of everyday life but rather its removal as the central institution of political power. A hallmark of the modern reserve community was greater religious plurality in which evangelical Protestantism with its "civilizing" and "reforming" ideology conflicted with the Social Gospel and its emphasis on social regeneration. With the increasing health crisis, the latter eclipsed former concerns and regulation focused less on morality than on the measurement and control of disease and on improving the immediate social environment.

The Parish on the Tsuu T'ina reserve had its own logic and its own set of internal dynamics and contradictions. Christian messages of individual forgiveness and reconciliation existed tangentially to the obligatory system and the reciprocal structures of kinship, which

continued to form the basis of the subsistence reserve economy.⁷¹ It was inevitable then that the parish should lose its intensity as its meaning and purpose diminished. The legacy both bitter and sweet of Tims' tenure was that it left an alternative for community that was not necessarily opposed to native religious tradition and primarily existed in conflict with alternative Protestant denominations. There was also the underlying contradiction of the role of Tims, who as a spiritual leader, had been intolerant, rigid in his views and caused much suffering through his actions.

By 1920, the Tsuu T'ina community was characterized by religious plurality, not simply an indigenous Christianity, as Grant argues, or an opposition between traditional and new forms of religion.⁷² Some individual members of the community turned to alternate or multiple forms of religious belief and practice during times of extreme crisis. Native and Christian customs existed side by side at times divided according to age, the experience of individuals and the dynamics of political leadership which required participation in church functions. In 1921, Diamond Jenness noted that when all the younger Sarcee demanded church weddings, some of the older people still married after the manner of their forefathers with the man paying his bride's family one or two horses and other goods.⁷³

The mission generated new symbols of power and a new sense of community. While these forms of religious practice and customs had points of confluence, it is also possible to postulate that the dynamic tension between "old" and "new" religious practices was another dimension of modernization in reserve society. Therefore it was not a matter of cultural replacement or cultural synthesis, as Nock has argued.⁷⁴ New forms of worship and religious practice were either incorporated or not into an already existing pantheon which itself was in the process of transformation. In either case, the existence of "new" and "traditional" forms of religion offered the potential for social transformation or for the rediscovery of an

idealized Tsuu T'ina past as the basis for community identity.⁷⁵

Centralized religious authority was displaced in the Tsuu T'ina community by the secular power of the State with the appointment of Dr. Thomas Murray. The hierarchical control within the mission was displaced. Secularization in this context entailed a new ideology of scientifically-inspired social reform, the advent of scientific medicine and the emergence of new forms of private religion based on selected aspects of traditional religion, religious revitalization and Christianity. In 1921, Jenness recorded that the Ghost Dance religion was practised. This claim was substantiated by Edward Sapir who recorded the legend of its origin among the Tsuu T'ina in the following year.⁷⁶

Members of the St. Barnabas Parish and of the Roman Catholic Church on the reserve turned local forms of dependency and clientage to their own advantage and to suit their own needs. The status of converts was often played out in local politics. While the parish through the agency of the school could create a temporary religious community in terms of inclusion/exclusion, it did not completely control the lives of students beyond the mission context. The complex reasons for conversion were based on attempts by the Tsuu T'ina to make sense of their relationship with Christian missionaries and their own historical circumstances and less on the rejection of indigenous cultural values and beliefs. By 1920, there were new domains of both sacred and secular ritual. The sacred was defined primarily within the private culture of reserve life and the secular in public events and secular forms of ritual. The triadic relationship of power in the Tsuu T'ina community between the Head Chief, Indian Agent and Missionary provided the basis for a set of negotiated meanings regarding the domains of the sacred and the secular.

Individuals who belonged to Generation I and Generation II of school students selected from a variety of alternatives in the construction of community in the context of

ritual life. The continuing use of tipis at Indian Days and the Calgary Stampede were an example of the selective use some Tsuu T'ina made of their past. By the 1920s, there were still some 20 different tipi dwellings of which eight had disappeared by the 1930s. Brasser suggests, that in view of the disastrous impact of epidemic disease during the 19th century, it is not surprising that most of the Tsuu T'ina painted tipis were associated with curing powers.⁷⁷

The continuing use of Sacred Medicine Bundles preserved for some the curing and spiritual rituals of the past. Bundles and their ritual rights were not inherited but transferred to new owners in ritual enactments of the legendary event in which a spirit transferred its powers to the first human owner. The frequent transfer of medicine bundles was encouraged by the belief that owning such bundles added to a man's prestige and social position. Treated with respect and in accordance with specific rules and taboos, ownership of the medicine bundles and tipi paintings was believed to bring dreams in which the spirit bestowed additional powers upon the new owners. Brasser reports that the Tsuu T'ina began to restrict the use of painted tipis to close family members.⁷⁸

The development of an indigenized Christianity or Christianized indigenous beliefs in the Tsuu T'ina community was the result of the complex interaction religion and dimensions of local reserve power and politics. The process of conversion for Generation One and for Chief Bullhead's generation was at variance with leadership hierarchies in the Tsuu T'ina community. Chief Bullhead never converted to Christianity but was a deeply religious man. Chief Big Belly chose Roman Catholicism along with traditional customs and practices. It was the uniqueness of this dialogue that made up and characterized the diverse religious practices of the time. Christianity did not replace native religion in the Tsuu T'ina

community. It became one form of religious expression in a time of religious experimentation and community crisis.

Conclusions – Generations Two and Three

By 1929, the second generation of Tsuu T'ina boarding school and day school students were taking their roles as adults in the reserve community. For these individuals, who were witnesses to the ravages of tuberculosis, the inhumane conditions in the boarding school and the scourge of Spanish Influenza marked their emergence into a new world in which certain traditions of the past had faded or lost their usefulness. They were one generation removed from that of Chief Bullhead. Most of these students spoke and wrote, “reserve English.” They were entrenched in a new reserve culture that by 1929 had assumed the form of the modern era.

The second generation of students, in particular, carried the grief and the trauma of their early youth into their lives. Their children were schooled between 1925 and 1940 in the Sarcee Day School. Their experiences were dramatically different from those of their parents. There was a fundamental disconnection between the two generations as a result. The members of Generation Three left the school to start their adult lives during the Great Depression. The process of re-building the Tsuu T'ina community, initiated through the efforts of Dr. Thomas Murray, was assumed by this group of individuals. Ironically, recovery and growth within the Tsuu T'ina community took place during a time of extreme economic hardship.

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- ¹ P. H. Bryce, *The Story of a National Crime Being a Record of The Health Conditions of The Indians of Canada From 1904-1921* (Ottawa, 1922).
- ² DIA Annual Report, 1926, Scott, 10.
- ³ Canada. Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 31 March 1928, A1928, Scott, 8.
- ⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 7101, f. 772/3-1, pt. 1, Scott to Graham, 16 November 1921.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, Murray to Scott, Special Report Re The Indians of The Sarcee Reserve, 26 June 1923.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Chief David Crowchild, 8 October 1981. Quoted with permission of the Tsuu T'ina Culture Program.
- ¹² Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elders, Mr. George Runner and Mrs. Rose Runner, 5 April 1995.
- ¹³ NAC, RG 10, v. 7101, f. 772/3-1, pt. 1, Murray to Scott, Special Report Re The Indians of The Sarcee Reserve, 26 June 1923
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*,
- ¹⁶ *Calgary Herald* article (n. d.)
- ¹⁷ E. Curtis, "The Sarsi," in, E. Curtis, *The North American Indian*, v. 18 (New York, 1928), 93. The workers and their ages included Two Guns, 65, Star Child or His Tooth, 69, Runs in The Middle, 67, Otter, 71, Crow Collar, 74, and Old Sarsi, 98.
- ¹⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 7654, f. 20120-1, W. A. Orr, Officer in Charge Land and Timber to Acting Supt. Minister, 25 September 1921.
- ¹⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 7736, f. 23120, Gordon to McLean, 7 July 1920.
- ²⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 7943, Graham to Scott, 17 September 1926.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*
- ²² NAC, RG 10, v. 7543, f. 29120-1, pt. 2, Gordon to Secretary Dept. of Indian Affairs, 29 February 1920.
- ²³ INAC, f. 772/32-4-1-145-2, v. 1, E. Fiset, Major-General, Dept. DMD to Deputy Superintendent General, 5 November 1920. Also: *Ibid.*, Fiset to DSG, 26 January 1921.
- ²⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 8857, f. 772/18-10, Graham to Scott, 13 January 1923.
- ²⁵ INAC, f. 772-32-4-1-145-2, v. 1. Fiset to Deputy Superintendent General, DIA, 22 May 1922.
- ²⁶ See Figure 9, p. 289 of this dissertation
- ²⁷ INAC, f. 772/32-4-1-145-2, v. 2, Scott to Desbarats, 5 May 1924.
- ²⁸ INAC, f. 772/32-4-1-145-2, v. 3, McLean to Graham, 4 February 1924.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, Scott to Graham, 22 October 1923.
- ³⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 12647, Murray to Graham, 26 February 1924.
- ³¹ INAC, f. 772/32-4-1-145-2, v. 2, Murray to Secretary DOA, 21 October 1929.
- ³² Canada. House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, No. 1, Details of Expenditure and Revenue and Indian Trust Fund, Indian Affairs Department, Auditor General's Report 1924-1925, H-52 and H118.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, H-48.
- ³⁴ Other salaries in the agency included: Indian Agent \$2040 plus \$600 allowance, Farm instructor at \$1320 plus a \$600 allowance and the teacher who was paid \$800 per annum. See: Canada. Auditor General's Report 1929-1930, I-19.
- ³⁵ See: *Ibid.* The sources of income included: \$2552.50 for military leases, \$1001.50 for oil and gas leases, \$34 for beef, \$286.53 for pound fees, \$33.99 for interest, and \$66.20 for refunds from the Indian Department.

- ³⁶ Ibid., H-127. The Department of Militia and Defence became the Department of National Defence in 1922.
- ³⁷ "Sarcee Indians Intend To Keep Reserve Cleared," *Calgary Herald*, 10 August 1923.
- ³⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 5960, Trust Account Sarcee Band 1929-1930. Other earnings included: a balance of \$2553.25, interest for land leases \$128.13, seed for \$408.37, fees and fines \$82, and refunds of \$40.
- ³⁹ GA, M1356, f. 16, MSCC Indian and Eskimo Work Petty Cash Statement for the Month of April 1921, May, June 1921.
- ⁴⁰ NAC, RG 10, v. 7101, f. 772/3-1, pt. 1, Graham, to Scott, 3 April 1924.
- ⁴¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 4092, f. 546898, Corbett to Scott, 25 July 1922.
- ⁴² Ibid.
- ⁴³ NAC, RG 10, v. 6338, f. 701-1, pt. 13, Graham to Scott, 13 April 1924.
- ⁴⁴ RG 10, v. 7101, f. 772/3-1, pt. 1, Murray to Scott, 20 March 1926.
- ⁴⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 7101, f. 772/3-1, pt. 1, Murray to Scott, 24 April 1926.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid., Murray to Secretary, 24 April 1926.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid., Murray to Scott, 15 May 1926.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid., Murray to Stone, 22 May 1929.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid., Scott to Murray, 15 May 1926.
- ⁵¹ Ibid., T. F. Murray, Sarcee Agency for 1921 to 1928, n. d.
- ⁵² Ibid., Stone to Murray, 28 June 1929.
- ⁵³ McIntyre, *Sarcee Demography, 1880-1925*, 1975, 44.
- ⁵⁴ Based on NAC, RG 10, v. 9475, Treaty Payroll List, Sarcee Band, 1925.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ⁵⁶ CES, Papers of Edward Sapir, Box 426, f. 49, Jenness to Sapir, 3 July 1921.
- ⁵⁷ CHC, Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 31 March 1929, A1929, 13.
- ⁵⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 7010, Scott to Murray, 13 May 1929.
- ⁵⁹ "Progressive Sarcee Indian is Contrast To His Forefathers" by Winnifred Tims, *Calgary Herald*, 25 May 1929.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid.
- ⁶¹ See: McGuire, R. H. and M. B. Schiffer, "A Theory of Architectural Design," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 2, 1983, 227-303.
- ⁶² A. Kleinman, *Patients and Healers in The Context of Culture* (Berkeley, 1980), 35 discusses the construction of health care systems.
- ⁶³ K. McCuaig, "From Social Reform to Social Service," 1980, 491
- ⁶⁴ Quoted in Canadian Tuberculosis Association, *Annual Report (CTAAR)*, 1955, 102.
- ⁶⁵ UCA, ADC, Box 67, f. 21.1, Tims, "Report on Indian Work," in *Report of 19th Synod*, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, 1922, 69.
- ⁶⁶ Participation in the Calgary Stampede is an example of what Sahlins would term "mythopraxis." He uses this term to refer to the process of enacting myth to create historical metaphors of 'mythical realities.' M. Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities* (Ann Arbor, 1981), 202.
- ⁶⁷ DIA Annual Report, A1926 Scott, 7.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid., Scott, 8.
- ⁶⁹ A. Brancker et al, *A Statistical Chronicle of Tuberculosis in Canada: Part 1, From The Era of Sanatorium Treatment to the Present*, Statistics Canada Health Report 4, (2), (Ottawa, 1992), 107.
- ⁷⁰ G. J. Wherrett, *The Miracle of The Empty Beds: A History of Tuberculosis in Canada* (Toronto, 1977), 98, 105. See also: B. Bates, *Bargaining For Life: A Social History of Tuberculosis 1876-1938* (Philadelphia, 1992).
- ⁷¹ See: K. Burrige, *In The Way A Study of Christian Missionary Endeavour* (Vancouver, 1991), 107-108, 122, 131, 137. Burrige suggests instead that the individual ethos of Christianity was a odds with the collective beliefs and practices of recipient communities.

⁷² Grant, *Moon of Wintertime*, 266.

⁷³ Jenness, *The Sarcee Indians*, 25.

⁷⁴ See: D. Nock, *A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy: Cultural Synthesis Vs Cultural Replacement* (Waterloo, 1988), 1.

⁷⁵ R. W. Hefner, "Introduction: World Building and The Rationality of Conversion," in R. W. Hefner, (ed.), *Conversion to Christianity* (Berkeley, 1993), 1-41. Hefner raises these possibilities in his discussion.

⁷⁶ CES, Papers of Edward Sapir, "The Origin of The Ghost Dance," in *Sarcee Myths and Legends*, recorded in 1922, Tsuu T'ina Reserve.

⁷⁷ T. Brassler, "The Sarsi: Athapaskans on The Northern Plains," *Arctic Anthropology*, 28 (1), 1991, 68-69.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

**PART IV:
COMMUNITY SURVIVAL, RECOVERY AND GROWTH, 1920-1940**

*CHAPTER TWELVE:
COMMEMORATING THE PAST AND CELEBRATING THE PRESENT: THE TSUU
T'INA DURING THE GREAT DEPRESSION 1930-1940*

Introduction – A Promised Harvest

In 1929, there was a severe drought. In his annual report, Duncan Campbell Scott noted the “the Indian farmers of ... M[*anitoba*], S[*askatchewan*] and A[*lberta*] shared the vicissitudes of the season of 1929 with their white neighbours and their fortunes varied locally with climatic conditions.”¹ The erosion of soil in the West ruined a crop that had given every indication of being a good one. Rust and a blight of sawfly and cutworms, which followed the drought, reduced the overall Indian crop to approximately 75 percent of what it had been in the previous year.

With the growing disaster in prairie agriculture, the Department of Indian Affairs looked once again to cattle production and the development of Indian Reserves for industrial purposes. Although test drilling for oil and gas on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve had commenced as early as 1908, the decade building to the outbreak of World War II saw a concerted effort to define the extent of natural resources on Indian lands. In the 1930s work commenced to map the underlying geological formations of the Tsuu T'ina Reserve.²

The Indian Department was also approached by the City of Calgary to surrender 593.5 acres in 1929. The surrendered land was to be used for the construction of a dam on the Elbow River outside the city limits.³ The Tsuu T'ina Reserve lands formed the backdrop for the development of the modern era during the 1930s. The second sale of land took place in 1931 when the northeast corner of the reserve was surrendered and sold for the Glenmore Reservoir. Once again, a land sale resulted in a period of temporary prosperity. But this period of prosperity was short-lived as the realities of the Great Depression set in. The 1930s witnessed the final dispersal of the Tsuu T'ina from the Old Agency site. The

erosion of the old band structure was complete. During the 1930s, the Tsuu T'ina found new ways to celebrate community in the form of public and private rituals which commemorated the past and celebrated the present.

Land Sales and Land Leases in The 1930s

The intrusion of the Department of National Defence (DND) in the 1930s meant an extension of existing leases of the northeast corner of the reserve and an extension of activity into 11,050 square acres of reserve land in the northeast corner of the reserve (Figure 9). In 1931, the DND applied for and was granted an extension of the annual period for shooting practice for the smaller lease to include all months except for January, February and March.⁴

The relationship between the Department of National Defence and the Tsuu T'ina was a complex one in which the boundaries of the military lease, the exploration for oil and gas and the actual reserve lands for Indian use were under constant revision. Horses from the Lord Strathcona's Horse division and settlers regularly strayed onto the lease and from there into the pound at the Sarcee Agency. The Militia camp of the department became the site of work projects designed to give unemployment relief measures. Grazing rights also were leased on portions of the Department of Defence holdings. After 1932, the lease of the 11050 acre parcel and the 1055.51 acres surrendered in 1913 were extended for a ten-year period with provision made for agriculture in 50 acres of the former in the south east corner of the lease.⁵

The leasing of reserve lands did not mean there was a direct return to Tsuu T'ina community members. The Indian Agent always handled the lease monies. In 1933 when lease renewals came under discussion once again, it was pointed out that "the individual Indian does not appreciate the benefits derived from the lease, because none of the money

goes to him directly, but it is handled in trust by the Department of Indian Affairs.”⁶ There were continuing discussions about selling the 1055.51 acres surrendered in 1913 to the Department of National Defence. The Tsuu T’ina band voted unanimously in favour of selling the land in December of 1934 at the same price received for the Glenmore Reservoir land at \$50.00 an acre.⁷ The high asking price however was declined and the land continued to be leased for 5 cents an acre.

There was continuing disagreement about the confinement of military activities to the lease areas. Beginning in 1931, the DND paid an additional five cents per acre for any additional reserve land used during firing exercises. DND officials informed Dr. Harold McGill, appointed as Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs in 1932, that it had been found “desirable to extend activities over certain additional areas.”⁸ There were now other resources taken from the reserve. Starting in 1930, the Department of Indian Affairs granted a five year lease to the Bennett & White Construction Company to remove gravel from the banks of the Elbow River from the Weasel Head Bridge to the eastern boundary of the Tsuu T’ina reserve.

Greater political solidarity emerged with the need to regulate leased reserve land. Tsuu T’ina leaders demanded certain conditions be met with the continuation of the military and other leases. These included the confinement of all military activities to the leased areas, fencing of the leased property and indemnity at market price for any animals killed by artillery.⁹ The first point was considered the most important by council members because of ongoing problems with military personnel entering the private holdings of the Tsuu T’ina and either loosening or destroying their fences. The band therefore granted permission for members of the Department of Nation Defence (DND) to use the recognized trails for travel only to and from points in the lease areas to prevent further trespassing

infringements.¹⁰

In 1932 the lease of 1055.51 acres was extended for ten years. The Tsuu T'ina continued to cut hay in the area of which 100 acres were productive. Tsuu T'ina leaders were well aware of land values and the advantages of the lease arrangements. Agent Murray reported, "[t]he Indians realize the value of the income derived from these leases and the majority of them would not place any obstacle in the way of their renewal."¹¹ Although the Defence Department requested an extended lease for a period of fifteen years, the Tsuu T'ina refused to lease the land for any more than ten years while retaining the use of 50 acres in the Southeast corner.¹²

The Defence Department freely acknowledged that they had extended military activities "over certain areas" of the reserve.¹³ The Tsuu T'ina were paid \$155 or roughly \$1 for every man, woman and child as a cash disbursement for the use of any additional land. The continuing leases brought considerable income to the Tsuu T'ina Band during the Great Depression but there were problems with continuing infringements of the lease areas. In the fall of 1933, Christianson informed McGill that there had been "maneuvers on different parts of the reserve which were not held under lease" and that there were problems with military personnel breaking down existing fencing.¹⁴ The extension of firing rights to the 11050 acres that were leased began the long process of land contamination.

It proved to be too expensive to fence the 11,050 acres. This created problems safeguarding the cattle that strayed into lease area during firing. During the times that target practices were held, two Tsuu T'ina men were hired to keep the area clear of stock instead of fencing the firing range. Alex Bull and his son were employed as herders throughout the 1930s. The men supplied their own horses and were each paid \$12.50 a week with the money coming directly from the Department of Defence.¹⁵ Cattle owners outside of the

reserve were informed that grazing on the leased areas would be at their own risk. The position of herder replaced that of the stockman. The Department of National Defence eventually undertook the cost of erecting a fence in order to prevent the straying of reserve cattle onto the leases during firing in 1934.

There were other changes on the reserve landscape in the 1930s. A new road running north through the Sarcee Reserve from a point on the West boundary at the southeast corner of the Section 13, T23-5-5 was constructed and opened for public use. The sale of 593.5 acres of land for \$29,725 to the City of Calgary for Glenmore Reservoir was voted for unanimously by male members of the Band in 1931. Murray commented that the City of Calgary had paid extremely high prices for the land of the Reservoir site and that on this account the “Indians think they should receive as much if not more from the Government.”¹⁷ Government officials expressed the view that the successful sale of the Glenmore land would ensure that the Tsuu T’ina paid for their own rations.

Negotiations for the sale of land brought the strengths and weaknesses of political leadership sharply into focus. Chief Joe Big Plume and Councillor James Starlight Sr. constituted the elected political authority for the Tsuu T’ina during the Depression. Both were graduates of the Sarcee Boarding School. It is clear, however, that older men, who were respected, still had political power regardless of whether they were recognized as community leaders under the terms of the Indian Act.

The role that literacy actually played directly in the definition of political power during land transactions is questionable. Women had been given more intensive literacy training than men but they played no direct role in political negotiations pertaining to reserve land. Older individuals, particularly those who had not experienced formal schooling of any kind, were illiterate in English but were very influential in community decision-making. The

differences that were evident in literacy skills in the Tsuu T'ina population were noted in the 1930s by schoolteacher Winnifred Tims. She described how Tsuu T'ina women enjoyed "The Woman's Magazines" and other publications donated by the Women's Auxiliary while older individuals enjoyed papers with illustrations and photographs. The latter group often asked the resident missionary to read letters and write responses for them.¹⁸

There were few differences between Generation I and Generation II with regard to the utility of being literate in the English language. The actual amount of English reading, writing and speaking in the public domain was very minimal and often of a token nature. Chief Joe Big Plume, for example, was asked in 1932 to convey a message to King George VI of England. The letter, written and obviously composed by John William Tims, is merely signed by the Chief.¹⁹ Women were excluded from band meetings during the 1930s and band members were not given copies of the minutes. But, as one female Elder noted "anything that happens, we always find out afterwards. Like if there's something done."²⁰ The sale of the Glenmore land was no exception.

The public negotiation of the Glenmore land sale clearly represented the skills of Tsuu T'ina political leaders. Leaders made selective use of the English and Tsuu T'ina languages and drew on a rich native rhetoric which employed metaphors of the past as leverage tools in the discussions. Calgary newspapers reported that the Indians had driven a hard deal with the city for the Glenmore land. Chief Joe Big Plume, the first Tsuu T'ina chief educated in the boarding school system, told city officials that the area was the first camping place of his forefathers and therefore of great historical significance to the Tsuu T'ina. John Onespot informed city officials that the gravel sold in the winter time and trees in the winter came from this area. He said the Indians wanted \$100 per acre or they wouldn't sell the land.²¹

When L. W. Brocklington, City Solicitor, told those present that the citizens of Calgary would hang the committee to the nearest lamppost if the asking price of \$100 per acre was agreed to. Onespot retorted, "well, maybe that would not be too much of a loss." Jack Waters and Jim Starlight repeated the demand and historical justification was invoked once again to support the high asking price. Two older men, Pretty Young Man and Running in The Middle then spoke of the old days and of the legends surrounding the original camping grounds of the Sarcee. Their addresses were in Tsuu T'ina. John Onespot translated their remarks in English for the benefit of the City representatives. When the city officials refused to agree to the \$100 per acre fee, Onespot informed them, "what money we received from this land will be spent in Calgary. The city will get it all back indirectly." It was noted that although the Indians started out with two interpreters the majority spoke in a regular flow of English oratory.

The terms of the Glenmore agreement were rooted in new concepts of age and dependency and larger cash disbursements to the general reserve population. The terms included a cash distribution of \$50 to all the old people and \$25 to all the younger people. In 1931, a sum of \$4650 was distributed to all Tsuu T'ina Band members from the proceeds of the sale. The balance of the money up to \$15,000 was to be spent on the working members of the Band for work horses, work harnesses, wagons, mowers, hay rakes, barbed wire, ploughs, discs and any other permanent improvements for the Band.²² This represented roughly one half of the purchase price. The remainder was to be used for the purchase of equipment including the purchase of a new Kerosene Tractor and a three-furrow gang plough.

The agreement also included an annual per capita distribution based on the interest which accrued from the balance of the payment. The Indian Commissioner opposed the

purchase of a kerosene tractor and a three-furrow gang plough. Graham maintained, “[t]he purchasing of a machine of this kind is just what I have been fighting against on all the reserves in Western Canada ... we should not encourage them to become tractor farmers.” He further noted that the Tsuu T’ina were not farming on a large scale and that the Indian Department might be making what he termed a “serious mistake” in buying a power plough. Graham, like Hayter Reed before him, was against the mechanization of Indian agriculture. He opposed Scott arguing that it would be better to plough the three or four hundred acres of scrubland in small quantities using hand ploughs.²³

Despite Graham’s opinion, a one-gang plough was purchased from \$15,000 of the proceeds from the Glenmore land. These funds had been set aside specifically for purchasing new farming equipment and work horses. Following the sale, the plough was used to clear 400 acres of scrub. The Glenmore land sale resulted in an immediate cash distribution to all members of the Tsuu T’ina band with one half of the remainder used to purchase equipment and the other half reserved for future distributions. The department purchased 22 teams of work horses for working Indians together with 22 sets of work harness, 6 running gear and boxes, 6 sulky ploughs, 3 disc harrows, 3 drag harrows, 3 in throw discs, 1 brush plough, 13 furrow gang plough, one kerosene tractor, blacksmith and materials. The teams were purchased from Calgary dealers for between \$474 and \$800 per team.²⁴

Part of the remaining \$15,000 was used for house improvements. Kitchen extensions were built onto four of the existing houses and cement foundations laid for four houses. There were also a number of new houses built which further extended the settlement of the reserve an increasing distance from the agency site.²⁵ Repairs were made to buildings, the implement shed was rebuilt and houses and barns were repainted. The entire Glenmore land

agreement provided a material basis for sustaining class divisions within the Tsuu T'ina community. The supplying of new farming equipment and horses further reinforced the differences between those who worked as farmers and those who chose other pursuits.

The growth of agricultural enterprise on the reserve previously had been impeded by shortsighted government policy. The Inspector of Indian Agencies for the Alberta Inspectorate had contacted the Indian Department regarding his concerns. Christianson informed the Secretary of the Indian Department that Dr. Murray had received very little assistance for equipment and that the Tsuu T'ina had to make these purchases themselves through his office.

While all farming equipment had been paid for out of Band funds for many years, the Tsuu T'ina had to depend on outside machinery to come in and do their threshing. As a result, they could not get the grain threshed until after the snow fell with the consequence that half of their grain often spoiled. Christianson reported the Tsuu T'ina had become so discouraged by 1929 at seeing their efforts retarded that three years ago they decided that unless different arrangements were made they would have to give up farming.²⁶ Murray purchased a second-hand steam engine for \$500 for this purpose which was paid for with the proceeds of the reserve crop. The machine wore out in three years and the Inspector recommended that a tractor be purchased for threshing and for breaking up the land.²⁷

The purchase of the Glenmore Reservoir allowed for an expansion of farming and ranching activity on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve during the Depression years. The farming equipment necessary to ensure a good harvest was purchased and there was capital set aside for future investment in new machinery and equipment. In 1921 when Murray took over as Agent very little farming and ranching were done. By 1932, there were 1100 acres under cultivation and the number of cattle had been doubled.²⁸ Inspector Christianson was

confident the number of acres under cultivation would double in the next few years.²⁸ By 1939, there were 1565 acres under cultivation at the Tsuu T'ina Agency (Appendix 2.2).

The Tsuu T'ina Labour Force

The 1930s witnessed the emergence of Generation Three of school students into reserve life. The majority of these individuals experienced residential schooling only as very young children. Throughout the Great Depression, the Indian Department provided assistance to ex-pupils of both day and residential schools. The Superintendent of Indian Education instructed all Indian Agents and principals in 1932, to prepare graduates for their new lives and to work out some plan to apply the training they had received.²⁹

The realities of the assistance plan, however, were much different. Inspector Christianson questioned Indian Department officials because little assistance had been given although \$75 per capita had been approved to assist ex-pupils.³⁰ There was no parliamentary provision for more expensive items such as farm implements, horses, and harnesses. Christianson found that there were actually only limited funds to buy smaller household equipment such as sewing machines.³¹ He recommended that the money "be used for such things as a bed, bed clothing, kitchen utensils etc. for a girl who is married and was making some effort at fixing up her home."³² In 1935 at the nadir of the period, \$4000 was voted for assistance to students in the Prairie Provinces.³³ There was also discussion of providing scholarships for students achieving Grade VIII to support their continuing studies.

Christianson continued to lobby for greater assistance to ex-pupils in his correspondence with Harold McGill, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in 1935. Christianson stated, "the time has now come when some definite policy should be adopted in getting the graduates of our Indian schools established on the Reserve. In many cases the children in our schools represent the third generation that has attended." The

Inspector noted that “our aim should be to make good citizens of the Indians...by giving them a higher education.”³⁴ By 1937, the department maintained a policy of granting up to \$4100 to ex-pupils for household assistance. There had been two Sarcee applicants by that time. Orders were made out by Indian agents noting what furniture was already owned. Items such as cook stoves and pipes, kitchen tables and chairs, pots and pans, dishes, beds and bedding, window shades and curtain materials were to be ordered for each household from Eaton’s catalogue if needed. Sewing machines were to be provided only in exceptional cases.³⁵

Annual inspections were made of the Tsuu T’ina Agency throughout the 1930s. In April 1939, C. P. Schmidt made a house-to-house visit with Agent Murray and drove over the reserve with him. The Inspector attended a band meeting to discuss general matters.³⁶ Schmidt, however, found himself at a loss not knowing how to deal with the work involved. He was advised by Christianson, his predecessor, to “[*keep*] constantly in touch with events throughout his Inspectorate and be aware of conditions in each Agency, maintaining thorough inspections annually if at all possible.” Two to three days were to be spent with the agent.³⁷

A lagging standard of living in relation to the non-native community in Calgary was evident from the provision of such basic requirements as water and power. In 1939, the city of Calgary obtained a right of way to construct a power line across the lease held by the Department of National Defence on the northeast portion of the reserve. The Tsuu T’ina Band was not required to pay any expenses in its construction. In 1931, Tims applied to the Diocese of Calgary for reimbursement of a small amount he had overpaid to the Calgary electric Light and Power company at his retirement from the Tsuu T’ina Reserve. But while the army lease, mission and Agency and general populace of Calgary received the benefits of

electrical power, the Tsuu T'ina reserve did not acquire full electrification until the 1960s.

The pattern of employing Tsuu T'ina men and women as seasonal labourers to maintain the reserve infrastructure continued. The sale of trees during the Christmas season was one of the only means available to gain employment independent of the Agency. Earnings from the sale of trees were used to finance Christmas holiday requirements. Land leases continued to provide seasonal opportunities. The Indian Inspector promoted the cutting, hauling and packing of ice to the Sarcee Military camp by Tsuu T'ina Individuals because he believed it could be done at "a much lower rate than other people, still making a good profit for the Indians."³⁸ Firewood was also supplied to the Military Camp by 1915. Individuals were paid to clean, repair and paint agency buildings each year. The earnings, however, were meager. In August 1934, Edward Onespot was paid \$18 to clear and kalsomine the class room. In the summer of 1939, Robert Poor Eagle was paid \$42 for material and \$55 for labour to paint the schoolroom and annex adjoining it.

Following the Calgary Stampede each year, Tsuu T'ina families moved to the hay fields where they remained for six to eight weeks. This work took them up to 12 miles from the Agency.³⁹ Work crews consisted of large families and relatives or others interested in sharing in the profits from the individual hay harvests. These groups organized their belongings and provisions into carts and on horseback. The same locations were generally not occupied each year for this purpose and instead were allowed to lay fallow for one year or more following the hay harvest.

Women worked alongside men or gathered chokecherries and Saskatoon berries from the surrounding hills. There was friendly competition between the camps but work was conducted on a cooperative basis. One or more groups pooled their labour and horses. The proceeds from the hay crop were then divided equally among group members. Each camp

had a "foreman" whose orders were followed but this was only a temporary position that did not carry over into other forms of work.

In the 1930s, the hay crop was gathered from the northwest corner of the reserve from Six Mile Coulee, Lott's Creek and Shannon Creek as settlement had pressed west and north of the Old Agency site. Sometimes the areas where hay was gathered were fenced to keep stock from straying in and ruining the hay crop. Towards the end of the depression years, the *Calgary Herald* ran a series of articles praising the "wise paternal policy" of the Indian Department and describing the comparative prosperity of the Tsuu T'ina community in which "only a few families in the community required relief."⁴⁰

In March of 1938, two wells were drilled to finally meet the needs of community members. The costs of the project came directly from band funds. Chief Joe Big Plume and councillors George Big Crow, Dick Big Plume, James Starlight and Alex Bull signed a band resolution for the completion of the project.⁴¹ The project was intended to provide wells for two groups of Tsuu T'ina who had no water. Other sources had dried up and the Tsuu T'ina were relying on the Hospital and Agency Wells. One well was drilled near Edward Onespot's house and the others near George Big Crow's house to supply the now widely dispersed Tsuu T'ina families.⁴²

The fiscal year 1933-1934 was typical at the Tsuu T'ina reserve during the Depression years. The reserve economy continued much as it had in previous decades with the exception that now much larger areas of land were leased for longer periods. The harsh environmental conditions of the 1930s took their toll on Indian cattle and, with drought conditions, crop yields were far below expectations. There was a small increase in the number of cattle between 1933 and 1934. Crop yields and land use for the year included, 8057 bushels of wheat from 573 acres; 5466 acres of oats from 170 acres and 244 tons of

green feed from 345 acres with 120 new acres of land broken (Appendix 2.2).⁴³ A total of 414 tons of hay were cut. There were twenty-two individuals who worked as farmers or about 10 families in total but the overall crop yields were not enough to sustain individual families.

Some individuals kept pigs, turkeys and other small animals and livestock. There were sufficient band funds for improvements to the Agency including the painting of 25 houses. The houses were reported to be well furnished and clean at this time. The seasonal round included selling trees in the spring and Christmas, and wood, wheat, and hay in the fall. The supplying of Christmas trees to the city of Calgary was an important activity that delayed a vote on the DND Artillery Lease in December of 1932.⁴⁴ There were very few opportunities to work for white settlers in the area. Most individuals hunted to support their families. Some of the older women picked potatoes for sale but garden produce generally was very poor.

The era of the Great Depression was a time of recovery for the Tsuu T'ina people. There were only 7 patients in the hospital in 1934 while there had been as many as 10 two years previously. Inspection reports, however, described the old and dilapidated condition of the hospital and school. The hospital and school were still run as one institution. The staff included Miss Henderson as nurse and general worker and Mrs. Smith as cook and general utility person.⁴⁵ The two women kept the building clean, supplied the meals and lunch for the children aged 7 to 16. Until 1932, they also looked after five children who stayed in the school. The school students used all of the produce, and cows and chickens were maintained at the school for their use. Mrs. Gibney gave the girls instruction every week in sewing and embroidery. One Tsuu T'ina man was paid at the rate of \$18 each summer to clean and kalsomine the classroom. Concerns were expressed in 1934 at the increasing cost of

maintaining the institution.⁴⁶

The Sarcee Day School in 1934 had 33 students and was reported to be in good condition with the children looking well.⁴⁷ In the same year a census of the agency indicated that there were 196 Tsuu T'ina band members and the staff and their families totalled 25 individuals.⁴⁸ There had been no objections voiced by the Tsuu T'ina to converting the boarding school into a hospital in 1921. There were a few individuals in the Tsuu T'ina community who felt that the day school should be changed into a residential school once again in 1934.⁴⁹

The reserve economy during the Great Depression was diversified and included agriculture, cattle raising, and native industries such as hunting and the sale of wood and logs and wage labour (Appendix 5.1). Agency Inspector Christianson noted that there were about 22 farmers in the Tsuu T'ina community in 1934.⁵⁰ Distributions of monies derived from the interest on land sales and leases further sustained members of the Band. The sources of income derived from sales of horses and cattle, agricultural crops, the sale of wood products, wages and itinerant employment or cash labour. The monies earned from the sale of cattle and agricultural products and wood were carefully regulated by the Indian Agent who issued permits to individual Indians "to allow" for the sale. Workers were paid either in cash or by cheque deposited to the interest account of the band.

It is significant that native industries including the sale of horses, forest products and furs, hides and hunting together comprised approximately 37 percent, the largest category of the total earnings. Wage labour, even with the construction requirements following the Glenmore land sale, accounted for only 18 percent and agriculture including the sale of grain, hay and feed amounted to approximately 16 percent. The figures do not include the grain, hay and feed fed to reserve livestock.

Cattle production including dairying amounted to 36 percent of the earnings and the distribution of payments from interest accrued from land sales and leases about 11 percent of the total. The data, which are available, indicate these percentages remained fairly consistent throughout the 1930s. No single source of income could sustain the Tsuu T'ina population but greater production in one area could be used to offset losses in another or to provide funds seasonally when other industries were not viable. With the proceeds remaining from the Glenmore land sale, there were sufficient funds to purchase food if it was required.

The pattern of seasonal labour is clearly evident in comparisons with the above data drawn from the only available records of individual earnings by Tsuu T'ina between 1927-1928 and 1930-1931. Individual earnings were minimal and contrasted sharply with the overall monies "earned" by the Sarcee Indian Agency for the same period. In 1927 to 1928, the wage-earning work force consisted of between 18 and 28 persons who were employed on a part-time basis during each month. All males worked seasonally as wage labourers and the numbers employed varied each year.

The sale of the trees during the Christmas season was so important to the reserve economy that John Waters and other individuals protested when Calgary Mayor Andy Davison granted permits to whites to harvest trees as a relief measure in 1930.⁵¹ The sale of steers in October and November provided individual family heads with between \$84.21 and \$800 each year. In 1929, the total earning of wage labourers was \$5329.70 or roughly \$220 per annum.⁵² In the first three months of 1929, wage labour supplemented through the sale of wood provided the little capital that was available. The sale of wood, fence posts and feed provided income in the spring and early summer during planting season. The sale of cattle and agricultural produce took place mainly in the fall of each year. The average monthly income of a wage earner in each season during this period was \$14 from January to March,

\$16 from April to June, roughly \$25 from June to August and \$61 from August to December.

Total earnings increased considerably during the 1930s for Tsuu T'ina band members as the economy became more diversified than ever before (Table 20).⁵³ The totals for 1929-1930 and from 1930 to 1931 were \$16,975.96 and \$15,339 respectively compared with the \$5329.70 earned between 1927 and 1928.⁵⁴ The pattern of economic production during the 1930s assumed more of a market orientation with grain sales, beef and livestock contributing 46 percent to the total income of wage labourers. Prior to this, these sources had contributed little if anything to band income because they were used primarily for domestic consumption. These sources offset the seasonal labour that was available to Tsuu T'ina workers. The gathering of wood, logs and Christmas trees continued to be a significant source of income contributing 25 percent to the total earnings by 1930-1931.

Table 20: Sources of Income Sarcee Agency 1930-1931

Source	Amount	Percentage of Total
Grain Sales	\$1746.00	11%
Hay and Feed	\$ 708.00	5%
Dairy Produce	\$ 32.00	.20%
Beef and Cattle Sales	\$2366.34	15%
Beef*	\$ 124.66	1%
Livestock *	\$1435.00	9%
Wood, Logs, Pickets	\$3870.00	25%
Furs, Hides, Hunting	\$ 375.00	2%
Wages Labour	\$2885.00	19%
Miscellaneous	\$1797.00	12%
Total	\$15339.00	100%

*Beef For Home Consumption

** Sale of Horses

The annual cycle of production included a low period during the first months of the year. This was followed with opportunities for seasonal labour in the spring. In July of each year, the distribution of interest monies from the military leases and land sales as well as

prize monies amounted to 12 percent of the annual income. Grain and beef sales in the fall added to the Tsuu T'ina earnings by roughly 35 percent. The Tsuu T'ina were able to sell Christmas trees and wood to sustain themselves in December and this amounted to roughly 15 percent of the total earnings of the band. Hunting continued to be an important part of the economy.

Prize money awarded during the Calgary Stampede added approximately 25 percent to the earnings in July of 1928 shared between 26 participants. This amount was a substantial portion of the annual wages earned by Tsuu T'ina individuals. By the 1930s, the Calgary Stampede was an important venue for the display and sale of native handicraft. The Department of Indian Affairs provided the Calgary Stampede with \$500 to promote Indian handicrafts and agricultural exhibits after 1933. The classifications for prizes included Indian fancy work and needlework as well as writing, manual training, household science and art according to school grade level.⁵⁵

Beginning in 1935, the Department of Indian Affairs reversed its policy of discouraging the production of native arts and crafts and began an active campaign to restore and expand this part of the native economy. Handicraft tools were distributed to the students in the Sarcee Day School in 1937. A questionnaire was distributed to all Indian Reserves in Canada. Murray reported that traditional crafts were still being produced including the production of snowshoes, moccasins, quillwork, moosehair embroidery, beadwork and furwork. The traditional method of mothers teaching their daughters was practised and articles were made for use and a very small quantity also for sale.⁵⁶

Supplies for these purposes including materials and hides were usually acquired from the Stoney Indian Reserve. Murray described how modern threads now were used in craft production and how designs incorporating older patterns were handed down from

generation to generation. The Indian Department established a policy of advancing money to the heads of Indian families on the basis of future earnings to buy supplies. The monies earned from arts and crafts were, in most cases, insufficient to support families. The earnings, however, were an important supplement to other wages.

The Continuing Cycle of Debt 1930-1940

Between 1932 and 1934 the heads of 9 families sustained debts of \$522.71 or roughly \$58 per person to the band fund. Debts ranged from \$18.75 to \$261.97 with a total of \$246.27 owing to Calgary merchants for goods advanced to Indians. Most of the debt was for provisions, particularly meat, but smaller amounts were owed for horse gear, blankets and for blacksmithing expenses. There were 27 persons indebted which represented virtually the entire male work force. The practice within the Sarcee Agency was to pay the debts out from the proceeds from cattle and grain sales or from lease monies received by the band. In early 1935, relief payments for food and clothing to the Tsuu T'ina community totalled \$1590. This was the maximum amount the community received during the Depression years.⁵⁷

By late 1935 the higher prices for cattle enabled Murray to give members of the community some means of purchasing supplies including food, houses furnishings and other necessities as well as some cash.⁵⁸ He was also able to issue a credit voucher to pay off the debts incurred by four individuals for debts of between \$1 and \$3 for meat and other provisions at local food stores.⁵⁹ By the mid-1930s, it was evident that, except for the Sarcee Agency, all Indian Agencies in the Prairie Provinces had incurred considerable debt. The degree of accumulated debt was thought to be a direct result of increased production and purchasing horses and farming equipment that followed from the Greater Production Campaign of 1918 to 1919.

By 1934, there was a total of \$522.71 in suspended debt accounts for the Sarcee Agency. These were monies owing to band funds that had been borrowed for capital equipment on the promise of return based on the cash sale of crops. Until 1939, the department had a policy of advancing funds for seed grain only to be charged to the credit of the band and collections made from time to time when possible. Equipment was not be charged but paid for in cash.⁶⁰ By 1936, a small debt of \$135 was left from a previous total of \$1540.⁶¹ Between 1937 and 1939, the Sarcee Agency debt was reduced from \$75.78 to \$59.80 in contrast to the accumulated debt of all other Indian Agencies in Alberta which, by 1940, totalled \$62,869.47.⁶² Throughout the 1930s the Indian Department provided the Indian Agent and the Farm Instructor with houses, fuel and light as well as rations in kind.⁶³

The Department of Indian Affairs encouraged the creation of community gardens during the depression years. Although this ran contrary to the long established policy of individual entrepreneurship, the system of community gardens was introduced to supply the old and destitute on all reserves. An annual grant of \$100 was given to each agency for the building of a root house to store the garden produce starting in 1935.⁶⁴ Special wheat fields were established to supply old people with flour. Any surplus money earned from the sale of wheat was used to purchase soap, tobacco and other supplies. The policy of “work for pay” was not a new one. The added idea of working to support those in need in the Tsuu T’ina community, however, merged the idea of government support with concepts of sharing which were deeply entrenched in the Tsuu T’ina community.

Alberta Indian Agents who attended a meeting in 1935 identified the problem of trying to find solutions for local problems when there was actually “no local control of Indians’ funds.”⁶⁵ While the problem of local control was seen by the Indian Agents only in terms of their own authority, problems were encountered in ongoing reserve operations.

This was particularly true for the maintenance of farm implements and blacksmithing. A resolution was passed whereby Agents were allowed to collect money from the male heads of families to offset the cost of blacksmithing and machinery in the following year.

The mission on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve under Reverend Ross Gibney also experienced financial difficulties. Gibney's annual salary of \$1800 took up most of the \$2000 that was granted to the mission for his role as teacher and as minister. Gibney was also expected to administer to the surrounding parishes. These difficulties, unlike in Tims' tenure, did not adversely affect the general conditions on the reserve nor imperil the health of the students. They did, however, have a direct impact on the finances of the Diocese of Calgary to which the Parish of St. Barnabas was supposed to contribute. Gibney informed the Secretary of the Diocese of Calgary at the end of 1932 that it was not possible to meet his current parish expenses or to meet the 1932 assessment from the Sarcee mission.⁶⁶ Gibney and his family suffered great hardship during the Great Depression. In 1936 he was compelled to approach the Diocese of Calgary for a loan of \$500 to cover his personal indebtedness.⁶⁷

Curtailments in spending on Indian education during the Great Depression primarily affected the purchase of equipment and furnishings for the schools. In 1933, A. F. MacKenzie informed Agent Murray that the department could not replace old school desks due to a lack of funds.⁶⁸ Reductions in spending at the local level were extended to the management of Indian Trust Funds in the 1930s. The Department cut the rate of interest paid out on Indian Trust Funds from 5 percent to 3 percent in 1934 to save money.⁶⁹

There was a renewed attention to the improvement of home conditions towards the end of the decade with the founding of a large number of Homemakers Clubs organized under the Inspectors of Provincial Indian Agencies. The Homemakers' Club on the Tsuu

T'ina Reserve provided a new arena for women to meet and discuss their lives. These organizations served to strengthen bonds between women in the community and, for some women, were an extension of the female culture of mission schooling. One of the founding members of the club, recalled:

“Lucy Big Plume she was the president, we all work hard and we making big banquets and myself, we learned. How I opened my eyes about how to keep my house clean and that I wasn't living very clean and my yard was always messy and it was dirty and I learned and I started to look after my young children.”⁷⁰

Members would meet monthly and programs deemed worthwhile consisted of knitting, dressmaking, fruit preserving, canning of vegetables, lectures on health, sanitation, child care etc.⁷¹ The Homemakers Clubs coincided with the fostering of handicraft production by the Indian Department. The institution of a Revolving Loan Fund in 1938 derived from individual Band Funds for the development of agriculture further facilitated the expansion of farming and cattle operations by individual Tsuu T'ina men. Loans could be made to bands, groups or individuals for the purchase of farm implements, machines, livestock and equipment, seed grain and materials to be used in native handicrafts. Loans were capped at \$5000 to the band, \$2000 to groups of Indians and \$500 to individuals.⁷²

The problem as far as the administrators of the Fund were concerned was to determine which individuals were most likely to repay the loans. The institution of the fund also presented the problem of the appearance of favoritism if loans were made to some individuals and not to others. With the uncertainties of agricultural production and returns from production during the Depression years, there was also the issue of creating long-term indebtedness. At a meeting of Indian agents in southern Alberta in 1939, there was a discussion of “[a] Indian mortgaging practically everything he has to obtain an loan” with the matter of repayment hinging on the results of his farming operation.⁷³

Commemorating The Past and Celebrating The Present

Reserve life provided the basis for developing a number of new forms of ritual celebrating community life by the 1930s. Feasting provided a way for people to come together to celebrate. Helen Meguinis, a Tsuu T'ina Elder, explained the significance of feasting: “[*there are*] a variety of Indian feasts for memorial, deceased relatives, celebrations of marriages, giving thanks.”⁷⁴ Feasting included a variety of foods including different meats, berries, fish, fried bread, water and tea. First, a blessing was given by an elder with sweetgrass and a special plate set aside for the people that had died.

There were special responsibilities for young boys. Helen Meguinis, noted:

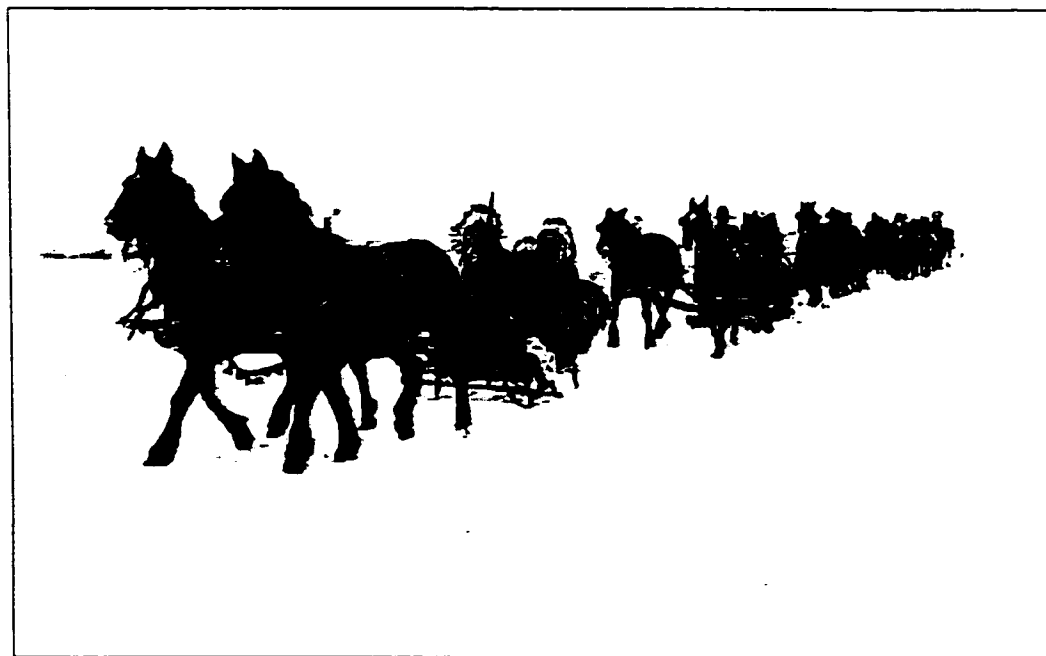
“At the feast, one boy go[es] around the people passing out saskatoon berries and passing around the water. The leftover water and berries goes into the spiritual plate. Gifts are given in honour of the deceased relative. All the food is served and the young men continue serving until all the food is given out. The special plate is taken outside toward the south direction and left for the spirits.”⁷⁵

The Christmas Season during which a community feast was held each year provided a basic and simple means for Tsuu T'ina families to come together (Plate 34). The Christmas feast of 1935 was no exception.⁷⁶ Originally held in the boarding school, the feast was now organized at the house of the Chief Joe Big Plume. Mrs. Clarabelle Pipestem, his daughter, remembers, “at Christmas my father had large feasts for the whole band. They used to cook a big meal and everyone would come.” The Christmas feasts were special events during the 1930s. Mrs. Pipestem remembered, “Well, in them days ... it was hard ... but there were good times ... they go out visiting each other ... calling on each other and having feasts ... but they didn't have that much money but they still had a feast and they all came.”⁷⁷

The Christmas feasts were remembered as the time that everybody got together. Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mary One Spot said, “they used to have a parade of horses and everyone would line up and then at the feast, they shoot their rifles in the air.”⁷⁸ Her father, Chief Big



Plate 34: Christmas Feast, Chief Joe Big Plume's House, c. 1930s (GA # NA 667-697)



**Plate 35: Parade Before Christmas Feast at Jim Starlight's House, c. 1919
(GA #NA 2170-12)**

Belly, started the custom of holding the Christmas feasts for the Tsuu T'ina community. The men did the cooking at the feasts. Chief Big Belly, who, as a young man, had learned to cook meat, potatoes and bread at Fort Macleod, to feed his family, started this tradition.⁷⁹ The Chief hosted the feast because he was expected to be kind and generous to his people.

Elder Dick Big Plume also enjoyed the feasts in his youth. He recalled, "everybody use to like the feast. They cook all night, they feed everybody, it was a whole day. I was a young fellow and the men would shoot their guns and everyone would come on horses and sleighs and when they are at, they went home and there used to be lots of people."⁸⁰ The cooks would come out to shake hands with everyone once the meal had been prepared. Sometimes another family head would hold a second feast later in the day. To accommodate 160 members of the community, furniture was removed from the four-room house and trestle tables were laid out with food. A whole steer was slaughtered for the occasion and other items such as canned goods, pies, fruit and strong tea were served.

Prior to the feast, families would assemble at a point near the house to form a procession of sleighs, motor cars and horses (Plate 35 to 37). Near the residence of the Chief, those on horseback would break into a gallop to circle the house several times firing rifles, yelling and whooping. The lead horseman would carry the Union Jack. When Indian riders dismounted, they shook hands with the Elders of the community, the chief and Agency officials who stood at the head of a receiving line that reflected the community hierarchy. In 1935, this included Chief Joe Big Plume dressed in an eagle feather headdress, Indian Agent Murray, Farm Instructor E. Hetherington, two chiefs from other reserves and Sleigh, Tony, Wolf, Two Guns, Two Youngman, Peter Manywounds, Alec Bull, the Indian Scout wearing the buffalo coat of the RCMP, Stanley Big Plume, David Crowchild, Pat Grasshopper, Robert Pooreagle and others.



Plate 36: Horse Riding with Union Jack Before Christmas Feast, c. 1920s
(GA #NA 667-696)



Plate 37: Chief Joe Big Plume with Receiving Line Before Christmas Feast, c. 1920s
(GA #NA 667-692)

Following the personal greetings, Indian Agent Murray would read a message from King George V with the Chief translating . Gifts for the children were provided by the local Boy Scouts' and Girl Guides' Associations. Chief Big Plume informed the assembly "these gifts for our children come from the children of our own Chief Spotted Eagle, Lord Baden Powell and Otter Woman, his squaw, who is a great woman of our tribe."⁸¹ The feast which followed included large quantities of food including turkey, beef, buffalo, elk, venison, geese, vegetables and sweets piled high on long tables. Indian women and young would eat in the kitchen area and the men would eat and then smoke in the larger living room area of the house.⁸² Following the dinner, leftovers were wrapped and taken home by each family. Powwows were also a central part of Christmas festivities following the feasting. In 1939, an all-night powwow with drumming, singing and dancing followed feasts at the homes of Chief Joe Big Plume and David Crowchild. Next day, many families would attend the reserve church for the Christmas service.⁸³

Indian displays and the Indian Village at the Calgary Exhibitions and Stampede in which the Tsuu T'ina participated were like a living museum, a living testimony of the past. These settings provided an arena for individuals to meet and to learn about aspects of Indian history. Images of the Indian past, although fictional, served as the necessary counterpoint to notions of civilization, safety and order in Western systems of beliefs and upheld the overall vision of progress for visitors.⁸⁴

For native people, such venues provided a "carnival-like" setting in which elements of white culture were eliminated or even reversed and the making of native histories could be realized through public rituals.⁸⁵ Older men who once had been warriors and participated and sacrificed themselves during the Sun Dance were often featured in local newspapers at Stampede time. Tsuu T'ina Elder, Tony, one of the Crowchief family, displayed his war



Plate 38: From left, Mrs. Grasshopper, Mrs. David Onespot and Mrs. Many Swans at Calgary Stampede, 1912 (GA #NA 335-1)

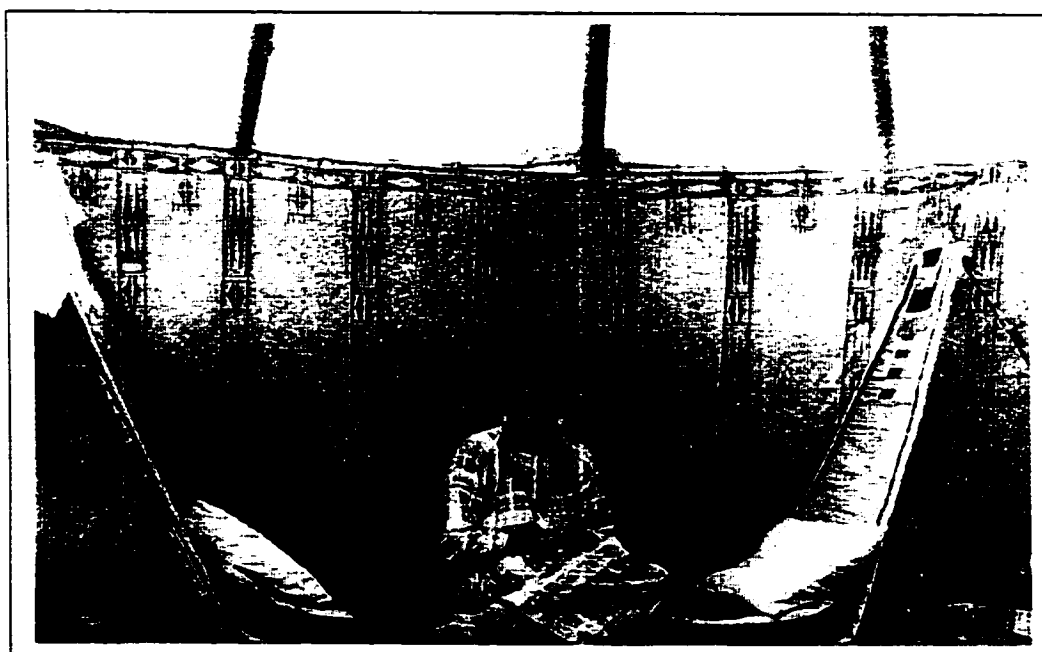


Plate 39: Mrs. Maggie Big Belly, Generation One, with her grandson, Fred Eagletail at Calgary Stampede, c. 1930s (GA #NA 667-348)

wounds for the local press in 1938 and described his participation in the Sun Dance.⁸⁶ Jack Waters, well-known on the rodeo circuit, described his colourful career as an Indian scout and the war history of his grandfather.⁸⁷ Tied to financial rewards and prestige, the public exhibition of Indianness became an intrinsic part of Tsuu T'ina culture during the 1930s.

Indian rodeo also provided a public arena for the expression of Tsuu T'ina male identity. Male identity and power were not affirmed in the context of everyday reserve life or in political decision-making. Indian cattle raising, in contrast to the uncertainties of reserve agriculture, provided a strategy for competitive adaptation to change, the integration of reserve culture and reserve economy and emerged as a symbol of community identity and individual self-esteem.⁸⁸ Rodeo contrasted with public displays of past Indian history at the Indian village at the Calgary Stampede by representing the survival and the vitality of the Tsuu T'ina present (Plate 38 and 39).

The first Indian participation in rodeo events with other competitors was recorded in the program for 1936 when Tom Two Persons of the Blood Reserve competed in bronco riding.⁸⁹ Indian rodeos were staged on virtually all reserves in the Canadian West during the 1930s. They grew out of cattle and horse raising (Plate 40 and 41). They were also held in smaller white communities where rodeo had a different character than it did at the larger and more commercial Calgary Stampede. Frank Onespot remembered that rodeo was different in the 1930s, "used to a lot of rodeos, like Priddis, High River, Bragg Creek, all them little towns, every year but no more today. It's very important in them days cause they think it's fun for them" (Plate 42 and 43).⁹⁰ The Tsuu T'ina men formed a Cowboy Society with their own songs and fancy dress in the 1930s.

Participation in Indian rodeo events and the display of native handicraft and schoolwork had been encouraged from the earliest times of the Calgary Industrial



Plate 40: Corralling Horses at Sarcee Agency, 1921 (CES #551175)

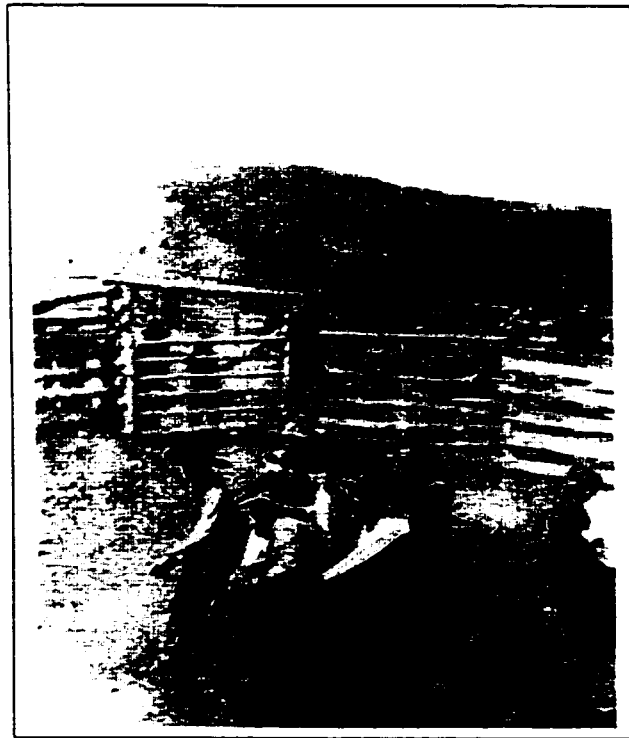


Plate 41: Group of Tsuu T'ina Men Working in Corral at Sarcee Agency, 1921 (CES #55174)

Exhibition. Indian horse races were an integral part of the program and an Indian camp formed part of the midway event. Indian horse races were first separate from the other rodeo events and agricultural and industrial exhibits. By 1913, Indian beadwork, implements and other manufacture were part of the “natural history” exhibits at the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede with displays of Indian schoolwork separate from that of white schoolwork. There were twenty-five categories of natural history including fossils, coins, stuffed animals and Indian crafts with prizes ranging from \$28 to \$44.⁹¹ At the 1919 fair, Chief Big Belly and other Treaty 7 Chiefs were introduced as part of the opening ceremonies and both the Indian Display and Indian Race were continued events.⁹²

School exhibits at the Calgary Stampede were an equally significant contribution to the fostering of native handicraft and an awareness of past tradition. Trennert has argued that while school exhibits touted the achievements of assimilationist education, they also unwittingly added to the growing interest in traditional native life and customs.⁹³ The teaching and inclusion of various forms of native handicrafts served to underscore the differences between old and new ways of material culture. While the school exhibits were of interest, the pageant of “traditional” Indian culture in the form of native handicrafts and the Indian villages at the Calgary Stampede and Banff Indian Days was eagerly anticipated by the general public each year and figured centrally in promotional materials.

The type and variety of Indian exhibitions at the Calgary Stampede had proliferated by the mid-1920s to include 16 categories of Indian crafts, 9 categories of Indian School Work and 18 categories of needlework. Indian crafts included full men’s and women’s costumes, coats, shirts, vest, gauntlets, moccasins, leggings, beadwork, tanned hides, painted robes, pipes, headdresses, carvings and collections of Indian arts and crafts. Displays of Indian schoolwork drew on examples of the artwork and drawing by students as well as their



Plate 42: Tsuu T'ina Boys, c. 1912, from left, Anthony Dodginghorse, George Big Plume, Frank Onespot and Pat Dodginghorse (GA #NA 4951-1)



Plate 43: (left to right) George Big Plume, Anthony Dodginghorse, George Crane and David Crowchild at Christmas Feast, c. 1930s (GA #NA 667-703)

writing and penmanship. The needlework category introduced work such as dresses, suits, dolls, crocheting, knitting, socks, beadwork, clay sculpture and napkins.⁹⁴ There were four to five prizes within each category and prizes ranged from \$1 for such items as artwork to \$6 for a fully beaded costume.

In the 1930s, the Indian Department began to regularly fund Indian exhibitions at the Calgary Stampede to the tune of between \$300 and \$500 per year during the depression. Participation in rodeo events and other contests began to make a significant contribution to Indian income during the summer months. This process fostered the development of public displays and rodeo. The 1930s was a period in which a different awareness emerged among native people. Cuthand describes the emergence of a cowboy identity: He stated: “[t]he ambition of every father [*was*] to see his son ride a prancing horse at the [S]un [D]ance, to ride at horse races, and to ride at a rodeo, like the renowned rodeo champion Tom Three Persons from the Blood Reserve.”⁹⁵

In the Tsuu T’ina community, an all-Indian rodeo was staged beginning in the 1921 but it was not until the 1930s that Indian contestants competed in all categories in events off the reserve such as the Calgary Stampede. Local merchants such as the Bay or Eaton’s Department stores provided prize money or prizes.⁹⁶ Everyone would camp out for the event. The events included foot races for the young children and steer riding and calf roping for older boys on the reserve. Powwows, sometimes held at the same time, were another form of celebrating the Tsuu T’ina community. The Round Dance, handgames, and other dances were central features at the events. Respected individuals in the reserve community were shown great respect and honour. One Elder noted, in contrast to today, “peoples that were important were respected according to their stature. I remember, Maggie Big Belly, Daisy Otter, Mary Big Plume, women, that had honour at our annual powwow where

perform with honour and respect."⁹⁷

Rodeo, dramatically expressed a redefinition of the fundamental relationship between humans and nature. Rodeo allowed for the continuation of a deep reverence for the natural world while at the same time provided an arena for the temporary control of nature. This ambivalence again resonated the modernity that had taken place and the duality that now underlay attitudes among some individuals towards the natural world in the community.⁹⁸ The central elements of the frontier ethos - strength, self-reliance and individualism - all were expressed in the unique context of Indian rodeo and according to Indian beliefs and values.⁹⁹

Conclusions- Feasting, Indian Rodeo and Indian Days

By the time World War II broke out, the foundations of modern reserve life had been laid on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve. Two individuals, Harold Crowchild and Teddy Manywounds were to serve in the war. Only Harold Crowchild returned. The continuing pattern of seasonal wage labour meant that Tsuu T'ina individuals were never integrated into the economic mainstream. The Reserve economy was a complex organization in which seasonal wage labour, native forms of production, agriculture and cattle provided a subsistence income for most families. The infusion of cash through annual distributions from land leases and sales supplemented the monies which families used to provide the basics of life during the Depression years.

Individuals belonging to Generation Three were educated in the Sarcee Day School between roughly 1925 and 1940. When they joined the reserve community, settlement patterns were based on smaller extended family groups living adjacent to well-defined areas of land. Class divisions within Tsuu T'ina were reinforced through the expansion of greater material wealth based on a system which rewarded those who farmed and those who hunted

and found their living through other means. Following day schooling in the 1920s, these individuals found themselves completely separated from the pre-reserve era of their grandparents.

For the third generation of Tsuu T'ina whose parents had also been educated in reserve schools, rodeo was also fun and a new way to express the advent of modern life. Many of the younger men competed in rodeo events and their preference to participate in the annual Calgary Stampede parade as “cowboys” and not as “Indians” represented the intergenerational differences that existed by the 1930s.¹⁰⁰ These differences were interpreted in the local press as proof of the success of the “wise paternalism” of the Indian Department.¹⁰¹ This generation of Tsuu T'ina looked back to the past for inspiration and meaning in their lives. The objectification of the Indian past by this generation through public displays of Indianness and rodeo demonstrated the inherent tension between the Indian “past” and the Indian “present” that was and continues to be one of the hallmarks of modern reserve life.¹⁰²

- ¹ Canada. Department of Indian Affairs. Annual Report of The Department of Indian Affairs For Year Ended 31 March 1929, A1929, Scott, 9
- ² DIA Annual Report 1930, Scott to Thomas G. Murphy, 18 December 1930.
- ³ RG 10, v. 6613, f. 6120-1, Fred E. Osborne, Mayor, Calgary, to Hon. Charles Stewart Minister of Indian Affairs, 26 November 1929.
- ⁴ INAC, f. 772/32-4-145-2, v. 2, A. F. MacKenzie Secretary, DIA, To Murray, 28 April 1931.
- ⁵ Ibid., Murray to Secretary, 25 November 1932.
- ⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 12647, Brigadier H. H. Matthews, District Officer Commanding, Military District No. 13, Calgary to Secretary, DND, Ottawa, 7 April 1933.
- ⁷ Ibid., Murray to McGill, 28 December 1934.
- ⁸ INAC, f. 772/32-4-145-2, v. 2, L. R. LaFleche, Minister DND to McGill, 772/32-4-145, v. 2, 17 November 1933.
- ⁹ Ibid., Report on Meeting, Tsuu T'ina Band, Murray to Secretary, DIA, 28 January 1933.
- ¹⁰ Ibid..
- ¹¹ Ibid., Report on Meeting Tsuu T'ina Band, Murray to Secretary, DIA, 28 January 1933
- ¹² Ibid., Murray to Secretary DIA, 25 November 1932.
- ¹³ Ibid., L. R. LaFleche, Deputy Minister, DND to McGill, 17 November 1933.
- ¹⁴ INAC, f. 772/32-4-145-2, v. 2, Christianson to McGill, 27 October 1933.
- ¹⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., Murray to McGill, 28 December 1934.
- ¹⁷ GA, M1234, W. A. Tims, Life on A Reservation, 1931-1941.
- ¹⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 7938, Chief Joe Big Plume to King George VI, 26 March 1932. The letter informs the King that the Tsuu Tina are "doing their best in these times of depression," alludes to the Tsuu T'ina as "loyal citizens" and the pride of the common heritage which the Tsuu T'ina take as members of the "Great Commonwealth of Nations." Signed by Joe Big Plume, letter written by J. W. Tims.
- ¹⁹ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder 2, 10 September 1995.
- ²⁰ "1931 City Purchases 593 Acres of Land From Sarcee Indian Tribe," *Calgary Herald*, 1931.
- ²¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 7543, f. 29120-1, pt. 2, Murray to Secretary Department of Indian Affairs, 18 May 1931.
- ²² NAC, RG 10, v. 12550, f. 781/36-3, Graham to Scott, 3 November 1931.
- ²³ Ibid., Murray to Secretary, 18 March 1932.
- ²⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 7543, f. 29120-1, pt. 2, A. F. MacKenzie, Sec. To Christianson, 17 February 1933.
- ²⁵ Ibid., M. Christianson, Inspector of Indian Agencies, Alberta Inspectorate, 4 May 1932.
- ²⁶ Ibid. The Inspector recommended the following purchases: 13 teams of work horses at \$1300, 13 sets of harness with collars and pads at \$550, 5 wagons for \$750, 5 mowers at \$450, 3 hay rakes at \$150 and 1-1530 tractor for approximately \$1500 (Total of \$4700)
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ Ibid., Christianson to Secretary, Indian Affairs Branch, 26 May 1932.
- ²⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 12645, f. 205/28-2 Trusts and Statements,, v. 1, Circular, Russel Ferrier, Superintendent of Indian Education, 14 May 1932.
- ³⁰ Ibid., M. Christianson to Secretary, Indian Affairs Branch, 26 May 1932.
- ³¹ Ibid., Ferrier to Christianson, 8 June 1932.
- ³² Ibid. Christianson quoted in Ferrier to Christianson, 11 June 1932.
- ³³ NAC, RG 10, v. 12645, f. 205/25-1, Minutes of School Meeting Held in Calgary, Introduction by P. Phelan of the School Branch, Ottawa, 1 June 1935.
- ³⁴ Ibid., Christianson, Inspector of Alberta Agencies to McGill, 17 June 1935.
- ³⁵ Ibid., Circular Letter, C. P. Schmidt to all Indian Agents, 29 December 1937.
- ³⁶ Ibid., C. P. Schmidt, Inspector of Indian Agencies to Christianson, General Superintendent of Agencies, 11 April 1939.

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- ³⁷ Ibid., Christianson to Schmidt, 18 April 1939.
- ³⁸ Ibid., Christianson to Secretary DIA, 14 January 1936.
- ³⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 7736, f. 23,120, Fleetham to Secretary DIA, 16 August 1915.
- ⁴⁰ "Wise Policy of Government Principal Reason: Comparative Prosperity Enjoyed By Tribe Near Calgary," *Calgary Herald*, 21 August 1937.
- ⁴¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 8835, f. 772/15-10-4-145, Band Resolution, 18 March 1938.
- ⁴² Ibid. The wells were to supply the requirements for Joe Big Plume, Edward Onespot, David Onespot, Peter Many Wounds, Pat Grasshopper, Tony, Alice Onespot, Maggie Big Belly, Stanley Big Plume, Tom Many Horses, Dick Night, Isaac Crowchild, Willie Little Bear and George Big Crow.
- ⁴³ GA, M2208, Christianson, Indian Affairs Notebook, 27 February 1934.
- ⁴⁴ INAC, f. 772/32-4-145-2, v. 2, Murray to Secretary DIA, 27 December 1932.
- ⁴⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 6338, f. 701-1, pt. 1, Christianson to McGill, 10 March 1934.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid., McGill to Christianson, 19 March 1934.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid.
- ⁴⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 12645, f. 2-5-3-2, pt. 1, Christianson, Inspector of Indian Agents to Murray, 27 December 1935.
- ⁴⁹ GA, M2208, Indian Affairs Notebooks, 10 March 1934.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid., 27 February 1934.
- ⁵¹ "Sarcee Indians Lose Tree Trade: Seek Civic Help," *Calgary Herald*, 10 December 1930.
- ⁵² GA, M2208, Indian Affairs Notebooks, 27 February 1934
- ⁵³ NAC, RG 10, v. 12645, f. 119/23-19-2, Sources of Income of Indians of Sarcee Agency, 1930-1931.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵⁵ NAC, RG 10, v. 7557, f. 1120-1, E. L. Richardson, General Manager to Christianson, 24 October 1933.
- ⁵⁶ NAC, RG 10, v. 7553, f. 41,202, Questionnaire On Indian Arts Completed by Murray, 1935.
- ⁵⁷ Canada. Auditor General's Report, 1934-1935, Indian Affairs, Expenditures, I-17.
- ⁵⁸ NAC, RG 10, v. 7903, N. C. Allen to Murray, 13 December 1935.
- ⁵⁹ INAC, f. 772/32-4-2, v. 2, Credit Voucher No. 4 Signed by Murray, 19 November 1935.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid., R. A. Hoey, Superintendent Welfare and Training To C. P. Schmidt, Inspector of Indian Agencies, 19 June 1939.
- ⁶¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 7093, f.40120-1, pt. 1, N. C. Allen, Representative of The Treasury to Murray, 13 December 1935.
- ⁶² Ibid., Sarcee Agency Indian Indebtedness, Summarized for the calendar year 1938 and *ibid.*, Indian Indebtedness, Summarized for the calendar year 1939. Also: Indian Indebtedness Summarized for Calendar Year 1940, NAC, RG 10, v. 7880, f. 35101-1, pt. 1.
- ⁶³ Ibid., Questionnaires Allowances in Kind (completed by E. E. Hetherington and Dr. T. F. Murray by T. G. Willis, Field Auditor), 9 August 1939. Employees received cash to purchase food.
- ⁶⁴ NAC, RG 10, v. 8571, f. 701/1-2-2-5, pt. 11, Memorandum of Meeting of The Staff of The Department of Indian Affairs For Alberta, Held in Calgary, Alberta, 1 June 1935.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid., 4
- ⁶⁶ UCA, ADC, Box 11.28, Gibney to Secretary Treasurer, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, 28 December 1932
- ⁶⁷ Ibid., Gibney to J. G. Adams, Secretary Treasurer of Synod, Anglican Diocese of Calgary, 13 August 1936.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid., A. F. MacKenzie to Murray, 21 September 1933.
- ⁶⁹ NAC, RG 10, v. 8108, W. E. Ditchburn, Indian Commissioner for B. C. to Scott, 20 May, 1932.
- ⁷⁰ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder 1, 18 November 1995.
- ⁷¹ NAC, RG 10, v. 6001, f. 1-1-1, pt. 4, Welfare, 1938-1939 for Annual Report.
- ⁷² See: OC/PC 2699, Nov. 4, 1938 in NAC, RG 10, v. 11400, Orders in Council 1937.

- ⁷³ NAC, RG 10, v. 12644, f. 205/1-6, Report of Conference Held At Inspector's Office Calgary, 15 and 15 February 1939. Murray not in attendance.
- ⁷⁴ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mrs. Helen Meguinis, 9 August 1990. Quoted with permission of Tsuu T'ina Culture Program.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid.
- ⁷⁶ Based in part on: "Sarcee Tribesmen Enjoy Festivities At Home of Chief," *Calgary Herald*, 27 December 1935.
- ⁷⁷ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mrs. Clarabelle Pipestem, 15 March 1990.
- ⁷⁸ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elders, Mary Onespot and Frank Onespot, 19-20 March 1990.
- ⁷⁹ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mrs. Helen Meguinis, 14 August 1990. Quoted with permission of Tsuu T'ina Culture Program.
- ⁸⁰ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mr. Dick Big Plume, 17 May 1990.
- ⁸¹ Based in part on: "Sarcee Tribesmen Enjoy Festivities At Home of Chief," *Calgary Herald*, 27 December 1935
- ⁸² "Sarcee Indian Band Observes Christmas At Annual Gathering," *Calgary Albertan*, n. d., 1935, Also in NAC, RG 10, v. 7938.
- ⁸³ "Indians Make Whoopee Feasts Last for Hours," *Calgary Albertan*, 27 December 1939.
- ⁸⁴ P. Jasen, "Native People and The Tourist Industry in Nineteenth-Century Ontario," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 28, (4), Winter, 1933-1944, 6-7. Also: R. Rydell, *All The World's A Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Exhibitions 1876-1916* (Chicago, 1984) describes the set of contrasting images of origins or originals stages and progressive development in which living displays or "villages" figured prominently in sustaining a vision of progress with white American society at the pinnacle.
- ⁸⁵ Indian participation in these events exemplifies Sahlins' argument that differences in cultural system or structure led to differences in the way history is made. There are also marked differences in the meanings which history in a ritual context have for participants and audiences. See: M. Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago, 1985), 72-73.
- ⁸⁶ "Suffered Tortures To Prove Manhood In Cruel Orgy of Sun Dance Ceremonies," *Calgary Herald*, 14 July 1938.
- ⁸⁷ "Bronk-buster and Scout Proudly Boast Grandfather Was Noted Cattle and Horse Thief," *Calgary Herald*, 14 July 1938.
- ⁸⁸ The same argument is presented in: P. Iverson, *When Indians Became Cowboys: Native Peoples and Cattle Ranching in the American West* (Norman, 1994).
- ⁸⁹ GA, M1287, Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Papers, The Stampede Official Program, 21 July 1936. Indian participation in rodeo events may have started earlier than 1936.
- ⁹⁰ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elders, Mr. Frank Onespot and Mrs. Mary Onespot, 19-20 March 1995.
- ⁹¹ GA, M 2160, Box 2, Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Papers, Box 2, Annual Report of The Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, 1913.
- ⁹² Ibid., Box 29A, The Stampede Program, 29 August 1919.
- ⁹³ R. A. Trennert, Jr. "Selling Indian Education at World's Fairs and Expositions, 1893-1904," *American Indian Quarterly*, 11, (3), 1987, 203.
- ⁹⁴ Ibid., f. 27, Calgary Exhibitions Prize List Classes For Indian Work, Calgary Exhibition Annual Report 1920, 74-75.
- ⁹⁵ S. Cuthand, "The Native Peoples in the 1920's and 1930's," in I. A. L. Getty and D. B. Smith, eds., *One Century Later: Western Canadian Reserve Indians Since Treaty 7* (Vancouver, 1977), 40.
- ⁹⁶ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mrs. Hilda Big Crow, 13 August 1990. Quoted with permission of Tsuu T'ina Culture Program.
- ⁹⁷ Ibid.
- ⁹⁸ Lawrence makes the same general arguments in *Rodeo* (Chicago, 1982), 10-11.

⁹⁹ Ibid. 48. Lawrence describes this ethos in more generalized terms. Lawrence suggests that rodeo expressed the ethos of strength, self-reliance and individualism that characterized the American frontier as a physical and ideational determinant in the development of American culture

¹⁰⁰ See: "Wise Policy of Government Principal Reason: Comparative Prosperity Enjoyed By Tribe Near Calgary," *Calgary Herald*, 21 August 1937. The article describes the preference of young men for joining the cowboy section in the parade.

¹⁰¹ "Tribe Changing From Nomadic Hunters And Warriors Into Farmers and Cowboys," *Calgary Herald*, 16 July 1938.

¹⁰² There are many historical studies of such pageants and carnivals. Le Roy Ladurie sees such spectacles as symbols or signs of active social conflicts and hierarchical struggles within a given society. See: E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Carnival in Romans*, tr. M. Feeney (New York, 1979), also: M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, tr. H. Iswolsky (Cambridge, MA, 1968), 217-218. In an inter-cultural context, such displays take on an even greater complexity in which external and internal meanings are to be considered in historical interpretation.

*CHAPTER THIRTEEN:
REMEMBERING THE PAST: THE TSUU T'INA
DURING THE GREAT DEPRESSION*

Introduction - The Era of Recovery and Growth

Indian Department officials maintained that Indian people in Canada fared better than their white counterparts in the early years of the Great Depression. Duncan Campbell Scott stated that with education, medical attendance and housing provided, “changes for the worse in [*the*] economic position [*of Indians*] is relatively less marked than among the white population, as they live for most part on reserves in isolated communities, and are free from taxation.”¹ Scott described the program of making the Indians of the Prairies self-supporting as a “remarkable success.”² Dr. Harold McGill, Scott’s successor as Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in 1932, affirmed that “progressive policy has made these Indians self reliant in two generations.”³

The theme of rescue was strong in government records of the time. This approach - not quite paternal and certainly not religiously-based - continued during the years of the Great Depression. The Indian Department claimed it had insured, “all possible precaution of the prevention of hardship” by advocating that “no genuine appeal for relief [*was*] overlooked.”⁴ As economic conditions deteriorated into the 1930s, there were attempts to demonstrate that ongoing progress was occurring. The myth of “Indian progress” in the West dissipated during the 1930s as the realities of the Great Depression set in. The word, “progress,” appeared only infrequently in the Annual Reports of the Indian Department after this time.

Agricultural production declined with successive droughts and soil erosion and it became increasingly difficult for reserve communities to obtain lease payments from

impoverished white ranchers and farmers. There were problems securing payment for the reserve land that was leased during the 1930s. Often rents fell months behind and it was necessary for Indian agent Murray to contact the lease holders. In one case, the leasee was required to sell some of his cattle to pay for the rental.⁵ This lease involved all of the land located north and west of the Elbow River on the northwest corner of the reserve.

Employment opportunities outside of reserve communities were also limited. Indian labourers were the first to be thrown out of work because they were perceived to be a public charge.⁶ Indian Department officials, however, claimed “progress ha[d] been maintained in husbandry” and that “haying [was] a important adjunct to farming.”⁷ A severe drought in 1936, however, threatened the cattle herds on reserves in southern Alberta and the Federal Government was forced to provide a special grant to purchase feed and to provide food and clothing for Indian people.⁸ In 1938 a special relief allowance set funds aside for the purchase of livestock farming, machinery and tractors to offset the crop failures in Saskatchewan and Alberta.⁹

Indian Policy in The Depression Years

During the Great Depression, the Indian Department wavered between a guarded optimism and an even more defended pessimism regarding the future of Indian Agriculture. By 1935, it was clear that there were fewer Indian farmers than before and less acres were being cultivated on Indian Reserves in western Canada. Indian participation in agricultural competitions was encouraged in order to foster greater participation in farming. McGill commented, “experience has shown that Indian farmers are peculiarly responsive to the stimulus of prize competition and in this incentive they are spurred on to extensive efforts.”¹⁰

Beginning in 1933, the Indian Department began giving money for display and awarding of prizes to exhibitions and fairs for Indian handicrafts and agricultural produce. Revival of the production of native arts and crafts was promoted as a means to supplement individual income and to prevent Indians from becoming indigent. At the same time, the Indian Act was amended so that the rigid restrictions formerly placed on the participation of Indian people in exhibitions, stampede or pageants were removed and the wearing of “aboriginal costume” did not require the approval of the Superintendent General or local Indian Agent.¹¹

The revival in native handicraft extended into the Indian schools. Dr. Harold McGill, the Deputy Superintendent, informed Calgary Stampede officials that native handicrafts were to be taught in the Indian schools and that the Indian Department would provide prize monies for the exhibition of Indian handicraft and schoolwork and agricultural produce.¹² Displays of Indian handicraft reflected, in part, the new emphasis on manual training in Indian education. Handicrafts were to be exhibited under the categories of Indian fancy work, needlework and writing, annual training, household science and art under the several grades of school work with additional categories provided for non-students. Indian gardens and fields also received special prizes with the adjudication conducted by regional inspectors. Continuing restrictions placed on trading, barter and the sale of goods and produce meant that native people had to obtain permission from the Indian Agent before engaging in economic exchange.

By 1937, the Indian Department had established a welfare and training service with education now defined as a lifelong endeavour and as a “process that should continue throughout life” for native individuals.¹³ Indian education continued to be closely identified with the provision of welfare during the depression era and annual reports of the Indian

Department included references to the rehabilitation of the Indian populations.¹⁴ The continuation of a scientific approach to Indian education during the Great Depression was reflected in new concerns with fitting education to the actual needs of Indian life. Russel Ferrier, Superintendent of Indian Education, instructed all principals that “the expenditure on Indian education will be wasted if there is not a direct correlation between exercises and duties and home life on the reserve.”¹⁵

Provincial curricula were followed with emphasis placed on manual training, agriculture, gardening, and carpentry for boys and homemaking, dressmaking, crochet work and elementary domestic science for girls.¹⁶ The Department of Indian Affairs had taken up enthusiastically the idea of education at the high school and post-secondary levels for native students by the late 1920s. A second trend was the increasing emphasis on vocational training particularly in the residential schools. By 1938, department policy included the provision of basements in schools so that vocational instruction could be provided for Indian students. In 1931, the age of compulsory attendance was changed to include all children between the ages of 7 and 16 with special provision to maintain more promising students until the age of 18. Schools were to become the “focal points of community life - centres to which children and adults [*would*] turn for guidance, instruction and inspiration.”¹⁷ Schools also became the basis for Indian health care with medical care and extended health provisions including dentistry provided for reserve populations and resident students.

By 1932, the Department of Indian Affairs notified all teachers and local Agents that there would have to be drastic curtailments in expenditures for all medical and hospital services. Government officials stated in the early 1930s that the increasing Indian population showed that the Indians of the West [*had*] to some degree won an immunity from the white man’s disease” or tuberculosis.¹⁸ In 1934 with declining mortality rates and increasing birth

rates, McGill claimed that, “[t]here [was] no foundation for the common belief that the Indians of Canada [were] a vanishing race.”¹⁹ But progress in Indian health also was provisional upon the unique situation of the Canadian Indian. Government Officials assumed that Indian people were trained in personal hygienic and otherwise grounded in the fundamentals of preventative medicine.²⁰ Failure to comply with these standards was often cited as the cause of continuing problems with tuberculosis in native communities.

By the mid-1930s, the Indians of Canada were defined as part of the larger community of health care recipients in Canada. This was made clear in the Regulations for the Medical Services established in 1934. Regulations included the provision that “The first object is to protect the community at large, and the Indians as a part of that community, from the effects which would result from the spread of communicable diseases. The second was that, “Indian wards of the Government should not lack inclusive care in sickness.”²¹

There was general agreement that tuberculosis was endemic to native populations by the 1930s. At the same time the report of the survey of Residential Schools in Saskatchewan carried out by the Anti-Tuberculosis League of that province released its report. Of the 1091 pupils examined in 10 Residential Schools and in one day school, 22 children had active pulmonary TB, 33 had small or incipient TB defects in their lungs, 85 had chronic TB and 17 were healed cases. With these findings, the Indian Department came under pressure to bring tuberculosis programs into line with that of the provinces.²² For tubercular patients, chronic cases were to be cared for at home with special food coming from the medical appropriation.²³ Indian Department policy was not to authorize admission of patients suffering from tuberculosis to sanatoria or hospitals unless patients required institutional care for the relief of what officials called, “actual suffering.”²⁴ The Tsuu T’ina were therefore not the exception but the rule as far as the status of Indian health was concerned. The early

intervention in the Tsuu T'ina case and the continuing operation of the reserve hospital, however, was a departure from the norm.

Beginning in 1932, the salaries of all teachers of Indian day schools were reduced by 10 percent.²⁵ The reduction was opposed vehemently by the churches. The General Secretary of the MSCC informed the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in 1932 that the accumulated overdraft on School accounts as of the end of 1931 was \$64,903.332.²⁶ In 1938 Gould was more explicit. He informed McGill: "our bankers are getting uneasy."²⁷ The department wavered on whether or not it should continue the system of residential schools. By 1936, there were 70 residential schools, 270 day schools and 10 combined white and Indian schools. In a ten year period there was an increase of 22 percent in the number of Indian children attending school.²⁸ The 1932 census indicates that of the 23,290 Indian children of school age, 16,400 were attending Indian schools and an additional 300 being educated in White Schools.²⁹

Departmental policy aimed at educating students so that they could compete with their white peers. New objectives for future generations included education to allow individuals to make the most of their available resources and talents for the services of the bands to which they belonged and to foster pride of racial original and cultural heritage in the adjustment to modern life, progress and self-support.³⁰ The new vision of Indian education placed the school as the focal point in community life as a center to which children and adults would turn for guidance, instruction and inspiration in agricultural and homemaking courses.

The Retirement of John William Tims and Winnifred Tims

The retirement of John William Tims in 1930 marked the end of a reserve mission in which the ideology of the 19th century evangelical movement held sway. Tims, however,

continued to interfere in the running of the school long after his retirement. On his retirement, he requested the Anglican Church appoint a person to teach and to act as missionary in the Tsuu T'ina community. Tims once again suggested the Sarcee Boarding School be taken away from the Department and operated as a residential school.³¹ The nomination of the schoolteacher should be, in his view, in the hands of the MSCC. Tims reminded the MSCC executive, "no other teachers than Anglican have ever taught on this Reserve."³²

The Secretary of the MSCC discussed the matter with Scott. The result was the decision not to make any changes. On his retirement Tims sought to secure along with his stipend of \$1200 per annum, \$350 from his continuing role in two white parishes and \$500 from the Diocese of Calgary so that he would "be able to live reasonably conformably."³³ He also requested and received a special grant from the Church Missionary Society to buy a house in the city of Calgary.

Reverend Ross Gibney, Tims' replacement, had had a liberal education in Ireland and was a fully qualified teacher. Gibney assumed the dual role of teacher and missionary. He received a stipend of \$1800 per year for his work on the reserve, also replacing Winnifred Tims who retired at the same time as her father. Gibney is remembered as a good teacher who encouraged his students to go on to high school. In 1930, three grade eight pupils - Violet Manywounds, Violet Starlight and Rose Otter - passed their entrance exams into high school. The three girls knew no English when they first entered the school as young children. The girls who passed the entrance exam following grade eight were taking their first year of high school.³⁴ Two of the girls completed their first year of high school under the tutelage of Ross Gibney. One of the girls, Rose Runner, recalled, "I finished my diploma ... I was eighteen, we lost our teacher, Miss Tims and then they brought the minister, Mr. Gibney

... and it was very hard to go through out tests. That's the hardest thing to teach yourself but we made it, just three of us."³⁵

The day school was in a separate building. Gibney endeavoured to decorate the room with pictures and examples of pupils' art and map work.³⁶ In 1932, the day school was temporarily relocated to a room on the second floor of the hospital. The hours of schoolwork now were longer with classes held between 9:30 a.m. and noon and from 1:30 to 3:30 p. m. with no recesses. The children were brought to school in a wagon from each group of houses while older children came on horseback. A good midday meal was provided and the children were fed before they left at the end of each day.

School reports by School and Indian Department inspectors were highly favourable during the 1930s. Inspector Christianson noted the classwork was satisfactory and that the children looked well.³⁷ There were by then 28 students on the register with 25 the average attendance. Christianson confirmed the positive dimensions of the new school operation. Christianson found the children well dressed and looking healthy. He was impressed with the school work and praised Gibney's teaching.³⁸ By December of 1932, there was an average attendance of 25 on the register with an enrollment of 28 Tsuu T'ina students (Appendix 3.1). Three girls received their diplomas in the previous year.³⁹ By 1933, one of the girls had since been married while the other two were still attending school.⁴⁰

The Diocese of Calgary retained a titular role as the administrative body, which had control of the Sarcee Day School, but the Department of Indian Affairs maintained a watchful eye on the institution. The overarching policy of the MSCC with regard to Indian schooling continued to be one of integration and the achievement of "full and unrestricted citizenship."⁴¹ The Sarcee School was referred to as being taken over by the government and turned into a hospital in the annual reports of the MSCC.

By 1933, it was the policy of the Indian Department that they and not the churches would appoint teachers for Indian schools in Canada.⁴² The MSCC continued to run up an operating deficit of \$64,903.32 by 1932 with the MSCC providing the sum of 69 cents of every dollar provided by the Department for operating residential schools.⁴³ The more positive aspects of the operation of the Sarcee Day School could not offset the financial problems of the Sarcee Mission. By the end of December 1932, Ross Gibney informed the Secretary Treasurer of the Diocese of Calgary that the “income this year will not meet current expenses.”⁴⁴

The Tsuu T’ina Agency and Mission included 25 non-Tsuu T’ina individuals by 1935. This included staff members and their families.⁴⁵ The Sarcee Day School and the reserve hospital were regarded as government facilities. The Indian Department maintained that all reserve hospitals were not to be regarded as, “religious institution[s] used to promote the interest of any religious denomination.”⁴⁶ In 1932, Tsuu T’ina pupils ceased to reside in the school but were fed and received clothing as day students.⁴⁷ The hospital continued to operate with as many as ten patients admitted from the Tsuu T’ina community as well as from other reserves in Alberta.

Retrospective of John William Tims

The heroic nature of the mission of John William Tims appeared to be confirmed by those in attendance at the 24th Synod of the Diocese of Calgary in 1931. Tims in his last report to the Anglican Synod included himself among what he referred to as:

“ ... the last of that band of men who since 1822 have been sent into this country by the CMS of England and have under God’s blessing been instrumental in the evangelization of the native races in the Province of Rupert’s Land as well as in laying the foundations of the Church in preparation for the flow of immigrants which has since taken place.”⁴⁸

Tims acknowledged that Murray now had control of the hospital and to a certain extent the school. He complained that Murray had from the first ignored him. Tims further claimed that Murray informed him that Roman Catholic Sisters could run the hospital better.⁴⁹ During his retirement, Tims developed an autobiographical presence in the Calgary community. He regularly gave talks to Church officials and came to be regarded as an “old-timer” in the development of Western Canada. In his 1932 Missionary Broadcast, he claimed to have taken the three pillars of Missionary Commission from the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles: “to ‘make disciples, to baptize and to teach.”⁵⁰ There was a profound irony in the remarks of a man who had lost sight of the differences between his own interests and those of his parish whose numbers had so diminished.

On his retirement, Tims notified the general secretary of the MSCC that there were about 85 members of the church and over 70 had gone to church on Christmas day in 1930. There were about 26 children in the day school, most of whom were boarders in the hospital. Tims claimed that most students were, “children of our people.”⁵¹ Religious affiliations in the Tsuu T’ina community included: Anglicans (64 percent), Roman Catholic (7 percent) with the remainder of 23 percent recorded as “Pagans” at the time of Tims’ retirement (Appendix 4.1).

Tims continued to lobby the Indian Department to nominate an Anglican to fill the joint role of Indian Agent and Physician. Once again, Tims harped about the appointment of Murray: “Mr. Duncan Scott told me that the Department was unaware until after the appointment made that Dr. Murray was a R. C. and assured me that if he in any way interfered with our work a change would have to be effected.”⁵² Tims complained that Murray “from the very first ignored me.” He asked the secretary to understand “how difficult my position has been and how necessary it is that immediate steps should be taken

to secure suitable work or workers to take over the duties my daughter and I are resigning.” Tims similarly informed the Bishop of Calgary of his views of the matter.⁵³

Winnifred Tims- Retrospective on Reserve Life

Winnifred Tims retired in 1930 after serving for 18 years as teacher on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve (Plate 44). Throughout her retirement, she published articles in Calgary papers and in missionary literature about life in an Indian community. Her reflections provide a critical insight into reserve life and her often overly-romanticized view of the reserve parish in which the Church was the heart. Seating in the church of St. Barnabas Church mirrored the implicit hierarchy and social ranking of the community. Winnifred Tims noted the school children had special pews on one side with older boys and men behind them. The women with babies and children sit in the very far back of the church. Services were conducted largely in Blackfoot.⁵⁴

Winnifred Tims recorded that the Christian names of Tsuu T'ina individuals following baptism such as Ruby Evangeline, Lillian Christina and Cecil Maurice had been found in books and magazines. She described wood frame houses painted white with red trimmings in groups of four or five each with a common stable several hundred yards behind. In her view, “the heart of the parish is of course the Church.” Her notes preserve a strong record of the ideology of the CMS mission:

“The better homes are those where both father and mother have been educated in the Mission School; the most satisfactory as a rule are those where only one had any education at all and especially when it is the husband he feels superior and is prone after a time to neglect his wife who never had a change to learn anything of the cleanliness and kind of cooking to which he became accustomed in the School.”⁵⁵

The recollections of Winnifred Tims regarding reservation life to which she was an outsider nevertheless provide some insights into the material conditions, which Murray was

able to improve. She recalled the preferences of certain individuals to sleep on mattresses on the floor at night. Similarly, she recalled that it was common to eat half-rotten fruit bought cheaply with strong much-boiled tea and the smoking of tobacco even among younger children. For water, old women would have to walk two or three miles to a spring or creek fill a four-gallon petrol and carry it home on her back again.⁵⁶ Young Tsuu T'ina would take large barrels in their wagons to the creek but in winter a hole would have to be chopped through the thick ice. While younger Tsuu T'ina took their wagons to the creek for water, the uneven prairie made it impossible to reach their homes without spilling a great deal of the water. In the view of Winnifred Tims, the Indian was unfairly criticized for being dirty.

Tims also described the common occurrence of death on the reserve. She was familiar with students sitting in the classroom with bandages covering tubercular sores (Plate 45). The death of children in the community and its effects on family members were recounted with reference to a young boy who in a delirium had jumped out of a third story window in the boarding school. The child survived the fall but died several days later from tuberculosis, she recalled:

“The parents had in bitterness of heart declared that they would have no more to do with God and three or four years went by before they came to Church or allowed their children to be baptized. Her mother had a dream in which she saw her children and a bird that kept flying down to them. But somehow it could not. Again and again it tried. She then told her mother’s sister who told her: ‘don’t you see it’s the Holy Spirit that wants to come to your children but you are keeping Him away.’ And the faith of the parents was renewed despite the loss of three more of their children.

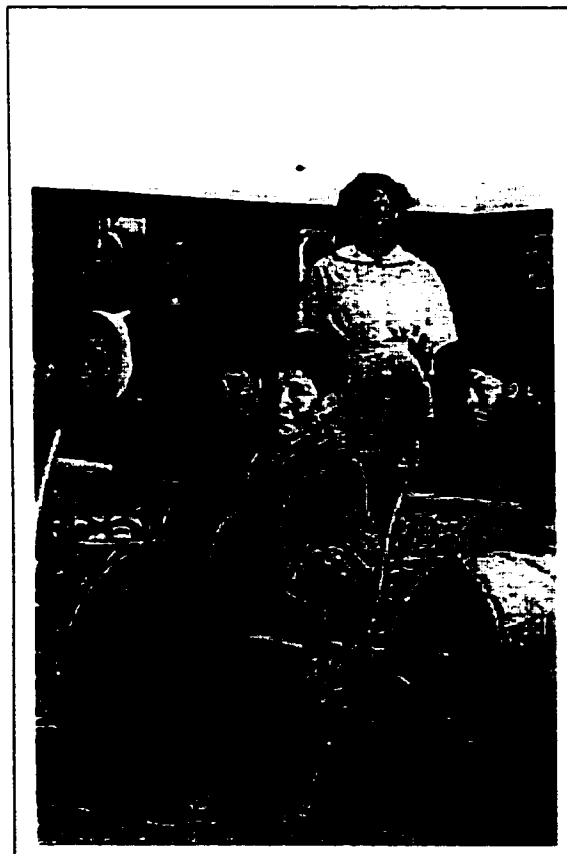
Winnifred Tims commented that “they were ennobled to give them without the terrible loss of trust in the all-tender Father.”

The Anti-Tubercular Movement and Reflections By Thomas Murray

The belief that such terrible losses could be comforted in such a manner was not the foremost thought in the minds of the founders of the Canadian Tuberculosis Association



**Plate 44: Teacher Winnifred Tims with her class in St. Barnabas School, 1912
(GA # NA 1020-17)**



**Plate 45: Detail From Above Photograph with Tsuu T'ina student
wearing bandages to cover tubercular sores**

(CTA) formed in 1907. The CTA drive to improve conditions for Indians in the Prairie Provinces in the 1930s was spearheaded by provincial Anti-Tubercular Leagues. The extension of scientific medicine into the Tsuu T'ina community did not preclude the continuation of Indian medicine by some individuals or combining both Indian and forms of medical care based in the Western scientific tradition. The Inspector of Indian agencies in the spring of 1940 described two TB patients who had been treated in the Sarcee Hospital. One TB patient was taking treatment at her home. Mirroring the new practices introduced by Murray, the patient stayed in a cabin specially built beside her parents' house with the care being provided by her mother.⁵⁷

The regulation and monitoring of communicable diseases was extended to Indian Reserves whereby in the 1930s attending physicians were required to report all cases to the Department of Indian Affairs. The compilation of statistics became an increasingly important part of the work of the Medical Division of the Department of Indian Affairs. The work was, in part, comparative. Department statistics indicated that in the early 1940s the tuberculosis rate among native people in Canada was 761 per 100,000 in sharp contrast to the rate of 45.3 for the non- native population.⁵⁸

The Indian Department spent a considerable amount maintaining the Sarcee Hospital in the early 1930s. In 1930 to 1931, the hospital cost \$11,802.07 to operate. Salaries for the head matron, assistant matron, and cook and general labourer totalled \$2940 with an additional allowance of \$360 for the head matron.⁵⁹ The hospital staff was reduced by this time to Dr. Murray, a practical nurse and a cook. The Sarcee Hospital operation was scaled down with the decreasing need and cost \$5049.28 to operate while the agency cost \$8428.62 per annum. Indian Department officials acknowledged, by this time, that it was "really scarcely a hospital."⁶⁰

The costs of running the Sarcee Agency totalled \$11,231.07.⁶¹ This amount included the annual salaries and wages of the Agency staff. In 1930-1931, staff members and their salaries included: Dr. T. Murray as Indian Agent and Physician paid \$3219.96, Mrs. Marie Murray, his wife, who acted as Agency clerk paid \$199.92 and Ernie Hetherington, farm instructor paid \$1320. Peter Manywounds received \$1260 as interpreter for the agency as well as \$480 as an allowance. Both Murray and the farm instructor received an additional \$600 as a living allowance.

During the Depression years there were curtailments made in medical spending on most Indian reserves in Canada. McGill ordered Agents to practice the "strictest economy." Funds for dental work were suspended as were admissions of Indian women to public hospitals for their confinement and the maintenance of Indian patients in hospitals and sanatoria.⁶² There were no funds available for tuberculosis surveys. Admission to the Tsuu T'ina hospital was continued as was the high level of care supervised by Dr. Murray. Adults were usually treated in their homes before being admitted to the hospital.

In 1932, the fiscal constraints imposed on Government spending led to a parliamentary debate about maintaining the Sarcee Hospital in its present form. In that year the total operating cost of the hospital was \$11,265 including Murray's salary as doctor of \$1180, staff salaries of \$3580, the cost of fuel, food and light at \$2254 and \$3251 to cover the cost of clothing and food for the children, repairs and replacement of furniture and utensils.⁶³

The school had remained a boarding school for 25 to 30 pupils who attended school in the day school. The children slept in the top two floors of the old boarding school. As an economy measure, the children were sent home in February of 1932 and no longer boarded at the school. The Department paid \$500 to transport the children who had to travel as far

as four to six miles each way. Some of the older pupils rode on horseback to school each day. Clothing for the school children was still provided as were meals in the school.

Together with reductions of 20 percent in staff salaries, the department was able to save approximately \$5000 without compromising the health status of the children. The role of the interpreter at the Agency was discharged and the present caretaker of the hospital Mr. Duyn took over the duties that the interpreter performed for a saving of \$600.⁶⁴ The hospital remained a hospital. Murray endorsed the decision noting that the cost of groceries and meat were \$742.22, clothing \$609.07, coal including haulage from Midnapore \$434.83, plumbing \$330.32, hardware \$44.19, hay for dairy cattle \$80, kerosene cylinder oil and gasoline 93.37 and wages to November at \$1224 for a total of \$3662.81 in 1932. This meant that everything had been pared to the limit.⁶⁵

Murray was invited to give testimony before the Conference on Tuberculosis Among Indians in Canada held in Ottawa in 1937 (Plate 46 and 47).⁶⁶ He reported that all of the 35 children of school age had had tuberculosis, including seven active pulmonary cases when he arrived in 1921. Murray could report that of the 35 children, there were 34 still living in 1937 sixteen years later. He stated the hospitalization of the patients on the reserve, and particularly the isolation of tubercular patients, were the most important measures put into place. The isolation, he noted, had resulted in no further trouble since the first year.

By 1937, Murray noted that there were thirty-two students, of whom two had tuberculosis - one in the ankle and one in the wrist. He further stated that no one had scrofula or glandular tuberculosis or the more life-threatening pulmonary form. The great improvement in the overall economic conditions of the Tsuu T'ina was also cited by Murray as partly the reason for the great improvement in health on the reserve.



Plate 46: Foxtail, Dr. Murray and Lame Bull with Peter Manywounds in doorway at Christmas Feast, c. 1920s (GA #NA 667-700)



Plate 47: Dr. Thomas Francis Murray, Indian Agent c. 1930 (GA # NA 5399-2)

The Tsuu T'ina population continued to decline until 1930 (Appendix 1.1). By 1935 the number of births was roughly double the number of deaths each year. In 1940, the crude birth rate was 36.14 and the crude death rate, 18.07. The Tsuu T'ina continued to be an aging population throughout the 1930s. In 1933 to 1934, the population was split roughly 50/50 between those under and over 20 years of age. It was only after 1940 that individuals under the age of 16 formed the majority of the population.

Work and The Reflections of John Onespot

John Onespot, graduate of the Sarcee Boarding School and the Calgary Industrial School, had acted as chief stockman at the Sarcee Indian Agency for many years (Plate 48 and 49). In 1947, the ethnologist Diamond Jenness testified about the experiences of John Onespot before the Special Joint Committee of The Senate and The House of Commons appointed to examine the Indian Act:

“Again, I asked the keeper of the pound on the Sarcee Indian reserve near Calgary why he did not try to increase his miserable income by working as a harvester for some of the white farmers round about. “I used to,” he answered, “but because I am an Indian the white farmer pay me only \$2.50 a day instead of the \$4 they pay their white labourers, although I work just as hard as the white labourer.”⁶⁷

Individual income and the pattern of work for Tsuu T'ina labourers such as John Onespot had changed little from the time of the establishment of the Tsuu T'ina Reserve.

Life was very difficult for the Old Sarcee people during the Great Depression. Rations were provided for the sick, the aged and the destitute in the community. The recollections of today's Tsuu T'ina Elders confirm the harsh conditions and the remarks of John Onespot. One Elder recalled:

“My grandfather said that time, he tell my mom they guess that they tell by nature that if its' going to be a good winter or good crops...fields like hay and fields...she shad that he knew that it was going to be bad...from the nature...from the birds and the horses...and everything...they didn't' call it the depression...they call it they going to starve, a lot of starvation, no wheat, no flour, no garden, no planting potatoes...they couldn't grow wheat

in the fields for flour and animals, too...they seem to notice that them that [*the animals*] don't multiply...they died more than when there's starvation."⁶⁸

Life was hard during the depression for many Tsuu T'ina families. David Crowchild recalled, "the Depression that was toughest, I hope it won't come. 1930s depression. That was the toughest. Boy...rabbits or gophers. I'm not saying other people. But myself, that was what happened to me."⁶⁹ Mrs. Violet Crowchild remembered that during the 1930s, "they made enough to make a living ... to feed and cloth us ... but not to put anything aside."⁷⁰ The 1930s is remembered by Tsuu T'ina Elders as a time of extreme hardship. Helen Meguinis, a Tsuu T'ina Elder of Generation Three, recalled:

"The thirties were a hard period. You always hear about how it affected White people but not the Indians. I remember that nothing would grow. There would be rations. We'd get beef and flour every couple of weeks, rice every second Wednesday."⁷¹

For Harold Crowchild, there was little work during the Great Depression:

"I found one job, just for a week or so, pulling stumps off a hillside on a reserve in B. C. Apart from that, I broke horses and had some ponies which I sold for fox meat. " I married Violet Otter in 1935 ... After we got married we lived with Bertie [*Crowchild*] for a year or so. I worked for Oscar Otter doing farming and odd jobs. Then we lived with them and they had a small shack. We had no running water which we had to get from a spring and we used wood to heat the house."⁷²

Rose Otter married George Runner in 1932. Starting life during the Great Depression was not easy. Mrs. Runner remembered, "George and I farmed 80 acres much the same way that my father had. There was wheat, oats, hay and some cattle and horses. We made a living. I also did house cleaning for the white people."⁷³ George Runner graduated from the boarding school in the 1930s having completed grade six. After he left the school:

"my father died before I went to school. Joe Big Plume took over everything; the farm, the horses. After school, I went to work for white people. I worked at Pat Burns in town, cutting meat. I had no place to stay; I stayed with my cousin. I bought two old cows and would leave them with anybody to feed and milk, then I would sell the calves. I collected money this way until I had \$155. Then I bought 7 cows and raised cows. I worked my way up to 42 head."⁷⁴

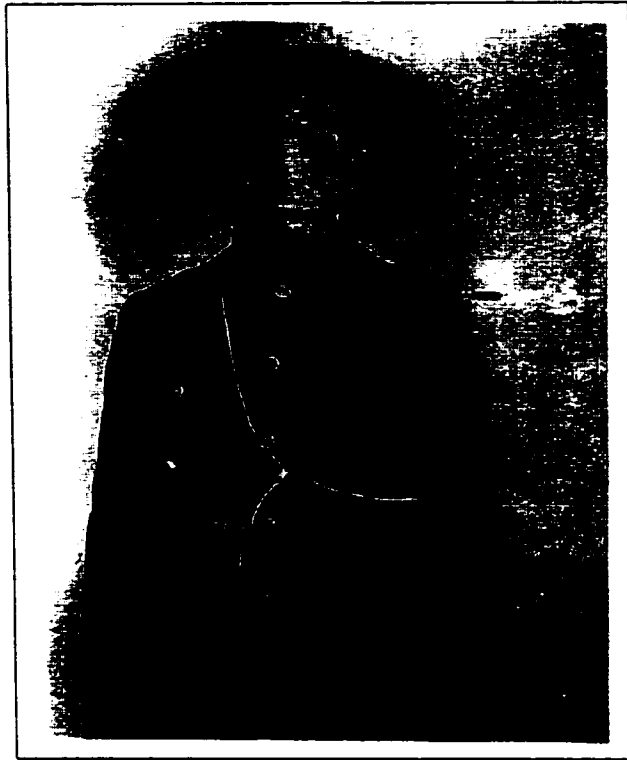


Plate 48: John Onespot - NWMP Scout, 1912 (GA #NA 26-6)



Plate 49: John Onespot at Harvest, Tsuu T'ina Reserve, c. 1920s (TTNA #131)

After they were married, George Runner remembered:

“I stayed with my father-in-law and worked for about a year before we were married. Then we moved from a house in the old village to our present house. I had about 30 head of cattle and some land. I hired a man from Priddis who plowed it. We cleared brush on the land with an axe.”⁷⁵

Another Elder, Dick Big Plume married Lucy Onespot in 1932. His father, Jack Big Plume raised horses. He was in the Sarcee Boarding School after 1910 and experienced many years of separation from his family and the terrible conditions of the school between that time and the 1920s. He remembered:

“I went to school at the boarding school on the reserve. I completed Grade 4. I had to work outside the boarding school. At school they taught me English and to read and write ... After I finished school, I started a farm. My uncle was Chief Joe Big Plume and I got 20 acres. I farmed and ranched. I kept on farming and ranching after I got married.”⁷⁶

During the Great Depression, Dick and Lucy Big Plume were able to earn a living. He shared food with other people on the reserve who were less fortunate. Lucy Big Plume, remembered that time: “Grandpa [*her husband*] used to feed a lot of the old people who didn't have any money. They couldn't work to buy anything. We used to keep cows and chickens so we'd have eggs and milk. We also used to hunt for wild meat.”⁷⁷

The Tsuu T'ina people, as a whole, worked hard, despite the opinions of church and government officials. Their work, however, did not always conform to the norms that were introduced. Wealth and success were often measured in different ways. There were always differences between appearances and realities. Mrs. Hilda Big Crow remembered that before the 1920s:

“the old Sarcee people ... they weren't lazy, I know they used to do a lot of farming and they raise cattle and horses ... one of my father's relatives called Knife, he used to have about 400 head of horses running all over the reserve and some ... my husband's Dad, Big Crow, he raise cattle, he had about two hundred they said.”⁷⁸

Women also worked hard to contribute to the family living. To make a living during the 1930s, one Tsuu T'ina woman, said:

“I used to cut pickets for sale and they'd go for two cents. We take it to the sale to MacLeans' sale, we used to take them on the wagon, anything to make money. Some worked for White People...picking potatoes in the fall... We used to move up to the foothills and haul wood, where the wood is, it's very dry for stoves, we used to haul it down. They stopped it when the new stoves came along, they don't sell wood anymore.”⁷⁹ During the 1930s, there were few horses and no tractors. Men would harness up at seven in the morning and they had to go out in the field. Women, like Louise Big Plume, did a lot of stooking after the grain was cut.⁸⁰

Remembering The Past: “The Whole Country is Holy Land”

The separation between the traditional Indian past of what came directly before the Treaty era and reserve life appears most vividly in the minds of the Generation Three. The first Tsuu T'ina reserve community built by the “Old Sarcee People” is remembered as a better time and a better place. One Elder's stated: “so there are people who took the love way ... it's just like they took everything, the tradition, our religious ... all our Indian religion ... when the white people, they took everything way from us, just like they swept it away.”⁸¹ For some members of generation three, today's Elders, “it's the same story on every reserve ... the missions.”⁸² The old Sarcee people are remembered as being very kind. The fabric of the old culture was disrupted through the influence of others - whites and other Indians - who moved onto the Tsuu T'ina Reserve.

For individuals who were in the Sarcee Boarding School, Tims' example as a religious leader in the community is fraught with contradiction. For the mother of one of today's Elders:

“[h]er feelings weren't good ... she used to say that he used to teach her the Bible. She really knew the Bible. She was always reading the Bible and that part, she liked learning about the church but she used to say that for a man who worked for God, to supposed to be a Christian man, a kind hearted person, well, he wasn't a kind hearted person.”⁸³

The material deprivation also remained a bitter memory:

“she used to say today the kids can eat what they want, so nice to eat nice food like butter and jam and milk and meat and vegetables ... she said that when she went to school the only time we had jam was Sunday ... they put it on the toast and never butter ... they put rendered fat on the bread, never butter, maybe once in awhile.”

The legacy of Tims' mission, however, has left more than bitterness, divisiveness and fear. The resilience of the Tsuu T'ina in the face of adversity and overwhelming odds of survival is a testament to their strength as a people. This strength, in part, derives from an enduring faith in life and a fatalistic view of their history. These attributes developed and existed independently of the influence of Christian missions. Helen Meguinis, an Elder, when reflecting on the past, stated:

“[t]he old people worshipped the Creator, that's what they called what we call Jesus. But, you know when I think about all those terrible things in this world. I thinking that it is near the end, when we get born again. The old people used to say that you couldn't change the past, you had to go on.”⁸⁴

An enduring fatalism about life is perceived to be a legacy of an older time and of the old Sarcee People who were very spiritual. Violet Crowchild, remembered the Old Sarcee People:

“they always say that the Creator was the one that had your days marked and as long as you prayed to him, you get help, whether you die when you are young or when you were an old person. That was the saying of the Sarcees, the old people ... even when you give them food or tobacco, they say I pray that you'll grow up to be an old man or an old lady ... and the Creator will look after you ... and they not scared to die ... and they don't say that you're going to the Devil.”⁸⁵

In contrast to the strong message of punishment in the afterlife, the old religion taught that:

“you go to a nice place when you die.” Mrs. Violet Crowchild stated, “I heard that story from old lady Starlight ... his spirit came back and he ... maybe it wasn't time for him to die ... and his spirit came back ... and he told the people about the place you're going to go when you die and it's beautiful.”

The idea of teaching children about hell is, in the view of many of today's Elders, the worst legacy of the reserve mission. One Elder mentioned, "It was bad because you know in a way, they could have prepared you for coping with your living ... instead of this you're going to hell and, if you do this, something's going to happen to you."⁸⁶

The Tsuu T'ina Reserve was both a place of community definition while, at the same time, it became a space in which the people were confined and their former lives lost. This idea of defining a collective identity in relation to a new reserve system that was imposed is best expressed by a Tsuu T'ina Elder: "I can't stand seeing those eagles in the zoo all caged in ... it really bothers me ... they should be flying free in the mountains, the sky and the air ... the eagle is sacred to Indian people ... In the old days, the Indian people always used to move around ... free"⁸⁷

The day to day struggle also resulted for many in a stoicism about life. Louise Big Plume, another Elder, celebrates each day:

"it was very, very hard, it was a very hard life and I thank God everyday I'm here today ... thank God every day, not only for my family. I ask God to protect everybody on the reserve not just for myself and my family, its' everyday life."⁸⁸

The boarding school experience was, for her, "pretty rough but at least they taught us about God."⁸⁹ The pain of the deprivation is now seen through humour: "That's why we're all not bigger, we were all so skinny and I guess we didn't have enough but we had cows, just the staff [*of the school*] had butter, that I remember, they always had butter on the table."⁹⁰

All of the individuals from generation one, who were born between 1888 and 1890 and schooled before 1894 and 1910, are gone. There are only a handful of individuals left from the generation that succeeded them. The extreme dislocation and cultural loss the second generation felt was summarized by one Elder: "since the old people died, the one that used to carry on the tradition, it's like there's nothing left."⁹¹

For Generation Two, the parents of today's Elders, the impact of tuberculosis and Spanish Influenza in the Tsuu T'ina community forms part of a constellation of memories about loss of one's friends, family and relatives as well as suffering and the often bitter legacy of improper care and treatment as children. Two Tsuu T'ina Elders recalled after the Spanish Influenza "there were one or two left out of sixteen. Everyday somebody died."⁹² The feeling of loss also relates to the Tsuu T'ina history. Mary Onespot, another Elder, felt, that "since, we all went to boarding school, we learned bad things. When the boarding school was open, our parents put us in the boarding school and we didn't know what was going on. We didn't know much about history. There's no one to tell history of Sarcees."⁹³

The Old Agency Site is associated with the old Tsuu T'ina people, the ones who so missed the taste of buffalo when they first came to the reserve. This location is remembered as the place the "old people used to camp ... [*before*] they moved out west" on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve.⁹⁴ Ideas about the Old Agency Site differ according to the experiences, values, beliefs and interests of the individual. The site and reserve land is still held to be "sacred" by those who had a direct association with the buildings and with the land in the past and were students in the Sarcee Boarding School.⁹⁵ The reserve land, like all land, is still part of creation as Tsuu T'ina Elder Dick Big Plume said, "the whole country is holy land ... all land is sacred."⁹⁶

The past for this generation is remembered as the time before money and before welfare was available in which people shared, prayed, danced and mourned together and visited one another. The economic cycle that necessitated the formation of hay camps in the summer each year also resulted in creating an opportunity for learning. This time of the year provided one of the few ways that Tsuu T'ina children had to learn about their past, their language and their culture from their parents and relatives.

Edward Onespot remembered the hay camps in late summer:

“a group of people all camped together ... in the summertime, as soon as it gets warm weather comes, they go out and they camp together in one group. After they ... after that, when they go back to their everyday life, they got their own little villages, by themselves in the family. Once the winter came.”⁹⁷

Another Elder learned traditional skills from Mrs. Leah Sarcee, wife of Old Sarcee in the summer camps:

“his old lady, she’s the one that teach me everything ... she used to tell me ... we all together ... we all camped together ... she taught me how to bead. She just push, I was a slave but I’m thankful I learned all these things from here ... right down to tipi and everything. I learned all my culture from her. Mrs. Sarcee was the smartest woman.”⁹⁸

Indigenous history has also been preserved in the Tsuu T’ina language and in oral traditions which express different ideas about causality than non-native histories and Tsuu T’ina perceptions of their own distinctiveness. Memories of the Tsuu T’ina past are neither consistent in detail nor do they represent a uniform worldview. They, instead, include an often conflicting set of beliefs and attitudes about the past and about the nature of the differences between “white” and “Indian” worlds. The mission experience, for many individuals, instilled a feeling of shame about Indian identity and Tsuu T’ina culture. One Elder remembered his schooling in the era of the Spanish Influenza epidemic: “even the powwows, that’s very evil, they said ... that’s what Archdeacon said.”⁹⁹

The legends from the Old Sarcee people about the Tsuu T’ina past also were passed down from one generation to the next. For Hilda Big Crow, a Tsuu T’ina Elder, who was in the boarding school during the Spanish Influenza, knowledge of the past came from the old people. She recalled:

“I used to visit some old people such as Two Guns and Heavenfire and that David Onespot, his wife was my friend and her one old man. Sleigh. I used to visit him he’s got a wife I used to know. I spend an afternoon with them listening to them and I used to visit Dick Starlight’s father, the old man, he has a real good story, true stories and legend stories and all that.”¹⁰⁰

For today's Elders, those of the third generation, their formal education took place in the Sarcee Day School during a period of community recovery. The 1930s are recalled as more than a time of hardship. They were also a time in which true community spirit flourished. One Elder noted: "I remember in the old days everyone used to visit. All the sleighs used to be tied up at outside the church down there [*at Old Agency*]. There were fewer people then ... about 200. But, everyday someone used to visit. You know, down by Old Agency."¹⁰¹

Conclusions – Recovery and Renewal

The 1930s was a period of recovery for the Tsuu T'ina people. Life was hard and the Tsuu T'ina people struggled to make a living and to make ends meet. In the context of their overall history, however, the 1930s was a period in which the Tsuu T'ina population began to increase and in which the foundations of the modern community were established. The 1930s are remembered as a time of "community" in which people pulled together, fed each other in times of hardship and visited each other often.

The reserve landscape, for the Tsuu T'ina, was (and is) a connection with a past that inspired memory and the invention of cultural tradition. Hutton suggests that the past has its own power to inspire. History, in his view, is an art of memory situated at the crossroads between tradition and historiography.¹⁰² It is possible to interject the significance of "place" in this formulation for the reserve lands did provide an organizational grid upon which new ideas of history and of community were created by three generations of Tsuu T'ina people.

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- ⁷⁸ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mrs. Hilda Big Crow, 1995.
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- ⁸⁴ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mrs. Helen Meguinis, 8 September 1995.
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- ⁹¹ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mrs. Hilda Big Crow, 26 June 1995.
- ⁹² Ibid.
- ⁹³ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elders, Mrs. Mary Onespot and Mr. Frank Onespot, 8 October 1981. Quoted with permission of Tsuu T'ina Culture Program.
- ⁹⁴ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mrs. Rose Runner, 5 April 1995.
- ⁹⁵ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elders, Mr. George and Mrs. Rose Runner, 15 June 1995.
- ⁹⁶ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mr. Dick Big Plume, 18 November 1995.
- ⁹⁷ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mr. Edward Onespot, 24 October 1990.
- ⁹⁸ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elders, Mr. Frank Onespot and Mrs. Mary Onespot, 8 October 1981. Quoted with permission of Tsuu T'ina Culture Program.
- ⁹⁹ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder 4, 30 August 1995.
- ¹⁰⁰ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mrs. Hilda Big Crow, 26 June 1995.
- ¹⁰¹ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder, Mrs. Helen Meguinis, 10 September 1995.
- ¹⁰² P. Hutton in *History as An Art of Memory* (Hanover, 1993), 25. Hutton cites the contribution of Aries in this regard.

*CHAPTER FOURTEEN: CONCLUSIONS
PAST AND PRESENT AND TELLING A HISTORY OF
THE TSUU T'INA COMMUNITY 1890-1940*

“Once the motives, intentions, and imaginings of persons living or dead are allowed to speak from the historical record...it becomes impossible to see them as mere reflections of monolithic cultural structures or social forces.”¹

J. Comaroff and J. Comaroff, 1991

“Men play at tragedy because they do not believe in the reality of the tragedy which is actually being staged in the civilized world.”²

J. Ortega y Gasset, 1930

“A better course may be to refine historical models as much as possible, accept that they will remain crude tools at best, and use them delicately to make sense of past human experience.”³

P. Voisey, 1988

“Postcolonial...? What! Did I miss something? Have they gone?”

B. Sykes, 1992

Introduction - Memory, History and Community: Traces of The Tsuu T'ina Past

There are few structures still standing at the Old Agency site on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve with a connection to the period before 1940. Chief Bullhead's frame house, built in 1908 and for many years lived in by his descendants in the Big Plume family, is occupied by the Chief's great great granddaughter. The wood frame farmhouse of the farm instructor, surrounded by white picket fencing, sits abandoned. The Indian Agent's House, located across Old Agency Road from the farm instructor's house, is now used for administrative offices. There are still traces of the old trails the Tsuu T'ina used to travel to Chief Big Wolf's Camp and into Calgary.

The two-storey girls' wing of St. Barnabas Home, built in 1895, is in a dilapidated condition having been used as a chicken coop by the former resident Anglican Minister (Plate 50). The Sarcee Boarding School, completed in 1914 and converted to a hospital in 1921, fell

into disrepair and was demolished following the retirement of Dr. Thomas Murray in 1945. Parts of the concrete foundation of the original structure remain but these are overgrown with prairie grass. St. Barnabas Church survives but the mission house, built for John William Tims, mysteriously burned to the ground in 1952. The cause of the fire was never publicly explained.



Plate 50: Girls' Wing of St. Barnabas Boarding School, 1990

John William Tims died in 1945 just before the end of World War II and Dr. Thomas Murray in 1947 two years after his retirement. Murray is remembered by today's Elders as the "man who saved the Tsuu T'ina people" and as "the man who brought the Sarcee babies into the world." The legacy of Archdeacon John William Tims is fraught with controversy. One member of generation two is reported to have taken a big rock and thrown it on the casket at Tims' funeral. This action was taken, in his words, to say "good riddance."⁵ In another person's view, Archdeacon Tims "drove the boys to work and ... they received little in the way of education ... he's gone to hell in all likelihood,"⁶ Some Elders are

either too afraid of Tims' ghost or still too traumatized to speak of that time of their lives. Not everyone agrees with these views. Some individuals schooled in the Sarcee Day School in the 1920s feel that Tims brought God to the Tsuu T'ina people. They do not share the bad memories of the Sarcee Boarding School.

The Old Agency site today is surrounded on three sides by a golf course development. Old Agency Lodge, an alcohol treatment center, is located to the west and north of St. Barnabas Church. The Tsuu T'ina Band is now considering surrendering land for the construction of a major road to connect north and south sections of the City of Calgary. The construction of this road will obliterate all traces of the former mission and Indian agency on the reserve. There have been no concerted efforts by Tsuu T'ina band members to restore the buildings of the Old Agency site or to reclaim it as a political statement of self-empowerment and control.⁷

Writing a "Post-Colonial" History of The Tsuu T'ina Nation

The remnants of what once constituted "Old Agency" are situated at a place where Tsuu T'ina memories converge with history and where the challenge of writing a post-colonial history of the Tsuu T'ina is encountered. This analysis of Tsuu T'ina history clearly demonstrates the advantages of employing the major tenets of post-colonial history writing. Post-colonial history writing, in essence, dispels the myth of a "master narrative" in history writing, and substitutes, in its place, themes of complexity, contradiction and open-endedness.⁸ This perspective, together with a firm social theory foundation, broadens and deepens the scope for the analysis of modernization and development in First Nations' communities such as that of the Tsuu T'ina people.

The course of Tsuu T'ina history did not correspond to inherent tensions between local and master narratives and a polarity of structure and agency.⁹ Local narratives of the

Tsui T'ina past, in this regard, were not created in isolation but in relation to an "other" as a single plot.¹⁰ Processes of differentiation and homogenization, moreover, did not necessarily occur in antipathy as James Clifford and others have argued. Despite the assertions of Clifford and even Said that challenge universal history and therefore theory, post-colonial histories are part of processes of modernization and the formation of modern nation-states.¹¹ Sykes (above) notes in this regard, the colonial "presence" did not disappear. It is embodied in new forms of local narratives and a continuing colonization.

This analysis has described the complexity of the history of the Tsui T'ina community. The issue of homogeneity in Tsui T'ina culture through time has been brought into question in relation to the new forms of collective identity and difference within the physical boundaries of the Tsui T'ina Reserve. Rewriting native histories in this manner challenges the existence of a "nationalist history," but need not undermine a sense of overall historical process. Both cultural and economic factors were crucial factors in shaping Tsui T'ina community identity. Tsui T'ina, White or European and other history was complex and intertwined rather than representing separate spheres.¹² Ongoing transformations within Tsui T'ina culture constituted historical forces and "structures" in their own right.

It is, however, a difficult task to reconstruct an asymmetrical European/indigenous encounter and the continuing consequences of colonialism without recourse to essentialist interpretations of culture based on a simplified dichotomy of colonizer and colonized.¹³ The logical outcome of writing "local histories" within a restrictive framework of cultural relativism or essentialism, however, is that it may obscure the causes of the contemporary plight of indigenous people (Ortega Y Gasset above). This is precisely because essentialist arguments interpret the contemporary status of indigenous peoples within a rigid historicist perspective based on an inflexible model of a pristine native past interacting with a

monolithic colonial power. Chakrabarty suggests that the way for postcolonial history lies in critical engagement with the concepts and ideas that underpin and legitimate the nation-state.¹⁴ While this assertion may be only partially true, it ignores the fact that the causes of what Chakrabarty terms the “contemporary plight of indigenous people” also reside in local factors and in recent histories.

The history of the Tsuu T’ina community is a part of a large process of worldwide interactions of diverse cultures and communities.¹⁵ Many studies of local history contain as their referent or subject the name of the “tribe” itself and assume that they - the people - are a given.¹⁶ Such studies do not question the validity of the underlying construct of a “pre-contact” or “tribal” culture. Change and adaptation clearly were constant factors in the history of the Tsuu T’ina community and during the pre-reserve era. Writing the history of the Tsuu T’ina reserve community study implies that life for most people is lived face-to-face and, that previously, historians overlooked, suppressed or distorted this reality.¹⁷ Neither the state nor the cultures of indigenous peoples such as the Tsuu T’ina can be understood outside the context of the mutually formative and complex relationship between them. This dissertation has attempted, in part, to depict everyday life for the Tsuu T’ina but it has not ignored the interactions of metropolitan, colonial and frontier elements in the life of the Tsuu T’ina community.¹⁸

Social Theory and Community

This study has developed an unfolding *problématique* regarding the nature of “community” in history and the link between community identity and place. Analysis has focused on the question of understanding social change and cultural transformation situated within the contiguous geographical area of the Tsuu T’ina Reserve. The point of departure for the study was a demonstration that Tsuu T’ina “tribal” society, unless idealized, was not a

coherent, internally timeless and closed system that can be seen as part of development process occurring in an organic manner. This form of “ethnographic holism” as an artefact of an earlier ethnographic tradition and of contemporary native political rhetoric in which “primitive society” is viewed as antithetical to modern society.¹⁹

The placement of Tsuu T'ina community development, in this study, is anchored in the literature on emergent nationalism among minorities which are “imagined communities” within the modern nation-state.²⁰ For this purpose, a theoretical synthesis has been applied to the case study. The structural history approach of Marshall Sahlins is applied to examine the selective dimensions of change according to an underlying native logic of Tsuu T'ina culture. The rejection or accommodation of European beliefs preserved a core of native customs, beliefs and values that were re-defined as part of a “private” reserve culture. The survival of the Tsuu T'ina was, in large part, dependent upon their being able to construct new collective and individual identities that were linked to their reserve lands. The success of these attempts historically enabled the Tsuu T'ina to overcome the discontinuities caused by their displacement, dislocation and re-location.

The studies of Church and State in community formation in Africa described by Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff have provided a model for describing similar developments in Tsuu T'ina culture and the often unforeseen results of European/native interactions. The cultural history represented in the work of E. P. Thompson and Lynn Hunt *et al* also provided a tertiary level of constructs used to analyze economic changes in Tsuu T'ina culture that occurred through time.²¹

Forces of change in Tsuu T'ina history grew out of the inherent contradictions in the institutions and ideologies of everyday life, the creative power of secular and religious ritual, the significance of internal factors and the subtleties of the interplay between political,

cultural and economic factors. The fundamental question of how a diverse group of individuals come to think, feel and act as members of a single community must have recourse to more than the dimensions of tradition and the Marxist terms of power - domination or hegemony, resistance and accommodation. Divergent cultural interpretations of aspects of colonial rule raise significant questions about the recognition of differences and resistance by the historian. The Tsuu T'ina realities of community where human actions were never a simple reflection of social structure produced a subtle and shifting mosaic of social, economic and political forms.²²

This study has drawn on a longer time frame than many community studies. It clearly demonstrates the impossibility of asserting the existence of a homogenous invariant subject upon which the forces of the monolithic hegemony act in the *longue durée* (Comaroff and Comaroff above). While Anderson's concept that the nation-state formation entails a "hegemonic" struggle for homogenization and contested borders with peripheral heterogeneous units of the nation-as-community, it is readily apparent from the Tsuu T'ina example that contradictions in state policies fostered a diffuse set of responses.²³ Ironically, cultural pluralism arising from the diversity within the Tsuu T'ina reserve population, worked against the presumed homogenizing pressures of state power. The inherent diversity of any given resident population through time contradicts the assertion of immutable forms of structure and identity.²⁴

Integrative Approach To Canadian History Writing

Writing an integrative native history in the broader context of Canadian historiography is an extension of the ethnohistory, which developed in the 1960s. While acknowledging the overall grid of power structures that define the building of the nation-state, ethnohistory inspires us to see that different cultures produce a plural past in which

different people enact a variety of historical narratives.²⁵ It is therefore not possible to posit a fixed tribal or ethnic mind that stands stoically at the center of history, waiting to inspire and instruct the majority culture.²⁶ In removing the overt/covert Marxist theory of history, post-colonial histories accommodate a plurality of views “with no one precisely right or wrong.”²⁷

In Canadian history writing, the controversy over “fragmentation” belies a deeper concern with the claim to objective truth and singularity. Attempts to capture the truth of a nation history are ultimately challenged by the existence of “other histories.” The admission of “other histories” requires more than just completing the picture of Canadian history writing. It opens up possibilities for a comparative, interdisciplinary, and cross-cultural enrichment of the discipline.²⁸ This can only be accomplished with a strengthened theoretical and conceptual basis to link worldwide interactions for diverse cultures and communities in writing Canadian history.²⁹

Modernization and The Development of A Tsuu T’ina Reserve Culture

This study rests upon the assumption that it is possible to trace the process of modernization and development of Tsuu T’ina reserve-based culture through time without adopting the evaluative framework of “progress” critiqued by the advocates of post-colonial history writing. This does not entail giving the Tsuu T’ina a putative common origin. Tsuu T’ina reserve history and “progress” are analyzed on their own terms and in relation to the lives of all people, native and non-native, whose lives overlapped through time in the reserve community.

This form of history writing is in the long tradition of challenging the myth of grand narrative and progress. Structure and agency are not treated as antithetical dimensions of historical change. Structure, is viewed as much as a matter of internal generation within Tsuu T’ina society and with reference to Tsuu T’ina societal values, as it is of externally imposed

institutions, beliefs and values. Regardless of the system of domination represented by the church, state, parish and agency, these “agents of hegemony” did not fundamentally determine the course of Tsuu T’ina history. The Tsuu T’ina instead shaped their own history within the constraints and forces that were imposed from “without” and from within their own society.

The process of modernization in the Tsuu T’ina community involved a developing sense of community at the same time conversion to Christianity occurred. Changes in social organization, socialization, ritual, clothing, agriculture and the rhythms of domestic and work time and the organization of space, however, accompanied conversion and the development of reserve culture.³⁰ The various meanings generated from the historical occupation of the Tsuu T’ina Reserve involve a fundamental contradiction between reserve lands as “protection” and enclosure and the use of the same land as a commodity that could be sold or from which resources could be extracted for cash value.

In the first decade of reserve life, the Tsuu T’ina moved across the reserve landscape and its surround without awareness of the specific boundaries which had been imposed. With formal education and further experiences of reserve life, a new awareness emerged about the land and its value as a commodity. The transitional period of the sacred and profane associations of land came with the death of Chief Bullhead who very much represented a past orientation and an older style of leadership.

The Tsuu T’ina population steadily declined from the time of their settlement at the Fish Creek Reserve south of the city of Calgary. Through time, the band structure of organization and settlement was eroded. As the population declined and it became necessary for families to farm small plots of land, band structure devolved and in its place small groups of families assumed a corporate identity in relation to settlement in “villages” that were

located on specific plots of land. In the new system, both land and labour were commodities in a market economy. Ideological constructions of uniquely shared land, language and memory became the basis for a new sense of collective identity.

The formative period of Tsuu T'ina reserve culture developed in response to European-imposed values regarding the inherent values of work and land. The value of work for its own sake and the romantic notion of Indian farmers were facets of the European invention of a new frontier. This vision did not necessarily make inherent sense to those who tilled the reserve soil and watched the uncertain outcomes of agricultural production from season to season. While Frederick Jackson Turner presumed the Indian would be swept away by the expansion of the frontier, native people as a whole represented the exception to a complex set of European values which sought ultimately to recover a pristine past with man and nature in harmony.³¹

Tsuu T'ina history between roughly 1890 and 1940 involved a developing sense and exploration of community in relation to land, time and work. Their constructions of the reserve landscape contrasted with the succession of imagined environments proposed by Indian Department and Church officials. The discontinuation of the use of Chief Bullhead's calendar is the definitive symbol of historical change among the Tsuu T'ina. While the processes of cultural change extended far back into the early Fur Trade Era, change itself became accelerated with Western settlement and development. "Tribal" time, however, was only replaced partially by industrial time and the regulation of the factory. The introduction of the Christian calendar similarly did not usurp the role of oral tradition or dramatically eliminate customary practices. The introduction of new ideas of linear time and rationality coexisted with Tsuu T'ina ideas of cyclical change and their requirements of religious belief and practice.³²

The models advocated for Indian community in Canada in the 19th century stressed an ideal agrarian life in which individual Indian farmers would cultivate small plots of land and eventually attain full citizenship. Disillusionment with this ideal at the turn of the 20th century resulted in new formulations of what would constitute a successful economy on reserves in Western Canada.³³ The actual lived-in experience of these experiments was far different than that envisioned by government officials. In the Tsuu T'ina case, individuals were compelled to continually exploit a wide-range of economic opportunities in light of the uncertainties of agricultural production.

The organizational structure of reserve society entailed a dual economy in which Indian labourers worked to sustain the reserve infrastructure and where most government funds were used. The complex reserve economy was a network of interacting spheres - a new division of labour, systems of distribution, money and commodity exchanges, impersonal socio-economic relations, commodity exchanges and communication. These new elements fundamentally changed Tsuu T'ina society from within and created new connections between the reserve community and the outside world. The exchange of new types of goods and labour opened up new sets of social contacts, relations of production and necessitated the development of new forms of social and political organization.

Within Tsuu T'ina society, forms of "equality" and stratification, the continuation of personal self-reliance and the self-sufficiency of extended families existed side by side with more complex division of labour and more hierarchical and centralized social and political organization. The Tsuu T'ina kinship system provided the fundamental and basic framework for social organization and community. Tsuu T'ina kinship, which expressed hierarchical social relations and imbued them with sentiment and morality, was changed in the process of mobilizing new forms of social labour and as a result of population decline. Class formation,

among the Tsuu T'ina, was a political and cultural postulate facilitated by the underlying kinship system. The assertion of this form of social identity did not necessarily result in a "common consciousness" among the Tsuu T'ina. It did, however, foster the development of new forms of social organization based on common interests and new forms of shared cultural practices. An emergent class of Tsuu T'ina workers was changed by the hierarchies within which they worked. These workers themselves changed the forces to which they were exposed in the process. They "made their history" and by implication, their culture by the lives they led, in much the way E. P. Thompson has described for the English working class.³⁴

Land sales bolstered the formation of a Tsuu T'ina working class by fostering the development of a settlement pattern in which family units were tied to specific areas of reserve land and greater internal differentiation within Tsuu T'ina society. The process of working class formation among the Tsuu T'ina was not a logical unfolding of economic process in which social organization, consciousness and culture could be reduced to economic determinants. The difference in the Tsuu T'ina case was that culture, economics and politics did not fuse into any solidifying political movement based on a collective ideology. Work was organized according to a modified framework of kin-based networks of individuals. The efforts of networks or groups functioned alongside individualistic endeavours as the units of production in Tsuu T'ina society. The market exchange of labour, a precondition of capitalism and the basis in Marxist theory for defining "class," contrasted with other modes of production.

The Tsuu T'ina redefined internal methods of production and consumption and the meanings assigned to the exchange of goods and services. Class as an assertion of a particular kind of social identity involved the creation of new social roles and forms of

leadership within reserve society. The longevity or continuation of these new roles, however, was constantly undermined by the overwhelming power of the Indian Agent in local decision-making and reserve management and the constraints upon forms of mercantile production. The pattern of itinerant labour that did develop was unique to reserve society and was the hallmark of the class structures that emerged in relation to regional factors.

De-schooling Tsuu T'ina history has entailed removing the school from the center of Tsuu T'ina history and as the central determinant in historical change. This approach does not undermine the overall significance of the introduction of formalized schooling in Tsuu T'ina history nor does it ignore the negative consequences for Tsuu T'ina individuals as a result of the conditions they were in during their schooling. The negative consequences and long term effects of native residential schooling have been well documented.³⁵ The system of formal schooling, where students were taught the values of the factory as much as they were of Christian morality, however, was only one part of the experience of education for the Tsuu T'ina.³⁶

This study places schooling following Bailyn's definition, in the broader context of socialization and the transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next. It looks beyond the transformations that occurred within the walls of the reserve schools to the differing responses of individuals to exposure to white culture and of the application of the knowledge that was gained to the lives of individuals on the Tsuu T'ina Reserve once they left school. Alternate forms of education and socialization have also been examined. The primary emphasis has been on the continuous history of Tsuu T'ina individuals coming to grips with their changing circumstances rather than the development of Tsuu T'ina education as an extension of State formation.³⁷

Tsuu T'ina experiences of formalized schooling included different types of experiences according to the circumstances at the time and the degree to which compulsory attendance was followed. The process was neither uniform nor did it amount to a monolithic system of State schooling being imposed upon a homogenous social group and a simple dichotomy of powerful/powerless, subordination and victimization.³⁸ There were differences in power and possibilities in which agency could be exercised and "structure" invented. The homogenizing elements of the formalized schooling experience, however, did contribute to an emergent sense of shared experience.³⁹

Schooling was an important factor in lessening the strength of age-grading customs within Tsuu T'ina society and introduced instead a new hierarchy among students in which older male students "worked." New and fundamental separations were created between home and work and the public and separate dimensions of Tsuu T'ina culture. This predisposed the development of a subclass of Tsuu T'ina wage labourers who were able to obtain itinerant employment within the Tsuu T'ina Agency structure. The removal of older students who were potential contributors to family production had a profound impact upon the ability of families to eke out a living. This, together with formal schooling, did not mean a smooth transition from family to school but rather a "messy historical process" in which families, schools and land interacted in complex ways.⁴⁰

The acquisition of English literacy did not necessarily guarantee social advancement or mobility as Graff argues in *The Literacy Myth*. However, the use to which certain forms of literacy were put point to new definitions of gender roles within Tsuu T'ina society where women were able to redefine themselves within the "cloistered" and constrained environment of the boarding school and mission. While the long-term ramifications of Bible-based learning have yet to be examined, it is clear that this created a set of

opportunities for future generations of women who were also encouraged to act as nursing assistants in the Tsuu T'ina boarding school and hospital and given control over health and hygiene in the household.

The advent of literacy in a reserve community cannot be underestimated in terms of its overall effects within that society. Literacy fostered new ways of thinking and modes of communication about the past and the present world. Multiple forms of literacy existed in the Tsuu T'ina community but the reordering of the frameworks of knowledge from orality to literacy created subtle hierarchies and changes in inter-personal communication. The generations of school students with their newly-acquired literacy were set apart from the others in the reserve community. Writing allowed for the preservation of certain legends and the history of the past in a new form but eroded the underlying strength of the Tsuu T'ina and other native languages. The separation of those who spoke "Tsuu T'ina" from those who did not was a form of separation that was applied to the delineation of those who were "real Tsuu T'ina." The rise of English literacy, however, by no means displaced the power of oral and other forms of literacy. This was particularly true of the sphere of political power in which literacy played only a nominal role.

The ability to read and write in English favoured those appointed to higher positions with the development of wage labour. Representations of space, time and identity also found a new form in the written word. Literacy, as Ong suggests, in this sense, had profound implications for the learning process by exteriorizing knowledge, providing a common frame of reference for encoding knowledge and the printed text internalized the quest for knowledge and fostered introspection. Ong suggests that the expressive collective memory of oral tradition gave rise to the introspective personal memory of literate culture.⁴¹

There is very little evidence to suggest that Christianity in any way became a symbolic and institutional channel for the assertion of a limited political independence as the Comaroffs argue in *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance*.⁴² There is even less support for the idea that formal education led to Indian politicization and the formation of pan-Indian solidarity. While Tsuu T'ina political leaders by 1920 were often churchwardens, there was no necessary connection between political power and leadership and Christianity. Christianity, instead, provided one source of limited political authority, in the Tsuu T'ina community.

The religious pluralism which came to characterize the Tsuu T'ina community during the reserve period involved the development of syncretic forms of religious belief and practice.⁴³ These new forms of individual and collective identity formation were inspired by native and Christian religion and experimentation instead became the norm in a society experiencing the continuing crisis of being consummately threatened by its extinction. It is tempting to tie the proliferation of religious beliefs and practices directly to the crisis itself but the development of multiple forms of religious practice was immersed in social, political and economic factors as well as the direct response to the realities of disease and illness in the Tsuu T'ina society.⁴⁴

The proliferation of religions, which marked Tsuu T'ina reserve life after 1910, mirrored similar developments in Canadian society but retained its own unique historical character. The difference for Tsuu T'ina society, however, was the fact that an underlying native religion now formed an evaluative grid against which new forms of beliefs and practices could be evaluated, accepted or rejected. Ambivalent and even negative attitudes toward reified customs were certainly encouraged by Christian missionaries but these formed part of the internal divisiveness, which characterized the development of reserve culture. The presumed "opposition" or "resistance" to Christianity therefore must be re-evaluated

with reference to the internal sets of reactions within Tsuu T'ina society and not merely in terms of the dichotomy between introduced and traditional beliefs.⁴⁵

Evangelical Christianity, as an ideology for governance in the Tsuu T'ina community, was eventually eclipsed by the Social Purity Movement and ideas of addressing social problems in the name of social regeneration. The advent of a Christianity conversion introduced elements of community divisiveness as much as a new potential for transformation and cohesion. To read conversion and participation in new rituals as “counter-hegemonies,” however, is overly simplistic and ignores the complexities of the reasons for these behaviours and the significance of the differing contexts in which they occurred in the past.⁴⁶

The ascendancy of the new ideology of scientific medicine in mainstream Canadian society was part of a broader ideological reconfiguration in which societal attention was directed towards social regeneration. Like other forms of introduced ideas, scientific medicine entailed a particular arrangement of social institutions, patterns of interpretations or beliefs about the causes of illness, norms governing the choices for treatment and the evolution of the forms of treatment themselves.⁴⁷ Other forms of explanation supplanted religious ideas of causation. The acceptance by the Tsuu T'ina of these alternate explanations involved the partial reformulation of social relations, cultural meanings and personal experiences. Their acceptance of scientific beliefs and practices as conditional and additive elements was based on their own values, experiences and cultural orientation.

Scientific medicine was introduced to the Tsuu T'ina beginning before the Treaty era and consequently had different meanings and applications at different times. During the reservation era, a series of health crises, which reflect in part an underlying reality as well as the rhetoric of the public health movement, necessitated the application of more intrusive

forms of medicine and of regulation and the establishment of a hospital the Tsuu T'ina community. The timing of this application has less to do with actual need than it did with the emergence of the public health movement itself and the formation of Anti-tubercular leagues. Attempts to eradicate tuberculosis fused technological methods and understandings with moral determinations about the Indian environment and living standards and the need to improve society as inspired by the Social Gospel. The development of native health care within this framework did not mean that native peoples lost control over their own care and their own lives.⁴⁸ Some individuals practised both native and western forms of medicine, while others picked one or the other.

A fundamental part of the modernization process and political self-definition was the development of secular forms of ritual in which Indian tradition and identity were celebrated. Indian Days and Indian Rodeo provided two contrasting arenas for this celebration and created symbolic boundaries between "Indian" and "white" worlds. These invented traditions dramatically expressed a new Indian "past" that was immune to the processes of change and a "present" which overcame the internal contradictions of historical experience of the Tsuu T'ina.⁴⁹

These rituals, particularly those which objectify the past of a given group such as the Tsuu T'ina, solidified an emergent reserve culture in the broader framework of the nation-state much as Hobsbawm and his colleagues suggest in *The Invention of Tradition*.⁵⁰ New concepts of individual and collective identities were expressed through ritual. Displays of Indianness expressed a collective identity based on an interpretation of the Tsuu T'ina past. Rodeo, in contrast, provided an arena for new forms of individualism. These new expressions of identity emerged from Tsuu T'ina participation in the reserve-based cattle

raising economy. New and overlapping concepts of individualism and collectivism were created in everyday life and re-enacted through ritual means.

The dramatic power of native cultures to redefine in their own terms the imposition of European ideas and values is best seen in these ritual displays and exhibitions of Indian identity. Displays and exhibitions of indigenous cultures were a longstanding tradition in world's fairs intended most often to exemplify the stage of "savagery" in a global ecumene of progress. These ritual settings, despite their exploitative contexts, provided one of the few arenas open to the Tsuu T'ina to express their cultural identity as native peoples, to find legitimacy through history and to learn about their past traditions.⁵¹ Ritual displays of the Tsuu T'ina past were constructions made in the present and with reference to the ongoing development of their reserve-based culture. Sahlins, in this regard, challenges the idea of a universalizing history and asserts that "history is culturally ordered, differently so in different societies."⁵²

The creation of "collective memories" and of history for the Tsuu T'ina was dependent upon the social power of the group that held it. Families who participated in the creation of the Indian Village at the Calgary Stampede were often those who held the highest status in Tsuu T'ina society. These events were indirectly therefore a reflection of the social role of a particular group or sub-groups within Tsuu T'ina society.⁵³ Tsuu T'ina participation in rodeo, in contrast, had a strong individualistic ethos. Rodeo provided one of the few opportunities for the affirmation of male roles in Tsuu T'ina reserve society where political power and advancement of social status for men was minimal. Indian Days and Indian Rodeo also provided a contrasting set of values around the Indian past and the Indian present which expressed the overcoming of discontinuities in historical experience between the "tribal past" and reserve life to reinforce an emerging Tsuu T'ina reserve identity.⁵⁴ The

reserve, which formed the backdrop for these experiences, provided a boundary and source of social identity.

Future Study - Limits and Strengths of Approach and Future Work

A community history cannot do justice to each of the myriad categories with which it is concerned. The selection of what is important in this type of study obfuscates the need to exclude other dimensions of Tsuu T'ina history. There are also areas of Tsuu T'ina history that cannot be addressed in history writing that arise simply from the complexity of the subject matter. The vast and complex world of the Athapaskan language, religion and worldview is but one example.

The records of the Indian Department are notoriously fickle. These documents are contextually bound to the immediate social circumstances in which they were created. Their primary points of reference are the bureaucratic structure of non-native society, which generated their production. It is even more elusive to depict Tsuu T'ina modes of behaviour and modes of thought from the very few written sources that are available historically. Therefore, the analyst is compelled at times to believe in the "truth" value of the Indian Department records over that of native sources in the construction of an Indian history.

There are many areas in which the approach advocated in this study can be applied. The influence of agrarian ideals in the ethnogenesis of reserve society and culture, the relationship of developing reserve economies in light of the expansionist movement and regionalism in the Prairie West at the turn of the century offer fruitful ground for future research. The advent of the "New Western History" also provides a loose conceptual framework for the historical study of First Nations' histories in relation to the diffuse themes of the frontier, capitalist development and the theme of conquest and the interconnections of regions (or frontiers).

E. P. Thompson dismissed the role which religion played in the development of the English working class as a “regressive social force.” Religion, however, needs to be re-evaluated in light of processes of native politicization and the internal hierarchies of mission-influenced communities employing processes of exclusion/inclusion.⁵⁵ The theoretical basis for interpreting native and European interactions and the development of so-called “syncretic” religions also needs to be re-assessed particularly in light of the assumption that there are no commonalities shared by native and European-introduced religions. The manner in which traditional religious belief systems and private meanings merge with introduced beliefs also remains unexamined. In the context of mission and missionary studies, further research is required to examine the interrelationship of missionization and community politics; the development of dependence and clientage and the status of converts played out in local politics.

The placement of native communities in the schema of intellectual history in Canada has almost universally been the domain of the separate sub-disciplines of ethnohistory and earlier ethnoscience. The possible continuation of isolated pockets of 19th century evangelicalism with its emphasis on the experiential nature of religious experiences and human redemption has been eclipsed by the secularization thesis. This possibility and the issue of whether these continuing practices and beliefs constituted a retarding or transformative experience or both in the context of certain First Nations’ societies has yet to be examined. There is an expansive literature on Creole languages, revitalization movements, and the historical anthropology of colonial and post-colonial societies to provide the theoretical and methodological framework for such studies.

The broader context of religious change and the process of secularization in Canadian society provides the backdrop for developing Canadian Indian Policy beyond the

conventional labels of “Social Darwinism,” “assimilation” and “racism.” The influences of social criticism in late 19th century English Canada, Common Sense philosophy, natural theology and the rise of the social gospel with the thesis of social regeneration on Canadian Indian Policy have yet to be addressed in intellectual history. Understanding of the precise and changing meanings of processes of secularization and industrialization and the emergence of science, critical inquiry and liberalization can only be strengthened through studies of native communities. The ultimate challenge of course would be to write a comparative interdisciplinary intellectual history of native communities in Canada. The potential for native history to open up new forms of inquiry and mutually enrich intellectual and other areas of history is virtually limitless.

Final Comments - Simplicity and Historicism

A move away from monolithic notions of colonialism and from the reification of dichotomous themes of “tradition” and “modernity” allows for an examination of the inherent tensions, underlying ambiguities and contradictions of the colonizers and the colonized in history writing. In this regard, the conclusion, which derives from an historical exploration of social cohesion and community identity among First Nations such as the Tsuu T’ina, is that now, as in the past, these dimensions of cultural life are ever changing. Being Indian or Tsuu T’ina has meant “different things at different times.”⁵⁶

The nature of the Tsuu T’ina presence in history was best expressed by Chief Bullhead in 1895. The Chief, when commenting on the unrealistic expectation that his suffering people would work without pay, informed the Governor General of Canada: “All around us the Blackfoot, the Cree and the Stoney are making money by working but here they don’t pay us for working. I despise anybody that has a bad heart . All my children here - the Sarcees - their hearts are soft as rabbit’s hair.”⁵⁷ Tsuu T’ina history is always in the

process of being constructed. Its nature therefore is comedic, tragic, ironic and ambiguous. It is abundantly clear that people of the First Nations in Canada like the Tsuu T'ina were not eclipsed by colonial society nor did they "become Europeans" despite their subjugation, colonization and suffering. The Tsuu T'ina survived, redefined themselves and successfully built a new reserve community despite the rigours of European contact and colonial rule, not *in spite of* the presence of these forces of historical change.

- ¹ Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 1991, 9-10.
- ² Jose Ortega y Gasset, *The Revolt of The Masses*, 11.
- ³ P. Voisey, *Vulcan*, 254.
- ⁴ B. Sykes, Australian aboriginal writer, quoted in L. T. Smith, Editorial, *Access: Contemporary Themes in Educational Inquiry*, 11, (2), 1992, i.
- ⁵ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder 3. Quoted with permission of Tsuu T'ina Culture Program.
- ⁶ Interview with Tsuu T'ina Elder 5. Quoted with permission of Tsuu T'ina Culture Program.
- ⁷ See: J. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto, 1996), 7-9. Miller describes the reclamation of the site of Shingwauk's Vision in terms of coming full-circle in the history of the Ojibwa First Nations' whose members were sent to the Shingwauk School in Ontario.
- ⁸ See: K. L. Klein, "In Search of Narrative Mastery: Postmodernism and The People Without History," *History and Theory*, 34, (4), 1995, 275
- ⁹ An overemphasis on "agency" is probably more a reflection of a Western obsession with the individual and an inability to imagine or express what is collectively generated. See. A. Kuper, (ed.), *Conceptualizing Society* (London, 1992).
- ¹⁰ Klein, "In Search of Narrative Mastery," 279.
- ¹¹ Ibid., 276. The construction of new narratives, however, even according to postmodern sensibilities, demands closure on the gaps and silences of reality common to history and memory. Lyotard (quoted in Klein, 286) makes a same assertion with crux being that history is reduced to literature and the insistence that a story either is tragedy or comedy but never both retains the same dogma that he critiques. These metaphors of Clifford's narrative with cultural loss as tragedy and invention as comedy may be not the best or the true alternatives and to Klein they deny the fluidity of historical process.
- ¹² See: Gonzalez, G. G. and R. Fernandez, "Chicano History: Transcending Cultural Models," 471.
- ¹³ F. Jameson, in *The Political Unconscious* (Ithaca, 1981) argues the proliferation of post-modern histories disguises the incorporation of all plots into a single Marxist of leftist-Hegelian narrative. The resultant narrative is of the struggle between necessity and freedom, which conveys a future vision of a classless society.
- ¹⁴ Chakrabarty comments, "I ask for a history that deliberately makes visible, within the very structure of its narrative forms, its sown repressive strategies and practices, the part it plays in collusion with the narratives of citizenship in assimilating to the projects of the modern state all other possibilities of human solidarity." See, D. Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality and The Artifice of History: Who Speaks For The Indian Pasts?," *Representations*, 37, (1992), 23.
- ¹⁵ Klein, "In Search of Narrative Mastery," 275.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., 283. Injecting irony of construct.
- ¹⁷ See: I. K. Steele, "Exploding Colonial American History: Amerindian, Atlantic and Global Perspectives," *Reviews in American History*, 26, 1998. 71
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ J. Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 50. Clifford describes this trend as "ethnographic realism." Also, R. J. Thornton, "The Rhetoric of Ethnographic Holism," *Cultural Anthropology*, 3, (3), 1988, 285-303. Thornton uses the term "the fiction of wholes" to describe what cannot be demonstrated.
- ²⁰ See: B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 1983, 238.
- ²¹ Primary works in this regard are: Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*; Jean Comaroff, *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People* (Chicago, 1985), Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff (eds.), *Modernity and Its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa* (Chicago, 1993).
- ²² Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 152.
- ²³ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 245. Anderson suggests the interaction between colonizer and colonizer and a process of homogenization and heterogenization.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ F. E. Hoxie, "Ethnohistory For A Tribal World," *Ethnohistory*, 5, (2), 1996, 602.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ A. Callinicos, *Theories and Narratives: Reflections on The Philosophy of History* (Durham, 1995), 210.

²⁸ Hoxie, "Ethnohistory For A Tribal World," 600, refers to this as multivocal scholarship that takes its dynamic from the public discussion of cultural differences and culture history.

²⁹ Lynn Hunt's "History Beyond Social Theory," 96, argues that the pursuit of new topics particularly in social history in the absence of any clear theoretical agenda has led to fragmentation and division rather than to the building of a new social theory.

³⁰ John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff make the same point that it is important to treat the concept of conversion with causation and not within an uncritical theory of modernization which might convey the idealist connotations of the Protestantism/Catholicism from which it emerged. See: J. Comaroff and J. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*.

³¹ See, M. J. Bowen, "The Invention of American Tradition," *Journal of Historical Geography*, 5, (2), 1992: 3-36 for a detailed discussion of invented American traditions of space, environment, landscape and people.

³² C. Geertz, for example, in "Person, Time and Conduct in Bali" argues that time in Bali is not linear and quantitatively divided. Time, instead, is qualitative and organized in term of malevolence and benevolence. This same distinction may be drawn in the Tsuu T'ina case. (C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Culture* (New York, 1973), 360-411. Bloch argues that in Bali there were different sense of linear time in Bali and that the notion of cyclical time is tied to ritual context. See, M. Bloch, "The Past and The Present in the Present," *Man*, 12 (1977), 278-292.

³³ John Comaroff traces the idea common among representatives of the nonconformist tradition of an idealized British past and the fall of the yeomanry to the Industrial revolution in the early 18th century. The growth of a perceived opposition between country and city in the population imagination became a master symbol of transformation of British society based on a counterpoint between a mythic rural past and a present urban reality. The Kingdom of God therefore has to be built elsewhere on the basis of a moral economy of Christian commerce and manufacture, methodical self-construction and reasons, private property and the arts of civilized life. (J. Comaroff, "Images of Empire, Contexts of Conscience: Models of Colonial Domination in South Africa," 1989, 667-669.

³⁴ See. G. Stedman Jones, *Language of Class: Studies in English Working Class History 1832-1932* (Cambridge, 1983), 30. Stedman Jones suggests that this history of class is separate from the history of the category and emerged as a set of discursive claims about the social world to order to explain the latter in terms of it.

³⁵ See: Assembly of First Nations, *Breaking The Silence* (Ottawa, n. d.).

³⁶ See: D. A. Nock, "The Social Effects of Missionary Education: A Victorian Case Study," in R. W. Nelson and D. A. Nock (eds.), *Reading Writing and Riches* (Kitchener, 1978) 241-242.

³⁷ See: Gaffield, *Language, Schooling and Cultural Conflict*, xii. Also, A. Green, "Education and State Formation Revisited," *History of Education Review*, 23, (3), 1994, 1-17.

³⁸ Gaffield, *Language, Schooling and Cultural Conflict*, 32. Gaffield makes a similar argument. He asserts that systematic studies do not support established assumptions between certain historical groups and certain historical circumstances and that culture, ethnicity and identity were not static and immutable characteristics, which transcended time and place.

³⁹ E. Balibar, "The Nation From: History and Ideology," *Review*, 13, (3), Summer, 1990, 351. Balibar suggests that there is a close correlation between the national (or community) formation and the development of schools.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 115.

⁴¹ W. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* (London, 1982), 135-138.

⁴² J. Comaroff and J. Comaroff, *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance*, 261.

⁴³ The term, "syncretic," is used here to refer to the enactment of more than one set of religious beliefs at the same time. See: G. Cook, *Crosscurrents in Indigenous Spirituality* (New York, 1997). Cook notes that these simultaneous practices result in an inter-religious dialogue, which generates new sets of beliefs and practices.

⁴⁴ The argument is made for another context of conversion in, K. E. Morrison, "Baptism and Alliance: The Symbolic Mediations of Religious Syncretism," *Ethnohistory*, 37, (4), 1990, 416-437.

⁴⁵ There is a voluminous literature on tradition in social theory, much of which reiterates these basic assumptions. See: N. Thomas, "The Inversion of Tradition," *American Ethnologist*, 19, (2), 1991, 213-232 for a detailed case study. Elizabeth Furniss is one of the few scholars recently to apply the themes of the inventions of tradition and identity in a Native Canadian context.

⁴⁶ J. Comaroff and J. Comaroff, *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance*, 261. The Comaroffs acknowledge that the differences between resistance, compliance and self-destruction are subtle.

⁴⁷ See Kleineman, *Patients and Healers in The Context of Culture*, 24.

⁴⁸ C. Hodgson, "The Social and Political Implications of Tuberculosis Among Native Canadians," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 19, (4), 1982, 508. Hodgson makes this assertion. A later argument which follows this line of reasoning is found in M-E Kelm, "A Scandalous Procession: Residential School and the Re/formation of Aboriginal Bodies, 1900-1915," *Native Studies Review*, 11, (2), 1990, 51-88. Kelm argues and poor health and charges of inadequate mothering were used to justify the continuation of residential schools.

⁴⁹ The "timeless" quality of ritual opposed to change has been the object of long study in the anthropological literature particularly in the work of Clifford Geertz, Victor Turner and Edmund Leach. In the historical literature, carnival has been a favorite object of study as an image of structure and hierarchy while in anthropology it has been analyzed in terms of anti-structure.

⁵⁰ E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983). Also in B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 1983, 245. Anderson argued that the role of ritual is to objectify nationalized process and therefore reify the position of the minority group as a "collectivity."

⁵¹ See: B. Benedict, *The Anthropology of World's Fairs* (London, 1983), Bennett, T., "The Exhibitionary Complex," *New Formations*, 4 (Spring), 1988, 74-102.

⁵² M. Sahlins, *Islands of History*, 74.

⁵³ P. Hutton in *History as an Art of Memory* describes the work of Halbwachs in this regard, 7.

⁵⁴ Aries has pointed out the role that exaggerated rites play in cultural identity and cultural nationalism. See: P. Aries, *Western Attitudes Toward Death From The Middle Ages to The Present*, tr. P. M. Ranum (Baltimore, 1974), 72-82, and *The Hour of Our Death*, tr. H. Weaver (New York, 1981), 474-475, 500-503, 503-513, 518, 524-546

⁵⁵ See: J. Willis, "The Nature of A Mission Community: The Universities' Mission to Central Africa in Bonde," *Past and Present*, no. 140, 1993, 127-154.

⁵⁶ R. D. Edmunds, "Native Americans, New Voices," *American Historical Review*, 100, (3), June 1995, 734.

⁵⁷ GA, M1233, f. 27, "Among The Sarcee," by J. W. Tims, *Calgary Herald*, 1895.

APPENDICES

**APPENDIX ONE:
POPULATION STATISTICS**

Table 1: Tsuu T'ina Population 1890-1940¹

Date	N	Change	NMR*	Births	Deaths	RNI*	CBR*	CDR*
1890	287			6	24	-63	21.13	83.68
1895	235	-29%	-26	5	14	-38	21.74	59.57
1900	205	-13%	-25	7	10	-14.63	34.15	48.78
1905	202	-1.5%	5	4	5	-5	19.80	24.75
1910	205	1.5%	-10	10	18	-39.02	48.78	87.80
1915	188	-8.2%	5	8	12	-21.27	42.55	63.83
1920	159	-15.4%		4	9	-31.46	25.16	56.60
1925	156	-2%		5	11	-38.46	32.05	70.51
1930	144	-7%	-35	4	12	-55.56	27.78	83.33
1935	151	5%	13	7	4	19.87	26.49	46.36
1940	166	10%		6	3	18.07	36.14	18.07

*Rates calculated per 1000 population

Table 2: Age Groups in The Tsuu T'ina Population 1900-1929**

Date	N	<6	6-15	16-20	21-65	65+
1899-1900	213	31(14%)	13 (6%)	21 (10%)	135 (63%)	13 (6%)
1904-1905	206	27(13%)	28(13%)	16(8%)	119 (58%)	16(8%)
1909-1910	197	22(11%)	26(13%)	17(9%)	116(59%)	16 (8%)
1914-1915	188	37(20%)	27(14%)	11 (6%)	100(53%)	13(7%)
1916-1917	188	51(27%)	24(13%)	10(5%)	91(48%)	13(7%)
1924-1925	160	27(17%)	29(18%)	6(4%)	66(41%)	32(22%)
1928-1929	148	29(20%)	23(16%)	22(15%)	40(27%)	34(23%)
1933-1934	156	32 (21%)	36 (23%)	10 (6%)	61 (39%)	17 (11%)

* Data are not available between 1917 and 1925 or after 1934

**Data for 1933-1934 based on the following age groups: less than 7, 7-15, 17-21, 22 to 65 and over 65

**APPENDIX TWO:
AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS**

Table 1: Crop Yields Sarcee Farm and Sarcee Agency 1890-1900³

Date	Oats (bu/acre)		Potatoes (bu/acre)		Hay (tons)	
	Agency	Farm	Agency	Farm	Agency	Farm
1890-1891		2.25				
1891-1892			132		14	75
1892-1893	5.69		10.62	50		
1893-1894	2.74	233.13	66.55			
1894-1895		15.79	25	28.57	120	60
1895-1896				22.8	110	95
1896-1897		28.54	51	45.14	255.5*	
1897-1898			74.6		158*	
1898-1899	21.41		117.14		251*	
1899-1900	37.93		143.75		320*	

total production figures for wild and not cultivated hay

Table 2: Agricultural Production Tsuu T'ina Reserve 1900-1939⁴

Date	Hay Cultivated	Hay Wild (tons)	Oats bu/acre	Wheat bu/acre	Barley bu/acre	Potatoes bu/acre
1899-1900	60 tons	320 tons	37.9	not planted	13.8	143
1904-1905	50 tons	900 tons	2.19	not planted	not planted	160
1909-1910	15 tons	2000 tons	20.48	29.5	not planted	38
1914-1915	not planted	550 tons	19.81	crop failure	crop failure	18.33
1919-1920	40 tons	736 tons	2.36	crop failure	not planted	35
1924-1925	13 tons	351 tons	19.22	not planted	not planted	45.63
1929-1930	not planted	446 tons	9.32	crop failure	not planted	20.60
1934-1935	not planted	414 tons	49.07	15.76	not planted	50
1938-1939	not planted	486 tons	49.07	32.31	not planted	n/a

Table 3: Domesticated Animals Tsuu T'ina Reserve 1900-1930⁵

Date	Horses	Oxen	Cows	Cattle	Poultry
1900-1901	1000	4	17	27	20
1904-1905	550	2	56	112	125
1909-1910	350	0	145	233	150
1914-1915	451	0	73	97	100
1919-1920	499	0	103	248	50
1922-1923	842	0	15	161	50
1924-1925	755	0	16	119	80
1929-1930	800	0	35	170	250

*data are not available after 1930

Table 4: Land Use Tsuu T'ina Reserve 1899-1940⁶

Date	Total Acres.	Cleared Acres	Cultivated Acres	Fenced Acres	Broken Acres	New Crop Acres
1899-1900	69120	38820 (56%)	181.5 (.26%)	325	8	7
1904-1905	69120	58870 (85%)	250 (.36%)	400	50	30
1909-1910	69120	58120 (84%)	218 (.32%)	69120		
1914-1915	69120	57777 (84%)	561 (.81%)	69120	343	343
1919-1920	69120	29348 (42%)	772(1.1%)	69120		
1920-1925	69120	28320 (41%)	800 (1.1%)	69120		
1929-1930	69120	28348 (41%)	772 (1.1%)	69120		
1931-1932	62245	26610 (43%)	1198 (2%)	69120		
1934-1935	69120			69120		
1939-1940	69120		1565 (3%)	69120		

There is a discrepancy in the DIA Records for acres cleared for last two figures

APPENDIX THREE:
SCHOOL STATISTICS

Table 1: Tsuu T'ina School Enrollment 1901-1939^z

Date	N	No. 6-15	% of N	Number Enrolled	% of Eligible Children
1900-1901	203	25	12%	17	68%
1904-1905	206	28	14%	17	61%
1909-1910	197	26	13%	16	61%
1914-1915	193	27	14%	19	70%
1915-1916	188	31	16%	37	100%
1919-1920	164	n/a	n/a	33	n/a
1924-1925	156	29	19%	28	97%
1929-1930	144	33	23%	23	70%
1933-1934*	153	32	21%	31	97%
1934-1935*	155			31	
1938-1939*	161			28	

APPENDIX FOUR:**RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION****Table 1: Religious Affiliation in The Tsuu T'ina Community 1891-1934⁸**

Date	N	Pagan	Percent Pagan	Anglican	Percent Anglican	Roman Catholic	Percent Catholic
1890-1891	342						
1894-1895	234	234	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
1895-1896	236	228	96.61%	3	1.27%	5	2.12%
1899-1900	213	183	85.92%	23	10.80%	7	3.29%
1904-1905	206	165	80.10%	31	15.05%	10	4.85%
1909-1910	197	127	64.47%	60	30.46%	10	5.08%
1914-1915	188	93	49.47%	68	36.17%	27	14.36%
1917-1918	193	89	46.11%	77	39.90%	27	13.99%
1924-1925	160	35	21.88%	75	46.88%	48	30.00%
1929-1930	145	45	31.03%	83	57.24%	45	31.03%
1933-1934	156	11	7.05%	101	64.74%	42	6.92%

APPENDIX FIVE
FINANCIAL STATISTICS

Table 1: Total Reported Earnings of Tsuu T'ina Agency 1890-1939²

Date	Cattle	Farm Produce	Wages	Land Rental	HFT	Other	Annuities	Total Income
1889-1890		45%	35%			20%		\$664.00
1899-1900		56%	14%		3%	38%		\$5375.00
1904-1905		56%	34%		3%	28%		\$10,800.00
1909-1910	16%	47%	13%		0%	2%		\$8860.00
1914-1915	19%	23%	17%		2%	35%	5%	\$20,231.12
1918-1919	5%	61%	7%	4%	2%	17%	4%	\$28,356.70
1924-1925	8%	44%	28%		1%	14%	4%	\$20,586.66
1929-1930	16%	47%	13%	14%	2%	5%	4%	\$20,748.63
1935-1936	8%	56%	7%	14%	2%	1%	12%	\$20,179.93
1938-1939	9%	54%	2%	25%	1%	19%	7%	\$37,254.48

Table 2:
Costs of Operating Sarcee Boarding School 1900 to 1921¹⁰

Date	1900	1906	1909	1910	1914	1915	1918	1921
No. Students	10	19	15	16	18	19	33	
No. Staff	3	3	3	3	5	7	7	
Receipts								
Ind. Dept.	\$1083.00	\$1016.40	\$882.30	\$786.97	\$1596.75	\$2269.75	\$3169.09	\$2957.10
Acct. Deficit						\$48.02	\$70.59	
Balance				\$154.25				
CMS	\$250.00	\$240.00	\$240.00	\$273.95				
MSCC		\$747.26					\$1200.00	
WA	\$150.00	\$162.00	\$200.00	\$297.00	\$400.00	\$450.00	\$900.00	
Diocese				\$542.40				
Canada							\$1315.73	
Other		\$1.00	\$25.00	\$54.88	\$2148.53	\$1326.14	\$1182.76	\$3571.99
Total	\$1480.00	\$2310.02	\$1347.30	\$2109.45	\$4145.28	\$4093.91	\$7838.17	\$5636.10
Costs								
Balance				\$262.28	\$39.39		\$338.07	
Salaries	\$630.00	\$562.00	\$600.00	\$807.50	\$956.00	\$1300.82	\$1875.83	\$2312.18
Provisions	\$540.00	\$673.10	\$555.74	\$581.00	\$888.30	\$976.57	\$1867.65	\$1513.82
Furnishings	\$30.00	\$26.08	\$30.50	\$140.67	\$1001.20	\$360.73	\$300.85	\$235.97
Clothing		\$21.80	\$34.65	\$30.65	\$430.90	\$597.70	\$988.38	\$72.21
Fuel/Light	\$135.00	\$202.60	\$301.85	\$311.05	\$470.36	\$717.55	\$716.85	\$1355.15
Laundry	\$15.00	\$16.25	\$16.60	\$18.80				
Repairs	\$25.00	\$87.65	\$23.60	\$46.23	\$41.35	\$66.30	\$81.32	\$13.59
Stables	\$30.00	\$141.14	\$49.40	\$105.00				
Sundries	\$30.00	\$55.50	\$48.10	\$48.55			\$292.59	\$23.27
Water							\$79.25	
Garden					\$254.97	\$291.96	\$1447.43	\$1142.60
All Other			17.25		\$14.84	\$110.80		
Total	\$1480.00	\$2310.02	\$1677.69	\$2351.13	\$4145.28	\$4422.43	\$7838.17	\$6729.71
Balance		-\$494.44		-\$241.68	\$48.02	-\$328.42	-\$78.59	-\$193.61

Table 3: Major Sources of Expenditure Tsuu T'ina Agency 1890-1940¹¹

Date	Annuities	Agricultural Implements	Seeds/Misc.	Livestock	Supplies For Destitute	Medical	School	General	Total
1899-1900	\$1,065.00	\$215.17	\$3.64	\$3.00	\$5,296.69	\$325.00	\$1,281.10	\$2,015.02	\$10,204.62
1905-1906	\$1,075.00	\$11.50	\$18.82		\$3,183.66	\$361.00	\$1,077.15	\$3,394.31	\$9,121.44
1909-1910	\$1,130.00	\$70.00	\$37.83	\$1,626.00	\$1,313.48	\$300.00	\$843.35	\$3,851.13	\$9,171.79
1914-1915	\$1,015.00	\$10.70	\$83.04	\$1,116.00	\$3,860.85	\$1,077.27	\$5,227.50	\$6,642.04	\$19,032.40
1915-1916	\$990.00				\$3,444.43	\$1,857.44	\$3,917.85	\$4,668.69	\$14,878.41
1919-1920	\$850.00		\$1.05	\$2.45		\$162.00	\$3,248.33	\$3,329.01	\$7,592.84
1923-1924	\$805.00	\$11.10			\$1062.88	\$13426.34	\$982.60*	\$7099.91	\$21600.23
1929-1930	\$1410	\$781.31	\$111.65		\$1724.94	\$199.05		\$165.20	\$8609.25
1932-1933	\$765	\$1683.9	\$369.01	\$375	\$746.97	\$438.60		\$236.23	\$10305.90
1933-1934	\$910	\$406.67			\$58.25	\$40		\$328.23	\$10468
1934-1935	\$2375.93*	\$2132.62	\$624.35		\$110.77			\$1783.77	\$13561.88
1937-1938	\$1114.00 plus \$2535.63*	\$1413.05			\$199.45			\$4336.17	\$19660.97
1938-1939	\$2448.50	\$2141.71			\$371.13			\$5659.19	\$34443.53
1939-1940	\$2343 plus \$2683.98*	\$2540.96			\$175.93			\$3361.51	\$25363.53

Table 4: Sources of Income and Salaries Tsuu T'ina Agency 1890-1920¹²

Date	Account	Balance Start of Year	Grazing Dues/ Hay Permits	Fines, Sales of Hides & Beef	Black-smithing	Interest on Land	Collections & Refunds	Total	Stockman and Assistant	Balance (End of Year)
1899-1900		\$480.23	\$761.75					\$1,250.98		\$1,009.99
1905-1906		\$117.50	\$4286.85	\$35.00				\$4,439.44		
1909-1910		\$36.16	\$1595.50	\$99.10				\$1,730.76	\$1,334.47	\$1,730.75
1913-1914	Capital	\$10719.69	\$1840.96		\$333.78		\$46,556.10	\$2,269.84		\$46,556.10
1913-1914	Interest	\$57.42	\$1,840.96				\$371.46		\$1,170.45	\$2,269.84
1914-1915	Capital	\$10,719.69				\$5,431.00	\$15,543.55	\$16,933.34		\$16,933.34
1914-1915	Interest	\$993.29	\$2,023.70				\$407.80	\$3,424.79	\$1,588.00	\$3,424.79
1917-1918	Interest	\$4,058.27	\$3,607.00	\$141.70	\$81.05			\$7,888.02	\$1,814.66	\$7,888.02
1919-1920	Capital	\$9.35						\$9.35		
1919-1920	Interest	\$7,046.45	\$5,400.00	\$6,234.71				\$19,581.16	\$420.00	\$19,581.16
1924-1925	Capital	\$9.35						\$9.35		
1924-1925	Interest	\$11,289.26	\$3,965.99				\$3,678.33	\$18,933.58	\$100	\$18,933.58
1929-1930	Capital	\$9.35								
1929-1930	Interest	\$2,553.35	\$5,294.40	\$40.00		\$128.13	\$593.37	\$8,609.25		\$4,217.04

1930-1931	Capital	\$9.35							\$5889.75			\$5889.10
1930-1931	Interest	\$4217.04	\$3082.50	\$74.50				\$211.32				
1931-1932	Capital	\$5899.10						\$29675	\$44.00			\$35618.10
1931-1932	Interest	\$4134.02	\$3102.59	\$137				\$501.66	\$250.00			
1932-1933	Capital	\$30969.27										\$30963.27
1932-1933	Interest	\$5626.61	\$2692.50					\$1829.79	\$157.00	\$10305.90		\$10305.90
1934-1935	Capital	\$22763.75										\$23645.15
1934-1935	Interest		\$2915.50	\$420.65				\$1570.93				\$13561.88
1936-1937	Capital	\$23258.64										
1936-1937	Interest	\$15913.12	\$6097.900	\$85.00				\$1570.92				\$11553.94
1938-1939	Capital	\$23347.71										
1938-1939	Interest	\$18996.38	\$9267.70					\$1743.25	\$764.74			
1939-1940	Capital	\$23547.71										
1939-1940	Interest	\$13051.37	\$10444.50					\$1828.98	\$57.33			\$25362.65

Expenditures 1929-1930 included: \$1724.97 for relief supplies, \$1410.00 for an interest distribution, \$781.31 for implements and seed, \$199.05 for medical services and hospitalization, \$165.20 for funerals and drugs, \$111.60 for building materials together with a balance of \$4217.04 for a total of \$8609.25.

* Salaries of Stockman and Herders paid from Interest Account

¹ Based on treaty paylists RG 10, v. 9423 for 1890, v. 9428 for 1895, v. 9433 for 1900, v. 9438 for 1905, v. 9444 for 1910, v. 9454 for 1915, v. 9464 for 1920, v. 9474 for 1925, v. 9484 for 1930, v. 9494 for 1935 and v. 9252 for 1940.

² Based on demographic data contained in DIA Annual Reports, A1900, A1905, A1910, A1915, A1917, A1925, A1929 and A1934.

³ Based on agricultural data contained in DIA Annual Reports for A1890, A1891, A1892, A1893, A1894, A1895, A1896, A1897, A1898, A1899 and A1900.

⁴ Based on agricultural data contained in DIA Annual Reports, A1890, A1891, A1892, A1893, A1894, A1895, A1896, A1897, A1898, A1899, A1900, A1901, A1902, A1903, A1904, A1905, A1906, A1907, A1908, A1909, A1910, A1911, A1912, A1913, A1914, A1915, A1916, A1917, A1918, A1919, A1920, A1921, A1922, A1923, A1924, A1925, A1926, A1927, A1928, A1929, A1930, A1931, A1932, A1933, A1934, A1935, A1936, A1937, A1938 and A1939.

⁵ Based on agricultural data contained in DIA Annual Reports, A1900, A1905, A1910, A1915, A1920, A1901, A1923, A1925 and A1930.

⁶ Based on agricultural data contained in DIA Annual Reports, A1895, A1900, A1905, A1910, A1915, A1920, A1925, A1930, 1932, 1935 and 1940.

⁷ Based on educational data contained in DIA Annual Reports, A1895, A1900, A1901, A1905, A1910, A1915, A1916, A1920, A1925, A1930, 1934, 1935 and 1939.

⁸ Based on census data contained in DIA Annual Reports, A1891, A1895, A1896, A1900, A1905, A1910, A1915, A1918, A1925, A1930 and 1934.

⁹ Based on financial statistics of earnings in DIA Annual Reports, A1895, A1900, A1905, A1910, A1915, A1919, A1920, A1925, A1930 and 1936.

¹⁰ Based on: GA, M1356, f. 9, Sarcee School Estimates For 1900, 28 November 1900, and Tims, Balance Sheet, 31 December 1900 (for 1900), UCA, ADC, Report of 9th Synod, 1906, 98 and M1356, f. 14, Tims, Copy of Statement Sent To Government, Sarcee Boarding School, 15 June 1906 (for 1906); GA, M1356, f. 10, Tims, Cost- Sarcee School, 1909 (for 1909); Ibid., f. 10, Tims, Sarcee School 1910, and Ibid., Tims, Sarcee School Liabilities, 31 December 1910 (for 1910), Ibid., f. 10, Tims, Sarcee School Estimates for 1914 and Financial Statement Sarcee Boarding School For Year Ended 31 March 1914 (for 1914), Ibid., Financial Statement For Year Ended 31 March 1915 and Ibid., f. 11, Financial Statement Sarcee Church of England Boarding School For Year ending 31st March 1915 (for 1915), M1356, f. 11, Financial Statement of the Sarcee Church of England Boarding School For Fiscal Year Ended 31 March 1918 and NAC, RG 10, v. 6001, f. 1-1-1, pt., 1, Westgate to Secretary Department of Indian Affairs, 12 April 1921.

¹¹ Based on financial data contained in: Canada. Auditor General's Report for A1900, A1906, A1910, A1916, A1920, A1915 to 1916, A1921 (1919 to 1920), A1924, A1930, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1938, 1939 and 1940.

¹² Based on financial data contained in: Canada. Auditor General's Report for A1900, A1906, A1910, A1913, A1914, A1915, A1918, A1920, A1925, A1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1937, 1939 and 1940.

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