ST. PAUL'S BOARDING SCHOOL: THE EARLY DECADES OF ANGLICAN MISSIONARY SCHOOLING ON THE BLOOD RESERVE

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ABSTRACT

In this project I propose to trace the development of education at St. Paul's Boarding School on the Blood Reserve in Alberta from the time Samuel Trivett arrived until the school was finally moved to its new location in 1924. This journey through history will focus on principal and teacher histories, teacher preparation; student enrolment, attendance and health, plus the structural composition of the school, and curriculum.

CHAPTER 1 HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In the sixteenth century, at the time of Jacques Cartiers' voyages to the St. Lawrence, France was violently divided between the Catholic and Protestant. As a result, an authoritarian government was determined to make New France exclusively Roman Catholic in response to the challenges of the Protestant reformers. In addition, this government adapted a paternalistic attitude towards the indigenous peoples of the colony who were looked upon as being horribly impoverished as well as lacking in spiritual and cultural development. It proposed to care for them as a parent looks after a child.

During the same period, Britain became the champion of the Reformation. From the teaching of Calvin and Luther came the Protestant ethic. A high value was placed on industriousness, frugality, punctuality, morality, economic success, as well as political and social order. To Protestants education was very important. This would allow everyone to read the Bible. Protestants had a tendency to divide the human race between believers and non-believers, between the virtuous and the sinful and between good and evil.

With the rise of the Protestant ethic came capitalism. Capitalism was a completely new set of values; a system that was social and economic, but which was even more fundamentally psychological. This emphasis on economic success coupled with the rise of science created exploration. With the discoveries that were created from this exploration came the need to protect those acquired lands and their underdeveloped peoples. Capitalism coupled with the myth of white superiority gave the white man even greater power, with which he enriched both

his purse and his ego. This power did not reside in themselves but in what they brought with them. Therefore to maintain this power, he devised and is still devising, institutions which also retain the ultimate authority, as well as its benefits, in white hands. The colonial outpost was the first of these institutions, followed by the mission and the school.

What of the North American Indian? Before the Indians came into contact with the Europeans, they were more concerned with the survival of the group than the individual. They felt community solidarity was more important than the wants and needs of the individual or the family. The present was of much more concern to them than the future. This sense of impermanence was seen also in relationships between men and women. The children that resulted from such relationships were seen as resources necessary for the survival of the group. With that in mind, child rearing became a responsibility of the whole group rather of the individual parents therefore, the caring for and development of the children became a group responsibility. The disciplining of the children related to their ability to survive rather than to an activity's relationship to good and evil.

The amassing of individual wealth translated into differences in the ability of individuals within the group to survive and therefore giving and sharing was the norm. Surplus was only a temporary condition that existed until it was consumed or given away.

To the Indian, time was measured in relation to the cycles of nature. Therefore their activities did not seek dominion over nature but conformity to the regular natural rhythms that occur.

The Indians avoided any political practice that would cause divisions within the community. Therefore consensus was always preferred by them. The recognized leader of a band may not have had any distinction other than being regarded by others as having greater skill or judgment. To them community solidarity was more important than individual fortune.[1]

These peoples possessed a polytheist spirituality. Their gods were derived from nature and took on the appearance of different creatures within their living surroundings and therefore were an intricate part of their daily existence.

The most profoundly destructive effect of capitalism on such a communal kinship-oriented society lay in the undermining the bonds of the family, clan and community. Not only that, but once introduced to the system, the Indian people found themselves unable to avoid living by its rules and values or imposing them on their fellows.[2]

During the seventeenth century North America became the site of a series of economic, and military conflicts between the Netherlands, Spain, England and France. In order to achieve military and economic objectives, European merchant capitalists elicited aboriginal peoples as allies. Thus in order to consolidate control over the fur trade and establish military supremacy in the territory

Europeans required the cooperation of the Indian people which involved the formation of treaties.

In Canada the critical moment for late 19th and 20th century treaties oriented toward the surrender of aboriginal lands[3] was the British victory over France in the Seven Years' War. The conflict culminated with the signing of the Royal Proclamation of 1763. This proclamation related to the Indian ownership of the land. Not only was native ownership espoused but there was a requirement to consult and come to an agreement with specific native groups. The proclamation also required that Indian lands be purchased and prohibited their sale to any other than an authorized crown agent. By this measure, the British colonial state inserted itself directly into the process of land acquisition and conveyance.[4]

With this proclamation, official status was withdrawn from the Catholic Church, but it was still allowed a position in the colony and the governor became the supreme authority. The merchants quickly became a very powerful group that believed that government and society existed to serve their private needs.[5] It was a statement of Britain's mercantile interests in the newly acquired territories. By the last quarter of the eighteenth century, it was assumed that the good of society was best served by leaving each individual as free as possible to pursue his own self interest,[6] and hence the growth of such companies as the North West Company.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, Britain was still struggling with debt incurred when the Americans sought their independence. This independence

was recognized in 1783 and caused a great influx of loyalists into Canada. The coupling of this with the French Revolution which further isolated the French Canadian, allowed English Canadians to dominate public affairs without protest.[7] In 1807, Napoleon blocked Britain's access to traditional timber sources[8] so that timber became the most important export from colonial Canada and the War of 1812 saw the fur trade in deep decline.

In that time period there was a struggle between the Northwest Company and the Hudson Bay Company for furs and timber. This competition ended in 1821, when the North West Company ceased to be a separate entity and became a stockholder in the Hudson Bay Company.[9] Governor Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company, although almost exclusively secular, thoroughly approved of the clergy and their role in the new territories. He felt they might encourage settlement.[10] Therefore with colonial expansion in what was to be Western Canada, came the missionary. The Indians of the prairie began to see the erection of permanent trading posts and missions and tools became available that could make their daily lives a little easier. The acceptance of the religious dualism in the Royal Proclamation created competition between the Catholic and Evangelical (Anglican and Methodist) missionaries for the soul of the noble savage.

Missionaries, especially in the early days, saw a moral justification in attacking a variety of aboriginal institutions and customs. The missionaries' tried

to undermine any beliefs in the supernatural which seemed to compete with Christian beliefs.

With the successful defense of the colony in 1812, the usefulness of military alliances with the Indians came to an end and the colony could adopt an aggressive policy to establish authority to Indian land.[11]

That reality was attested to during the first half of the nineteenth century, which saw the locus of administration of Indian Affairs shifted a number of times between military and civilian authority. In 1830 a policy of assimilation was adopted by the colonial government which under the guidance of government agents and missionaries would settle the Indians in permanent villages where they would be instructed in the English language, Christianity and agricultural methods.[12]

Indian Affairs was transferred from Imperial control to the Province of Canada in 1860 and to the Federal government in 1867 with the British North America Act. In Section 91, subsection 24 of the British North America Act the nature of the Indian peoples' relationship to the Canadian state was defined. The act stated that the Indians and the land reserved for the Indians would be the responsibility of the federal government. It had three elements:

1. it defined who was an Indian
2. it provided for the protection of Indian lands
3. it provided for the concentration of authority over the Indian people.[13]

The Indian Act which has governed the Canadian Indian since its consolidation on 1876 and its more thorough revision in 1880 required the government to supervise the economy, politics, education, and many more personal decisions of the Indian people. As a former superintendent of Indian Affairs once said "Probably there is no other legislation which deals with so many and varied subjects in a single act. It may be said to deal with the whole life of a people." The Indian Act in brief is an example of Victorian mind at work in a "missionary field".[14] State intervention in aboriginal affairs revolved around attempts to decenter and reconstruct the family.[15]

This act again reinforced the policy of assimilation of the native people. This policy arose, in part, out of sentiment and interest: the sentiment that the superior race (the British) had definite responsibilities toward an inferior (the Indian) but it had also the self interest of the British government in mind. It allowed cutting the cost of colonial administration.[16]

The period from the mid 70s to the mid 80s was difficult for Indians in western Canada, but the signing of treaties marked the commencement of the process that scholars describe as directed social change. In this view, white Canadian expectations and policies would slowly replace the ideas and plans of the Indian people. Eventually there would cease to be a distinguishable native identity.[17]

With the Americans having claimed Oregon and part of British Columbia since 1846, and with increasing U.S. interest in settlement of the west, the

Canadian felt it was necessary to bring British Columbia into Confederation. This was done, in 1871, with the promise that Canada would assume their debt, subsidize local public works and build a transcontinental railway. All of this was to be completed within ten years.[18]

To allow the building of the transcontinental railroad, Rupert's Land had to be purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company and then, according to the Royal proclamation, the government had to negotiate with the Indian people.

Between 1871 and 1876 the first six of the numbered treaties were signed with the Indians of the former Rupert's Land. These treaties began with Treaties 1 and 2 (1871) which were signed with the Cree for land immediately South and West Lake Winnipeg and Winnipegosis. Treaty 3 (1873) was signed with the Ojibwa for land surrounding the Lake of the Woods which was East of the land secured in Treaties 1 and 2. In 1874, the government signed Treaty 4 with the Assiniboine and Ojibwa for the area that is now Southern Saskatchewan. The Ojibwa and Swampy Cree settled in 1875 to create Treaty 5 which gave the government control of the area North and East of Lake Winnipeg. Treaty 6 was signed with the Cree and Assiniboine, in 1876, and covered the area now known as Central Alberta and Saskatchewan.

That left the Blackfoot of Southern Alberta. Up to this time, these prairie Indians had not had much to do with the white man except for Hudson Bay traders, and roving priests and missionaries. The government on the other hand did not have much to do with these specific nations but had plenty of experience

with natives and treaties in other parts of Canada. This was an ideal time for the government to approach the Blackfoot Indians. The American army had subdued the Indians south of the border and whiskey trading was rampant. The buffalo herds began to disappear from the Northwest with disastrous consequences for the Indians and the Metis. Systematic extermination of the beasts that had provided the Plains Indians with sustenance, shelter and their fuel was begun in the U.S. The threat of starvation and the decimation of native people by smallpox caused many Indians to surrender themselves and their land to become wards of the Government. At least half of the population of the bands in Alberta and Saskatchewan died of smallpox.

> The last half of the nineteenth century constituted a revolution for most of the native societies of the western interior, particularly those of the plains and park land. None of the changes in the native way of life in the preceding two centuries could be compared to the extraordinary upheaval of this period and the speed at which that change occurred. But nothing within his power could alter the circumstances of his life: the buffalo had disappeared, trains and fences and towns now dominated the plains and the old ways had disappeared beyond recovery. Between 1865 and 1875 two devastating epidemics swept through the Cree and Blackfoot camps, whisky traders dispensed their violence breeding concoction and plains wars culminating in the battle of Old Man River were immensely destructive. The inhabitants of the western interior required new political and judicial arrangements to replace the now irrelevant authority of the Hudson Bay Company.[17]

It was 1877 and the government was also running out of time if it were to fulfil the commitments it had made to British Columbia in 1871. A transcontinental railway had to be built, urban and agricultural settlement was proceeding, intrusions were continuing from the south which meant that ownership had to be established. 1877 was a problem year for Prime Minister

Alexander Mackenzie since non confidence motions were being served up for "breakfast, lunch and supper."[18] The first step in the establishment of this authority had been the deployment of the Northwest Mounted Police in 1874 while the second was the signing of what was to be Treaty 7.

On September 7,1877, at Blackfoot crossing, the government of Canada and the Blackfoot Indians (Blackfoot, Bloods, and North Peigans) signed Treaty 7. It was significant that the church was also present at the signing of this treaty since they would form a coalition to deal with the Blackfoot during the next ninety years. The treaty contained the usual guarantees of land reserves, settlement assistance, government annuities and the promise to keep them free forever from hunger and disease.[19] In the later half of the nineteenth century, native elders, in the face of the demise of traditional means of self sufficiency and cognizant of the advantages of literacy, pressed for the inclusion of educational rights in treaty negotiations on the Prairies. Therefore in Treaty 7, the following statement appeared:

> ...the Federal government agrees to pay the salary of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as to what the Government of Canada seems advisable when said Indians are settled on the reserve and shall desire teachers.[20]

McKay (1992) says:

> To weigh the relative gains and losses of a treaty is a difficult matter. The Indians won more in the negotiations than the government had planned to give...
>
> Whether the Indians appreciated that they had agreed in principle to a sweeping change in property relations has been debated ever since. Did the Indians understand the implications of the transfer of sovereignty and

> in particular of the white Canadian perception of private property? Spry has suggested that the Indian notion of property encompassed common property, wherein members of a defined group used an area according to certain rules, and open access, in which the reserves were used by everyone as they saw fit. But she contends, the Indian view did not encompass private property, the actual possession and trade of real estate and thus the Indians were not capable of appreciating the treaty.[21]

Therefore they were agreeing to admit the white man into their territory to share in the resources. They assumed that the reserves and the resources would belong exclusively to the Indian People and the elsewhere open access would be the rule. The Indian people assumed they had given up their birthright and in return they acquired political protection, economic security and education not only in a troubled era of transition but forever.

The process of settlement and land cultivation was based on the assumption that the nuclear family system would prevail,[22] an arrangement not found in the Canadian native culture.

One of the key tools employed by the state in the intended process of Indian settlement and assimilation was formal education. While schooling under the tutelage of missionaries and trading companies had emerged on a sporadic basis throughout the nineteenth century, several groups acknowledged the advantages of formal educational provisions as a means to transform "Indian" lives. The great hope of administrator and missionary alike was that education would break the hold of tradition and create a properly "Canadianized" Indian.[23]

Between 1879-1882, Edgar Dewdney, the incumbent Indian Commissioner, was travelling Southern Alberta trying to persuade the Indians to settle on

reserves and take up an agricultural existence. Nicholas Flood Davin, journalist and conservative politician, recommended the continuation of the mission schools plus the creation of industrial schools. The government accepted his recommendations realizing that building on existing ecclesiastical institutions would be much more economical than creating a separate educational infrastructure. The tradition of church state cooperation in such endeavors had been well established in Canada for several decades.[24]

The starving and beleaguered Blood Indian people of 1880, with food as an incentive, hesitatingly began taking up residence on their new reserve between the St. Mary's and Old Man River. It was to this peoples that Samuel Trivett was to serve as the first missionary educator.

CHAPTER 1 - Footnotes

1. Findlay and Sprague, The Structure of Canadian History, pp.19-20.
2. Gladwin, "Slaves of the White Myth," p.27.
3. Findlay and Sprague, The Structure of Canadian History, p.71.
4. Ibid., p.72.
5. Ibid., p.86.
6. Ibid., p.89.
7. Ibid, p. 111.
8. Rich, Hudsons Bay Company 1670-1870, p.23.
9. Titley, A Narrow Vision, p.2.
10. Ibid., p.3.
11. Wotherspoon and Satzewich, First Nations, p.28.
12. McKay, The Challenge of Modernity, p.22.
13. Wotherspoon and Satzewich, First Nations, p.83.
14. Upton, The Origin of Canadian Indian Policy, p.51.
15. McKay, The Challenge of Modernity, p.21.
16. Findlay and Sprague, The Structure of Canadian History, p.191.
17. McKay, The Challenge of Modernity, p.3.
18. Findlay and Sprague, The Structure of Canadian History, p.213.
19. Ibid., p.213.
20. Dempsey, H., "One Hundred Years of Treaty 7," p.76.
21. McKay, The Challenge in Modernity, p.12.
22. Wotherspoon and Satzewich, First Nations, p.84.
23. McKay, The Challenge of Modernity, p.25.

24. Titley, A Narrow Vision, p.76.

CHAPTER 2 SAMUEL TRIVETT AND MISSIONARY BEGINNINGS

Who was Samuel Trivett? He was typical of those sent on missions by the Anglican Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) in the late nineteenth century, of lower middle class extraction. He was the son of an English wine and tea merchant and it was assumed he would follow in his father's footsteps, but that was not to be. He heard the words of William Carpenter Bompas, the Anglican Bishop of Athabasca and was enthraled with the work of the missionaries among the North American Indians.

A missionary to the Indian at the end of the 1800s was a person of considerable importance. Not only did he provide the people with spiritual insight, he was responsible for education, welfare, medicine and might even be called on to perform simple surgery. If a missionary spoke the language, he was a natural person to represent Indians desires' to the authorities and to interpret government policies to the Indians.[1] If a strong alliance with the Indian agent was forged, control could be exerted over almost all aspects of an Indians' lives. This made the missionary very powerful and appealed to a lower middle class person that who did not have much control over his own future.

This may not have been completely true for Trivett but it seemed alluring enough that he entered training for the ministry in the Church of England, with his goal to become a missionary to the British North American native. For most missionaries, this posting would not have been their first choice since their were many other more exotic postings. In fact this may have tended to dilute the

quality of peoples serving in the missions to the North American Indian but in the case of Trivett this does not seem to be the case. Immediately after he became a deacon and a priest in 1878, the 26 year old applied to the Church Missionary Society and was posted to Fort Stanley in the Diocese of Saskatchewan.

Did his education prepare him for the challenge? His education certainly was not like that received by the Jesuits that ministered to the North American native during that same period. He had been raised in the tradition of Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Lancaster which had a reverence for the "noble savage". He possessed a strong work ethic but a weak formal education. He was somewhat paternalistic which probably came out of the British notion of cultural and racial superiority. Missionaries of his era took seriously the "Divine Commission" to preach to the ends of the earth. All that aside, his correspondence indicates three characteristics that should be noted: his strong desire to help the Indian people, his intention to learn the Indian language and his strong relationship with God.[2]

Samuel Trivett served at the Stanley Mission from 1878 to 1880. On September 19, 1879, his wife died.[3] On December 1 of that year, Bishop Maclean commended Trivett on his fine record and sponsored a resolution to the Anglican Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) that would send him to the Indians at Blackfoot Crossing.[4]

In spite of the loss of his wife, Trivett accepted the challenge and arrived at Blackfoot Crossing in September of 1880. He found very few Indians and took the advice of Edgar Dewdney, the Indian Commissioner and his assistant J. Galt

to follow the Blood Indians to a reserve they had chosen between the Belly and St. Mary's River near Fort MacLeod.[5]

Upon arriving at Fort MacLeod, Trivett met John MacLean, who had been sent by the Methodist Missionary Society to minister to the Blood Indians a year earlier. Although they originally agreed there was room for both, a rivalry was established that would extend throughout the decade. Not only was there competition between the two for scanty government funds available due to the recession but a serious personality conflict developed. This conflict was settled by default. At a meeting of the Anglican and Methodist officials in Fort Macleod they agreed the reserves in the south would be left to the Anglicans. At the end of the decade, the Anglican Church bought the Methodist mission.

When Trivett arrived at the new Blood reserve, he found about eight hundred Blood Indians living in teepees in the Shadow of the Belly Buttes, the traditional site of the Sun Dance. Although Red Crow, the head chief, was present, the people consisted of mostly the elderly, the sick, women and children. The rest of the tribe had travelled south in search of the buffalo. He quickly realized that neither the Indians nor the situation were similar to what he had encountered in Stanley Mission. The Indians at Stanley mission had been settled for a number of years and had some history in relating to the white man. This was not true for the Bloods.

Being somewhat apprehensive, Trivett pitched his tent several miles east of this location on the opposite side of the river on "Big Island" or "Omoksene". The

location was 13 miles southeast of Fort Macleod, the nearest white settlement. His choice was in keeping with the establishment of missions quite a distance from white settlements, which lessened the interaction between the peoples. In addition, this island was a sacred burial place for the Bloods[6] which would provide extra opportunities for spiritual interaction with these people. With the Indian Agency housed just across the river, it could provide both physical and emotional support if necessary. A ration house was erected at the Agency which meant the Indians would gather there to receive their ration of a half pound of beef and flour.[7] The agency was also in close proximity to the old whisky trading fort called Slide Out.[8] His choice of location may have been mostly emotional but the above qualities were certainly of benefit in the long run.

It was already fall, and he quickly acquired the assistance of two white settlers and an Indian to cut logs. He built a structure which turned out to be little more than a mud shanty with a dirt floor.[9] It is assumed that this shanty is the 18 ft. by 20 ft. structure that John Maclean observed Samuel Trivett building on October 16, 1880, with the help of five half breeds.[10] There is no direct evidence that can be found as to whether these buildings were the same, although it has been stated that the house with the school room had a reported attendance of 35.[11] Trivett himself reports the following:

> The first Friday in October, I proceeded to the Indian Reserve on the Belly River, seventeen miles south of Macleod, and chose a spot between Red Crow's camp and Old Moon's camp for my shanty house. We had no difficulty getting the logs but had difficulty securing boards for a door and window casing, having to pay eight cents per foot for old boards taken from the floor of an old house at Macleod. The roof of the building was

> covered with poles and sods of the earth, and having no lumber for the floor plain earth was used. Soon the sods of the floor were turned into dust. The building was sixteen feet by sixteen feet and an addition the same size joined to it, the latter being used as a school and place of service. Our bell or means of calling the children together was an old blind Indian, named White Antelope, who called the children to school and, when services were held on Sunday, the same Indian was used. He always added after calling them on a Sunday "that at the close of the service, they would have a good smoke of tobacco" and that was his inducement to get them there.[12]

Two sessions of school a day were held by Trivett during that time.[13] It had also been reported the presence of a small Anglican school and mission near Red Crow's village.[14] Each Sunday Trivett held two church services in this building with a third in an Indian teepee two miles away.[15] According to Dempsey, the third church service was probably held in Red Crow's teepee and later his house.[16]

Trivett considered himself in competition with the "Romanists." To the Anglicans of the day the Roman Catholic church was an evil force.[17] He had heard that the Roman Catholics were intending to set up a mission to the Bloods the following summer; and he resolved to gain a fair knowledge of the language and to gather the Indians around the Anglican mission.[18]

In the spring of 1881 the rest of the Bloods returned from Montana. They brought with them starvation and the measles.[19] This reduced their numbers to about 3400. The number and condition of these people must have increased Trivett's workload dramatically. The sheer size of the reserve and the location of the peoples in relation to his mission must have made travel time a significant part of his workload. In addition he travelled to Fort MacLeod to serve the

people there each Sunday and later that spring he journeyed to the Cypress Hills and Fort Walsh, a trip of about three hundred miles.

Trivett's attempts to develop an education program were interrupted by visits by Bishop MacLean and the Marquis of Lorne. And his efforts to learn Blackfoot also cut into his time.

In the spring of 1882, the Indian population increased by 200 people to bring it to 3600 as more people arrived from the U.S. Trivett was again busy travelling - this time to Blackfoot Crossing, a journey of 200 miles. He found about 2000 Indians there and recommended a missionary be sent.[20]

This year, Trivett had an average attendance of 29 pupils.[21] It is strange that in the Tabular Statement No. 3 of the report of Indian Affairs showing the condition of the various Indian schools for the year ending June 30, 1882, the average reported attendance is the same as that reported by Carter; but the teacher is reported to be George McKay, who was the missionary to the Peigans at this time. The school was only open for two quarters and it may have been related to the building of the school which Trivett was involved in. It is not clear where this school was located. It is assumed that this school was the same school that John MacLean found him and the new schoolmaster, Rev. Bourne, building in early 1883 on the site the agent had promised Maclean in Blackfoot Old Womens camp.[22]

In the fall of 1882, Trivett travelled to Prince Albert to pick up this new schoolmaster. H.L. Bourne had been teaching on the reserve near there.

Around this time Indian Agent MacLeod resigned. He had previously allowed Red Crow enough power to handle most tribal matters. MacLeod was replaced by Cecil E. Denny, an ex-mountie. Denny was strong minded and interested in controlling many of the Indians' activities and he was committed to reducing the number of Indians receiving treaty benefits and annuities. It is interesting that he reported "a good many" children had died; and this prompted his reductions in the allotments given each family.[23]

In January 1883 Trivett reported that he had translated Exodus XX into Blackfoot.[24] By 1883, the mission school had been enlarged (30 ft. by 16 ft.); and Trivett had built benches, desks, and a stable for the school. He had also enlarged his house for the new schoolmaster. He put a floor in the house which he regarded as quite a luxury.[25] This activity was still in progress in July when Rev. J. Tims, the new missionary for the Blackfoot arrived. Rev. Tims reported the Reverend Bourne to be living at the schoolhouse at Red Crow's village at that time.[26] Teachers on the reserve usually had a difficult time obtaining lodging but this doesn't seem to have been the case with Bourne.

Trivett mentioned that he wanted to build a new home for himself since a new love was blooming and marriage was on the horizon.[27] He apparently planned to build the house a distance of 12 miles from the school and teacher's house.[28]

Tragedy struck Trivett for the second time in March of 1883. His fiancée died so he again threw himself into work. In mid-July, when Rev. Tims, the new

missionary to the Blackfoot arrived, Trivett introduced him to his work on the Blood reserve after which he accompanied the reverend to Blackfoot Crossing. The 100 mile journey took until the twentieth of July. Trivett returned home only to return to Blackfoot Crossing again in the fall. At that time he took Bishop Maclean to the missions of the south. During that journey they decided along with the people of Pincher Creek to build a church.[29] After this work he drove Bishop MacLean to Calgary, Edmonton, Fort Saskatchewan, Onion Lake, North Battleford and Prince Albert.[30] After his thousand mile journey, he continued his work with the Blood people but there is no indication that he taught again or that school was being taught at the mission until the boarding school was built.

Indian Agent Denny again reported the prevalence of disease among the Blood again in the summer of 1883. The Indians themselves attributed the sickness to their close proximity to the white man and the presence of the Church.[31] This made them more hesitant to send their children to school.

In the winter of 1883, Samuel Trivett continued to visit Pincher Creek for services. He would not have been able to keep up this hectic pace if it had not been for the Rev. Bourne and his assumption of all teaching duties.

Eighteen eighty four began with Trivett working afternoons and evenings on the Blackfoot language.[32] In February, he began revising Blackfoot translations and compiling them into:

> ... a book to carry with me about the camps ... (I have) many longings to be able to translate more Scripture into the language of these poor peoples who seem to be more attentive to the blessed truths of the Gospel.[33]

This work may have been facilitated by the very bitter winter. The winter was so cold the Indians found it difficult to hunt. It seems that Trivett did not travel which allowed him time to carry out these projects.

In February, Indian agent Denny was replaced by William B. Pocklington who had been at Blackfoot Crossing. The Blood Indian people did not grieve over the demise of Denny, since he had actively pursued a policy of reducing the cost of annuities.

During that spring and summer, Trivett was heavily involved in the planning and building of the church in Pincher Creek. It was opened in mid August. Trivett was so busy he must have had little time to attend to the needs of the Indian people or support the new teacher Rev. Bourne.

In September, Trivett wrote the Missionary Society and asked to be away from the mission for six months. After all, Bourne could cover for him and Trivett had not had a rest or change in seven years. Also he had been alone except for the first eleven months.[34] In October, he went to Calgary to help Bishop MacLean during the ordination of Rev. Tims.[35] Following the service the Bishop travelled back to the Blood Reserve with Trivett. After the Bishop left, Trivett labored on through the winter.[36]

In the spring of 1885 Trivett, left for England and returned to the Blood Reserve in November of 1885 with his new wife. While he was gone many things had happened.

Just following Trivetts departure, the North-west Rebellion broke out March 26, 1885. The Indians did not participate in the rebellion due to the influence of the Mounties, agent Pocklington and the Methodist Missionary Maclean, who had become good friends with Red Crow. The Bloods did not want to join the Crees, their old enemies, to fight against the Mounties, who had been responsible for controlling the sale of liquor. The missionary MacLean continued to gain influence as he had a good knowledge of medicine and the language.[37] George McKay of the Peigan Mission left without permission to join the Government troops fighting in the North-west Rebellion. Reverend Bourne was assigned to the Peigan reserve which left the Blood reserve schools vacant for the summer and fall of 1885. The Indians began to visit Fort MacLeod for extended periods of time. Since it was off the reserve the agent had to withhold the annuity payments and involve the Mounties who now had a detachment at Standoff. With these events taking place it was probably a poor time to be away from the church both from the standpoint of the church and government.

Indian Agent Pocklington reported the Anglican school on the reserve had not been open regularly and that he could not see much progress.[38] The school summaries for the periods from June 1882 to June 1885 report Trivett taught September 1882 to September 1883 but not from September 1883 to June 1886.[39] Rev. Bourne, on the other hand, taught at the lower agency all three years ending June 1883 to 1885 at which point he was transferred. He may have only taught two quarters in two of the years but it was understandable given

Trivett was away and Bourne was doing double duty. During the year June 1885 to June 1886 no Anglican schools were open even though Trivett returned in November. At this time, Trivett was building a new house, getting reestablished with his new bride and with Bourne gone. In addition became embroiled in altercations with many of those around him.

The tension between himself and John MacLean the Methodist missionary had been getting worse since MacLean caught Trivett using his property allotment in 1883. Adding to this hard feeling, was the fact that Trivett upon his return had hired T.R. Clipsham in December 1885. Clipsham had been released as the Methodist teacher and had been eking out a living as a carpenter. He was hired to build "an interpreter's house, ice house, etc."[40] Clipsham was having a dispute with the Methodist Missionary Society and refused to move out of the teacher's home which stymied the hiring of a new teacher. The Methodist school was therefore forced to remain closed.

While Trivett was away Bishop MacLean put Mr. Hilton in charge of the Pincher Creek Church. The bishop felt he had acted with discretion and fairness but Trivett felt the decision was a personal affront and he was not fully appreciated. Also when Trivett had earlier showed concern that Bourne had been stealing lumber that was to be used for the schoolhouse to build his own home, he was told to mind his own business. Further to this Trivett had asked to have the mission name changed to Omoksene but the Bishop refused. These differences all caused tension in their relationship.

The last altercation but perhaps the most serious was his disagreement with the Bishop and the C.M.S. over the building of a new home. The new house had three bedrooms, a small study area, sitting room, kitchen dining area, storage area and a coal house.[41] Bishop MacLean said this of the house:

> ...as regards the house, it has cost the Society a great deal of money and is already one of the most comfortable and commodious Mission houses in the Country.[42]

The estimated cost of the house was a problem for a missionary society that was already having trouble raising funds. In addition to that, Trivett's estimates fell far below the actual cost. It cost over double his estimate and the Bishop was decidedly opposed to any further expenditure of funds and Trivett was left on the hook for the debt.[43] Although its location was not disclosed Agent Pocklington noted in his report of the period ending June 1886, that a new Anglican schoolhouse was being built on the reserve.[44] This must have further stretched the limited resources of the Church Missionary Society.

Further, Trivett charged some that men from MacLeod were involving Indian girls in slavery and prostitution. This was reported by the Globe in Toronto. The MacLeod Gazette of March 16, 1886, ran a lengthy editorial that was a sarcastic put down of Trivett for daring to bring it up at all.[45]

The most serious of these conflicts seemed to be with those who were most responsible for maintaining him on the Blood Reserve and it would provide the basis for his demise.

In late 1886, Bishop MacLean was thrown from his buggy and died. This eased Trivett's situation somewhat since the relationship between the two had deteriorated over the previous year. Bishop MacLean was not replaced for a year which gave Trivett a little breathing space. The Indian agent Pocklington reported on September 1, 1887, that the Anglican school had not been open most of the year but that on May 5, 1887 it reopened with a man named C. Fossbrook as the teacher.

But when Indian Agency Inspector Alexander McGibbon visited the schools he found it far from satisfactory:

> At the North Camp the Rev. Mr. Trivett, of the Church of England, is the missionary and Mr. Fossbrook is the schoolteacher. The schoolhouse is a log building 20 ft. by 18 ft. The schoolhouse is a log building 20 by 18 ft. This is where the Rev. Mr. Trivett holds services on Sundays also. The building had not an inviting appearance about it. The schoolhouse was not in session when I called on four different occasions. Soap, towels and washbasins are supplied specially by the Department so that the children should observe cleanliness in their habits by washing their faces previously to coming to school, a practice followed by the very best effects at many of the schools. These articles had never been put to use. I called Mr. Trivetts attention to the unsatisfactory state of the school and buildings, being mission property, and he told me he would correspond with the Bishop. It is clear that some more energy will have to be displayed in school matters at both camps before any progress can be reported.[46]

There is no indication except for size, that this school was at "Omoksene." The Anglicans had built day schools in at least three locations. It seems as if this year those schools remained empty, as the school was being conducted at the mission. No matter, it seems unbelievable that any kind of learning could be accomplished with the large average reported attendance (81 students) in that small a space (18 ft. by 20 ft.).

What was Trivett doing during the first half of 1887? He was hard at work translating St. John's Gospel, some prayers the Ten Commandments and part of the Baptismal service.[47]

In May, Trivett and Tims jointly wrote to the C.M.S. to say that the Roman Catholics had opened schools and urged the Society to allow them to enlarge their mission houses to accommodate ten children in each of their missions and that the children be boarded, lodged and raised at no expense to the Society. The idea was appealing to the Society because it would ease the burden on them since they were financially strapped. Their intention was to start with girls and practical training would be an important part of their education. The request from Trivett and Tims came at the same time Industrial schools were expanding in the west which included the High River Industrial School under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church. One must remember the Anglicans' attitude to the Catholics and therefore the concern of both missionaries and the Anglican church. The government generally agreed with the removing of Indian children from their families. As a federal cabinet minister explained in the Commons:

> If these schools are to succeed we must not have them to near the reserve; in order to educate the children properly we must remove them from their families. Some people might say this is hard, but if we want to civilize them we must do that.[48]

The government proposed a parallel system of boarding schools which were less ambitious and less well financed[49] and Trivett felt the church should go this direction on the Blood Reserve.

Up to this point, the Anglican record in respect to the education of the Blood Indian children in day schools was very rudimentary. The roll of the two Anglican schools operating from 1883 to 1886 varied from 57 to 77 students. The average attendance was 40%. Of those students attending very few had learned how to read and to write. With the exception of 1884 none had been introduced to Math. With the size of the Blood population, there were certainly a large number of children that had never seen a school. Of the small portion of the children that were on the roll, few attended regularly and very few that had received any skills beyond elementary English. In 1886-87 the number of students on the roll improved but the average percent of students attending did not improve but dropped 28.8% as was reported in the Tabular Statement of the period ending June 1887. The teacher, Fossbrook, had 281 students on roll with 81 as an average attendance. Although most were reported to be reading and spelling, only 14% were writing and learning arithmetic. When Fossbrook was questioned by Inspector McGibbon he said they were learning only the A,B,C's.[50]

In 1887-88, Fossbrook showed a roll of 149 students with a regular attendance of 40 (27%). That year the reporting form changed and it showed a number learning grammar and geography in addition reading, writing and mathematics. They reported teaching nutrition as well. Even with this seeming improvement, the day schools certainly were not very effective. Trivett must have realized that fact and that the future was going to include the boarding school.

During that period there was poor continuity in the times the schools were open. In the seven years, although there were only three teachers including Trivett, the schools were closed over half of the time.

This assessment seems to be supported by Lawrence Vankoughnet Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, in his report of August 1887.[51] He stated that it was impossible to obtain the services of competent and desirable teachers at the salaries being paid when the average was 240 dollars and the highest was 350 dollars.

He also made reference to the irregular attendance and stated that he believed it was due to the indifference of the parents to education, lack of sufficient clothes, the difficulty of coming to school without a lunch. He recommended a mid day lunch.

> The mid day meal at day schools would be warranted by the success in securing larger attendance.... The meal might consist of a share of the childrens' rations which otherwise would be delivered to the parents. The plan has the double effect of inducing children to go regularly to school for their dinner and making an object with the parents to send them for if the children remain at home their parents would have to feed them their rations.[52]

Cheap uniforms, one for summer and one for winter were also suggested as well as central boarding schools for reserves that were scarcely populated which seemed to support Trivett's plan to develop a boarding school on the Blood reserve.

In March of 1888, Fossbrook left after only two years, which is consistent with the pattern established in Indian schools. April saw the new Bishop Cyprian

Pinkham visit Trivett and directed that schoolmasters must help as catechists. If that occurred they would be paid $300 by the government and $250 by the C.M.S.[53] In September, E.F Hillier was hired as teacher and that year the Anglican school reported a significant drop in its enrolment. This was probably due the presence of rival Methodist and Roman Catholic schools. Hillier was the first teacher at the Anglican school to be paid at the higher rate. According to the Agent Pocklington the Anglican school had finished an enlargement and the attendance was more than the teacher could do justice to. He also noted that there was an intention to build another school at Bull Horn's village.

In February of 1889, Bishop Pinkham convened the first synod of the Diocese of Calgary. During the meeting he announced that the Diocese of Huron was preparing to send a lady missionary to the Blood Indians. This seemed to be in preparation for the development of a boarding school at the mission.[54]

In May of 1889, Trivett took on the Department of Indian Affairs when he informed them he would not tolerate Protestant Indian children being sent to High River Industrial School where they would be taught idolatrous acts that were worse than their own religion.[55]

In early 1890, Joshua Hinchliffe arrived and became the teacher in Bull Horn's village. Hinchliffe reported he had 43 students on the roll with only 11 attending whereas the government reported a roll of 60 and an average attendance of 15. The difference may indicate that Trivett was not as familiar with the school Hinchliffe was operating. This seems reasonable since he was

involved in many skirmishes plus the fact he was travelling 120-180 miles per week at his own expense.[56] The lack of time he had to spend with the new inexperienced teacher straight from Liverpool was to have an effect on the future.

In 1890 Pocklington indicated Hinchliffe was serving lunch of soup with alternating boiled rice and a biscuit, it did not seem to be increasing attendance. In fact it was difficult to keep those who were attending at school after lunch.

Tims noted that the Blood reserve under Samuel Trivett erected a home with Miss Busby as its first lady missionary.

In late February, 1891, Hinchliffe wrote a letter to the C.M.S. charging Trivett with neglect of duty, not being able to speak Blackfoot, not visiting the school during school hours, of being a liar and of selling clothes to the Indians. These charges were examined by a Commission and deemed to have no foundation. At this time Hinchliffe laid three other charges, but these could not be substantiated either. The bishop asked the C.M.S. to relieve Hinchliffe and Hillier but past history set the die and Trivett was discharged almost 11 years to the day after his arrival.

If Trivett could be accused of anything it could be that he spread himself to thin. Instead of spending time with the newcomer Hinchliffe, he let him spend too much time with people who may have had earlier grievances with Trivett. In addition perhaps the tragedies in his life had overshadowed his work at the mission. In working to overcome his grief, he may not have spent much time with his colleagues on the Blood reserve and the development of the schools.

As he left in October of 1891, the foundation had been laid for the St. Paul's Residential School and the work he had done became the foundation for the work of the missionaries that followed in the next sixty years.

CHAPTER 2 - Footnotes

1. Grant, Moon of Wintertime, p.173.
2. Carter, "The Rev.'d Samuel Trivett Part 1," p.14.
3. Ibid., p.14.
4. Ibid., p.15.
5. Ibid., p.15.
6. Gladstone, "Schooldays," p.18.
7. Dempsey, H., "The Starvation Years," p.2.
8. Gladstone, "Schooldays," p.18.
9. Carter, "The Rev'd Samuel Trivett Part 1," p.16.
10. Nix, "John Maclean's Mission to the Blood Indians 1880-1889," p.63.
11. Ibid., p.54.
12. Middleton, "The Building of a Mission," p.14.
13. Carter, "The Rev'd Samuel Trivett Part 1," p.16.
14. Dempsey, H., Red Crow: Warrior Chief, p.110.
15. Carter, "The Rev'd Samuel Trivett Part 1," p.16.
16. Dempsey, H, Red Crow: Warrior Chief, p.110.
17. Carter, "The Rev'd Samuel Trivett Part 1," p.16.
18. Ibid., p.16.
19. Dempsey, H., "The Starvation Years," p.3.
20. Carter, "The Rev'd Samuel Trivett Part 1," p.16.
21. Ibid., p.16.
22. Journal PAC John MacLeans Papers. Vol. 8, p.43.

23. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ending 30 June, 1882, p.173.

24. Carter, "The Rev'd Samuel Trivett Part 1," p.17.

25. Ibid., p.17.

26. Tims, "Anglican Beginnings in Southern Alberta," p.1.

27. Carter, "The Rev'd Samuel Trivett Part 1," p.17.

28. Nix, "John Maclean's Mission to the Blood Indians 1880-1889," p.132.

29. Carter, "The Rev'd Samuel Trivett Part 1," p.18.

30. Tims, "Anglican Beginnings in Southern Alberta," p.3.

31. Canada Sessional Papers Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for year ending 30 June, 1883, pp.82-85.

32. Carter, "The Rev'd Samuel Trivett Part 1," p.18.

33. Ibid., p.18.

34. Ibid., p.18.

35. Tims, "Anglican Beginnings in Southern Alberta," p.6.

36. Carter, "The Rev'd Samuel Trivett Part 1," p.19.

37. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1885, pp.73-74.

38. Ibid., p.74.

39. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1882-5.

40. Nix, "John Maclean's Mission to the Blood Indians 1880-1889," p.126.

41. Carter, "The Rev'd Samuel Trivett Part 2," p.18.

42. Ibid., p.18.

43. Ibid., p.19.

44. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 185, p.137.

45. Carter, "The Rev'd Samuel Trivett Part 2," p.20.

46. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1887, p.182.

47. Carter, "The Rev'd Samuel Trivett Part 2," p.20.

48. Canada House of Commons Debates 1883, p.1377.

49. Miller, Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens, p.196.

50. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1887, pp.294-295.

51. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1887, p.182.

52. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1889, p.xxviii.

53. Carter, "The Rev'd Samuel Trivett Part 2," p.21.

54. Ibid., p.21.

55. Titley, "Hayler Reed and Indian Administration in the West," p.144.

56. Carter, "The Rev'd Samuel Trivett Part 2," p.21.

CHAPTER 3 THE NINETIES

Reorienting for the Indians from day schools to residential schools was an important change in Indian education,[1] but that change did not occur in the Anglican Diocese of Calgary until the mid 1880s. With this development the education of Indians took a significant turn and caused considerable dissention in the Church of England in Canada for several years.[2] When residential schools (industrial and boarding) were first established, education was not compulsory and securing a regular supply of students was a persistent problem. Indian agents played a key role in the selection of prospective candidates and they were permitted to employ pressure such as withholding rations to persuade those parents that did not want to part with their children.[3]

The government in the 1880s continued to move toward assimilation of the Indian people as was attested to by John A. MacDonald's statement:

> The great aim of our legislation has been to do away with the tribal system and assimilate the Indian people in all respects with inhabitants of the Dominion as speedily as they are fit for the change.[4]

The day schools on reserves were never very successful. Although the vast majority of the children were registered in day schools there was an inability to find and maintain good teachers. Young, well-qualified teachers were deterred by inhospitable surroundings, paltry salaries and often a lack of accommodations. Church and government officials lost hope in the ability of these schools to being about assimilation because most believed that the uncontrolled interaction of the child with the family and tribe would maintain the status quo.[5]

The church and state used boarding and industrial schools as the great "crucibles" in which native children could "shed" their culture.[6] The boarding and industrial schools offered more hope of changing the Indian people since they had the advantage of controlling the environment by keeping the students away from home influences.[7] Missionaries saw teachers as surrogate parents who would provide proper environments for the development of the native child. The government concurred with this view:

> The boarding school dissociates the Indian child from deleterious home influences to which he would otherwise be subjected. It reclaims him from an uncumbered state in which he has been brought up. It brings him into contact from day to day with all that intends to effect a change in his views and habits of life. By precept and example he is taught to endeavor to excel in what will be most useful to him.[8]

To strengthen this position the federal government introduced a variety of legislative regulations including compulsory school attendance, sanctions against juvenile delinquency and the institution of "parens patriae" and "loco parentis".[9]

The government also became more involved monetarily with the mission school by bearing 1/3 of the cost of erecting a school.[10] It was within this frame of reference that Reverend Frank Swainson took over the Anglican Mission to the Bloods in 1892. Swainson arrived on the Blackfoot Reserve in the fall of 1888[11] when Tims became the Bishop Maclean's chaplain.

Swainson and a colleague "gathered in the first six boys in 1889 and used the upstairs as a dormitory until a new building was erected where accommodation for both boys and girls was provided."[12] His job was to teach at

the new boarding school which was called Old Sun. During the time he was at Old Sun he married Rev. Tims' sister and he travelled with her to the Blood Reserve in the winter of 1891. By this time St. Paul's, the girls home, was completed and Miss A.E. Busby had been sent to the Blood Reserve by the Anglican Huron Womens' Association as matron. J. Hinchliffe was still at Bullhorn day school and E.F. Hillier at Red Crow day school.

In February Agent Pocklington was moved to the Peigan and in March 1892, Hinchliffe followed. Hillier was moved to a new school at Bullshields camp and a new teacher named B.H. Robertson was hired to teach at Red Crow's camps. His career on the reserve was short and he left in March of 1892. The reason for his departure is not clear but during this time Red Crow demanded an Anglican teacher be removed and Robertson was the only one to leave. Often day school teachers were academically ill-prepared as well as ill-prepared for the climate and the people.

At this time the CMS obtained the services of a man named Adam Mills to fill the vacancy left by Hinchliffe at Bullhorn. Mills was obviously much better educated than the others as Acting Agent Irvine reported him as a university man.[13] A teacher named Herbert was hired to replace Hillier, who had moved. This meant the Church of England now had three day schools. Attendance continued to be a problem even though they were serving lunch.[14]

What of the girls' home in 1892? Miss Busby had ten girls enrolled in the home but an average attendance of six. This discrepancy was accounted for when

the girls went on a three week holiday and several did not return after going to the Sun Dance.[15] Both church and state were in opposition to this ritual. It involved a long period of time in the summer when much work could be done. In addition it facilitated gambling, self mutilation, revelry, and immorality. It did not promote discipline, punctuality, and the work ethic.

In this same report Rev. F. Swainson told the agent the Church was about to enlarge the home and increase the staff to allow the accommodation of 25 girls.

With Hillier and Herbert leaving, the teachers in the day schools were all new in 1892-3 (John Hewson, Bullshields; Spencer Collins, Red Crow; Mr. A. Mills, Bullshorn). The average attendance in the three day schools averaged 33% with the lowest at Red Crows village (13.5%).

> ...the number of changes among the teachers (of the day schools) have taken place and it is hoped after the present teachers become conversant with their duties more progress will be made in the day schools.[16]

The enlargement of the girls boarding school with accommodation for twenty five girls was complete in 1893 and it was described by the new Agent James Wilson as being a large two storey log building on western part of Swainson's house lined with tongue and groove lumber with a school room, dining room, kitchen, storeroom and lavatory on the bottom storey and 2 dormitories above the school. In the same letter he reported 22 girls being there but the Tabular Statement #2[17] report only 16 students with fourteen being in attendance. Perhaps the very severe winter may have had an influence on the numbers.

The Church of England now built a boarding school for boys, near the girls home, with accommodation for fifty pupils. With boys and girls in attendance St. Paul's was finally a reality.[18]

The turnover of day school teachers continued in 1893-1894. At Bullshields, Henry Henson replaced John Hewson, W.R. Hayes replaced Collins at Red Crow. Mills was the only teacher that remained. Agent Wilson understandably found the constant turnover unsatisfactory and the decision to build the boarding school seemed all the more sensible.

> There have been a good many changes among teachers which takes away interest of the teachers and the children alike, but perhaps still a greater drawback is the apathy of the majority of the parents.[19]

Perhaps his statement was initiated not only by the poor attendance which averaged 35% of those on the roll but by the fact the "well educated" veteran Mills himself only averaged 25%.[20]

With Reverend F. Swainson in charge the St. Paul's Boarding school and staff continued to grow. By 1893-4 16 boys and 18 girls were enrolled. There is a difference of fifteen pupils between those enrolled and those in average daily attendance which seems significant. The cause of this difference is not mentioned. This may have been due to the measles epidemic that attacked the children in the fall and winter that year.[21] A boys' teacher Mr. Foote was hired but he only remained one year.

The growth in St. Paul's school from its inception in 1891 until 1894 was very rapid. It went from 10 girls and Miss Busby to sixteen boys and eighteen

girls. There is no mention of teachers in 1893 and it is assumed she left. During her stay it is not clear whether she was the matron or the teacher. As important as that was the increase in capacity which in 1894 grew to seventy-five pupils (25 girls and 50 boys). Also the staff now had the principal plus two teachers (Miss Alridge, the girls' teacher, Mr. Foote the boys' teacher) plus other support staff. This meant the government and church were placing more emphasis on boarding schools, a policy readily acknowledged by Deputy Superintendent Hayter Reed:

> ...to do away with funds and circumstances as will permit for the day schools on reserves and substitute industrial and boarding schools that are at a distance.[22]

Reed's view that native parents were indifferent to their children's education was shared by Agent Wilson. In 1894-1895 a new day school teacher, C.A. McAnally replaced W.R. Haynes. The overall day school roll was dropping (from 124 in 1893-94 to 81 in 1895-6) plus the percent average attendance was very low (44%). In fact when Inspector McGibbon visited Mills on May 9, 1895 no students were present and McAnally had only ten students of a possible twenty.[23] The day school at Bullshields was no longer in operation.

In 1894-5 all the students in the boarding school were in Standard 1, 2 and 3.[24] According to the official curriculum they were supposed to be able to recognize words and sentence making, make simple sounds of letters, copy words, spelling oral and written and dictation of words and simple sentences. In writing they were to be able to write on slates in large round hand. In arithmetic they were to know the numbers 1 to 25 both oral and written, the signs +, -, x, ÷, the

simple fractions and simple problems introducing gallons, peck, bushel, months, year, inches, foot, current, current coins and addition in columns no number to exceed 25. They were learning ethics including the practice of cleanliness, obedience, respect, order and neatness plus right and wrong, truth and proper behaviour. In addition there was history, vocal music (mostly religious) calisthenics and of course religious instruction.[25]

Senator James Gladstone, who was at St. Paul's at this time, stated the following:

> At first we didn't have any holidays we went to school all the year round. I went to school one week, then spent a week in which I went to school for half days and worked on the mission farm for the other half. We had half holidays on Wednesdays and Saturdays and had Sundays off.[26]

This system of half day classes and half day of training was certainly supported by the government. "...no true education is given that does not combine technical and intellectual training."[27] Therefore to accomplish in Math and English in one half day much after chores, calisthenics, ethics, singing and religious instruction must have been quite a feat. Gladstone said they had no toys or equipment for games but with such a full load they probably didn't have much time for recreation.

The expansion of the boarding school operation created an opening for Hillier, the former day school teacher who had left in 1892. In 1895 we find him in charge of the outside work at St. Paul's (farm and chores) while his wife was employed as a seamstress.

Again in 1894-1895 Agent James Wilson showed a concern over the number of students in day schools. But he reported sending 72 to Industrial schools and 61 to boarding schools.[28] His report in 1895-1896 showed the numbers sent to boarding schools dropped which precipitated this comment: "...for 3 years the Indians have been sending their children willingly to the different schools but lately they have shown some disclination."[29]

Not only was that a concern but the day school numbers kept dropping. Only 61 were enrolled in all four day schools (2 Catholic - 2 Episcopalian) and the average attendance for each school was only seven per day (34%). Again in 1895-1896 there was a discrepancy in the numbers of student boarding in the school as reported by Wilson, and the principal Hockley and the school statement of 1895-96. Wilson states there are 61 students (37 boys - 24 girls), the acting principal E.F. Hockley reports 69 (41 boys - 28 girls) and the summary reports 48 (26 boys - 22 girls). There were some half breeds attending. They were not paid for and therefore were not part of the summary.

Sometime in the 1895-1896 school year Rev. Swainson left and Hockley became acting principal. In 1895-1896 he reported the following buildings: 1) mission - house; 2) church - school; 3) boys' home; 4) girls' home; 5) stable; 6) storehouse and 7) laundry. The condition of the girls home was said to be an old log building prejudicial to the health of the "inmates".[30] The health of students must have continued to be poor as the need for a nurse was mentioned.

The total capacity of the boarding school was reported to be 83 (50 boys - 33 girls). This shows an increase in the number of girls that could be housed. There doesn't seem to be an expansion in the girls' dormitories so it appears the increase came because the missionaries' accommodations moved to the boys' residence leaving those bedrooms available to house the girls. In any event the school certainly was not filled to capacity (33 boys and 28 girls). A day school nearby had an additional seventeen students. This day school appears to be the one that was originally at Red Crow village. The day school at Bullhorn was still operating at the time with Mills as the teacher and the attendance of the pupils at the school was worse than it was the previous year.

During this period the pupils at St. Paul's were involved with a number of activities that constituted their practical training. The girls were developing skills in sewing and knitting. They also were involved in the kitchen and the laundry. The boys were milking, teaming, fencing, and gardening. These activities constituted half of their time.

The other half included one half hour of religious instruction plus prayers. The approved curriculum included music, calisthenics, ethics, English, mathematics, and geography. It is obvious with farm work and religious studies the students did not have much time for the 3Rs.

> ...mens' minds were felt to be less important than their labors and resources. In the colonists point of view the purpose of education was limited to training a more efficient labor force.[31]

Recreation was even less important and equipment non-existent,[32] Gladstone, remembered it as follows:

> When I started at the school, we didn't have any toys, so we played Indian games. In the winter we used beef ribs for skates...We also played a game like curling, threw mud balls at each other, used bows and arrows...
>
> At first we didn't have any summer holidays but went to school all year around. I went to school for one week then spent a week in which I went to school for half days and worked on the mission farm for the other half.

Edward Hockley, the acting principal, in 1895-6 states:

> As much recreation as possible is allowed. The boys ramble over the fenced enclosure, including large pasture...The girls for special reasons are kept in a good sized playground...[33]

Although Hockley claimed that corporal punishment was avoided, he also noted that pupils needed constant watching and correction. With wilfulness, irregularity and carelessness the admonition was prompt. Gladstone recalled that he was "punished several times for speaking Blackfoot". Although Hockley reported corporal punishment was avoided, discipline was imposed by the giving and removing of privileges. It seems as if the errant students might spend free time or play time alone in the dormitories.

The health of the students was still a problem, especially for the girls, which Hockley attributed to their dormitory:

> ...an old log building, patched up, and if anything rather prejudicial to the health of the inmates. The place has to be fumigated regularly to keep back the numerous bugs.[34]

The principal mentioned scrofula and consumption as the main diseases.[35]

In the 1896-7 school year the day school attendance on the reserve continued to drop with an average attendance of six students.[36] In fact the only day schools the Anglicans were operating were located at Bullhorn village and St. Paul's Day School.2[37] Mills, the university graduate, left the Bullhorn school to teach at St. Dunstans Anglican Industrial School late in the year and a man named L.F. Hardyman was hired to replace him.

Agent Wilson believed that Indian parents considered one or two years at school to be ample time for children to complete their education. The Anglican Industrial School at Calgary (St. Dunstans) opened in December of 1986, and one would expect the total number of Blood students attending Industrial School to increase as a result. In fact, it actually dropped from 66 pupils to 57.[38] This seems to indicate the principals of the Blood boarding school and the parents of the pupils were slow to send the children away but the reasons for this hesitancy were different; the parents because of the distance and isolation and the principal because of their working value. This seems to be supported by the fact that St. Paul's boarding school numbers remained somewhat constant (1895-6: 61, 1896-7: 58) with only three boys entering St. Dunstans.

With the number of students attending Anglican schools dropping,they sent an itinerant missionary to the Blood Reserve "...to secure more students". There were reported to be hundreds of children running wild amid sun and dirt.[39] The following account relates the church's attitude during this decade:

> The original object of the Mission Work was to teach the Gospel to the adult Indians but the Missionary soon found it necessary to add

> the education of the children to the teaching of the Gospel to the adult and day schools were established. It was, however, soon obvious that the influence of camp-life undid all the good the children received in the few short hours they attend school...
>
> Since the government decided to give its grants to the boarding school on the basis of the attendance of the children, that is to say seventy two dollars per child per annum, it has been the aim of those interested in the work to increase the number of the children at the schools...[40]

The curriculum remained the same in the boarding school and although a few were in Standard 4 and 5 a majority were still found in Standard I. These numbers appear to be somewhat skewed due to the removal of the senior students by the Industrial school.

Again in the 1897-8 school year the day school attendance slumped. Arthur Owen took over as principal of St. Paul's. The day school reported at St. Paul's ceased to be a separate entity. H.F. Baker was transferred to the boarding school and became the boys' teacher and Miss Wells was the girls' teacher.

In St. Paul's boarding school although the number on roll remained fairly constant the average attendance dropped to 40 pupils.[41] Some of this could be explained by the eight students found in the sick room by Wadsworth.[42] During the school year 1897-8 St. Paul's was approximately 50% occupied which appears to confirm the changing attitude of parents toward school.

The school's constant concern about the health of the pupils as noted by principal Owen in his 1898-9 report and his predecessor Hockley, resulted in the construction of a hospital during this year. Although the facility was being erected the school still needed a competent nurse.[43]

The following year a nurse was still not available and Owen reported many cases of scrofula and the "most urgent" need of a nurse. The hospital was still only "partly completed" but "not in a fit state for winter use."[44] This year school attendance did not change significantly (44 students). No mention was made of the pupils' progress in the academic curriculum but we do learn that the girls were doing the "cooking, sewing, clothes making, and general house keeping" while the boys "mend boots, clothes and assist in gardening." With this heavy load it is no wonder that Owen observed: "...so much time is taken up with work, that little is left for amusement."[45] This increased workload was blamed on the removal of students to industrial schools. David Laird, the Indian Commission reiterated this feeling by principal and teachers:

> The principals of boarding schools and teachers of day schools also, are somewhat inclined to retard the grading system.
>
> They do not look favorable upon losing pupils who are a credit to their schools or are old enough to be so useful as to help reduce the cost of maintenance by enabling them partially to dispense with outside labor.[46]

By the end of the decade the Bullhorn day school was still in operation but its attendance averaged seven children and to Agent Wilson, this signified that "no great interest is taken by the Indians in the education of their children."[47] The problem of excess drinking was beginning to rear its head again in 1899-1900.[48]

This decade then came to an end with continuing concerns about student numbers and student health. The school had grown from a mission house with accommodation for ten girls to a large complex laid out in a square containing: 1) girls home (40 ft. x 70 ft.) which has originally the boys dorm; 2) church and

school combined (40 ft. x 20 ft.); 3) stable, corral; 4) coal house; 5) washroom (laundry) and bathroom (20 ft. x 20 ft.); 6) boys home and mission which evolved from original mission house built by Trivett (70 ft. x 24 ft.); 7) hospital (room for 16 patients);[49] and 8) fowl house.[50]

The capacity has grown to eighty students but it certainly was far from full. The parents had become more and more hesitant to send their children and the decade has been filled with epidemics that had wreaked havoc with the Blood population generally but the children more specifically. The staff had increased from one teacher to a staff of six which included the principal (Owen), a teacher (Miss Wells), the girls' matron (Miss Denmark), the boys' house master (Hardy), a cook (Mrs. Irvine), and a farm instructor (Yeomans).

The academic skills still showed the great majority of the students occupying levels I, II, and III. Miss Wells was a certified teacher and "giving the students more schooling than called for."[51] None of the staff spoke Blackfoot; therefore the students had to communicate in English.

The manual work done by students was instituted for two major reasons: 1) to introduce them to an agricultural life style, and 2) to make them self sufficient. By 1900, the students were actually raising enough food to allow the sale of some vegetables, hay and butter.[52] In fact the proceeds were used to provide a furnace for the girls dormitory.[53] Religious training occupied three quarters of an hour a day (1/2 hour in the morning, and 1/4 hour in the afternoon). Even so, the principal:

> ...was much discouraged by the drawbacks the children receive from the knowledge of and consequent hankering after the gross evils of immorality carried on largely during the dancing period which of late has commenced.[54]

With the physical structure in place Principal Owen set forth into the twentieth century.

CHAPTER 3 - Footnotes

1. Miller, Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens, p.105.

2. Lewis, "The Anglican Church and Its Mission Schools Dispute," p.8.

3. PAC RG 10 vol 3597 file 1350 J.P. Wright Agent File Hills to Commissioner H. Reed 23 Dec. 1890.

4. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1887, p.37.

5. Titley, A Narrow Vision, p.89.

6. Ibid., p.18.

7. Titley, "Indian Industrial Schools in Western Canada," p.134.

8. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1889, p.ix.

9. Wotherspoon and Satzewich, First Nations, p.84.

10. Lewis, "The Anglican Church and Its Mission Schools Dispute," p.8.

11. Tims, "Anglican Beginnings in Southern Alberta," p.12.

12. Ibid., p.12.

13. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1891, p.101.

14. Ibid., pp.83-4.

15. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1892, p.180.

16. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1893, p.85.

17. Ibid., pp.288-9.

18. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1894, p.85.

19. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1894, p.88.

20. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1895, School Statement, pp.340-1.

21. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1894, p.88.

22. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1895, p.xxi.

23. Ibid., pp.270-6.

24. Ibid., pp.340-1.

25. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1896, pp.396-9.

26. Gladstone, "School Days," p.20.

27. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1894, p.xxi.

28. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1895, p.73.

29. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1896, p.157.

30. Ibid., p.356.

31. Gladwin, "Slaves of the White Myth," p.6.

32. Gladstone, "School Days," p.20.

33. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1896, p.356.

34. Ibid., p.356.

35. Ibid., p.356.

36. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1897, p.137.

37. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1898, pp.372-3.

38. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1896, p. 157 & Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1897, p.137.

39. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1897, p.249.

40. Carter, "The Rev'd Samuel Trivett Part 2," p.8.

41. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1898, School Statement, pp.376-7.

42. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1898, p.182.

43. Ibid., p.286.

44. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1899, p.318.

45. Ibid., p.319.

46. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1899, p.205.

47. Ibid., p.133.

48. Ibid.,p.134.

49. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1900, p.340.

50. Ibid., p.387.

51. Ibid., pp.340-1.

52. Ibid., p.340.

53. Ibid., pp.387-8.

54. Ibid., p.340.

CHAPTER FOUR - THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

As the new century dawned St. Paul's boarding school was not yet ten years old. In the previous decade it had grown from a small mission school with one missionary and one teacher to a complex that had a two storied girls' home (40ft x 70ft), a classroom/chapel (50ft x 24ft), a stable with corals for horses and cattle, a 16 ft. square storeroom, a combination boys home and mission house (70ft x 24ft) and a hospital (18ft x 18ft). It grew from a home that could house ten girls to a boarding school that could hold thirty boys and fifty girls with a staff consisting of a missionary (Owens), a teacher (Wells) a farm instructor (Yeomans), a girls' matron (Denmark), a boys' matron (Sarsfield) and a cook.[1]

In its second decade St. Paul's Boarding school was not destined to change its appearance very much. As the eighteen nineties drew to a close concern with financial considerations and measures of economy increasingly circumscribed Indian policy which was in part a reflection of the attitude of Duncan Campbell Scott, chief accountant, and Clifford Sifton who had become minister of the Interior and Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in 1896.[2]

In 1900 the girls and the boys exchanged living quarters. This was apparently linked to the condition of the old combined mission - girls' home and the ill health of the female students.

In 1902-3 a new rectory was built along with new cow barns and a pig pen.[3] Principal Gervais Gales noted in 1907 that "a new building for the boys is sadly needed."[4] And in 1910, he mentioned it again "On the south side is the

boys' home which is an old building almost beyond repair."[5] This need was not to be filled until the next decade and then only through the conversion of the hospital. During this decade of retrenchment that ended the principalship of Arthur Owen (1897-1903) and encompassed the term of Gervais Gales (1903-1910) the only major changes were in the aesthetics of the school with increases in trees and flowers.

The continuation of the Sun Dance, a religious ritual involving piercing of the skin, singing, dancing and stick games was a source of concern for the principals of St. Paul's, "But with band life as it is with heathen dances and inequities of all types abounding."[6] In addition to religious instruction each day a variety of activities were instituted to provide attractive alternatives to the pagan practices. In this regard Principal Gale observed that sports were encouraged. "The games chiefly participated in are football, baseball, quoits and croquet."[7]A few years later the offerings had become more elaborate:

> Football, cricket, boxing, swimming, and outdoor gymnastic work are indulged in by the boys. The girls are regularly taken for walks and enjoy themselves in less strenuous games than the boys.
> ...Last February I started a drum and fife band which promises well. The boys are intensely in earnest. I have also a cadet corps.[8]

"Calisthenics and physical drills were also held regularly."[9] With the closing of the Calgary Industrial School came an increase in activities that were militaristic in style. With an increase in these activities plus the implementation of European athletic games, it was hoped they would supplant pagan rituals such as the Sun Dance and discourage desertion. This did not occur however, and

"...missionaries looked increasingly to the law to achieve what persuasion apparently could not."[10]

Ever since its inception the Blood Indian boarding school had much sickness among the students, including measles, mumps, pneumonia, bronchitis and tuberculosis in both its forms - scrofula and consumption. Health problems were not specific to those individuals in the boarding school and certainly not to the Blood Indians of the 1890s. Since the signing of Treaty 7 and the disappearance of the buffalo in the late 1870s, the population of the Bloods continued to fall from an estimated three thousand plus to 1634 in June of 1893 and finally to 1279 in 1900.[11] This decrease was to continue throughout the first decade of the 1900s and become a very important issue in Canadian Indian education.

> By the early 1900's tuberculosis had assumed epidemic proportions among aboriginal populations especially those under 35. In 1906 95% of the deaths among Indian people were attributed to tuberculosis.[12]

"The combined effects of disease and overcrowded residences tightly sealed to conserve energy on students still largely without natural immunity to tuberculosis was shocking."[13]

Few deaths among students were reported in the early 1900s but "...probably more than 1/4 of the pre-1914 students succumbed to disease during or shortly after their stay at the schools."[14]

The St. Paul's principals reported only one death in the period from 1900 to 1910 although the Indian Agent James Wilson noted in 1903 that: "scrofula and consumption carry on year after year."[15]

Gale in 1905-6 reported an epidemic of grippe and pneumonia which resulted in the one death.[16] He again reported an outbreak of measles among the younger children in 1908-9.[17] The low incidence of sickness and death reported at the boarding school is difficult to believe and both the agents and the principals simply did not address the problem.

Dr. P.H. Bryce, medical inspector for the Department of the Interior was asked in early 1907 by Frank Pedley, the Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs to investigate the health of children in boarding schools in the prairie provinces.[18] The medical officer noted that "principals and teachers were inclined to minimize the dangers and were reluctant to provide statistical information regarding the fate of ex pupils."[19]

In 1909 Bryce toured seven boarding schools in Southern Alberta which included St. Paul's. He believed that the children were infected with tuberculosis by their parents and that the disease developed and spread at the boarding school. He felt this led to a decline in the area's school age population.

Bryce suggested some solutions but Duncan Campbell Scott could not support them because of the cost. Instead, Scott proposed more stringent regulations on admission, ventilation, exercise, diet and an increase in grants to offset additional expenses.[20]

A reduction in the official capacity of the school from 80 to 70 in 1907-8 and finally to 60 in 1908-9 were probably implemented to partially satisfy these new requirements but a formal agreement that would address these health concerns would not occur until the next decade (1910-1920). Meanwhile, day school enrolment continued to decline until the concept on the Blood Reserve was abandoned by the Anglicans in 1904-5. At that time there was only one school operating (Bullhorn) which had 19 on the roll with only three pupils attending. During the previous twenty years the Anglicans had had a maximum of three day schools on the Reserve (Red Crow, Bullhorn, Bullshields) which went through fifteen teachers. The teachers surviving the longest were Mills and Hardyman who stayed five years. Robertson, whose service was the shortest, remained only a few months. The average length of service in the day schools on the Reserve was 2.23 years.

Even though day schools were phased out, recruitment for St. Paul's continued to be a problem. Competition with Calgary Industrial school didn't help. In 1898 acting principal Edward Hockley observed: "Efforts are being put forth by our itinerating missionary resident (Mr. Wood) on the reserve to secure more children for these homes from camps, where there are still hundreds running amidst sin and dirt."[21]

The hard work students were increasingly obliged to do also hampered recruitment efforts. Arthur Owen admitted in 1899: "...so much time is taken up with work that little is left for amusement."[22] He again showed his concern a

few years later: "I fear sometimes as I stated before the Industrial schools are drawing our big boys. Those left have too much work and schooling to allow for the proper amount of recreation."[23] This statement was likely precipitated by the increased cost of running such a large complex which meant the students had to produce more support for the school through their provision of agricultural products. In 1902-3 the school had the following livestock: 4 horses, 7 cows, 2 steers, 3 calves, 4 pigs, and 250 chickens.[24] The cultivated land rose from six acres in 1898-9[25] to 41 acres in the year 1908-9. From 1903, the tenure of principal Gervais Gale, thousands of trees and flowers were planted, 3000 trees in 1904-5 and by May 1910 a total of eight thousand.[26] Gardens were added in 1905, consisting of sixteen flower beds which the girls prepared, planted and cultivated.[27] Picket fences were built around them and those and the residences were painted. Although a majority of agricultural tasks were handled by the boys, the girls were not idle as they got involved with some outside work plus cooking, buttermaking, baking, darning, clothesmaking, laundry, and housework. All of those activities were done by an average of 43 students primarily under the are of fifteen. The experience at St. Paul's appears to have been typical, as Grant points out:

> Annual government grants to church boarding schools in the early 1900's ranged from $50-$100 per pupil. These sums were not sufficient in most cases to provide competitive salaries, decent accommodation, adequate nutrition or even rudimentary health services. The help of the students around the school could not be spared and a suggestion that the time devoted to manual labor reached 2/3 of the school day.[28]

The teachers at the boarding school during the period 1900-1910 were certainly not as itinerant as those at the day schools. Miss Wells for instance, stayed from 1898 to 1907. Many of the principals' reports spoke of her providing more information than was necessary in the curriculum but that did not seem to be transferred to student achievement. It probably was a product of their lack of time that caused children to progress extremely slowly in reading and writing. In addition, the readers were taken from the Ontario public system which did not relate to the experience of these native children. They also lacked the preschool preparation necessary for quick mastery. Therefore a disproportionate number of students remained marooned in the first few grades meaning they left school with inadequate academic skills.[29] A few at St. Paul's had reached Standard 5, but most were still in Standard 1,2, or 3. Even with the closing of the day school at Bullhorn (1905-6) and the demise of St. Dunstans (December 1907) there was not any significant change in that dismal statistic. The students expressed their dissatisfaction by periodically heading home[30] which accounts in some degree for the differences between those on roll and the average attendance. For example in 1901-2 there were 56 pupils on the roll at St. Paul's with 48 as an average attendance while in 1908-9 there were 48 on roll while 44 pupils on average in attendance.[31]

"The response of the parents to inadequate results and health problems of the residential schools was disillusionment and resistance."[32] This certainly had

a part to play in the 41 percent decline in student enrolment at St. Paul's from 1896-7 to 1906-7 (60 students to 35 students).

These problems certainly did not persuade those parents who even at the beginning would not part with their children to now comply. In 1901, according to Agent Wilson, there were 529 young people in the population. This means that hundreds of children were not receiving education at all.

The first decade of the twentieth century saw the economy on the Blood Reserve grow. From a people that were starving in the early 1880s, their cattle herd mushroomed to over 5000 head in 1904. A portion of them had become ranchers. Indian Agent Jowett noted in 1904 that nineteen families were involved in this enterprise.[33] These families were composed of families of the chiefs, plus a significant number were graduates of the Industrial School. (Frank Red Crow, Percy Creighton, John Daychief, Charlie Goodrider, Mike & Fred Mountain Horse, Jack Bullshields, and James Gladstone) "...they handle a good deal of ready money. Unfortunately they squander it on notorious living."[34]

Did the residential and industrial schools prepare the students for a vocation on or off the reserve?

> While some students of these residential schools were thoroughly converted by the experience many more absorbed only enough to resist still more effectively. It would be from the ranks of former residential school pupils that most of the leaders of Indian political movements would come in the Twentieth century. [35]

The Calgary Industrial School could not have prepared these students for lives as ranchers since no mention was made of a herd of cattle associated with

the Calgary school. James Gladstone recalled the following in regards to St. Dunstans:

> I had come to Calgary to learn carpentry but as there was no instructor for this class I was put to work in the laundry and washing dishes. I didn't particularly like this work and saw that the boys in the printing shop were exempt from such chores so I asked Rev. Hogbin the principal to let me learn this trade.[36]

The missionaries new the answer:

> The missionaries who staffed the schools and paid an increasing share of their operating costs in the twentieth century also became disheartened; though they never renounced their obligations. They, too, could see the limits of success among those leaving the schools, and they were painfully conscious of how few Indians emerged to staff the schools and chapels that the denominations provided for Indian communities.[37]

There was a need for a new agreement between church and state to solve some of these problems. It was to occur late in 1910 as St. Paul's was getting a new principal, Samuel Middleton.

CHAPTER 4 - Footnotes

1. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1901, pp.327-9.

2. Titley, A Narrow Vision, p.79.

3. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1903, p.237.

4. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1908, p.370.

5. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1910, pp.475-6.

6. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1901 pp.327-9.

7. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1904, pp.330-1.

8. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1908, p.370.

9. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1909, pp.382-3.

10. Grant, Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534, p.196.

11. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1901, pp.84-5.

12. Scott-Brown, The Short Life of St. Dunstans Calgary Indian Industrial School, pp.41-49.

13. Miller, "The Irony of Residential Schooling," pp.3-13.

14. Miller, Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens, p.199.

15. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1903, pp.149-150.

16. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1907-8, p.393.

17. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1909, pp.365-6.

18. Titley, A Narrow Vision, p.83.

19. Ibid., pp.83-4.

20. Ibid., pp.83-85.

21. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1897, pp.248-9.

22. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1899, pp.318-9.

23. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1902, p.323.

24. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1903, pp.352-4.

25. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1899, pp.318-319.

26. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1904, pp.330-1. & Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1910, pp.475-6.

27. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1906, pp.355-6 & Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1908, p.370.

28. Grant, Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534, p.182.

29. Miller, "The Irony of Residential Schooling," p.7.

30. Grant, Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534, p.179.

31. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the years ending 30, June, 1902-09.

32. Miller, "The Irony of Residential Schooling," p.7.

33. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1904, p.143.

34. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1909, pp.193-6.

35. Miller, Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens, p.199.

36. Gladstone, "School Days," pp.18-24.

37. Miller, "The Irony of Residential Schooling," p.9.

CHAPTER 5 - THE END OF ST. PAUL'S AS A BOARDING SCHOOL

St. Paul's entered the second decade of the twentieth century with a new principal, Samuel Middleton. He was the twenty-five-year-old owner of the Starlight Ranch located north east of Pincher Creek. He had arrived at Brocket in 1905 and with the bad winter of 1906-1907 when many cattle had been lost, he found himself in financial trouble. In conversations with Cyprian Pinkham, the Anglican Bishop of Calgary, he was asked to be the headmaster of St. Paul's and he began on October 18, 1909.

Middleton was a graduate of an English agricultural college and seemed to be a good candidate for the job since the practical portion of the curriculum was agricultural in nature. He also would introduce a traditional English education that was based on self discipline and a sense of duty.[1]

Since its inception the Anglican mission on the Blood Reserve had gone through the turmoil of the Trivett years, after which it had four missionaries and many teachers. The day schools, which had been the only means of education in the 1880s, ceased to function and St. Paul's became the only Anglican school on the reserve in the middle of the first decade of the twentieth century. Around the same time the Industrial School at Calgary had ceased operations as well which made St. Paul's the only Anglican influence in this reserve. The school on the mission site at Omoksene had changed from a small hut into a large complex during the 1890s but between 1900 and 1909 it had changed very little due to a policy of retrenchment instituted by the Department of Indian Affairs.

Attendance at the school had steadily declined due to the hesitation of the parents plus sickness in the children. This was the legacy Middleton inherited and he was to have a profound influence on this school and the Blood people during his forty years at St. Paul's.

When Middleton arrived Agent R.N. Wilson was on the job. Wilson was an Anglican and therefore was willing to work closely with the Anglican missionary. As Forsberg noted: "Together they set up a policy and curriculum which was to stand the test for forty years."[2] This relationship may not have endeared the Indian people to Middleton since the agent was not particularly liked by the powerful chief Red Crow. Wilson had encouraged the Indians to become self supporting through ranching and farming but his purpose was not altruistic, it was meant to reduce the budget of the department by cutting down on food rations. Although Gale, the previous principal, had shown concern over the continuation of the Sun Dance because he felt it lead to immorality; Agent Wilson objected to it because it kept the Bloods away from work for a long period of time. This in turn influenced their ability to support themselves. In order to discourage the Sun dance, Wilson ordered the tongues of the slaughtered cattle mutilated. Since they were now used in place of the buffalo and could only be cut by the woman in charge of the ceremony, he hoped it would cause its cancellation. In addition, in 1896, Wilson was authorized to hold a sports day at the time of the dance in order to direct the attention of the young people from the Sun Dance. The next year funding was cut and in order to continue the

practice he dipped into the funds accumulated from the grazing leases.[3] This may have caused his removal from the Blood Reserve in 1911.

In 1909 Middleton was not the only one to get a job that would ultimately effect the Blood Indian people. Duncan Campbell Scott, who had been the chief accountant for the Department of Indian Affairs since July 1, 1893 was promoted to Superintendent of Indian Education in 1909 and in 1913 Deputy Superintendent General. Successive Ministers of the Interior regarded Indian Affairs to be a minor part of their portfolios and consequently gave him much freedom in policy and administrative matters.[4] He played a major role in the re evaluation that took place in the department during the previous decade which included a new faith in day schools - the least expensive of the three types of schools. This was in line with his previous efforts to utilize the department's money most effectively. This change did not effect the Anglican schools on the Blood Reserve since there were no day schools, a condition that would remain until the 1960s. Games were introduced to make the curriculum more appealing and teachers' salaries were finally increased to attract more competent individuals to the job.[5]

In 1909 a circular made mention of ex-pupil assistance. Before discharge the principal and agent would make recommendations for the student including most favorable location. It was felt that it was important for the students to use their instruction they received immediately. They student might also be supplied with a grant that would help him get established.[6]

During the decade previous to Middleton's appointment, much concern was shown over the effects of tuberculosis on the health of the Blackfoot children in the boarding schools of Southern Alberta by Dr. Bryce. He made recommendations that included the building of sanatoria of the modification of present buildings, the appointment of a sanitary director or nurse at each school, who would be supervised by full time district medical officers dedicated to that task plus a number of preventative measures which included, better nutrition, more air and exercise and improvements in cleanliness. Scott admitted that a problem existed but felt these recommendations would be too expensive and suggested some remedial measures which included changes in ventilation, exercise and diet. In order to carry out these measures the government would increase the per capita grants to offset the additional expenses.[7]

On November 8, 1910, a conference was arranged between the government and the churches to discuss methods of improving the boarding schools.[8] Scott advised the churches that the department was willing to increase the per capita annual grants to boarding schools from $72 to between $100 and $125 providing buildings were sanitary and in a good state of repair, hospital accommodations that had well lit and ventilated rooms could be provided for the isolation of students of infectious students, and that each student be provided with a minimum of 500 cubic feet in dorms, 250 cubic feet per seat in this classroom and sixteen square feet per student.[9]

This economizing attitude of Scott anticipated the restraint that characterized the Borden and Meighan administrations and the release of Bryce and the consequent reduction in the department's health services would be seen as folly later in 1918.

In 1911 regulations were released by Frank Pedley, the Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs regarding the disposal of garbage and refuse and the control of flies which were believed to cause the spread of the diseases that were ravaging the residential schools.[10]

The final reaction of the department to the poor health of the Indians was a memorandum for the Guidance of Teachers in Indian Schools by J.D. Maclean, Assistant Deputy and Secretary that required hygiene to be taught for at least 20 minutes a day to the students using the fourth, fifth and sixth readers. Added to this was instruction on diet and calisthenics.[11] Also since it was believed the students were contracting this at home as well only one month of vacation would be allowed in the year and that would be in July.

How did these events affect St. Paul's Boarding School?

The capacity of the school was reported to be 80 since the building of the boys' dorm in 1893. In 1907-1908 the capacity was reduced to seventy students,[12] and finally to 60 students in 1909-1910.[13] Since the minimum areas and volumes for pupils had not been introduced as yet, these reductions may have had to do with the poor condition of the boys' dorm which had been reported in previous principals' reports which stated "a new home for the boys is badly needed"[14] and

"the boys dorm is in terrible shape."[15] This reduction in their capacity at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century did not effect the number of students they had attending since the number of students enrolled for that time period was an average of 42 with 39 attending.

The greater commitment of the government to capital costs was shown in 1911-1912 as the hospital was converted to a boys' residence with the addition of a new wing.[16] This alteration was probably the most cost efficient method of helping St. Paul's maintain its student capacity. The rectory was converted into a hospital, which was still badly needed; and with the old dormitory being torn down, a new residence in its place was planned for the principal.[17]

Under Middleton, the school began to take on a military ethos. Both boys and girls are regularly drilled the principal reported.[18] And he added a Cadet Corp, which was reported to have 35 boys involved, ages 5 to 18.[19] The school's enrolment of boys was not that large and they did not start school until they were 7 which seems to indicate he was drawing boys from the general Blood population.

This year Middleton also established a club for the ex-pupils which was organized around an athletic theme and if expanded could use a gymnasium. He felt this would help the students maintain a link with the school and counteract the Indian environments they were so subject to. He continued to promote agriculture through the teaching of judging and comparing of livestock and

extended the practical training of the students by introducing carpentry, to the boys in the 1910-1911 school year and dairying to the girls.[20]

These activities took time, in addition to the time needed to cultivate between 30 and 50 acres that were a mixture of grains, vegetables and flower beds. The students also cared for the dairy and beef as well as chickens and pigs. So successful were they that they produced more than they needed. As Middleton noted:

> ...there are 30 acres under cultivation which yielded a crop of 1400 bushels of oats. In addition we also harvested 8 tons of timothy, and 10 tons of green feed. The garden gave splendid results: 15 tons of potatoes, 5 tons of mangals and Swede turnips, 1400 cabbages, and a considerable amount of other vegetables, some of which were sold, independent of having an adequate supply for school purposes.[21]

With all these activities occurring, Middleton still found time to marry Miss Underwood, who had been the matron at the school for six years previous to his arrival.[22] After 1910 school nurses were appointed 'here and there'[23] and Mrs. Middleton served as a nurse at St. Paul's for 21 years[24] although it seems as if she had no formal training.

The next year, 1911-1912, picture frame making and repairing gates was added to the repertoire for the boys.[25] While dairy work was added to the girls.[26] The Superintendent of Indian Education, Scott, reported these added activities:

> In addition to the usual classroom work, two nights a week are devoted to reading and lectures on farming, stock raising, hygiene and articles taken from 'Canadian Century' are read and explained of which the students take notes and are afterward explained. Two nights are devoted to drills,

> calisthenics, exercises and other amusements...All kinds of outdoor sports are encouraged in their seasons.[27]

This combination of school, farming and evening activities must not have given them much free time. One must remember that the enrolment was 43 but on the average only 39 students were at St. Paul's to do the work.[28] This may have added to the problem that students were progressing very slowly in the academic subjects. Inspector Markles noted that of the students attending 8 were in Standard 1, 10 were in Standard 2, 9 were in Standard 3, 5 were in Standard 4 and 6 were in Standard 5 with none in Standard 6 which would roughly be the equivalent of a grade 8 education.

In Indian schools learning materials were scarce, facilities were substandard and frequently destroyed by fire and few means were available to provide any worthwhile activities for students who attended. Procurement and retention of qualified teachers posed a constant difficulty for school officials especially in outlying areas away from large settlements.[29] In June of 1901, Scott announced that teachers' salaries in Indian schools would be raised to $400-500 per year which although a modest improvement left the teachers at a lower salary that their public school counterparts. This meant that the schools especially in remote areas (such as the Blood Reserve) did not attract the elite of the profession.[30] St. Paul's, during this decade and the decade before, seemed to attract only unmarried women. Although Miss Wells stayed at St. Paul's for nearly a decade in the early 1900s; Miss E. Gardiner, an English graduate; Miss Glover, who held a first class certificate; and Mrs. Campbell, an Ontario Normal Graduate, only

stayed one or two years during the span of time between 1911 and 1916. They all seemed to receive high praise from inspectors and principal Middleton, whether they possessed certificates or not; therefore it is probable that they got a better offer either from other school districts or interested single men. No matter, the students suffered from the lack of time, materials and continuity which undoubtedly had an effect on their progress.

In 1912-1913 the average attendance at St. Paul's dropped to 35.[31] This may have been due in some part to a lack of school age children, coupled with the hesitation and apathy of the parents. The Indian population had been dropping rapidly since the early 1880s due to the prevalence of tuberculosis and a number of epidemics (measles, mumps, pneumonia, small pox). During 1910, the census showed the population bottoming out at 1122 with a death rate that was 71 per 1000 which was three times the Canadian average.[32] With the improvements in sanitation on the reserve and at the boarding schools, the population showed a modest improvement over the next decade. This was not to say that tuberculosis was not a very serious problem on the reserve. It continued to be the most serious of the diseases found on the Blood Reserve in the decade between 1910 and 1920. As the population of the Blood Reserve became marginally larger, so did the enrolment at the St. Paul's boarding school.

In 1912-1913 the ex-pupil club must have been successful since a gymnasium was reported to be present at St. Paul's.[33] The decision may also have been influenced by Superintendent of Education Scott's request that the

students in boarding schools become more physically active which was sometimes difficult in areas that had cold windy winters.

Middleton encouraged the students' interest in trapping.[34] The encouragement of these traditional pursuits should not be seen as an appreciation by the department or school for the value of native culture, as suggested by Grant who suggested Scott was more sensitive to those issues than was his predecessors.[35] For the department and its extensions on the reserve, the Indian agent, it was seen as a way to decrease the burden of the Indian on the public purse. This interpretation was further supported when the Department of Indian Affairs sought increases in hunting preserves and the modification of game laws in the 1920s.[36]

During the last two years, the capacity of St. Paul's had dropped to fifty students. This did not put a crimp on what was happening at St. Paul's since the enrolment was well below that number. This drop in capacity probably had to due with the size of the school in relation to the requirement of 16 square feet per student. With the addition of the gymnasium it would probably have given the school a greater capacity. Although this is not stated in the literature, St. Paul's enrolment increased beyond that benchmark in the late 1910s and early 1920s. [1915-1916 (65 students), 1918-1919 (69 students), 1919-1920 (67 students)].

The Cadet Corp also received greater recognition as they asked to be honor guard for the Prince of Wales. The Cadet Corp filled a variety of functions at St. Paul's school. Middleton felt the Corp fostered self discipline and loyalty.

It was also a means to reward those children that followed the rules at the school. This group was allowed to travel and see and do things that most of the Indian children on the reserve would not have a chance of doing. The boys had another reason for participating. Their development into warriors had been removed from them and the passages of rites such as the Sun dance had been looked down upon, so this acted as a method of developing their sparring skills. This concentration on the Cadet Corp was indirectly responsible for the greatest challenge to Middleton's career at St. Paul's Boarding School.

In the following year under the direction of ex-pupil, Captain Albert Mountain Horse, the Cadet Corp was continuing to make a name for itself.[37] In July of 1914, the Corp travelled to the cadet camp in Calgary and won two silver cups as well as other prizes.[38] Albert Mountain Horse or Flying Angel was the youngest of three brothers. The father was a strong supporter of education as he sent his two eldest boys, Mike and Joe to St. Paul's boarding school. Mike went on to St. Dunstans Industrial school and returned to become a scout for the NWMP. Albert was the apple of his mother's eye, besides being a very bright student at St. Paul's. He was fourteen when Middleton arrived in 1909, which made him nineteen when the First World War broke out in mid 1914. In August 1914 Albert Mountain Horse became one of the first Indians to enlist and he was shipped out with the first army contingent destined for Europe.[39] Although service was voluntary and the Indian people were exempt by virtue of treaty, many enlisted practically from the outset of hostilities. By the end of the war 3500 to

4000 enlisted out of approximately 11,500 who were eligible for service.[40] On the Blood Reserve the scenario was a little different since the Bloods believed Treaty 7 said they were to "throw away their guns and let the Great White Queen protect them."[41]

The Bloods felt that Middleton had betrayed them by influencing Mountain Horse's decision to enlist and warned and threatened Middleton if anything happened to Albert he would be held accountable.[42] Albert was badly gassed three different times, and as a result, he soon afterward contracted consumption and died in November 1915.[43] His mom cursed the missionary and made vows of hate and vengeance which made Middleton consider leaving the reserve. The crisis subsided with Mrs. Mountain Horse's miraculous conversion and subsequent baptism. She had somehow accepted her son's death.[44] Soon after the funeral, both Albert's brothers, Mike and Joe enlisted and were also sent overseas;[45] but unlike their brother both returned safely to the reserve. With the enlistment of these two only six other Blood Indians joined in the First World War.[46] They seemed to take treaty statements about bearing arms very seriously.

This is not to mean the Indian people did not contribute significantly to the war effort. As Canadians in general were gearing up for war time production so had the Blood Indian responded by producing the largest crops of grain by reserve in Canada plus their beef production was the highest in Canada.[47]

The need for money to fight the war was of paramount concern for the Canadian Government. Therefore the government made a proposal for the Blood

Indians to surrender 90,000 acres of land which the government could then sell. The Indian voted to reject this proposal. With this defeat, the government unravelled a program called the Greater Production Scheme which was to increase production on the Indian reserves for the war effort.[48] This began with amendments to the Indian Act (Section 90, Subsection 3) that if any land on a reserve is uncultivated or if an individual or band is unable or neglects to cultivate the same, the superintendent may grant a lease.[49]

For years the white farmer had looked with envy at the uncultivated reserves and were anxious to put the land to better use. Although not their first choice, this change now provided them with a vehicle to carry out this dream.[50] "As far as the Bloods were concerned this marked the end of prosperity and of a policy of Indian Administration."[51]

In the spring of 1918, the government leased 90,000 acres and the effects of these actions became evident in 1919 when the reserve became overgrazed and after a bad winter, the Blood cattle herd was almost wiped out and never fully recovered.[52]

During the years 1915-1916-1917 there was little change at St. Paul's school. With the lack of available money there was no reported change in the structure of the school. It is interesting that in the years before the war there seemed to be progress toward the attaining of Standards 4 and 5 for at least a few students at St. Paul's but during the war years, between 1914 and 1918 a very large majority of pupils were in Standard 1 and 2.[53] This seems to confirm the

very slow progress of students and the lack of school age students available at that time. A few students would move on to the higher levels each year but a majority would remain fairly static. When they graduated, it would create a complete void at the higher levels. If this was not true then it points to almost a complete turnover each year but it does not seem as if there was a large enough population base to allow that kind of turnover since there were only 190 children between the ages of 5 and 15 on the reserve in 1905-1906.[54] Even if these scenarios were not correct, it certainly points out the lack of English and Math skills that these students possessed on graduation. They would not have the skills to compete in general society unless they became involved with ranching or agriculture.

The enrolment and attendance for the years 1915 - 1923 remained well above the last reported capacity of 50 students. Since the ceiling had been set due to lack of classroom space it seems that they produced classroom space at some other location in the complex. Some construction was noted as an addition (45 ft. x 18 ft.) was attached to the girls dorm in 1915-16.[55]

Even with the signing of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 which ended World War I, the economy in Canada and on the reserve was very poor. The cattle herd was almost non-existent and the crop harvested dropped from 65,000 bushels to 5000 bushels in 1919.[56] This caused a significant hardship on the Blood Indians and with no extra help forthcoming from government, school enrolment and attendance rose in those years because the parents could not afford to feed the children. During this time the parents visited the school often

asking for food and clothing. The Report of the Deputy Superintendent General Scott of 1918-1919 states: "At practically all residential schools there was a large acreage under cultivation."[57]

The turnover of teachers at St. Paul's is assumed to have continued as the department found it necessary in many cases to give a war bonus of $150 per annum to those teachers that were in the employ of the department on March 31, 1918, and who gave continuous service throughout the year.[58]

In the 1920s, with an improving economy and "the more liberal appropriations of the Mackenzie King Government,[59] the outlook for St. Paul"s and the Blood Indian Reserve seemed somewhat more optimistic. Scott was still very concerned about the attendance at Indian schools and the adoption of legislation in June of 1920, attendance became compulsory and "the superintendent general was empowered by means of truant officers and penalties to compel the attendance at school of all Indian children between the ages of seven and fifteen years."[60]

With this policy St. Paul's school would quickly become crowded and it was obvious a new structure had to be built. The report of the Deputy Superintendent General of November 1923 states:

> The policy today is to take care for all capital expense at Indian Residential schools whenever funds can be found for that purpose. This releases the finances of the missionary societies and orders that are active in Indian education, for better instruction, food and clothing. More centralized control and better supervision on the part of the churches also resulted in more efficient administration of the individual residential schools. It should be added that the department inspection of the academic and vocational work has never been as thorough as it is at the

> present time...Salary schedules have been raised and the services of better qualified teachers are being secured.[61]

With this commitment the department would have control over the placement of new schools. Middleton had dreamed of a new school at its present site but the department decided to move the school since its location was prone to drought and flooding.[62] Also the school was not really on the reserve and was surrounded completely by white farmers. In addition the decision had been made to move the Department headquarters and hospital to Cardston. With this in mind a new site was chosen for St. Paul's that was 4 miles south west of Cardston where a new brick structure would be erected bringing classrooms and dorms under one roof.

As the pupils and staff went through their daily activities in 1923, their minds were on the new school. Even with his almost daily visits to the construction site, Middleton organized a brass band.[63] The school was said to be offering eight grades of study identical with that of the Alberta curriculum but 69 of the 78 students were still in Standard 1 and 2.[64] The school was said to have their students on a 1200 acre farm[65] but it does not state whether they accomplished this on their own or they worked for the farmers in the area.

> In 1924 they moved in and dedicated the new building.
>
> On dedication day Middleton hung a very large Union Jack over the main east entrance where a stone lintel read St. Paul's Indian Residential School...Bishop Pinkham prayed on behalf of the white and Indian crowd below him, of the Blood Cadets and girl guides, of school staff and of the principal who had culminated twenty years of work with Alberta Indians. The bishop then declared the school open. Striking the door three times

> with his pastoral stall upon the doors, he demanded admittance. At once the doors were opened by an Indian boy and girl.[66]

The memorandum of agreement between the churches and the government in November 1910 which increased the supervisory role of the Indian agents and inspectors, and the increased willingness of the department to contribute to the capital costs of the boarding schools the distinction between boarding schools and industrial schools began to blur in the interim period and industrial schools were finally phased out in 1923. The boarding schools became residential schools.[67] This ended an era and began a new era for St. Paul's; no longer was it to be called a boarding school. Attendance was now compulsory which led to the building of a large new St. Paul's school which had a capacity of over one hundred and twenty children. Middleton was to remain at the school until after the Second World War.

CHAPTER 5 - Footnotes

1. Forsberg, Chief Mountain: The Story of Canon Middleton, p.9.
2. Ibid., p.9.
3. Dempsey. H., Red Crow: Warrior Chief, p.210.
4. Titley, A Narrow Vision, p.29.
5. Titley, "Indian Industrial Schools in Western Canada," p.148.
6. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, March, 1911, p.295.
7. Titley, A Narrow Vision, p.85.
8. Ibid, p.86.
9. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 31, March, 1912, p.292.
10. Ibid., p.438.
11. Ibid, p.439.
12. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1908, p.370.
13. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1910, pp.262-3.
14. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1909, p.273.
15. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1910, p.475.
16. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1912, p.437.
17. Ibid, p.470.
18. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1911, p.557.

19. Forsberg, Chief Mountain: The Story of Canon Middleton, p.9.

20. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 30, June, 1911, p.557.

21. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 31, March, 1912, p.648.

22. Forsberg, Chief Mountain: The Story of Canon Middleton, p.33.

23. Grant, Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534, p.196.

24. Forsberg, Chief Mountain: The Story of Canon Middleton, p.33.

25. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 31, March, 1912, p.549.

26. Ibid., p.470.

27. Ibid., p.371.

28. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 31, March, 1912, School Statement, p.418-20.

29. Wotherspoon and Satzewich, First Nations, p.123.

30. Titley, A Narrow Vision, p.89.

31. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 31, March, 1913, pp.432-33.

32. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 31, March, 1912, p.168.

33. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 31, March, 1913, p.452.

34. Ibid., p.378.

35. Grant, Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534, p.193.

36. Titley, A Narrow Vision, p.56.

37. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 31, March, 1913, p.163.

38. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 31, March, 1914, p.182.

39. Dempsey, J., "The Indians and World War One," p.3.

40. Ibid, p.2.

41. Forsberg, Chief Mountain: The Story of Canon Middleton, p.41.

42. Dempsey, J., "The Indians and World War One," p.3.

43. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 31, March, 1919, p.19.

44. Dempsey, J., "The Indians and World War One," p.3.

45. Dempsey, H., Red Crow: Warrior Chief, p.219.

46. Forsberg, Chief Mountain: The Story of Canon Middleton, pp.36-7.

47. Dempsey, J., "The Indians and World War One," p.5.

48. Ibid, pp.5-7.

49. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 31, March, 1918, p.20.

50. Dempsey, J., "The Indians and World War One," pp.5-6.

51. Ibid., p.6.

52. Ibid., p.8.

53. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the years ending 31, March, 1914-18.

54. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 31, March, 1907, pp.2-3.

55. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 31, March, 1917, p.152.

56. Dempsey, J., "The Indians and World War One," p.7.

57. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 31, March, 1919, p.33.

58. Ibid., p.33.

59. Titley, A Narrow Vision, p.57.

60. Ibid., pp.90-91.

61. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 31, March, 1923, pp.7-8.

62. Forsberg, Chief Mountain: The Story of Canon Middleton, p.74.

63. Ibid., p.71.

64. Canada Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Indians Affairs for the year ending 31, March, 1923, p.57.

65. Forsberg, Chief Mountain: The Story of Canon Middleton, p.72.

66. Ibid., p.77.

67. Titley, A Narrow Vision, p.87.

CONCLUSION

The early years of St. Paul's Boarding School on the Blood Reserve provides an interesting study in the fortunes and misfortunes of this kind of experiment.

> For neither party in the initial period of residential schooling, from approximately 1883 to 1923, were the results at all happy. Indian children did poorly in academic terms, acquired few of the skills their own leaders and government though they needed, and emerge from boarding or industrial schools unprepared for life in either native of European society.[1]

Inadequate budgets, poor facilities, high staff turnover, parental opposition, low scholastic achievement and erratic attendance patterns all plagued this school from the beginning and ensured that it was not the success its missionary founders had dreamed of. After such discouraging beginnings it is hard to understand why the government would embark on such a major reconstruction and expansion of the school in the 1920's.

The Department of Indian Affairs must have felt the expenditures of fund were warranted but in reality few changes occurred until the school finally closed in the sixties:

> The history of Indian residential schools from the administrative reorganization of 1923 till the end of bureaucratic and denominational control in the 1960's went through many phases but no real changes. Government funding enjoyed a cycle of rich years, such as the 1920's and 1950-s-60's, and extremely lean ones, particularly in the Great War and the Great Depression. Curricular fashions continued to fluctuate, too, especially after the Great War when there was increasing emphasis on vocationally oriented teaching and education for citizenship. Over-all, the general approach to Indian education shifted after World War II from an emphasis on segregation and isolation to a policy of so-called integration. As southern society encroached ever more on Indian lands, and as the costs of separate, residential schooling escalated because of Indian population

growth, the federal government began to argue that the best way to educate Indian children was in public provincial schools rather than in segregated Indian schools. In part this shift toward integration was based on a growing uneasiness in Canadian society with the racist assumptions of Canadian Indian policy, but for the most part it was bureaucratic response to fiscal problems. What the new policy had in common with the older policy of segregated education was its underlying objective of assimilating Indians -- the "extinction of Indians as Indians" -- by means of schooling.[2]

It is indeed a tragedy that no one in the government or the church had enough foresight to allow the Indian people input into the substance and form of their education.

CONCLUSION - Footnotes

1. Miller, "The Irony of Residential Schooling," p.8.

2. Ibid., p.9.

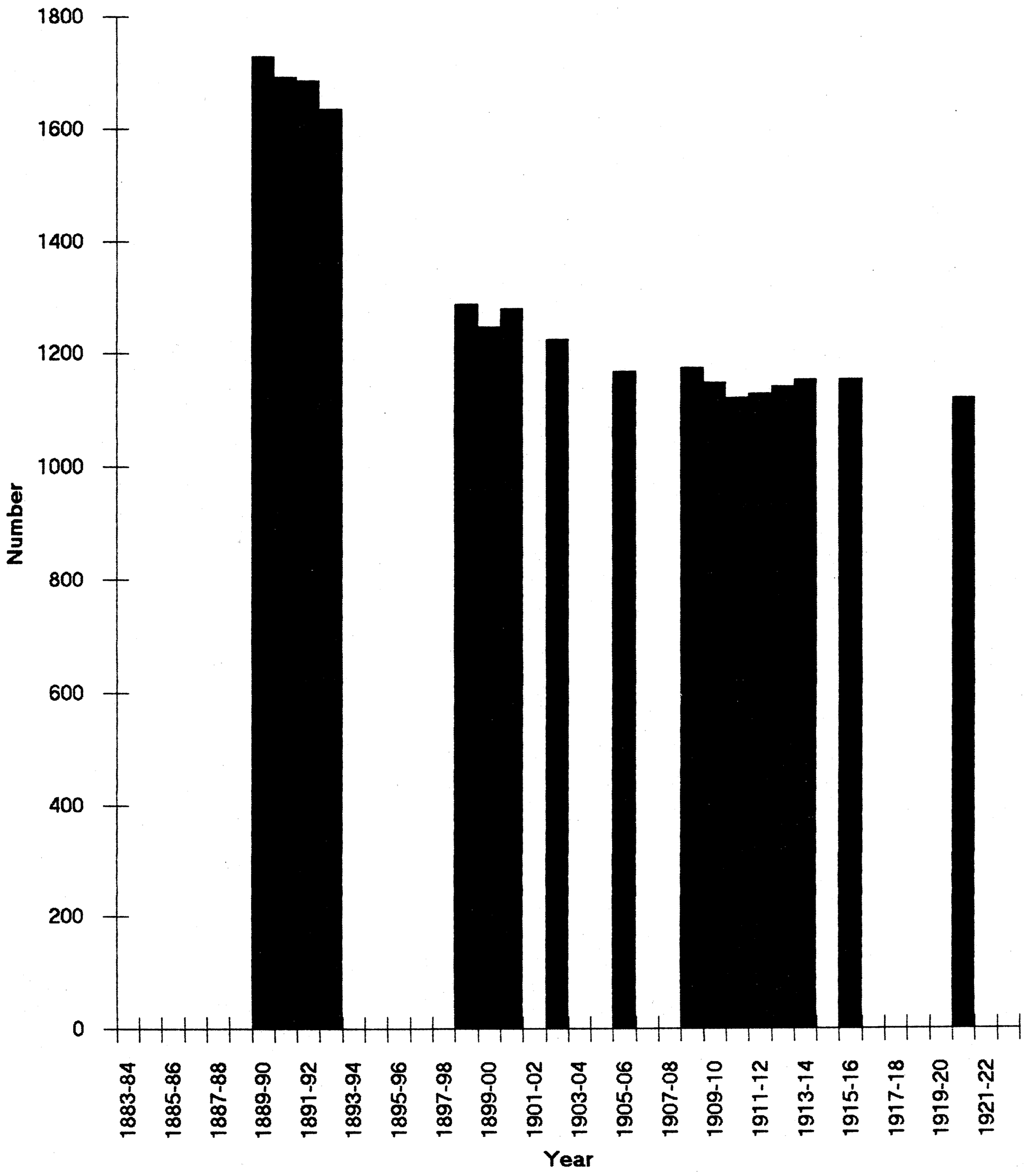
SUMMARY OF DATA BLOOD RESERVE

1880-1923

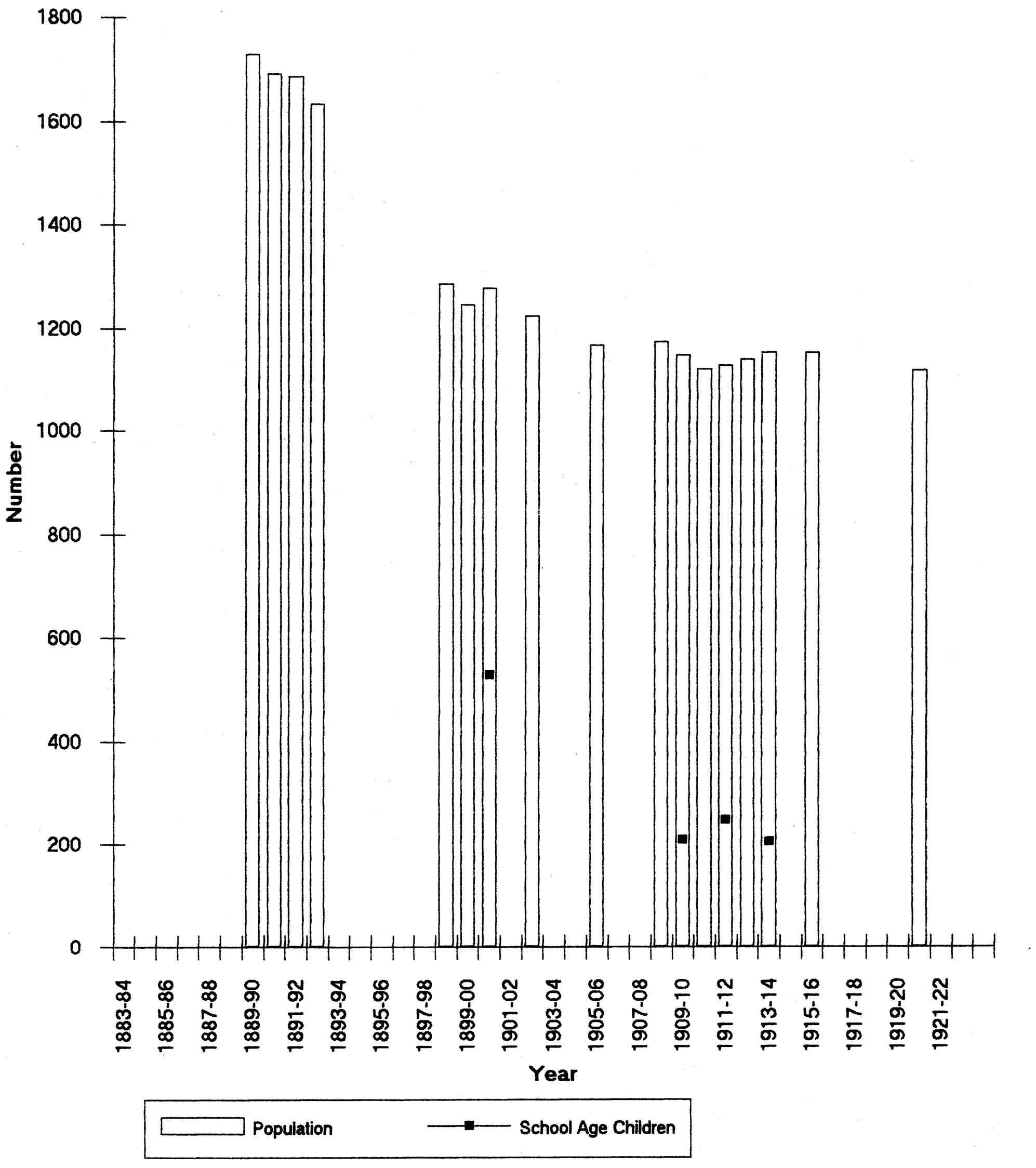
Year	School	On roll	Av. Attend	Teacher	Summary Table of Indian Day Schools	Inspector	Catholic	Protestant	Agent
1880-1	0	0	0	0		Trivett			
1882-3	Upper	77	26	Trivett		Trivett			MacLeod
1882-3	Lower	59	19	Bourne		Trivett		3600	
1883-4	Upper	0	0	Trivett		Trivett			Denny
1883-4	Lower	59	32	Bourne		Trivett			
1884-5	Upper	0	0	Trivett		Trivett			Pocklington
1884-5	Lower	57	25	Bourne		Trivett			
1885-6	Upper	0	0	Trivett		Trivett			Pocklingon
1885-6	Lower	0	0	None		Trivett			
1886-7	Upper	0	0	Trivett		Trivett			Pocklington
1886-7	Lower	281	81	Fosbroke		Trivett			
1887-8	Upper	0	0	Trivett		Trivett			Pocklington
1887-8	Lower	149	40	Fosbroke		Trivett			
1888-9	Upper	0	0	Trivett		Trivett			Pocklington
1888-9	Red Crow	115	26	Hillier		Trivett			
1889-90	Upper	0	0	Trivett		Trivett		1729	Pocklington
1889-90	Red Crow	86	28	Hillier		Trivett			
1889-90	Bullshorn	60	15	Hinchliffe		Trivett			
1890-1	Red Crow	46	11	Hillier		Trivett		1693	Pocklington
1890-1	Bullshorn	35	11	Hinchliffe		Trivett			
1891-2	Red Crow	69	11	Robertson	Herbert	Trivett		1687	Irvine
1891-2	Bullshorn	30	7	Hinchliffe		Trivett			
1891-2	Bullshield	44	15	Hillier		Trivett			
1891-2	St. Pauls	10	6	Busby		Swainson	10		
1892-3	Red Crow	37	5	Collins		Swainson		1634	J.Wilson
1892-3	Bullshorn	41	16	Mills		Swainson			
1892-3	Bullshield	46	23	Hewson J		Swainson			
1892-3	St. Pauls	16	14			Swainson	25		
1893-4	Red Crow	23	13	Haynes		Swainson			J.Wilson
1893-4	Bullshorn	37	10	Mills		Swainson			
1893-4	Bullshields	32	5	Henson		Swainson			
1893-4	St. Pauls	34	19	Allridge	Foote	Swainson	75		
1894-5	Red Crow	17	7	Mc Analy		Swainson			J.Wilson
1894-5	Bullshorn	18	5	Mills		Swainson			
1894-5	Bullshield	25	5	Henson		Swainson			
1894-5	St. Pauls	18	10			Swainson			
1894-5	St. Pauls d	43	41			Swainson			
1895-6	Red Crow	0	0			Swainson			J.Wilson
1895-6	Bullshorn	25	9	Mills		Swainson			
1895-6	St. Pauls	48	46			Swainson			
1896-7	Bullshorn	21	4	Mills		Hockley			J.Wilson
1896-7	St. Pauls d	14	13	Baker		Hockley			
1896-7	St. Pauls	60	52			Hockley	83		
1897-8	Bullshorn	21	4	Hardyman		Owen			J.Wilson
1897-8	St. Pauls	59	40			Owen	80		
1898-9	Bullshorn	23	6	Hardyman		Owen		1287	J.Wilson
1898-9	St. Pauls	49	44			Owen	80		
99-1900	Bullshorn	23	8	Hardyman		Owen		1247	J.Wilson
99-1900	St. Pauls	53	47	Wells		Owen	80		
1900-1	Bullshorn	23	11	Hardyman		Owen		1279	J.Wilson
1900-1	St. Pauls	57	52	Wells		Owen	80		
1901-2	Bullshorn	27	8	Hardyman		Owen			J.Wilson
1901-2	St.Pauls	56	48	MissWells		Owen	80		
1902-3	Bullshorn	43	9	Collinson		Owen		1224	J.Wilson
1902-3	St. Pauls	53	46	Wells		Owen	80		
1903-4	Bullshorn	33	4	Collinson		Gale			Jowetts
1903-4	St. Pauls	48	45	Wells		Gale	80		
1904-5	Bullshorn	19	3	Collinson		Gale			R.Wilson
1904-5	St. Pauls	40	37	Wells		Gale	80		
1905-6	St. Pauls	41	39	Wells		Gale	80	1168	R.Wilson
1906-7	St. Pauls	35		Wells		Gale	80		R.Wilson
1907-8	St. Pauls	41	39	Wells	Stonning	Gale	70		R.Wilson
1908-9	St. Pauls	48	44			Gale	60	1174	R.Wilson
1909-10	St. Pauls	44	41			Gale	60	1149	R.Wilson
1910-1	St. Pauls	43	38			Middleton	60	1122	R. Wilson
1911-2	St. Pauls	43	39	Gardner		Middleton	50	1128	Hyde
1912-3	St. Pauls	41	35	Gardner		Middleton	50	1140	Hyde
1913-4	St. Pauls	47	37			Middleton		1154	Dilworth
1914-5	St. Pauls	56	50	Glover		Middleton			Dilworth
1915-6	St. Pauls	65	56	Campbell	Webb	Middleton		1154	Dilworth
1916-7	St. Pauls	66	61			Middleton			Dilworth
1917-8	St. Pauls	65	60			Middleton			
1918-9	St. Pauls	69	59			Middleton			
1919-20	St. Pauls	67	61			Middleton			
1920-1	St. Pauls	69	60			Middleton		1120	
1921-2	St. Pauls	78	65			Middleton			
1922-3	St. Pauls	78	70			Middleton			

GRAPHS & TABLES RELATING TO THE DATA

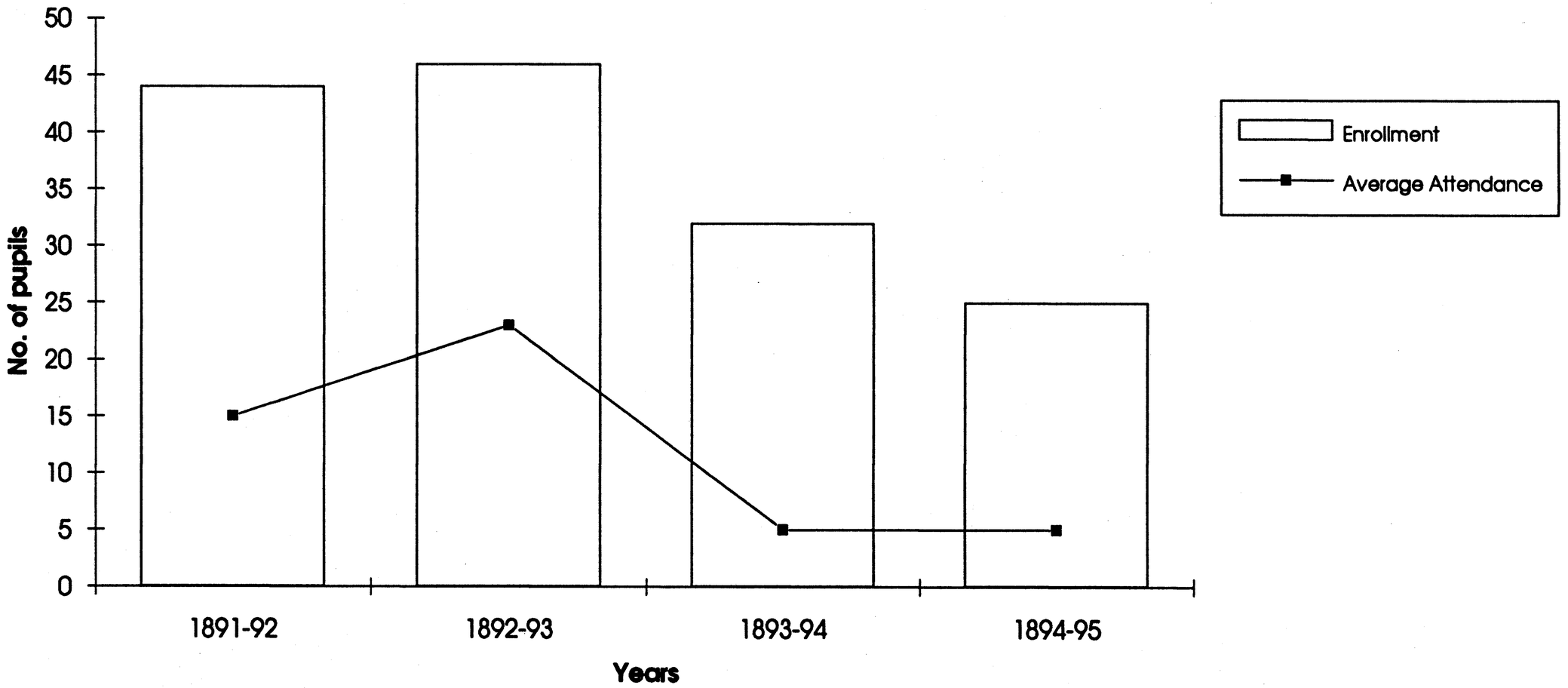
Blood Population from1883-1923



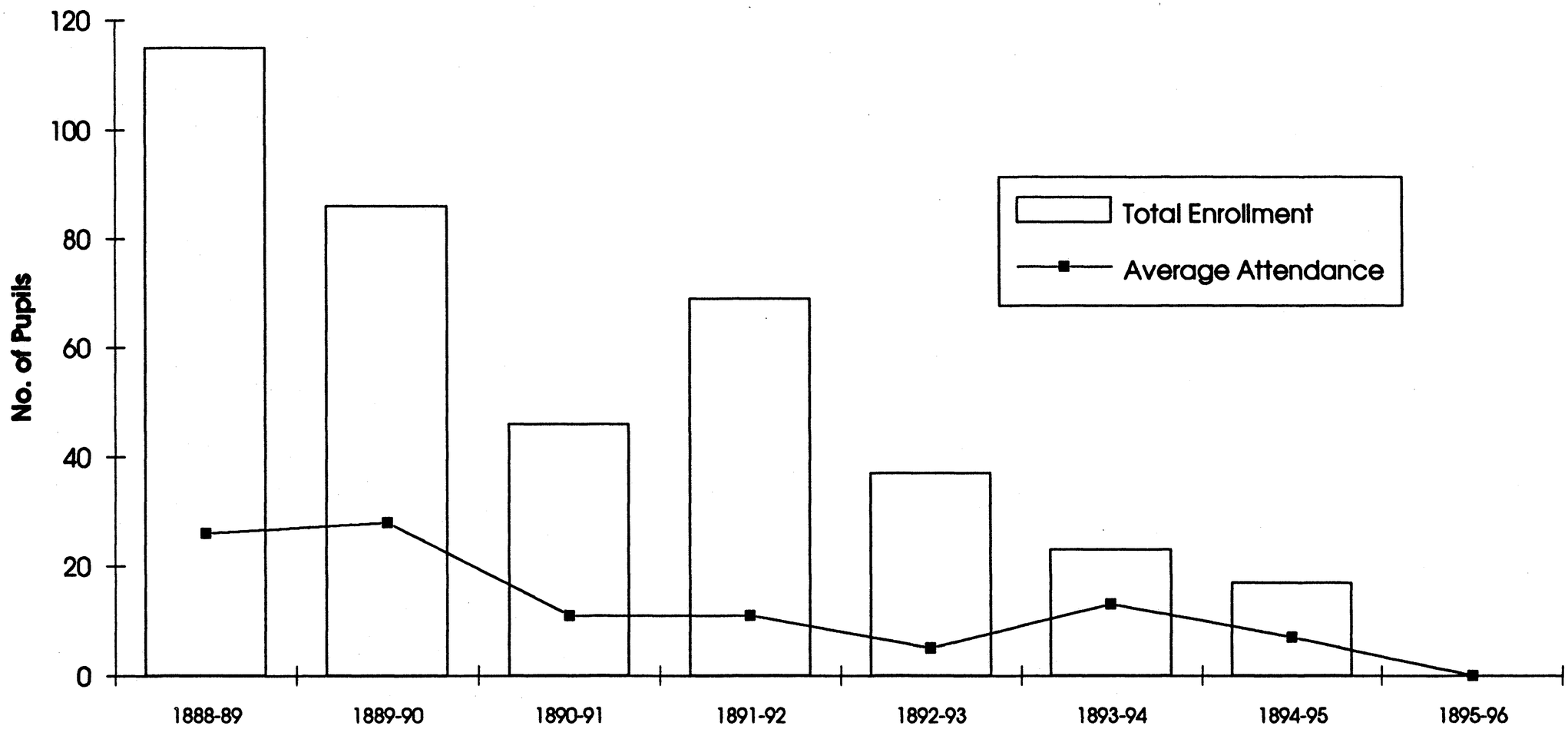
Blood Population and School Age Children by Year



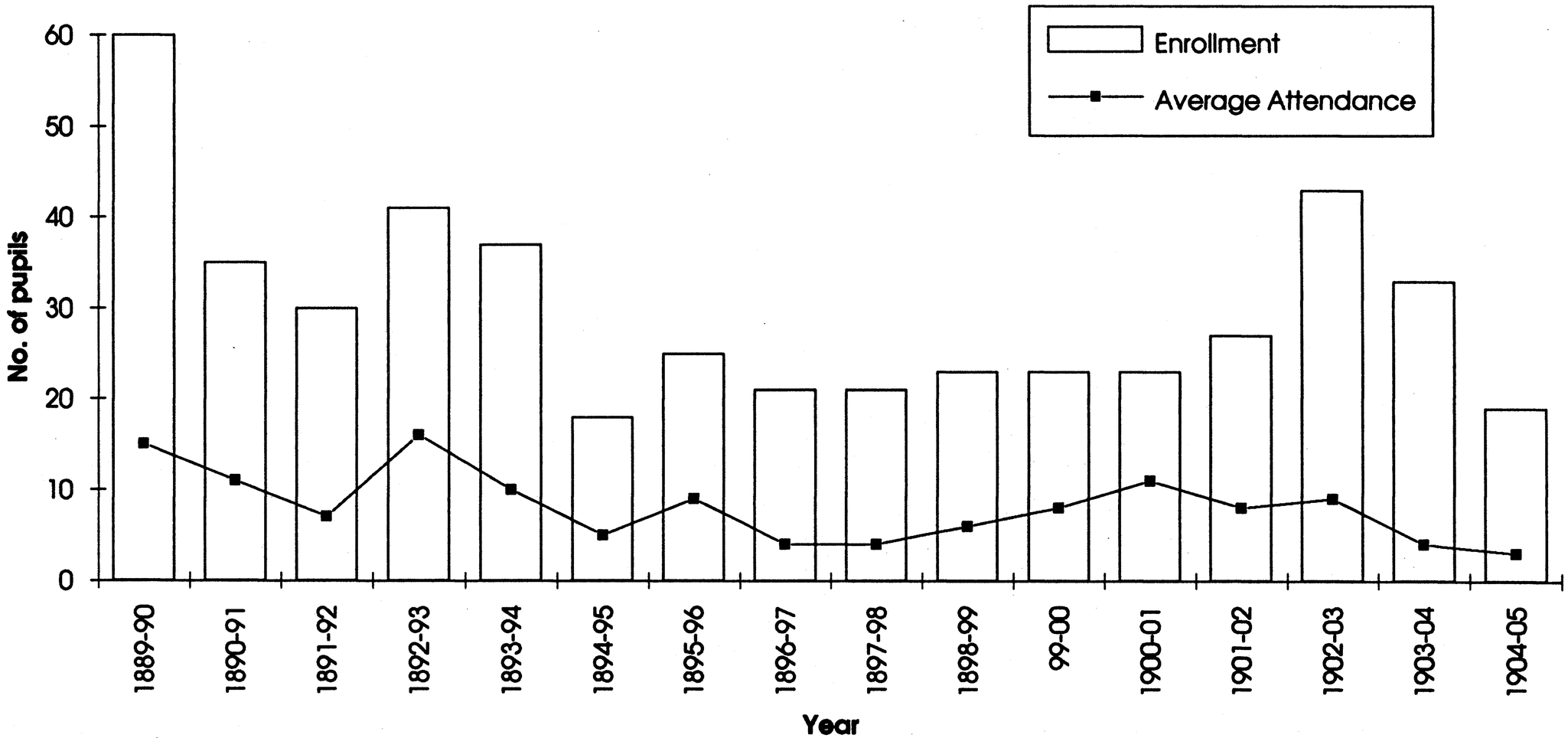
Bullshields Day School Enrollment vs. Average Attendance



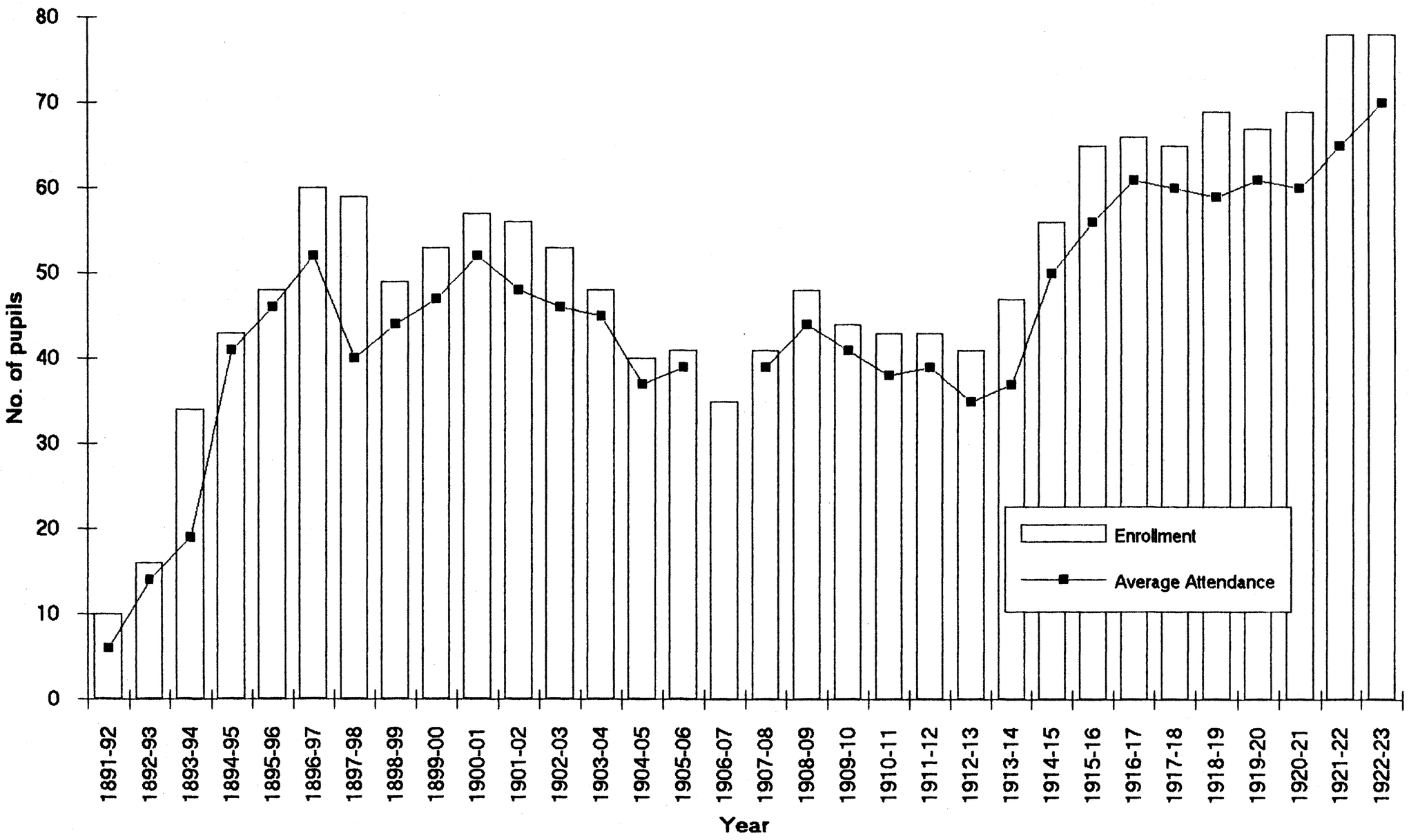
Red Crow Day School Total Enrollment vs. Average Attendance



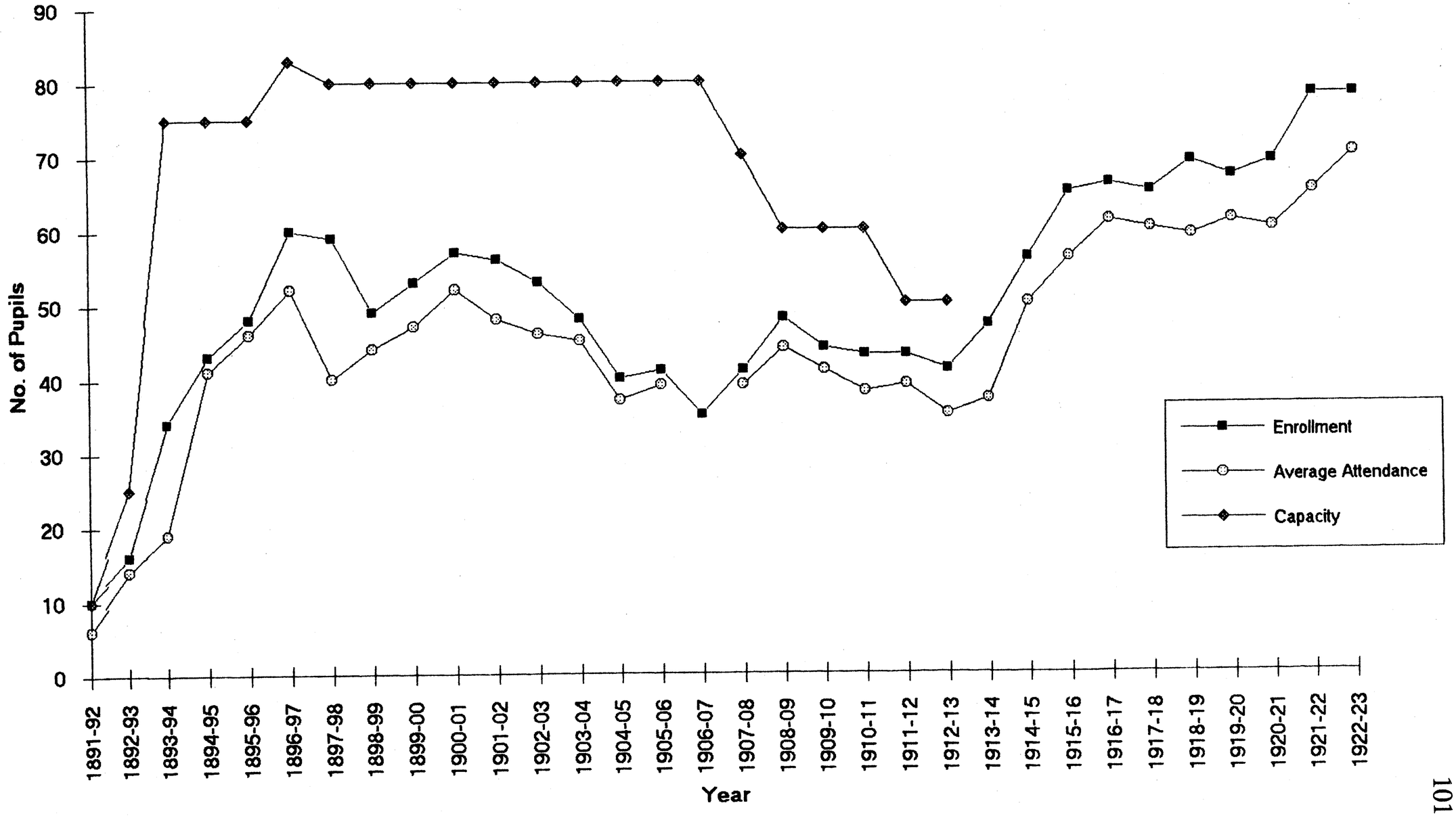
Bullshorn Day School Enrollment vs. Average Attendance



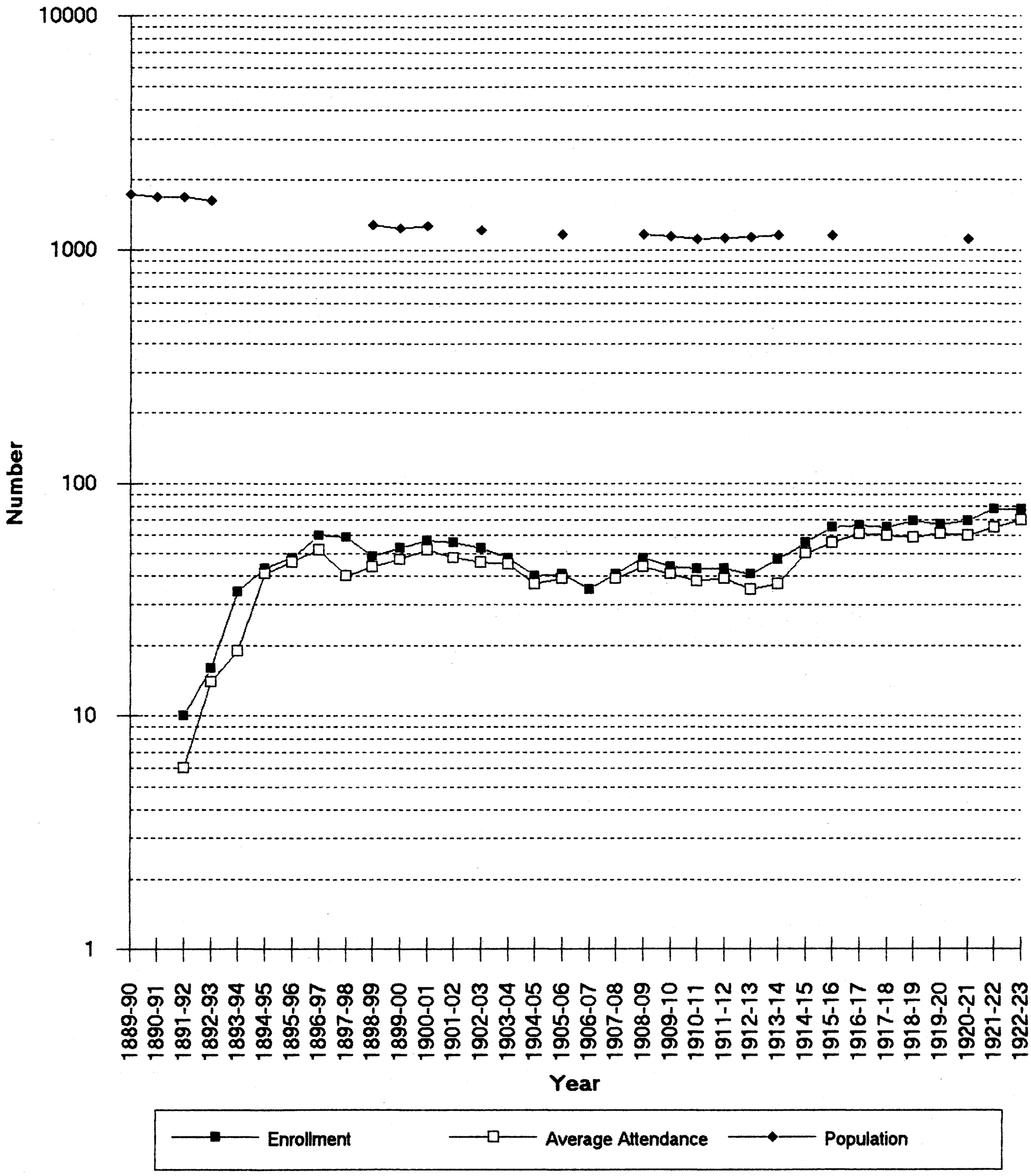
St. Pauls Boarding School 1891-1923 Attendance versus Enrollment



St. Pauls Boarding School 1891-1923 Enrollment, Average Attendance and Capacity



Blood Population, Enrollment and Average Attendance At St. Pauls



Teacher Histories at Bullshields			
1891-2	Hillier		
1892-3	Hewson J		
1894-5	Henson		
1893-4	Henson		
Teacher Histories At Bullhorn			
1889-90	Hinchliffe		
1890-91	Hinchliffe		
1891-92	Hinchliffe		
1892-93	Mills		
1893-94	Mills		
1894-95	Mills		
1895-96	Mills		
1896-97	Mills		
1897-98	Hardyman		
1898-99	Hardyman		
1899-00	Hardyman		
1900-01	Hardyman		
1901-02	Hardyman		
1902-03	Collinson		
1903-04	Collinson		
Teacher Histories at Red Crow			
1888-89	Hillier		
1889-90	Hillier		
1890-91	Hillier		
1891-92	Robertson	Herbert	
1892-93	Collins		
1893-94	Haynes		
1894-95	Mc Analy		

Teacher Histories At Upper School		
1882-83	Upper	Trivett
1883-84	Upper	Trivett
1884-85	Upper	Trivett
1885-86	Upper	Trivett
1886-87	Upper	Trivett
1887-88	Upper	Trivett
1888-89	Upper	Trivett
1889-90	Upper	Trivett

Teacher Histories At LowerSchool		
1882-83	Lower	Bourne
1883-84	Lower	Bourne
1884-85	Lower	Bourne
1885-86	Lower	None
1886-87	Lower	Fosbroke
1887-88	Lower	Fosbroke

Teacher Histories at St. Pauls Boarding			
1891-92	Busby		
1892-93			
1893-94	Allridge	Foote	
1894-95			
1894-95			
1895-96			
1896-97			
1896-97	Baker		
1897-98			
1898-99			
1899-00	Wells		
1900-01	Wells		
1902-03	Wells		
1903-04	Wells		
1904-05	Wells		
1905-06	Wells		
1906-07	Wells		
1907-08	Wells	Stonning	
1908-09			
1909-10			
1910-11			
1911-12	Gardner		
1912-13	Gardner		
1913-14			
1914-15	Glover		
1915-16	Campbell	Webb	
1916-17			
1917-18			
1918-19			
1919-20			
1920-21			
1921-22			
1922-23			

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