

“THERE ARE NO SHORTCUTS:” THE LONG ROAD TO TREATY 7 EDUCATION

A Thesis Submitted to the School of
Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts
In the Department of History
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon

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Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge that this thesis was conceived on the traditional territories of the Tsuut'ina, Iyethkabi, and the Niisitapi: Siksika, Piikani, Kainai people, who agreed to share their land at the signing of Treaty 7.

I would also like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Kathryn Magee Labelle, for her endless support.

To the 9: your friendship has been invaluable. I took comfort in knowing that, during my long nights of writing and researching (with intermittent crying), we were all going through the same thing.

Abstract

Treaty 7 was signed at Blackfoot Crossing in 1877. According to one Indigenous signatory, Chief Crowfoot of the Niisitapi, treaty commissioners in attendance stated the treaty stood in perpetuity: “As the long as the sun is shining, the rivers flow, and the mountains are seen,” the Tsuut’ina, Stoney Nakoda, and Blackfoot Confederacy: Kainai, Piikani, and Siksika agreed to share the landscape of what is now southern Alberta.¹ This agreement is one of many treaties negotiated between First Nations and the British Crown. Many scholars have looked at Canadian treaties and education history as an overt attempt to erase Indigenous culture, but few have delved deeper into the systematic policies of epistemicide that took place within these negotiations and afterward. This thesis situates this historical process within the communities of Treaty 7 territory and argues that the schooling provided by the Canadian government after 1877 represents a consistent attempt to subvert Indigenous knowledge and pedagogies.

¹ Richard Price, *Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1999), 132.

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Introduction

Reconciliation is about forging and maintaining respectful relationships. There are no shortcuts.

—Justice Murray Sinclair, *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*

For over a century, the Government of Canada sent Indigenous children across Canada to Western-styled² residential schools to assimilate, Christianize, and “civilize” Indigenous people into mainstream Euro-Canadian society. Assimilation became official government policy in 1876 with the passing of the *Indian Act*. This gave the Canadian state the power to govern all aspects of Indigenous people’s lives, thus the creation of the residential school system.³ In the 1980s, many Indigenous people demanded recognition of the injustices and abuse experienced by many residential school survivors. Indigenous people and the Government of Canada established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (hereafter TRC) in 2008 as a response. In June 2015, the TRC completed their investigation and released their findings on the negative impact that residential schools had on Indigenous people and communities. Justice Murray Sinclair made particular reference to the “cultural genocide” that took place as a direct result of the residential school system.⁴

Not only was cultural genocide and assimilation attempted, so too was an attempt to eradicate Indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing.⁵ This thesis builds upon important works

² This term is being used to describe the type of education offered in Canadian public schools in Canada—non-Indigenous schools.

³ John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986* (Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), 21.

⁴ Quoted in Laura E. Reimer, et al., *Transformative Change: An Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies* (Landham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015), 154. See also: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, “TRC Home,” *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, accessed Sept. 20, 2015. <http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/index.php?p=3>

⁵ Although terms such as assimilation and cultural genocide are closely related to the colonial policies throughout Canadian history, epistemicide differs from these terms as it specifically addresses the eradication of how knowledge is passed down and how it is interpreted. Epistemicide is one of several components of assimilation and cultural genocide. Epistemicide is clarified and defined on page 16. This definition is based off Boaventura de Sousa Santos’ definition of epistemicide as a destruction of knowledge tied to the destruction of a group of people. See: Boaventura de Sousa Santos, *Epistemologies of the South: Justice Against Epistemicide* (London: Routledge, 2015). Cultural genocide refers to the eradication of a group’s heritage and practises. Assimilation is defined as understanding

of education and treaty history by providing a comprehensive history on Treaty 7 and the education policies for the Tsuut'ina (meaning "A Great Number of People), the Iyethkabi (meaning "People of the Mountains," and most commonly referred to as the Stoney Nakoda) and the Niisitapi (meaning "Original people," and most commonly referred to as the Blackfoot Confederacy): Siksika (Blackfoot), Piikani (Peigan), Kainai (Blood), from 1877 to 2015. Going beyond a broad definition of "cultural genocide,"⁶ this thesis offers a new perspective as it concentrates on the consistent policies of epistemicide,⁷ the intentional and systemic eradication of knowledge and ways of knowing, by the Canadian government since the signing of Treaty 7 in 1877. Ultimately, sources indicate that while Treaty 7 First Nations have been subject to a constant stream of epistemicidal policies, their Indigenous knowledge and pedagogies, much like their culture in general, have not been destroyed.

TREATY 7: PLACE AND PEOPLE

Treaty 7 has garnered attention from scholars interested in both treaty and residential school history.⁸ However, before exploring the literature surrounding Treaty 7 the place and people must

another culture and, therefore, being able to fit into that society. See: Shamiron Mako, "Cultural Genocide and Key International Instruments: Framing the Indigenous Experience," *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* (2010): 175-194; George Morgan, "Assimilation and resistance: housing Indigenous Australians in the 1970s," *Journal of Sociology* vol. 36, no. 2 (August 2000); Katherine Ellinghaus, "Indigenous Assimilation and Absorption in the United States and Australia," *Pacific Historical Review* vol. 75, no. 4 (November 2006):563-585; Lindsey Kingston, "The Destruction of Identity: Cultural Genocide and Indigenous Peoples," *Journal of Human Rights* vol. 14 (2015): 63-83.

⁶ Political Science scholar Lawrence Davidson defines cultural genocide as "...purposeful destructive targeting of out-group cultures so as to destroy or weaken them in the process of conquest or domination." Lawrence Davidson, *Cultural Genocide* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2012), 1.

⁷ This definition is based off Boaventura de Sousa Santos' definition of epistemicide as a destruction of knowledge tied to the destruction of a group of people. See: Boaventura de Sousa Santos, *Epistemologies of the South: Justice Against Epistemicide* (London: Routledge, 2015).

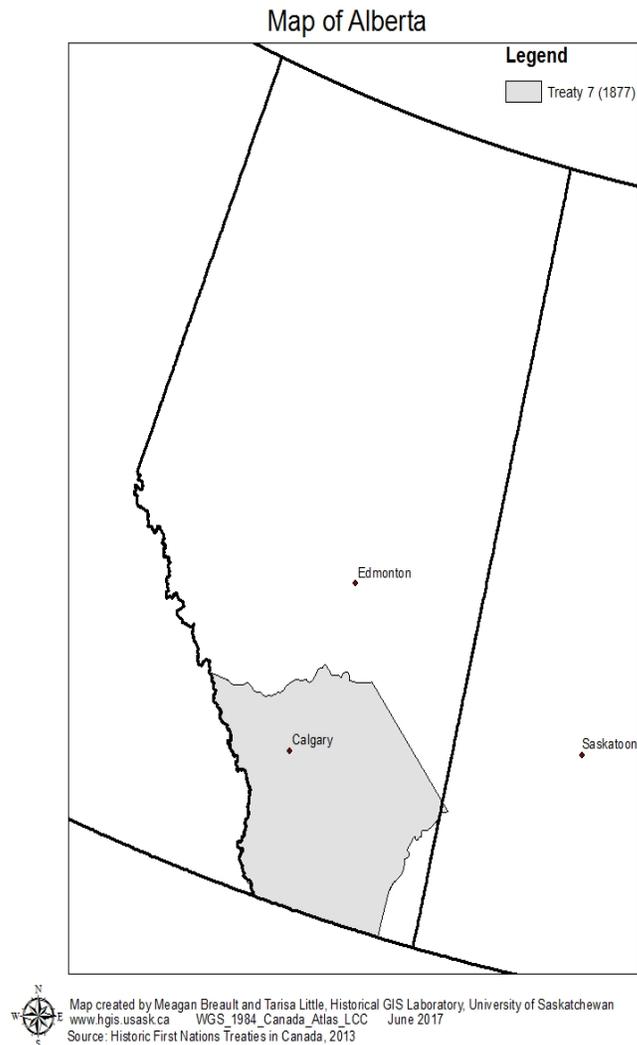
⁸ See: Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council with Walter Hildebrandt, Sarah Carter, and Dorothy First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997); Sheila Robert, "Negotiation and Implementation of Treaty 7, Through 1880," (MA thesis, University of Lethbridge, 2004); John Borrows, "Constitutional Law from a First Nation Perspective: Self-Government and the Royal Proclamation," *University of British Columbia Law Review* 28, no. 1 (1994): 1-48; Bernard Valcourt, "Address by the Minister of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development," in *Keeping Promises: The Royal Proclamation of 1763, Aboriginal Rights, and Treaties in Canada*, edited by Terry Fenge and Jim Aldridge (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queens Press, 2015); Michael Asch, *Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in Canada* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2011); Michael Asch and Patrick Macklem, "Aboriginal Rights and Canadian Sovereignty: An Essay on *R. v. Sparrow*," *Alberta Law Review* 29, no. 2 (1991); Arthur J. Ray, "*Regina v. Marshall*: Native History, the Judiciary and the Public," *Acadiensis* 29, no. 2 (2000): 138-46; N. Zlotkin, *Delgamuukw and the Interpretation of the Prairie Treaties* (Vancouver: The Fraser Institute, 1999).

be understood in their economic context. In 1877, Indigenous communities in what would become southern Alberta had rooted their culture in the bison hunt and plains landscape. Before the introduction of the horse by the Europeans, Indigenous communities hunted bison on foot, trapping the bison through methods like bison jumps. In addition to the horse, Europeans introduced guns, making killing bison quicker and easier. In the nineteenth century, Europeans and Indigenous people would slaughter millions of bison, bringing to market their hides, meat, and bones. Historian Andrew C. Isenberg argued in *The Destruction of the Bison: An Environmental History, 1750-1920* (2000) that the near extinction of the bison was due to “unsustainable exploitation of natural resources.”⁹ The demise of the bison had a great effect on Indigenous people on the plains because the bison was one of their main resources, forcing plains Indigenous communities to adapt to settler society.¹⁰

⁹ Andrew C. Isenberg, *The Destruction of the Bison: An Environmental History, 1750-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 198.

¹⁰ For more detailed information, see: Geoff Cunfer and Bill Waiser, eds., *Bison and People on the North American Great Plains: A Deep Environmental History* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2016).

Map of Treaty 7



Independent American traders established several trading posts throughout the current territory of northern Montana, and what is now known as southern Alberta and Saskatchewan. Traders overwhelmingly used alcohol as a commodity, and the introduction of alcohol in the 1860s and 1870s was detrimental to several Indigenous groups.¹¹ Many historians look at these events as major factors that induced Indigenous communities to negotiate treaties. Indigenous populations in Treaty 7 territory were quickly dwindling due to disease, loss of traditional food sources, and alcohol. Indigenous communities asked the North West Mounted Police for

¹¹ Margaret Anne Kennedy, *The Whiskey Trade of the Northwestern Plains: A Multidisciplinary Study* (New York: P. Lang, 1997).

protection, and smaller populations left the area since they felt vulnerable to attacks by warring communities.

One of the early publications about Treaty 7, Hugh Dempsey's *Treaty 7 Research Report* (1987), credits the successful negotiation of Treaty 7 to Colonel James MacLeod. According to Dempsey, the war chief of the Kainai, Medicine Calf questioned MacLeod about the rumored treaty. MacLeod told Medicine Calf that he believed negotiations would begin in the following year. Medicine Calf replied, stating that MacLeod should use his influence to get "his followers to consent to it."¹² The Blackfoot entrusted MacLeod with treaty negotiations. However, Dempsey argued that the Indigenous communities present were incapable of understanding the treaty due to language barriers and differing worldviews.¹³ The threat of American Indian tribes motivated the Crown to negotiate a treaty. The Crown negotiated, Dempsey noted, the treaty to help control Indigenous populations.¹⁴ 1997 was a watershed year for Treaty 7 history. Building on Dempsey's scholarship, the publication of *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7* by Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council along with academics Walter Hildebrandt, Sarah Carter, and Dorothy First Rider provided a much-needed Indigenous perspective on the creation of treaties in Canada. This text revealed contradictions between Indigenous people's interpretation of promises made by the government and the final document written by European settlers.¹⁵ Drawing on interviews the authors of the monograph argued that Indigenous people wanted to sign the treaty because they "recognized that their former way of life was no longer viable."¹⁶ Based on oral histories, the authors concluded that Indigenous people believed they would receive "white" education and health care, and that the government would care for them, in the same manner they cared for the settler population.

Two years later, Richard Price argued, in *Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties*, that Indigenous people in Treaty 7 territory operated using very different cultural systems than the settlers who negotiated the treaties. Price focused on the "spirit" or "intent" of the agreements, rather than the written document, which the signatories did not understand due to language

¹² Hugh Dempsey, "Treaty Research Report – Treaty Seven (1877)," *Indian and Northern Affairs Canada*, last modified September 15, 2009, <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100028789/1100100028791>

¹³ Dempsey, "Treaty Research Report."

¹⁴ Dempsey, "Treaty Research Report."

¹⁵ Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council with Walter Hildebrandt, Sarah Carter, and Dorothy First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997).

¹⁶ Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, Hildebrandt, Carter, and First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 120.

barriers and differing worldviews.¹⁷ Treaty 7 First Nations did not have a written language; instead, they shared their stories and histories through oral traditions, as well as petroglyphs and pictographs.¹⁸ The above case studies of Treaty 7 have contributed to our overall understanding of Canadian Native-Newcomer treaties.

TREATIES IN CONTEXT

Prior treaties reveal that the Crown acknowledged Indigenous claims to land. King George III issued the Royal Proclamation after the Seven Years War to halt settlement west of the Appalachian Mountains by settlers in the American colonies.¹⁹ The Royal Proclamation

explicitly states that Aboriginal title has existed and continues to exist, and that all land would be considered Aboriginal land until ceded by treaty. The Proclamation forbade settlers from claiming land from the Aboriginal occupants, unless it has first been bought by the Crown and then sold to the settlers. The Royal Proclamation further sets out that only the Crown can buy land from First Nations.²⁰

Pro-British Indigenous Nations, such as the Shawnee, Potawatomi, and Anishinaabeg (among others), had inflicted damage on the United States' military during the War of 1812.

¹⁷ Most Elders in Treaty 7 territory agree that the “true spirit” of Treaty 7 was that it was meant to be a peace treaty that sought to share land with non-Indigenous people—not to surrender it. Elders also agree that they were misrepresented through sometimes intentional attempts to mislead them. See: Richard Price, *Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1999).

¹⁸ Petroglyphs are images carved in stone/rock. Pictographs are images painted (naturally occurring paint, such as berry juice) on stone/rock.

¹⁹ It should be noted that even though the Royal Proclamation declared Indigenous right and title to land, the document contradicted this because it was made to extinguish their rights and title through specific procedures outlined in the document. The document in this way acknowledged a form of British sovereignty of the territory. Scholars have also questioned the use of the Royal Proclamation as the foundation of treaties in Canada due to the original intent of the Proclamation being to halt settlement strictly west of the original thirteen colonies. However, I argue, that the Proclamation reveals that the Crown was aware of Indigenous title to land. The Proclamation was accompanied by the Treaty of Niagara in 1764, which established an alliance between First Nations and the Crown in the Great Lakes region, allowing settlement. This Treaty was followed by the Fort Niagara Treaty, which also allowed for settlement. Treaties would follow north west of the original thirteen colonies (such as the Williams Treaty). These initial treaties extended the area covered in the Proclamation, but most importantly reveals the Crown's interpretation of Indigenous people's rights and title to this territory. However, the Proclamation excluded lands occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). The government would have to acquire this land from the HBC, which also acknowledge Indigenous rights and title to land—stating in the transfer of sovereignty to the Crown that treaties needed to be made with the First Nations that occupied former HBC territory: Rupert's Land. See: John Borrows, “Constitutional Law from a First Nation Perspective: Self-Government and the Royal Proclamation,” *University of British Columbia Law Review* 28, no. 1 (1994):1-48; Bernard Valcourt, “Address by the Minister of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development,” in *Keeping Promises: The Royal Proclamation of 1763, Aboriginal Rights, and Treaties in Canada*, edited by Terry Fenge and Jim Aldridge (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queens Press, 2015); Michael Asch, *Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in Canada* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2011).

²⁰ University of British Columbia, “Royal Proclamation, 1763,” First Nations Studies Program, Indigenous Foundations, <http://Indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/home/government-policy/royal-proclamation-1763.html> .

Although Britain won the war, under the terms of the Treaty of Ghent (signed by Great Britain and the United States) Britain had to guarantee the Americans that “there would be no more British arms to Indians, [and] no Indian confederation under British protection.”²¹ As the fur trade dwindled, so too did the need for military alliances. Peace between the United States and the British in Canada rendered Indigenous people unnecessary as military allies after the War of 1812 based on the belief that a period of peace would ensue after the war’s end. The United States government resorted to offering new treaties that would negate previous ones, and force Indigenous communities to give up their ancestral territory for land grants to free up space for European settlement.²² Similarly, Under the Rupert's Land Purchase of 1870, the Crown acquired land from the Hudson’s Bay Company.²³ The Crown negotiated eleven treaties between 1871 and 1921. The Crown negotiated the numbered treaties, as they became to be known, to advance settlement to the west from Ontario, to the territory that is now known as British Columbia. The Crown made these agreements because they desired access to land and resources in the north and to clear the way for settlement in more southerly regions in exchange for promises made to Indigenous communities. These sources reveal that Britain and the United States’ governments acknowledged Indigenous claims to land.

J. R. Miller’s *Compact, Contract, Covenant* (2009) was the first comprehensive history of treaty-making in Canada. In his survey, Miller explores the motivations of both settlers and Indigenous communities, the treaty processes, and treaties’ impact.²⁴ From the era of New France to the present day, Miller examines the evolution of treaties from agreements of the fur trade and

²¹ Susannah J. Ural, *Civil War Citizens: Race, Ethnicity, and Identity in America’s Bloodiest Conflict* (New York: New York Press, 2010), 188.

²² Ural, *Civil War Citizens*, 188.

²³ Rupert’s Land covered parts of what are present-day Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, and Quebec. The British Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) claimed sovereignty of the territory in the late 1600s, even though many Indigenous communities resided in the territory. This sovereignty was acquired by the Crown in 1870, which was re-named the North-West Territory. Sheila Robert, “Negotiation and Implementation of Treaty 7, Through 1880,” (MA thesis, University of Lethbridge, 2004) 25. For more on the history of the Hudson’s Bay Company with Indigenous peoples see: E.E. Rich, *The History of the Hudson’s Bay Company Volume I: 1670-1870* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1960); Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Hunters, Trappers and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay 1660-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974); Scott Stephen, *Masters and Servants: The Hudson’s Bay Company and its Personnel, 1668-1782* (Ph.D. dissertation, History, University of Manitoba, 2006); Arthur J. Ray and D.B. Freeman, *Give us good measure: an economic analysis of relations between the Indians and the Hudson’s Bay Company before 1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978); Paul C. Thistle, *Indian-European Trade Relations* (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1986); Victor P. Lytwyn, *Muskegowuck Athinuwick: Original People of the Great Swampy Land* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2002).

²⁴ J. R. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant: Aboriginal Treaty-Making in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), xi-xii.

the peace and friendship alliances through the eleven numbered treaties of the nineteenth century and on to the broader agreements of recent history. Miller reveals the complex and shifting relationships that guided the formation of the treaties. Indigenous peoples benefited from treaties when settlers needed Indigenous people as allies, such as trading or military alliances. However, benefits ceased when the settlers viewed Indigenous people as hindrances to the settlers' perceptions of progress.

Recent treaty scholars have followed Miller's lead. They have examined the content of Canadian treaties and the historical context in which they were signed. For example, in *On Being Here to Stay*,²⁵ anthropologist Michael Asch argued that Treaty 4 expressed a common understanding of treaties between the Crown and the Indigenous communities, and that the Crown acted in good faith. As a result, Asch concluded that non-Indigenous settlement was legitimately established.²⁶ However, Asch used an archive that has a predominately colonial perspective and does not adequately represent Indigenous perspectives. D. J. Hall refuted Asch's conclusion in his analysis *From Treaties to Reserves: The Federal Government and Native Peoples in Territorial Alberta, 1870-1905* (2015). Instead, he found that players from both sides brought divergent expectations and understandings to negotiations.²⁷ Like Miller, Hall challenges previous arguments by focusing on the historical context of agreements and cultural worldviews to understand misinterpretations.

Broader Canadian treaty scholarship focuses on the effects treaties have had on Indigenous groups and settlers alike. Scholarship includes work by Terry Fenge and Jim Aldridge, editors of *Keeping Promises: The Royal Proclamation of 1763, Aboriginal Rights, and Treaties in Canada*. In this, they argued that the Royal Proclamation of 1763 set out a framework for the Crown to negotiate treaties with Indigenous groups.²⁸ Similar analysis is found in Greg Poelzer and Ken S. Coates' *From Treaty Peoples to Treaty Nation* (2015) in which they discussed treaties and Indigenous rights, debating that reconstructing Canada would ease tensions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people.²⁹

²⁵ Michael Asch, *On Being Here to Stay: Treaties and Aboriginal Rights in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), viii.

²⁶ Asch, *On Being Here to Stay*, 6.

²⁷ D.J. Hall, *From Treaties to Reserves: The Federal Government and Native Peoples in Territorial Alberta, 1870-1905* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 333.

²⁸ Terry Fenge and Jim Aldridge, *Keeping Promises: The Royal Proclamation of 1763, Aboriginal Rights, and Treaties in Canada* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 2015), 194.

²⁹ Greg Poelzer and Ken S. Coates, *From Treaty Peoples to Treaty Nations* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015).

Particularly relevant to the relationship between treaties and education is Sheila Carr-Stewart's research that focused on education as a treaty right.³⁰ In *A Treaty Right to Education*, Carr-Stewart argued that Indigenous signatories to the numbered treaties understood that Western education was necessary for the survival of Indigenous communities and that they believed Western education would complement their own. She found that Indigenous people thought they could "supplement their community educational practices with the linguistic and literacy skills of the settlers."³¹ There was no agreement, however, in the interpretation of education as a treaty right. The promise of education in treaty documents was ambiguous; many treaties only state that teachers would be provided or that the salaries of teachers would be paid, neither of which exclude post-secondary schooling. Nonetheless, Carr-Stewart concluded that the government had an obligation to provide post-secondary education to treaty communities where the agreement included education.

RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL HISTORY

Carr-Stewart's focus on education builds on previous scholarship that focused on Indigenous schooling. In the 1970s some theses that focused on specific schools appeared, such as Walter Julian Wasylyow's "History of Battleford Industrial School for Indians (1972) and Jacqueline Gresko, "Qu'Appelle Industrial School: White 'Rites' for the Indians of the Old North-West" (1970), as did more general works like John W. Chalmers' *Education Behind the Buckskin Curtain: A History of Native Education* (1972).³² For the most part, these early works were not as critical of the education system compared to scholarship produced in the 1980s and 1990s. These studies attempted to analyze the experiences of Indigenous students and to capture Indigenous perspectives. For example, in *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* (1988), Celia Haig-Brown conducted detailed interviews to examine Indigenous students' experiences in the Kamloops Indian Residential School. She argued that the people working at residential schools treated the children poorly, as if they were mere "Objects to be processed as

³⁰ Sheila Carr-Stewart, "A Treaty Right to Education," *Canadian Journal of Education*, vol. 26, no. 2 (2001): 125-143.

³¹ Carr-Stewart, "A Treaty Right to Education," 3.

³² Walter Julian Wasylyow, "History of Battleford Industrial School for Indians (MA thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1972) and Jacqueline Gresko, "Qu'Appelle Industrial School: White 'Rites' for the Indians of the Old North-West," (MA thesis, Carleton University, 1970); John W. Chalmers, *Education Behind the Buckskin Curtain: A History of Native Education in Canada* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Bookstore, 1972).

cheaply and efficiently as possible then passed along to the next station.”³³ Through these methods, she concluded that there was little transitional period for Indigenous people into colonial schooling. Yet Indigenous communities have survived and adapted to colonial school, and strong individuals are emerging from contemporary education.³⁴

Many scholars consider the 1990s as “the” decade for scholarship on residential schools. One event that helped spark this interest was Phil Fontaine’s national CBC interview that aired on October 30, 1990. Fontaine called for an inquiry into the residential school system after detailing his and others’ experiences of abuse while attending residential school.³⁵ Residential schools became the topic of not only public discourse, but in academia as well. Since Fontaine’s interview, scholarship began to focus on Indigenous perspectives on schools and the impact residential schools had on specific aspects of life post-graduation.³⁶ For instance, Linda Bull and Rosalyn Ing both published articles in the *Canadian Journal of Native Education* in 1991. Bull consulted former students and government and church records at the Blue Quills Indian Residential School and the Edmonton Indian Industrial School. She concluded that residential schools had no concrete education programs.³⁷ She also argued in her article that schools used Christianity to control Indigenous students, and that government and church control was an attempt to assimilate Indigenous people while eradicating their culture.³⁸ Similarly, Ing examined the effects of residential schools on residential school students in her article. She argued that

³³ Indigenous children were thrust into colonial schooling and even though lessons were taught in English, most students did not speak, write, or read the language. Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* (Vancouver: Tillacum Library, 1988), 56.

³⁴ Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* (Vancouver: Tillacum Library, 1988), 26.

³⁵ Phil Fontaine was a prominent Indigenous leader in Canada. He attended residential school at Sagkeeng First Nation, as well as in Winnipeg. He received a BA in political studies from the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg, and served as the National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations from 1997 to 2009—and organization which seeks to protect the interests of Indigenous people in Canada. See: “Larry Phillip (Phil) Fontaine. LL.D., October 20, 1012,” University of Manitoba, accessed February 18, 2017.

<http://umanitoba.ca/admin/governance/senate/hdr/1144.html> Frum and Phil Fontaine, “The Journal,” filmed October 30, 1990, 7:30 <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/politics/parties-leaders/phil-fontaine-native-diplomat-and-dealmaker/shocking-testimony-of-sexual-abuse.html>

³⁶ For more information, see: Uta Hildamarie Fox, “The failure of the Red Deer Industrial School,” (MA thesis, University of Calgary, 1993); Jacqueline Gresko, “Everyday Life at Qu’Appelle Industrial School,” *Western Oblate Studies* 2 (1992): 71-94; and Brian Titley, “Dunbow Indian Industrial School: An Oblate Experiment in Education,” *Western Oblate Studies* 2 (1992): 95-113.

³⁷ Linda Bull, “Indian Residential Schooling: The Native Perspective,” *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 18: Supplement (1991): 5.

³⁸ Bull, “Indian Residential Schooling,” 56.

these schools caused a loss in cultural knowledge, “self-esteem, parenting skills, and language.”³⁹ However, Ing interviewed only three Indigenous people.

The 1990s also saw the publication of several seminal monographs on the history of residential schools.⁴⁰ The authors of these monographs examined how residential schools affected Indigenous communities. They viewed the schools as “experiments in social engineering.” Drawing on the earlier work of Robin Fisher and Arthur Ray, J. R. Miller in *Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada* (1991)⁴¹ argued that Indigenous people were not simply victims, but were agents capable of reacting to government policy and interacting with settler society. However, some historians have challenged this emphasis on agency with the caution that it could be cast as “colonialist alibi.”⁴² In *No End of Grief: Indian Residential Schools in Canada* (1996), Agnes Grant argued that Indigenous perspectives of residential school are generalized. However, monographs such as J.R. Miller’s *Shingwauk’s Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (1997) and John S. Milloy’s *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986* (1999) took a much more detailed and nuanced approach to residential schools. While Miller discussed the horrors of Canadian history, shifting the blame from churches to the government and all Euro-Canadian people, Milloy argued that consistent underfunding negatively affected the health and education of generations of Indigenous children. Milloy and Miller both provide comprehensive studies of the impact residential schools on Indigenous people in Canada.⁴³

³⁹ N. Rosalyn Ing, “The Effects of Residential Schools on Native Child-Rearing Practices,” *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 18 (1991 Supplement): 68.

⁴⁰ See J. R. Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Agnes Grant, *No End of Grief: Indian Residential Schools in Canada* (Winnipeg, Pemmican Publications Inc., 1996); and John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986* (Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press, 1999).

⁴¹ J.R. Miller, “Owen Glendower, Hotspur, and Canadian Indian Policy,” in *Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991). See works such as: Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890* 2nd Edition (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992) which was originally published in 1977; A.J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Hunters, Trappers and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974); Sylvia VanKirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society* (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer, 1980).

⁴² See Robin Brownlie and Mary-Ellen Kelm, “Desperately Seeking Absolution: Native Agency as Colonialist Alibi?” *Canadian Historical Review* 75, no. 4 (1994): 543-556; Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890* 2nd Edition (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992) which was originally published in 1977 and A.J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Hunters, Trappers and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).

⁴³ See Scott Trevithick, “Native Residential Schooling in Canada: A Review of Literature,” *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 18, no. 1 (1998): 49-86.

As a result of their experiences in residential schools, a number of survivors have written autobiographies. Early examples include Louise Moine's *My Life in a Residential School* (1975), Basil Johnston's *Indian School Days* (1988), and Isabelle Knockwood's *Out of the Depths* (1992).⁴⁴ More recently, as the importance of Indigenous voices in Canadian society has gained traction more generally and the experience of residential schools has entered public consciousness more specifically, Indigenous accounts of the school system (some of which have been co-authored) have become popular, such as *The Education of Augie Merasty: A Residential School Memoir* (2015), *Up Ghost River* (2014) and Helen Raptis' monograph, *What We Learned: Two Generations Reflect on Tsimshian Education and the Day Schools* (2016), which she authored with members of the Tsimshian Nation.⁴⁵

In 1996, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples "brought the experiences of former students to national attention."⁴⁶ This heightened consciousness about the negative impact of the residential schools led many residential survivors to sue the governments and churches, seeking redress for the abuses that they suffered. Both the government and the various churches began to restrict parts of government and church records due to sensitive information.⁴⁷ Records had to be requested unless they were being accessed on behalf of an Indigenous Nation or Band.⁴⁸ The number of lawsuits and the costs involved ultimately led to the establishment the TRC.

Much of the scholarship produced after the millennium has taken residential school histories in a different direction. This new generation of scholarship focused on larger themes, such as Indigenous politics, decolonization, and the experiences of specific Indigenous communities rather than straightforward case studies or studies that look at school conditions and

⁴⁴ For a more detailed analysis of these works see: Scott Trevithick, "Native Residential Schooling in Canada: A Review of Literature," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 18, no. 1 (1998): 49-86.

⁴⁵ Due to numerous factors that are not limited to, but might include, literacy, publishing connections, etc. Joseph Auguste (Augie) Merasty and David Carpenter, *The Education of Augie Merasty* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2015); Edmund Metatawabin and Alexandra Shimo, *Up Ghost River: A Chief's Journey Through the Turbulent Waters of Native History* (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 2014) and Helen Raptis and members of the Tsimshian Nation, *What We Learned: Two Generations Reflect on Tsimshian Education and the Day Schools* (Vancouver: UBS Press, 2016).

⁴⁶ Government of Canada, "Indian Residential Schools - Key Milestones," *Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada*, last modified March 28, 2012, para. 4. <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1332939430258/1332939552554>.

⁴⁷ Accessible files are present for the years 1879 to 1953. These files only include documents that relate specifically to education, and do not include files with personal information. Most of these personal files were restricted due to the national inquiry into residential school experiences for Indigenous people being used in legal cases.

⁴⁸ Library and Archives Canada, "Conducting Research on Residential Schools: A Guide to the Records of the Indian and Inuit Affairs Program and Related Resources at Library and Archives Canada," nd. <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/obj/020008/f2/020008-2000-e.pdf> 7, 12.

the responses of Indigenous people. For example, Taiaiake Alfred argued that the imperialist and ethnocentric attitudes of countries such as England and France framed their treatment of Indigenous groups, and as a result settlers sought to assimilate the minority no matter what the cost or harm. This history of colonization was based on “Euro-american arrogance, the institutional and attitudinal expressions of the prejudicial biases inherent in European and Euroamerican cultures.”⁴⁹ Colonial culture, Alfred argued, is a denial or “aversion to the truth about who we really are and where it is that we come from.”⁵⁰ Paulette Regan’s *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada* (2012) takes an equally critical approach.⁵¹ Regan discussed the purpose of the TRC, arguing that it will only be successful if Canadians recognize and come to terms with a different (true) narrative of the past. Changes in the focus of Indigenous scholarship are due, at least in part, to the burgeoning field of Indigenous Studies, which concentrates on Indigenous perspectives and has adopted an interdisciplinary approach. These research methods include oral histories, interviews, critical personal narrative, sociological and anthropological approaches, and auto-ethnography.⁵²

INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE AND EPISTEMICIDE

Despite the important work on treaties, residential schools, and Treaty 7, questions remain concerning the kind of education policies implemented for Treaty 7 communities after negotiations. Scholars in the disciplines of education, social science, political science, and Indigenous studies have focused on attempts by the Canadian government to create and implement an education system that could (and in some instances, did) eradicate Indigenous ways of knowing.⁵³

⁴⁹ Taiaiake Alfred, “Colonial Stains on Our Existence,” *Racism, Colonialism, and Indigeneity in Canada*, edited by Martin J. Cannon and Lina Sunseri (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2011), 3.

⁵⁰ Alfred, “Colonial Stains on Our Existence,” 5.

⁵¹ Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011).

⁵² Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within*, 28-29. See, for instance, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (New York: Zed Books Ltd., 2012), 20.

⁵³ Scholars that focus on Indigenous ways of knowing include: Taiaiake Alfred, “Colonial Stains on Our Existence,” in *Racism, Colonialism, and Indigeneity in Canada*, edited Martin J. Cannon and Lina Sunseri (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2011); Julie Evans, Patricia Grimshaw, and David Phillips, *Equal Subjects, Unequal Rights: Indigenous People in British Settler Colonies, 1830-1910* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); N. Rosalyn Ing, “The Effects of Residential Schools on Native Child-Rearing Practices,” *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 18 (1991 Supplement); Maxine Matilpi, “In Our Collectivity: Teaching, Learning, and Indigenous Voice,”

Indigenous ways of knowing, or in other words Indigenous pedagogies, include an array of methods. Treaty 7 communities obtain knowledge from kinship networks, nature, vision quests, winter counts, tipis, and origin stories—to name a few. Many Indigenous communities rely on experiential learning and the natural environment to educate younger generations. Learning includes Indigenous communities' way of life including hunting, fishing, and trapping; language teaching from the previous generations; and oral traditions that include oral histories and stories, which include origin and cautionary tales. In some cases, the significance and meaning of these methods may be privileged and information might only be disseminated by designated individuals to a specific audience. Thus, hindering outsiders' understanding of the intricacies of Indigenous pedagogies.

In the plains, tipis are one method of disseminating knowledge. The designs on tipis are not merely decorative, and the right to designs painted on tipis is privileged. Tipi designs are either transferred from one person to another, through a formal ritual, or are given to a person by spirits in dreams. These spirits also deliver the people messages related to daily life.⁵⁴ Tipis play an important role in teaching the value of the natural world. Tipis designs are meant to connect the people with spirit beings and pay tribute to the natural environment, which was the source of their life.⁵⁵

A community's history teaches the values and traditions of the people. The Blackfoot have used winter counts as one way of recording their community's history, including battles and other events and accomplishments that happened during the year. A group's historian was usually in charge of recording these events on tanned bison hide. Other methods of historical recordings were also used, such as pictographs and petroglyphs, which depicted raids, origins stories, and battles.⁵⁶ Instead of using bison hide, however, these methods utilized harder surfaces. Similarly, Treaty 7 communities used pictographs. These were events painted on rocks and petroglyphs, whereby people carved the events in stone. In addition to oral tradition, the recording of events

Canadian Journal of Native Education 35, no. 1 (2012); Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011); Lunny Borden, et al., "Decolonizing Indigenous Education in the 21st Century," *McGill Journal of Education* 48, no. 2 (2013); Marie Battiste, *Decolonizing Education: Nourishing the Learning Spirit* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013).

⁵⁴ "Niitoy-yiss- Blackfoot Tipi/Teepee," *Blackfoot Crossing Historical Park*, accessed April 10, 2017.

<http://www.blackfootcrossing.ca/tipiabout.html> .

⁵⁵ "Niitoy-yiss- Blackfoot Tipi/Teepee," *Blackfoot Crossing Historical Park*.

⁵⁶ "Story Robes," *Blackfoot Crossing Historical Park*, accessed April 10, 2017.

<http://www.blackfootcrossing.ca/storyrobes.html> .

allowed Treaty 7 communities to understand their origins and how past events shaped their understanding of their culture and traditions.

Canadian researchers generally do not use the term epistemicide, defined by Boaventura de Sousa Santos as the intentional and systemic eradication of knowledge and ways of knowing, in scholarship; however, many scholars look at the negative effects of Western education on Indigenous communities and argue that a remedy for these effects is to adopt Indigenous pedagogies and decolonize the education system. In her book, *Medicine that Walks: Disease, Medicine and Canadian Plains Native People, 1880-1940*, historian Maureen K. Lux provides a settler account of Indigenous knowledge. Through Blackfoot community member Rose Ayoungman, Lux argued that experiential learning is central to Indigenous knowledge systems. Ayoungman stated that as a pipe owner, she learned the protocol by washing a blanket that covered her pipe, unintentionally causing days of rain.⁵⁷

Language was, and continues to be, integral to Treaty 7 communities' Indigenous knowledge and pedagogies because they believe it is intrinsically connected to their ways of knowing. In a presentation before the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Mary Noey stated; "language is the essence of a culture. Languages...shape perceptions, and understanding of self, culture, heritage and world view."⁵⁸ Similarly, in *Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage: A Global Challenge* (2000), Marie Battiste stated that language is integral to the dissemination of Indigenous knowledge. Battiste argued that eradication of Indigenous languages aims to change Indigenous thought into Western thought. Battiste noted that European colonists do not understand the value of language and perceive language to be only a communicative tool.⁵⁹ Western school systems force Indigenous students to speak English and forget their traditional language, impacting their education due to the challenges of a new pedagogical method. To limit Indigenous communities' lifestyle would be an attempt of epistemicide. The Crown did not imply that Indigenous communities would be forced to reject Indigenous knowledge and pedagogies when they negotiated the promise of education.

⁵⁷ Lux, "'Help Me Manitou'," 3.

⁵⁸ Mary Noey, *presentation before the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, La Ronge, Saskatchewan, May 28, 1992.

⁵⁹ Marie Battiste and James Youngblood (Sa'ke'j) Henderson, *Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage: A Global Challenge* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000).

In a later monograph, *Decolonizing Education: Nourishing the Learning Spirit* (2013), Battiste argued that Western-style institutions are a form of racism and need to be rejected.⁶⁰ She stated that the government should not force Indigenous people to integrate into Western-style education systems, but these systems needed to integrate Indigenous knowledge and pedagogies for Indigenous students' performance rates to improve.⁶¹ Battiste's use of her own experience, alongside textual sources, confirmed that Western-style education has had a negative impact on Indigenous knowledge because Western-style education reinforced assimilation and concepts of cultural superiority.

More specific to my research is the historiography of epistemicide. Portuguese sociologist Boaventura de Sousa Santos is paramount to this area of scholarship. His research focused on epistemicide in the "global south," which is a term used in postcolonial studies meaning developing countries, and includes parts of Africa, Asia, and Latin America—not the Western world.⁶² Sousa Santos' foundational work *Epistemologies of the South: Justice Against Epistemicide* (2015) critiqued the "cognitive injustice" of Western epistemology.⁶³ He dubbed this process "epistemicide," focusing his critical theory on the parameters of knowledge. Sousa Santos delineated the risks of epistemicide imposed by Western "monoculture of scientific knowledge."⁶⁴ Epistemicide favours one type of knowledge and pedagogy—a Western one. Much of the implementation of epistemicide, he argued, is done through the process of colonization.

The extent of epistemicide on Indigenous people in Canada, as well as how epistemicidal policies were implemented, has yet to be explored. This thesis fills this gap in literature by not only looking at Canadian Indigenous history, but epistemicide as well. Taken as whole, this thesis will make an original contribution to this field by highlighting the *historical* process of epistemicide within a Canadian context, and more specifically within Treaty 7 territory.

⁶⁰ Marie Battiste, *Decolonizing Education: Nourishing the Learning Spirit* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013).

⁶¹ Battiste, *Decolonizing Education: Nourishing the Learning Spirit*.

⁶² This includes Boaventura de Sousa Santos, *Epistemologies of the South: Justice Against Epistemicide* (London: Routledge, 2015). Other works that have built off Sousa Santos are: João M. Paraskeva, *Curriculum Epistemicide: Towards An Itinerant Curriculum Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2016); D. Hartlep and Daniel P. Scott, *Asian/American Curricular Epistemicide: From Being Excluded to Becoming a Model Minority* (New York: Springer, 2016).

⁶³ Boaventura de Sousa Santos, "Orientations for Prudent Knowledge," *Epistemologies of the South: Justice Against Epistemicide* (London: Routledge, 2015).

⁶⁴ de Sousa Santos, "Orientations for Prudent Knowledge."

METHODOLOGY

This thesis' methodology will be based on an ethnohistoric approach. Ethnohistory builds on historical methods to fully understand historical context.⁶⁵ An ethnohistorical approach attempts to provide different perspectives and utilization of multiple methodologies. Developed in the mid-twentieth century, ethnohistory focuses on Indigenous cultural history by combining archival research with other research methods such as oral accounts, photographs, and even cultural traditions to compare insider and outsider perspectives.⁶⁶ Non-Indigenous people are often at the forefront in Native-Newcomers histories, often ignoring Indigenous historical consciousness—the way in which Indigenous people understand the past and how those understandings are shaped.⁶⁷ Keith Thor Carlson stated in “Turning the Page: Ethnohistory from a New Generation” (2009), stereotypes of Indigenous people often skew Native-newcomer histories, affecting Indigenous societies' class and gender issues.⁶⁸ For example, if non-Indigenous people stereotype Indigenous people as being lazy, this could impede on Indigenous people securing employment. In “Ethnohistory's Ethnohistory: Creating a Discipline from the Ground Up” (2010), Michael E. Harkin defined ethnohistory as “a globalized, multidisciplinary locus of discourse;” this field incorporates several disciplines' methodologies.⁶⁹ Through an ethnohistoric methodology this thesis includes not only archival sources but also sources centred on Indigenous perspectives.

Many Indigenous communities rely heavily on oral tradition, which until twenty years ago was not considered to be a legitimate form of record keeping. What was or was not a legitimate form of record keeping was revealed in the *Delgamuukw v. B.C.* case (1997), where Justice McEachern found that the “broad concepts embodied in oral tradition, did not conform to juridical definitions of truth.” He concluded that: “I am unable to accept *adaawk*, *kungax* and oral

⁶⁵ Keith Thor Carlson, John Lutz, and David Schaepe, “Turning the Page: Ethnohistory from a New Generation,” *University of the Fraser Valley Research and Review* 2, no. 2 (2009), 2.

⁶⁶ See Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: a Native History of Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003); Michael E. Harkin, “Ethnohistory's Ethnohistory: Creating a Discipline from the Ground Up,” *Social Science History* 34, no. 2 (Summer 2010); Keith Thor Carlson, *The Power of Place, the Problem of Time – Aboriginal Identity and Historical Consciousness in the Cauldron of Colonialism*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011); Raymond J. DeMallie, “The Lakota Ghost Dance: An Ethnohistorical Account,” *The Pacific Historical Review* 51, no. 4 (November 1982); Nancy Oestreich Lurie, “Ethnohistory: An Ethnological Point of View,” *Ethnohistory* 8, no. 1 (1961); and James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

⁶⁷ Keith Thor Carlson, John Lutz, and David Schaepe, “Turning the Page: Ethnohistory from a New Generation,” *University of the Fraser Valley Research and Review* 2, no. 2 (2009), 29.

⁶⁸ Keith Thor Carlson, John Lutz, and David Schaepe, “Turning the Page: Ethnohistory from a New Generation,” *University of the Fraser Valley Research and Review* 2, Vol. 2 (2009), 29.

⁶⁹ Michael E. Harkin, “Ethnohistory's Ethnohistory: Creating a Discipline from the Ground Up,” *Social Science History* 34, no. 2 (Summer 2010), 125.

traditions as reliable bases for detailed history but they could confirm findings based on other admissible evidence."⁷⁰ Courts did not weigh oral histories the same as written accounts. Judges deemed oral histories as beliefs that did not contain historical evidence. Scholar Bill Russell described this circumstance: "native people were not in a position to create and control their own written records."⁷¹ However, in a monumental decision, the Supreme Court reversed McEachern's ruling six years later, arguing that if Indigenous rights are protected by the Constitution, then evidence had to be adapted so that oral histories can be weighed equal to written sources.⁷²

Historian Wendy Wickwire critiqued scholars that rely too much on archival documents because they usually focus on non-Indigenous voices and do not consider the oral histories from "living storytellers."⁷³ She argued that including alternate sources allows us to view histories through a broader lens.⁷⁴ Similarly, Julie Cruikshank argued that Indigenous people are excluded not only because of colonization, but by scholarships that overlook and do not acknowledge Indigenous knowledge and pedagogies.⁷⁵ Pacific Northwest scholar John Sutton Lutz confronted this through his ethnohistoric community engaged research. Lutz worked with Indigenous communities to obtain Indigenous perspectives to juxtapose against colonial sources. In his monograph *Makúk: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations* (2008), Lutz argued that Indigenous unemployment did not begin until the 1950s when the government implemented policies to deliberately drive Indigenous people out of the workforce.⁷⁶ Lutz drew from a wide array of primary sources, from oral histories to statistical analysis, challenging Indigenous paradigms, such as being lazy and welfare dependent.

This thesis attempts to incorporate many of the ethnohistorical methods used by scholars. The research was guided by and centered around Treaty 7 Indigenous communities. I compared and analyzed government documents with Indigenous sources through the process of

⁷⁰ Julie Cruikshank, *The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 64.

⁷¹ William Russell, "The White Man's Paper Burden," *Archivaria* 1, no. 19 (1984): 53. See also Sean Darcy, "The Evolution of Indian Affairs' Central Registry, 1872-1984," *Archivaria* 58 (2004): 162.

⁷² Cruikshank, *The Social Life of Stories*, 64.

⁷³ Wendy Wickwire, "Stories from the Margins: Toward a More Inclusive British Columbia Historiography," *The Journal of American Folklore* 118, no. 470 (2005), 456.

⁷⁴ Wickwire, "Stories from the Margins," 466.

⁷⁵ Julie Cruikshank, *Do Glaciers Listen? Local Knowledge, Colonial Encounters, and Social Imagination* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), 259.

⁷⁶ John Sutton Lutz, *Makúk: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008).

triangulation. I weighed each source and centred my argument around corroborating evidence. All sources were read closely to understand the context in which they were created. This required reading with and against the grain. The former gave insight into the author's viewpoint, while the latter shows inconsistencies and ambiguities within the source. If a government source discussed curriculum or operation of the schools, I compared it to the same discussion in an Indigenous source, and vice-versa. If, for example, a government source discussed an element of education that was not addressed in an Indigenous source, I attempted to find out why. Oral histories and biographies proved vital in filling gaps in sources, such as why there is a difference in education performance between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. These sources ultimately contribute to an overall understanding of the type of education many Indigenous students received.

SOURCES

The bulk of this thesis' sources are documents written by government and church officials. Sources include school records found in Record Group 10 (RG10) in Library and Archives Canada (LAC), such as the files of individual schools and Indian Affairs Annual Reports.⁷⁷ Additionally, an analysis of student biographies and previously published interviews with Indigenous people will be used.⁷⁸ LAC has digitized some of this archive (including all the school files), which consists primarily of government-generated sources that reflected government perspectives. The language reflects the societal discourse concerning settlers' perception of Indigenous cultures, which is that they were "uncivilized" and needed to be assimilated.⁷⁹ The language of these documents reflects white-settler mentality. The audience for these reports was a non-Indigenous audience. It is important to include these documents together with Indigenous perspectives to fully understand the context and the relationship between settlers and Indigenous people. Though these documents are written by predominately non-Indigenous authors, Indigenous perspectives can be found by reading against the grain.

⁷⁷ See LAC, "Record Group 10 Inventory," last modified March 1, 2012, https://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/guide-1-RG_10/005006-1000-e.html. The annual reports are in the Sessional Papers of Parliament.

⁷⁸ These interviews can be found in several sources cited throughout this thesis, such as Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council with Walter Hildebrandt, Sarah Carter, and Dorothy First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997) and Richard Price, *Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1999).

⁷⁹ Though assimilation was the political term used by the Canadian government, it is more widely thought that residential schools were used to destroy Indigenous cultures whereby the government deemed them inferior to the European settlers.

There are a few limitations to this study. The Indigenous perspectives used represent only a small percentage of Treaty 7 communities. The voices heard are of people who have either the literacy skills or post-secondary education to communicate their experiences, or have connections to people that can help them communicate—whether that be through interviews or co-authored biographies. In a way, these histories portray events from the top down.

Additionally, many early biographies are of men. However, in the past three decades there has been an increase in female biographies and scholarship—so much so that male voices have become the minority. Much of the work to which I refer in the later chapters is from Indigenous female academics. This overrepresentation causes problems as it forces a gender divide of Indigenous experiences. Where possible, I have included the experiences of both genders. Furthermore, the experiences present in this thesis are not representative of all Indigenous people across Canada as there is no pan-Indigenous identity.

I am writing from a non-Indigenous lens, which means my perceptions, interpretations, and understandings are based on my own settler consciousness. Therefore, I must be cautious and recognize that I am unable to fully understand Indigenous people's experiences. The most important aspect of being a non-Indigenous person writing Indigenous history is acknowledging that my colonial privilege and understandings have shaped my worldview. In Paulette Regan's book, *Unsettling the Settler Within*, she wrote, "researchers who attempt to know [Indigenous peoples] empathically run the risk of simply perpetuating an imperial belief that their status as researchers entitles them to acquire such knowledge."⁸⁰ Regan added that the preferred approach is for the writer to embrace the fact that a non-Indigenous person is not able to fully know the Other and to embrace the epistemological tension rather than fight against it.⁸¹ It is my goal to recognize the lens that I am writing from.

TERMINOLOGY

There are several terms used in this thesis that need explanation. The term "Indian" was first used when colonizers thought they had arrived in India; thus, they called the natives of the land "Indian." This term was used well into the nineteenth century and is still present in government

⁸⁰ Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within*, 26.

⁸¹ Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within*, 26.

acts. For instance, the term is still used in the *Indian Act*.⁸² The government defines the term “Indian” as “one of three cultural groups, along with “Inuit” and “Métis,” recognized as Aboriginal people under section 35 of the *Constitution Act*.”⁸³ During the 1970s, the term First Nations replaced the term “Indian” because many people found it to be derogatory and offensive. The term “Indigenous” has become the recognized term in academia and is used in the vocabulary of the broader population.⁸⁴ The terms “nation” and “band” are sometimes used interchangeably since they refer to a group of Indigenous people. “Nation” refers to the entire group, while “band” is a sub-group of the nation that lives on reserves. Band funds held by the government are used to fulfill the promise in the *Indian Act*. Each band has an elected band council that governs the collective use and lands in reserve territory.⁸⁵ For the purposes of this thesis, I have chosen to use the term Indigenous to represent the First Nations, Métis, and Inuit of Canada.

OUTLINE

The genesis of this project began about a five years ago in my home territory of Treaty 7. I was working for the Calgary Separate School District part-time at a junior high school in a low-income neighbourhood while simultaneously embarking on my undergraduate degree. The junior high school had a high percentage of Indigenous students. A lot of these students were from a reserve approximately thirty minutes east of the city. These students were the most at risk for tardiness fines. In a lot of cases, as evidenced by attendance records, the Indigenous families seemed to be indifferent to the formal education the school offered. I was interested in learning why these students were continuously late to school, and furthermore, how education was perceived by their community.

⁸² Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, *Terminology*, Government of Canada, 2012. <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014642/1100100014643> .

⁸³ Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, *Terminology*, Government of Canada, 2012. <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014642/1100100014643> .

⁸⁴ Brittany Luby, Kathryn Labelle, and Alison Norman, “(Re)naming and (De)colonizing the (I?)ndigenous People(s) of North America - Part I,” *Active History*, (November 7, 2016), accessed March 26, 2017. <http://activehistory.ca/2016/11/renaming-and-decolonizing-the-Indigenous-peoples-of-north-america-part-ii/> Brittany Luby, Kathryn Labelle, and Alison Norman, “(Re)naming and (De)colonizing the (I?)ndigenous People(s) of North America - Part II,” *Active History*, (November 8, 2016), accessed March 26, 2017, <http://activehistory.ca/2016/11/renaming-and-decolonizing-the-Indigenous-peoples-of-north-america-part-i/> .

⁸⁵ Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, *Terminology*, Government of Canada, 2012. <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014642/1100100014643> .

Luckily, my university offered a field school course on Treaty 7, which covered all Indigenous communities in southern Alberta. The field school included five days of seminars and eight days spent living on culturally significant Treaty 7 lands, while working closely with Treaty 7 communities. I ended up taking the field school course in the summer of 2014.

It is difficult to properly describe my experience and the impact that the field school and community members had on me. My settler up-bringing was reoriented as I began to consider, for instance, that there could be different worldviews. I tried to observe the type of education that was valued. What I discovered was that many community members valued the type of education offered at government run schools, such as the junior high I worked at—however, many community members also prioritized community knowledge, and more specifically, how knowledge was customarily disseminated. Further, the people I spoke with indicated that western and Indigenous knowledge are often in stark contrast and that their sense of identity was effected by this as they felt forced to choose one or the other. By the end of the field school, I was interested in exploring the relationship between the absence of Indigenous teachings and the high percentage of Indigenous students struggling to succeed in the junior high school I worked at.

These experiences culminated in my honour's thesis where I tried to answer how the Crown's promise of education in the Treaty 7 document was perceived by Indigenous people and how the promise was implemented. Still, I wanted to push this notion further and came to the University of Saskatchewan to delve deeper into this history.

This thesis begins with the signing of Treaty 7 in 1877 and outlines subsequent education programs and the epistemicidal policies that were produced until 2015. The scope of this thesis, covering a period of over a hundred years, addresses many things that focused studies—studies that focus on a single event during a short period and its immediate effects. Additionally, this thesis can demonstrate how policies within Indigenous education slowly developed as a system of epistemicide. The scope of this thesis provides a broader context and a foundation for current issues that many Indigenous communities face. This differs from the larger studies of assimilation and Indigenous education as my research targets very specific strategies by the government that have remained largely overlooked. The larger scope of this project allows me to look at the evolution of epistemicidal government policies and how these policies adapted to changing native-newcomer relationships. This change continued a system of epistemicide. Put another way, my research indicates that epistemicide was only one of many components

employed by the Canadian government to achieve assimilation. It is my hope that by framing these strategies and their effects within a discussion of epistemicide, the significance of these strategies can be more fully understood, as well as the part they played in contemporary Indigenous education issues and recent declarations of cultural genocide within the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Ultimately, I hope this research will be of value on several fronts: it can serve as a comparison for other communities across Canada and thus contribute to a larger national historical narrative; it highlights the historical importance of Indigenous pedagogies and the detrimental effects when communities are no longer able to access these customary practices; Finally, I hope that it may serve to help those trying to re-vamp curriculums and address the TRC's calls to action concerning education.

Beginning with pre-treaty events and leading up to the final written treaty, the first chapter focuses on the treaty and its education promise. I analyze communications written by government officials, and previously published interviews, and biographies of Treaty 7 Elders and community members. Although education and treaty scholars have looked at Treaty 7 and its promises, scholars have yet to focus on the ways in which the promise of education is intrinsically linked to the implementation of epistemicidal policies. The second chapter of this thesis focuses on the implementation of education and epistemicidal policies through four strategies for Indigenous communities in Treaty 7 territory from 1877 to 1923.⁸⁶ Academic “success”⁸⁷ is the focus of the third chapter; thus, the chapter looks at integration as the 5th and final strategy of epistemicide. I argue that epistemicide is still evident in current Alberta curriculums.

I hope this thesis will push historians to respond to Justice Murray Sinclair's call for Canadians to take “no shortcuts” in reconciliation for the future. Overall, this research attempts to do this by tracing the long historical road of Treaty 7 education. What this thesis contextualizes is the complicated history of Treaty 7 communities and the epistemicidal policies the government implemented. The past education policies and experiences of residential school survivors expose the shortcuts the government took when providing education for Indigenous communities. The

⁸⁶ The boarding/residential schools in Treaty 7 territory that will be examined include: High River Industrial School (Dunbow/St. Joseph's); Immaculate Conception Residential School (Immaculate Conception Boarding/Blood Indian Residential School); McDougall Orphanage and Residential School (Morley Indian Residential School); Peigan Indian Residential School (Victoria Jubilee Home); Red Deer Industrial School; Sarcee Indian Residential School; Old Sun's Boarding School (North Camp Residential/White Eagle's Boarding/Short Robe Boarding School); Calgary Industrial School; St. Barnabas Indian Residential School; St. Cyprian's Indian Residential School; St. Paul's Indian Residential School; and Crowfoot Indian Residential School. See comprehensive chart on page 48.

⁸⁷ As will be discuss in more detail in the graduate thesis, academic “success” is typically measured in government terms, and often has come at a cost for Indigenous peoples.

shortcuts miserably failed Indigenous people and their communities. For many, they meant a lifetime of suffering that was transferred to the next generation. Nonetheless, many Indigenous people have survived, adapted, resisted, and have sought to reclaim Indigenous ways of knowing.

Chapter 1— “To Prepare Him for a Higher Civilization”⁸⁸: The Path to Treaty 7

On 22 September 1877, Crown commissioners and Indigenous signatories signed Treaty 7 near the banks of the Bow River at Blackfoot Crossing. The Crown believed that bringing Western-style education to Indigenous communities was vital as it would prepare Indigenous groups “for a higher civilization.”⁸⁹ This chapter outlines the context in which Treaty 7 was signed, as well the expectations for the education provisions by Treaty 7 communities.

Colonial Government Policy to 1877

While there have been some early settler attempts in the seventeenth century to “educate” Indigenous people, there were few efforts prior to the 1830s that seriously intervened in the education of Indigenous children.⁹⁰ Settlers viewed Indigenous people as necessary economic and military allies after European contact and into the nineteenth century. This perception is revealed in George Heriot’s *The History of Canada, from its first discovery, comprehending an account of the original establishment of the colony of Louisiana* (1804), in which he concluded that the alliance was based on the movement of food and defense against enemies.

the French [didn’t] find any difficulty in forming an alliance. Especially as they assisted them in times of want, which not unfrequently happened, particularly when they had been unsuccessful in the chace [sic]. But the greatest advantage which these natives hoped to derive from the French, was by procuring their assistance against their common enemy the Iroquois.⁹¹

Similar cases appear in the United States as well. For example, William Allen wrote in *American Biographical and Historical Dictionary* (1809), that the friendship of the Massasoit Sachem (leader) of the Wampanoag Confederacy was essential for the settler colony in Plymouth.

⁸⁸ DIA, Annual Report, 1876, xiv.

⁸⁹ DIA, Annual Report, 1876, xiv.

⁹⁰ See Miller, J. R. Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

⁹¹ George Heriot, *The History of Canada, from its first discovery, comprehending an account of the original establishment of the colony of Louisiana*, Vol. 1 (London: T.N. Longman and O. Rees, 1804). Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions, no. 35680. 14.

After his appointment, the Narragansett tribe sent Governor Bradford a threatening letter. The alliance with the Massasoit was advantageous to Bradford, as the Massasoit were also enemies of the Narragansett and the Massasoit would help protect him. Additionally, when the Massasoit Sachem was ill, Governor Bradford sent cordials to assist in his recovery. Allen wrote that “in return for this benevolent attention the grateful sachem disclosed a dangerous conspiracy,” further strengthening their alliance.⁹² Heriot and Allen’s observations demonstrate that French and English settlers of North America owed much of their colonial success to these Indigenous alliances. Indigenous communities played integral roles in supporting European initiatives from the fur trade to various wars throughout centuries.⁹³

At the turn of the 18th century, the Crown began to distance itself from Indigenous groups, creating policies that deemed their supporters as subjects rather than military allies. In what would soon become the new nation-state of Canada, with no standing military force of any size in Upper and Lower Canada or the west, the government opted instead for a policy in which the goal would be “civilizing the Indian.”⁹⁴ Various churches were also part of the government’s planned attempt of epistemicide; not only would Indigenous people be “civilized,” they would be “Christianized” as well. This policy’s centerpiece was the schools where Indigenous children would be assimilated and managed.⁹⁵ Church officials were keen to “educate” Indigenous children. Western-style education would serve multiple purposes to help solve what had become known as “The Indian Problem.” In this, the government segregated Indigenous people on reserves to clear land for settlement, and Indigenous children were sent to residential schools in an attempt to re-socialize and colonize them to become what the Crown viewed as active contributors to settler society. The schools would provide religious teachings as a way for Indigenous people to learn a trade and become independent. Transferring the responsibility for the education of Indigenous students

⁹² William Allen, *An American biographical and historical dictionary: containing an account of the lives, characters, and writings of the most eminent persons in North America from its first discovery to the present time, and a summary of the history of the several colonies and of the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: William Hilliard, 1809), 90.

⁹³ Heroit, *The History of Canada, from its first discovery, comprehending an account of the original establishment of the colony of Louisiana*.

⁹⁴ John L. Tobias, “Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada’s Indian Policy,” in *As Long As the Sun Shines and Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies*, edited by Ian L. Getty, Antoine S. Lussier (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011) 40. It should be noted here that schools for Indigenous people were also built in the United States, but the focus on the promise of schools to assimilate and manage Indigenous people was stronger in what would become Canada.

⁹⁵ Jennifer Pettit, “To Christianize and Civilize: Native Industrial Schools in Canada,” (PhD diss., University of Calgary, 1997), 1.

reduced the costs of administering Indian Affairs.⁹⁶ A number of day schools and manual labour schools, such as the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, opened throughout what would be Canada as a result of these policies; in this early era, however, it was largely the churches that were ideologically and financially at the forefront of these enterprises.⁹⁷ Consequently, at schools and at home, Indigenous people were coerced to abandon their customs with the goal of eventually being absorbed into non-Indigenous society.

In the 1820s and 1830s, the Crown established several model villages throughout what would become Canada, such as Coldwater-Narrows in Upper Canada, to put this plan into action. Settlers introduced European-farming practices within these communities and forced Christian conversion on the Indigenous population.⁹⁸ The Crown wanted to distance themselves from Indigenous people. Julie Evans, Patricia Grimshaw, and David Phillips argued in *Equal Subjects, Unequal Rights: Indigenous People in British Settler Colonies, 1830-1910* (2003) that the British Crown “sought to free itself of ongoing obligations to its former allies, [and] governors were instructed to persuade settler legislatures to take responsibility for the peoples whom they had dispossessed.”⁹⁹ Settlers did not feel that they were responsible to pay for the resources being provided for Indigenous groups. Moreover, settlers did not believe that Indigenous people should be entitled to citizenship, as they were not British subjects.¹⁰⁰ Settlers too began to distance themselves in the 18th century from Indigenous people. Settler governments became increasingly “determined to exclude Indigenous peoples [since they viewed them] as a barrier to settlement, retarding improvement....”¹⁰¹ The province of Canada would pass various legislation that would deem Indigenous people “wards” of the state. These Acts reinforced the idea that Indigenous people had less legal status than settlers, and would never be awarded full rights, privileges, or citizenship.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ Noel Dyck, *What Is the Indian 'Problem' Tutelage and Resistance in Canadian Indian Administration* (St. John's: Institute of Social & Economic Research, 1992).

⁹⁷ For an overview of the Mohawk Institute and other schools in this early era see Jennifer Pettit, “From Longhouse to Schoolhouse: The Mohawk Institute, 1824-1970,” (MA thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1993).

⁹⁸ Tobias, “Protection, Civilization, Assimilation,” 41. See also Government of Canada, “A History of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada—Canadian Era—1867-Present”, Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, last modified February 2, 2011, <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1314977281262/1314977321448>.

⁹⁹ Julie Evans, Patricia Grimshaw, and David Phillips, *Equal Subjects, Unequal Rights: Indigenous People in British Settler Colonies, 1830-1910* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 46.

¹⁰⁰ Evans, Grimshaw, and Phillips, *Equal Subjects, Unequal Rights*, 50.

¹⁰¹ Evans, Grimshaw, and Phillips, *Equal Subjects, Unequal Rights*, 51.

¹⁰² John L. Tobias, “Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada’s Indian Policy,” in *As Long As the Sun Shines and Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies*, edited by Ian L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011) 41. See also Government of Canada, “A History of Indian and Northern

Working in conjunction with the newly formed education policy was the goal of splitting up reserve lands and encouraging Indigenous people to live a settler existence. The government introduced policies to manage settler expansion onto Indigenous lands and to promote the integration of Indigenous people into non-Indigenous society in the 1850s and 1860s.¹⁰³ For instance, in 1850 Upper Canada passed the *Indian Protection Act* that “permitted no conveyance of Indian Land without Crown consent,” i.e. Indigenous people could not sell their land.¹⁰⁴ Additionally, with the creation of the Dominion of Canada, under the *British North American Act of 1867*, the relationship between the newly formed federal government and Indigenous communities drastically changed “Indians, and lands reserved for Indians” all fell under section 91.24 of this Act, which ultimately gave the federal government complete jurisdiction over Indian affairs.¹⁰⁵ One of the primary goals of the new government under Prime Minister John A. Macdonald was to enact the “National Policy” that entailed creating a country from “sea to sea.” Settlement of the west was central to Macdonald’s policy because immigrants would populate the west and extract resources, which would then be sent to meet the manufacturing needs of a rapidly industrializing central Canada.¹⁰⁶ As part of the National Policy, the federal government wanted to incorporate British Columbia into the Dominion by promising the construction of a transcontinental railroad through Rupert’s Land. When the Crown acquired Rupert’s Land, the sales agreement with the Crown Corporation of the Hudson's Bay Company emphasized that treaties were required with Indigenous groups because the Crown negotiated several treaties, known collectively as “The Numbered Treaties.”¹⁰⁷

The Crown’s Motivations for Negotiating Treaty 7

Strategies of epistemicide would become official government policy in 1876 with the passing of the *Indian Act*, which gave the government enormous power over the lives of Indigenous people

Affairs Canada—Canadian Era—1867-Present”, Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, last modified February 2, 2011, <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1314977281262/1314977321448> . 43.

¹⁰³ Integration at this point meant ideological and educational integration. Non-Indigenous people did not necessarily want to live side by side with Indigenous people, but they wanted them to adopt non-Indigenous ideals.

¹⁰⁴ Government of Canada, Treaties and Historical Research Centre, P.R.E. Group, Indian and Northern Affairs, *Historical Development of the Indian Act* (Ottawa: Government Printing Office, 1978), 25.

¹⁰⁵ Government of Canada, “Constitution Act, 1867, VI. Distribution of Legislative Powers,” Justice Laws Website, last modified March 24, 2015, <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/const/page-4.html#h-21> .

¹⁰⁶ See Robert Craig Brown, *Canada’s National Policy, 1883-1900: A Study in Canadian-American Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964).

¹⁰⁷ Sheila Robert, “Negotiation and Implementation of Treaty 7, Through 1880,” (MA thesis, University of Lethbridge, 2004), 25.

on reserves. The *Indian Act* consolidated all previous legislation that involved Indigenous people into one document and ultimately made First Nations wards of the state. The *Annual Report for the Year Ended 30th June 1876* states

that the aborigines are to be kept in a condition of tutelage and treated as wards or children of the State. ...the true interests of the aborigines and of the State alike require that every effort should be made to aid the Red man in lifting himself out of his condition of tutelage and dependence, and that is clearly our wisdom and our duty, through education and every other means, to prepare him for a higher civilization by encouraging him to assume the privileges and responsibilities of full citizenship.¹⁰⁸

Clearly, the Crown believed that bringing Western-style education to Indigenous communities was vital since it would prepare Indigenous groups “for a higher civilization.”¹⁰⁹

The Canadian government understood that they would have to negotiate a treaty before any land transfers could take place or any schools built. Indigenous nations were aware of this condition as well.¹¹⁰ A letter, dated 18 July 1876 by an unknown author of the Department of the Interior to an unknown recipient, records that the Blackfoot Confederacy petitioned the Honourable Governor Morris saying that the Blackfoot Confederacy would not cede their territory until they negotiated a treaty. But, according to this author, European settlers had, much to the consternation of the Blackfoot Confederacy, already built homes on their most prized land and hunting grounds and that the Crown needed to send an Indian Commissioner to the territory, “so

¹⁰⁸ Department of Indian Affairs [hereafter DIA], *Annual Report for the year ended 30th June 1876*, xiv.

¹⁰⁹ DIA, *Annual Report*, 1876, xiv. A treaty similar to Treaty 7 was negotiated with the Blackfoot people who resided south of the Canadian border east of the Rocky Mountains. The treaty was concluded in 1855. Article 1 expresses that “Peace, friendship and amity shall hereafter exist between the United States and the aforesaid nations and tribes of Indians, parties to this treaty, and the same shall be perpetual.” The treaty also speaks to education in Article 10, stating “The United States further agree to expend annually, for the benefit of the aforesaid tribes of the Blackfoot Nation, a sum not exceeding fifteen thousand dollars annually, for ten years, in establishing and instructing them in agricultural and mechanical pursuits, and in educating their children, and in any other respect promoting their civilization and Christianization: *Provided, however*, That to accomplish the objects of this article, the President may, at his discretion, apply any or all the annuities provided for in this treaty: *And provided, also*, That the President may, at his discretion, determine in what proportions the said annuities shall be divided among the several tribes.” It can be inferred that the Blackfoot nations north of the border expected (though may have not fully understand the articles within the treaty) a similar treaty with the Crown. See: “Treaty with the Blackfeet, 1855” *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II, Treaties*, compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904) Produced by the [Oklahoma State University Library](http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol2/treaties/bla0736.htm), <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol2/treaties/bla0736.htm>

¹¹⁰ Jean Friesen argued that Indigenous agency must be understood. Indigenous people were (and are) not ignorant or helpless. The Canadian government learned this during Treaty 1 negotiations. The Cree, in the case of Treaty 1, prevented construction because a treaty had not been negotiated with them. Jean Friesen, “Magnificent Gifts: the Treaties of Canada with the Indians of the Northwest 1869-1876,” in *The Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties*, edited by Richard Price (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1999), 204-205.

that [the Blackfoot] may hold council with him with a view to putting a stop to the invasion of their country till a treaty be made with the government.”¹¹¹ The author remarked: “it is a matter of importance that the Blackfeet and other Indians on the Boundary should be treated with as early as possible so as to secure their friendship.”¹¹² Almost a year later in June 1877, the Minister of the Interior explained that the Crown sent David Laird, the Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories, a year in advance to notify the “Blackfeet and other Indians occupying the [*unceded*] territory,” and that more commissioners would be sent in the fall of 1877 to negotiate a treaty with them.¹¹³ The Crown was quick to act, knowing that it would be advantageous for them to soothe Indigenous people’s frustrations to secure a treaty that the Crown would benefit from.

Indigenous Nations’ Motivations

Indigenous signatories of Treaty 7 had a previous history of treaty agreements. These treaties were essentially peace and friendship treaties and were negotiated primarily with other Indigenous groups.¹¹⁴ Early treaties were based on access to territory and hunting grounds prior to European contact. For example, the Blackfoot would negotiate peace treaties with the nearby Cree whose traditional territory bordered the northern edge of Blackfoot territory.¹¹⁵ If one community occupied land whereby bison was sparse, Indigenous communities would make treaties with communities in areas where there was a larger bison population. Indigenous people negotiated similar early treaties with European fur traders. Negotiators typically confirmed these treaties by using hand gestures.¹¹⁶ In all cases, either group could negate the treaty if it was not beneficial for

¹¹¹ Member of the Department of the Interior to unknown recipient, 28 July 1876, LAC, RG 10, vol. 8595, file 1/1-11-4.

¹¹² Member of the Department of the Interior to unknown recipient, 28 July 1876.

¹¹³ David Laird to a member of the Department of the Interior, June 28, 1877, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3650, File 8347.

¹¹⁴ Hugh Dempsey, “Blackfoot Peace Treaties,” *Alberta History* (Autumn 2006): 22-26.

¹¹⁵ Dempsey, “Blackfoot Peace Treaties,” 22.

¹¹⁶ It must be noted that the term “treaty” is a colonial term. Using this term frames negotiations and agreement processes as colonial processes. Significant cultural and spiritual meanings of Indigenous negotiations and agreements could be linked to responses during the “treaty” process. The term “treaty” could detract from this. This is not the author’s intention. The term “treaty” is being used to mean an agreement between two groups, and the reader must be aware that these agreements can, and may, include significant spiritual and cultural meaning to either side. Due to the limitations of this thesis the author was not able to conduct interviews with Treaty 7 communities; therefore, significance cannot be confirmed (nor denied). It is possible, however, that significance and meaning may be privileged and information could only be disseminated to a specific audience. Michael Asch, *On Being Here to Stay: Treaties and Aboriginal Rights In Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 92-93.

its interests.¹¹⁷ The most important aspect of these early treaties was that they were verbal agreements, never written contracts, as the Canadian Government would seek in Treaty 7.¹¹⁸

In past Blackfoot peace and friendship treaties, a peacemaker would make every effort to contact the other Indigenous community, either with a small group of their community members or alone. These efforts were dangerous because the peacemaker would wait until dawn until the enemy spotted them. The peacemaker would likely bring peace offerings such as calumet and tobacco. The peacemaker would go back to his community and begin further negotiations to meet after initial contact with the enemy group.¹¹⁹ It was understood that the peace and friendship treaties, in most cases, would last a brief period and would solve an immediate problem. Similarly, the early treaties with fur traders mimicked the peace and friendship treaties because parties verbally agreed upon them, and did not provide any other guarantees.¹²⁰ Past experiences and history between Indigenous communities and settlers would provide the basis for the way the Blackfoot viewed Treaty 7 negotiations. Therefore, verbal negotiations were of utmost importance. However, Indigenous understandings of the treaty differed from what they were accustomed to regarding the treaty process.

The territory of the treaty would cover approximately 35,000 square miles in area, and the Indigenous groups that signed Treaty 7 would become collectively known as the Treaty 7 Nations, which included the Tsuut'ina, the Stoney Nakoda (Iyethkabi), and the Blackfoot Confederacy (Niisitapi): Siksika, Piikani, Kainai.¹²¹ These nations welcomed a treaty in 1877 because it provided protection and resources for Indigenous people. Smallpox had ravaged Indigenous communities and resources such as the bison population were quickly declining due to overhunting and the increasing number of European settlers. The Department of the Interior annual report for 1876 addresses settler encroachment, the whiskey trade, the decrease of the bison, and the depopulation of the Blackfoot. The report reads:

It would appear that the Blackfeet, who some twelve or fifteen years ago numbered upwards of ten thousand souls and were then remarkable as a warlike and haughty nation, have within the last decade of years been greatly demoralized and reduced by more than one-half their number—partly in consequence of the poisoned fire-water introduced into the territory by

¹¹⁷ Dempsey, "Blackfoot Peace Treaties," 22-23.

¹¹⁸ Dempsey, "Blackfoot Peace Treaties," 26.

¹¹⁹ A calumet is a ceremonial pipe. Hugh Dempsey, *The Great Blackfoot Treaties* (Toronto: Heritage House Publishing, 2015), 17.

¹²⁰ Dempsey, *The Great Blackfoot Treaties*, 19.

¹²¹ Consecutive Number 163, Western Treaty No. 7, 1877, LAC, RG 10, vol.1848.

American traders, partly by the murderous acts of lawless men from the American territory, and partly by the terrible scourge of the Red man, smallpox, which in 1870 caused great havoc among the Indians in this region.¹²²

Likewise, a letter written in 1876 to the Governor of the North-West Territories by Reverend C. Scollen noted the precarious state of the Blackfoot people. Scollen described the devastation of the Blackfoot people as a result of smallpox and the whiskey trade, and how Indigenous people “used to be a proud... people... [but] since that time their number has decreased to less than one half and their respective organizations have fallen into decay.”¹²³

Indigenous people living in the territory that became Treaty 7 had several incentives to enter into a treaty. These included humanitarian aid and protection by the government from whiskey traders,¹²⁴ and specific promises of money and rations.¹²⁵ Oral histories from Indigenous treaty members confirm that entering into a treaty was necessary. Louise Big Plume, in sharing Tsuut’ina oral history with the authors of *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, explained “the treaty was essential for... survival.”¹²⁶ Fred Gladstone from the Kainai band commented that “they were promised many things to improve their way of life, since their original livelihood was taken away from them.”¹²⁷ Indigenous people recognized that the way they used to live was not practical anymore due to the near extinction of the bison and the influx of settlers. Learning more aspects of the non-Indigenous way of life interested them.¹²⁸ Accordingly, Indigenous advocates of the treaty believed that not only would the promise of provisions and health be essential to them for survival, so too was the promise of Western education.

Support for the treaty among Indigenous people varied. Many Indigenous people viewed the treaty as beneficial. Elder Hilda Yellow Wings stated that Crowfoot, “foresaw what was going to happen to his people. He saw the river was running with blood and he took this as a warning to his

¹²² DIA, Annual Report, 1876, xiv.

¹²³ Father Constantine Scollen to the Lieut. Gov. of the North West Territories, n.d., received by the Dept. of the Interior on 2 Nov. 1876, LAC, RG 10, vol. 8595, file 1/1-11-4.

¹²⁴ Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council with Hildebrandt, Carter, and First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 123.

¹²⁵ Price, *Spirit of the Alberta Indian*, 137.

¹²⁶ Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, Hildebrandt, Carter, and First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 81.

¹²⁷ Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, Hildebrandt, Carter, and First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 120.

¹²⁸ Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, Hildebrandt, Carter, and First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*,) 120.

people.”¹²⁹ Crowfoot took his vision as a sign of what could be if he did not sign the treaty. He rode his horse and advised his people of this vision. Contrarily, Hugh Crow Eagle recounts that many Indigenous people stated that they had visions that warned them of the negative impact the treaty would have on their communities. Nonetheless, due to their dire circumstances, many Indigenous people believed the treaty would be beneficial for them and that it would last forever—“as long as the sun is shining, rivers flow, and the mountains are seen.”¹³⁰

At the Blackfoot Crossing of Bow River

Treaty 7 concluded on September 22, 1877.¹³¹ Negotiations took place at Blackfoot Crossing on the Bow River, about 100 km east of present-day Calgary. This territory is the location of the present-day Siksika nation. Indigenous nations requested the signing ceremony to be at the Hand Hills, north of Blackfoot Crossing. However, Crown officials wanted to meet at Fort Macleod instead because the fort was located in the center of the territory that the treaty would cover. Crowfoot objected to this location and requested that negotiations take place at Blackfoot Crossing because he did not want to meet in a white-man’s fort.¹³² Crowfoot’s decision prevailed.

The written document of Treaty 7 ultimately outlined what land the Indigenous nations had seceded and what land would be set-aside as reserves for Indigenous people. The text of Treaty 7 reads that the Blackfoot Confederacy, the Tsuut’ina, and the Stoney Nakoda nations would “cede, release, surrender, and yield up to the Government of Canada for Her Majesty the Queen and her successors for ever [sic], all their rights titles, and privileges whatsoever” to their lands.¹³³ The treaty also delineated provisions and payments that would be given to these nations and included promises regarding matters such as hunting and trapping rights, and education. In return, they would receive the following:

¹²⁹ Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, Hildebrandt, Carter, and First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*.

¹³⁰ Price, *Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties*, 132.

¹³¹ It should be noted here that while the Tsuut’ina nation could be considered an ally of the Blackfoot peoples, the Nakoda were not and were viewed as an enemy of the Blackfoot. See Maureen K. Lux, *Medicine that Walks: Disease, Medicine and Canadian Plains Native People, 1880-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 29.

¹³² Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, Hildebrandt, Carter, and First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 69-70.

¹³³ Government of Canada, "Copy of Treaty and Supplementary Treaty No. 7 between Her Majesty the Queen and the Blackfeet and Other Indian Tribes, at the Blackfoot Crossing of Bow River and Fort Macleod, 1877," Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, last modified August 30, 2013. <http://www.aainc-inac.gc.ca/al/hts/tgu/pubs/t7/trty7-eng.asp> . See also Alexander Morris, *The Treaties of Canada, with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories* (Toronto: Willing & Williamson, 1880).

- For the first year, a bonus payment would be made of twelve dollars for every man, woman, and child, while thereafter and in perpetuity payments would be five dollars annually, with the minor chiefs or councillors receiving fifteen dollars, and chiefs twenty-five dollars;
- Reserves would be provided on the basis of five persons per square mile; Indians would have the right to hunt on unoccupied land, subject to the Queen's regulations;
- Two thousand dollars a year would be provided for the purchase of ammunition and, when not required for this purpose the government could, with Indian consent, spend it in some other way for the benefit of the bands;
- **Salaries would be paid for teachers to instruct the children;** [emphasis added by author]
- At the signing, each chief and councillor would receive a suit of clothing and a Winchester rifle, while chiefs also would get a medal and flag. Thereafter chiefs and councillors would get a suit of clothing every three years;
- Each chief and councillor would get ten axes, five handsaws, five augers, one grindstone, and the necessary files and whetstones.
- When the Indians were settled, the government would provide two cows for every family of five persons or less, three cows for families with five to nine persons, and four cows to families of ten and over, as well as one bull for each chief and councillor. If a family wished to farm besides raising cattle, it would reduce its cattle allotment by one cow and receive instead two hoes, one spade, one scythe, and two hay forks. Three such families could collectively receive also a plough and harrow, with enough potatoes, barley, oats and wheat to plant the broken land.¹³⁴

The specifics of the treaty required negotiation, and to that end, the Dominion of Canada and the British Crown sent representatives to meet with the Indigenous groups living in the area. Acting on behalf of the Crown were the Honourable David Laird, Lieutenant-Governor and Indian Superintendent of the North-West Territories (who had negotiated Treaty 4), and James Macleod, the Commissioner of the North-West Mounted Police. Macleod was a wise choice because the Blackfoot felt the North-West Mounted Police were there to protect Indigenous people. Indeed, Medicine Calf remarked: “before the arrival of the Police, when I laid my head down at night, every sound frightened me; my sleep was broken; now I can sleep sound and I am not afraid.”¹³⁵ Likewise, Crowfoot had gone to Rev. John McDougall in 1875, two years prior to treaty

¹³⁴ Dempsey, “Treaty Research Report.”

¹³⁵ Dempsey, “Treaty Research Report.”

negotiations, to express his thanks to the North-West Mounted Police and to ask when a treaty would be negotiated. The conversation, as McDougall reports, helped to reassure Crowfoot that the Crown would care for his people:

He [Crowfoot] was full of questions regarding the future. I took the time to explain to him the history of Canada's dealing with its Indian People thus far and assured him that I expect in due time, treaties would be made and a settled condition created in this country where justice would be given to all concerned. The chief expressed himself as delighted with what I had told him and said that he was much pleased with the change that the coming of the Mounted Police had brought in all the west.¹³⁶

Indigenous groups agreed to take part in treaty because they recognized that a treaty would help mitigate the effects of settler encroachment on their territory. Indigenous communities understood that an agreement to share land was unavoidable. But the treaty was not like past Blackfoot treaties; At the insistence of the government, they would need to be interpreted, written down, and “signed”¹³⁷ by both parties. Interpreters would translate the negotiations. Jerry Potts was one of two interpreters who served Laird and Macleod during the negotiations of the treaty at Blackfoot Crossing.¹³⁸ The consensus among Indigenous Elders was that Potts had a poor understanding of the Blackfoot language, let alone the Stoney Nakoda, and Tsuut'ina languages.¹³⁹ Frank Oliver, who had attended Treaty 7's negotiations, offered a first-hand account of Pott's inability to translate and interpret treaty negotiations. In a MacLean's article published in 1931, Oliver wrote that Potts “stood with his mouth open. He had not understood the words as spoken, and if he had he would have been utterly unable to convey the ideas they expressed in appropriate Blackfoot language. Jerry was a half-breed Blackfeet and knew that language intimately. But he

¹³⁶ Dempsey, “Treaty Research Report.”

¹³⁷ Given that Indigenous leaders present did not know how to read (and often speak) English, some scholars and Indigenous people argue that Indigenous signatories simply touched the pen rather than signing, thus, the word “signed” is placed in quotation marks. See Richard T. Price, *The Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties*, (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2014) and Amanda Nettelbeck, “We Should Take Each Other by the Hand: Conciliation and Diplomacy in Colonial Australia and North West Canada,” in *Conciliation on Colonial Frontiers: Conflict, Performance, and Commemoration in Australia and the Pacific Rim*, edited by Kate Darian-Smith, Penelope Edmonds (London: Routledge, 2015).

¹³⁸ Potts was of Métis ancestry and spent his youth in the forts and trading posts in Whoop-Up country (modern day Lethbridge).¹³⁸ As a teenager he went back to his Kainai roots and lived with his mother and the Kainai tribe. After his father's death, Potts was put in the custody of a trader, who mistreated Potts, and subsequently Andrew Dawson adopted him. Potts then moved back and forth between his mother and adoptive father. Dawson also taught Potts to read and write English. See Rodger D. Touchie, *Bear Child: The Life and Times of Jerry Potts* (Victoria: Heritage House Publishing Co., 2011).

¹³⁹ Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, Hildebrandt, Carter, and First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 60.

was shy on English, and had not even a remote idea of the form used by Mr. Laird.”¹⁴⁰ Oliver’s account of the negotiation confirms that what was negotiated by the Crown was not fully understood by Indigenous leaders.

Oral histories corroborate that the treaty negotiations were improperly translated. Indigenous consensus is that the treaty was not about land transfer, but occupancy, because Indigenous groups residing in this territory did not recognize ownership of land. Tsuut’ina Elder Lucy Big Plume explained that she understood the treaty as “a promise made by the White man to keep the Indian from interfering or to keep the White man interfering into their lifestyle.”¹⁴¹ However, she asserted that problems arose in part because “the government explained to the tribes but we were not sure whether the interpreter interpreted the right words to the people... the government promised us medical and education. The Indian didn’t record the treaty but it was brought down from one generation to another.”¹⁴² Wallace Mountain Horse also expressed concerns about the differences between the written and verbal negotiations. Claiming that the Crown forced the treaty on the Kainai, Wallace Mountain Horse asserted: “the Canadian government... wrote the treaty or documented everything in the treaty. We had no say in anything.”¹⁴³ Tsuut’ina Elder Hilda Big Crow has explained that Indigenous people assumed that Treaty 7 was “a contract of peace with the government; Treaty 7 was a peace treaty.”¹⁴⁴ Yet, the Crown saw the treaties as long-term business deals, a written contract between two parties whereby property was exchanged for goods and services. This interpretation explains much of the contestation of the meaning of the promises made by the government to Indigenous communities because the Crown used the treaty to obtain land, while the Indigenous groups believed the treaty was a peace treaty to share the land.

Although Crowfoot had advocated to his people that a treaty with settlers would be beneficial before commissioners asked him to sign the treaty, he also had his reservations. Crowfoot needed assurance that the Crown would care for his people. In a plea to Commissioners to not deceive him before he signed the treaty, Crowfoot stated “Great Father! Take pity on me with regard to my country, with regard to the mountains, the hills and the valleys; with regard to the prairies, the

¹⁴⁰ Frank Oliver, “The Blackfeet Indian Treaties,” *MacLean’s Magazine* (March 15, 1931).

¹⁴¹ Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council with Walter Hildebrandt, Sarah Carter, and Dorothy First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997), 81.

¹⁴² Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, Hildebrandt, Carter, and First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 81.

¹⁴³ Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, Hildebrandt, Carter, and First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 69.

¹⁴⁴ Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, Hildebrandt, Carter, and First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 81.

forests and the waters; with regard to all the animals that inhabit them, and do not take them from myself and my children for ever.”¹⁴⁵ Afterwards, the commissioners wrote Crowfoot’s name on the treaty; but it was indecipherable to him and the other Indigenous leaders present because they could not read English. Commissioners, then, asked Crowfoot to simply touch the pen to indicate his approval of the treaty, since he—as well as the other Indigenous signatories—could not provide an adequate signature. However, even though commissioners wrote an “X” on the treaty for Crowfoot, he confided in a friend that he had refrained from touching the pen intentionally because he was suspicious of the Commissioners and felt as though he may have been deceived.

Elders, as well as highly regarded members of the Treaty 7 communities, asserted through their oral histories that the true spirit of Treaty 7 was not evident in the written document. In the second half of the 1980s, a group called Treaty Aboriginal Rights Research Program (TARR) conducted interviews with several members of the Treaty 7 communities (among others). TARR did so to assist in understanding an Indigenous perspective of the treaties. In these interviews, the members stressed that Indigenous communities negotiated the treaty to establish peace to protect them from other Indigenous groups and to safeguard them from the liquor trade. In their view, Treaty 7 allowed the communities to hunt anywhere in the territory without having to worry about interference from other Indigenous groups.¹⁴⁶ Therefore, according to oral history, the government was to uphold a relationship whereby they would protect Treaty 7 nations and provide them with rations as long as the Treaty 7 communities kept their promise to keep peace with warring communities.¹⁴⁷ Camoose Bottle of the Kainai band recalled that they were told, “the Queen will hold you. You will be her children and she will take care of you. Whatever you ask for will be given to you.”¹⁴⁸ Similarly, according to Tom Twoyoungmen “schooling was promised for children, and this gave hope to the Stoneys, who were concerned about future generations.”¹⁴⁹ The promise of education by the Crown was ambiguous from the start. And subsequently, the education that the Crown would implement would be used to intentionally and systematically to eradicate Indigenous knowledge and pedagogies—an act of epistemicide.

The treaty negotiations no doubt led to the expectation that the children of Indigenous people

¹⁴⁵ Morris, *The Treaties of Canada, with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories*, 259.

¹⁴⁶ Price, *Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties*, 105.

¹⁴⁷ Price, *Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties*, 106.

¹⁴⁸ Price, *Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties*, 132.

¹⁴⁹ Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, Hildebrandt, Carter, and First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 122.

would be educated on reserve. Alexander Morris, for example in *The Treaties of Canada, with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories*, indicated that Laird had promised some form of education. According to Morris, during the negotiation Laird stated that: "...teachers will be sent to you to instruct your children to read books like this one [referring to the Bible]."¹⁵⁰ According to oral histories, the Indigenous nations present understood this statement to mean that they would receive an education to teach them English literacy skills and perhaps Christian values. Morris' book focused solely on the treaty process between the Crown and Indigenous people in what is now Canada; it does not indicate whether Indigenous communities could expect settlers to force them to reject their cultural practices. It can be inferred that the government sought to undermine Indigenous culture, knowledge, and pedagogies through Treaty 7—as was the intention of government policies outside of Treaty 7 territory. Katherine Pettipas stated that Department officials believed that culture, social, worldviews, etc. were deeply connected to each other. Pettipas argued that "the official vision of Canada was that of a culturally and politically homogenous nation."¹⁵¹ Therefore, it is not surprising that ambiguity surrounded written treaty promises, specifically the promise of education.

This thesis project primarily addresses the education provision that was promised in Treaty 7: "Her Majesty agrees to pay the salary of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as to Her Government of Canada may seem advisable, when said Indians are settled on their Reserves and shall desire teachers."¹⁵² However, the type of education and its implementation remained unclear from the outset. Indigenous Elders believed that reading and writing English, along with preparation for new non-Indigenous professions, would be the basis of this education—complementing their own education system. In contrast, the government saw the role of non-Indigenous teachers and Western-style education to assimilate and "civilize" the Indigenous communities. Integral to this process was the underlying necessity to create and enforce epistemicidal policies to eradicate Indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing.

¹⁵⁰ Alexander Morris, *The Treaties of Canada, with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories* (Toronto: Willing & Williamson, 1880), 269.

¹⁵¹ Katherine Pettipas, *Severing the Ties That Bind: Government Repression of Indigenous Religious Ceremonies on the Prairies* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1994), 3.

¹⁵² Government of Canada, Copy of Treaty and Supplementary Treaty No. 7 between Her Majesty the Queen and the Blackfeet and Other Indian Tribes.

Chapter 2— “They burned out the sun”¹⁵³: Education Promises (1877 - 1960)

In 1920, Duncan Campbell Scott, head of the Department of Indian Affairs in Canada, was adamant that the government’s plan to eradicate indigeneity was the correct course:

I want to get rid of the Indian problem. I do not think as a matter of fact, that the country ought to continuously protect a class of people who are not able to stand alone... Our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian question, and no Indian Department.¹⁵⁴

Scott viewed residential schools, not as a way to educate Indigenous people, but rather a method to “get rid of” what he and other government bureaucrats perceived as a “problem,” as inexpensively and expeditiously as possible.¹⁵⁵ The promise of education in Treaty 7 was implemented; however, the government and churches packaged education within epistemicidal policies, which included forced conversion. This strategy to “educate” was not new. For decades, the Crown and subsequent Canadian government, in partnership with various churches, trumpeted the supposed strengths and utility of a school system for Indigenous people. What is surprising perhaps is that Indigenous people in Canada also sought schools.¹⁵⁶ For example, Indigenous people played a large role in funding and establishing two schools in pre-Confederation Ontario with the help of Methodist missionaries: Alnwick School in Alderville and Mount Elgin School in Munceytown. These Indigenous communities established the schools because they thought the schools would teach

¹⁵³ First Rider (Bill Heavy Runner), interview by Mike Devine and Paul Russell, interpreted by Allan J. Wolfleg, transcribed by J. Greenwood, Tape: IH-233A, 4.

¹⁵⁴ Duncan Campbell Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian affairs, testimony before the Special Committee of the House of Commons examining the Indian Act amendments of 1920, Library and Archives Canada [hereafter LAC], Record Group 10 [hereafter RG 10], vol. 6810, file 470-2-3, volume 7, pp. 55 (L-3) and 63 (N-3).

¹⁵⁵ Noel Dyck, *What Is the Indian 'Problem': Tutelage and Resistance in Canadian Indian Administration* (St. John’s: Institute of Social & Economic Research, 1992), 77.

¹⁵⁶ There is very little literature on this with the exceptions of the following: See Verna J. Kirkness, Sheena Selkirk Bowman, and the Canadian Education Association, *First Nations and Schools: Triumphs and Struggles* (Toronto: Canadian Education Association, 1992); Brittany Luby, “The Department is Going Back on These Promises’: An Examination of Anishinaabe and Crown Understandings of Treaty, *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 30, no. 2 (2010): 203-228; Brittany Luby and Kathryn Labelle, “The new generation’: Cooperative Education at the Day School on Dalles 38C Indian Reserve, 1890-1910,” *The Ontario Historical Society* (Spring 2015); and Richard Price, *Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1999).

their children to navigate settler society.¹⁵⁷ Similarly in Ontario, Chief Katiwasung built a school in 1873 so that the Crown would send a teacher, and therefore, the children of Dalles First Nation could receive Western-style education. It was the Chief's belief that this school would lead to what historians Brittany Luby and Kathryn Labelle term "cooperative" education.¹⁵⁸ Many Indigenous people believed their children would learn English and other elements of colonial society while continuing to practice their traditions and culture. At the urging of both the Crown and the Indigenous nations who negotiated Treaty 7, the government agreed to pay the salaries of teachers. As this chapter will illustrate, rather than becoming beacons of multi-ethnic education and prosperity, the hiring of teachers became part of a system that marginalized and attempted to eradicate Indigenous teachings.

The epistemicidal policies implemented in Treaty 7 territory occurred through five main strategies between the years 1877-1960: first, the government followed the recommendations of Nicholas Davin's report commissioned by Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald, which stated that the government build schools similar to Industrial schools in the United States for Indigenous people in Canada; second, the Crown created day, industrial, and boarding schools in conjunction with Christian churches; third, the government fulfilled their Treaty promise and hired teachers; fourth, the Crown established a residential school system; and finally, the integration of residential school students into public schools. This chapter will discuss the first 4 strategies. Ultimately, this overview of the first years of Treaty 7 education illustrates that the Crown consistently created strategies that erased Indigenous teachings and pedagogical practices. Moreover, under-funding and hiring under-qualified teachers were key factors in eradicating Indigenous knowledge. In the end, it was as respected Horn and Crazy Dog Society member First Rider (Bill Heavy Runner) observed, "they burned out the sun, they emptied the rivers because the promises they made have all changed."¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 1, Origins to 1939* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 2016), 73.

¹⁵⁸ Cooperative education in this article refers to the students at Dalles 38C Indian Reserve's day school not being coerced into Western-style schooling. Instead, education was a cooperation between the Diocese of Keewatin and the reserve. The author's state that education was approached with flexibility and an inclusion of different pedagogies. Brittany Luby and Kathryn Labelle, "'The new generation': Cooperative Education at the Day School on Dalles 38C Indian Reserve, 1890-1910," *The Ontario Historical Society* (Spring 2015).

¹⁵⁹ First Rider (Bill Heavy Runner), interview by Mike Devine and Paul Russell, interpreted by Allan J. Wolfleg, transcribed by J. Greenwood, Tape: IH-233A, 4.

FIRST STRATEGY: The Davin Report and the Road to Residential Schools (1877-1879)

Certainly, nineteenth-century Indigenous people saw Western education as an asset, but they were most likely unaware that schools would force them to give up Indigenous knowledge.¹⁶⁰ Settlers, meanwhile, from the beginning, planned to use education to eradicate Indigenous cultures. The treaty negotiations no doubt led to the expectation that the children of Indigenous people would be educated on reserve. For example, Alexander Morris indicated in *The Treaties of Canada, with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories* that Laird had promised some form of education. According to Morris, during the negotiation Laird stated that: "...teachers will be sent to you to instruct your children to read books like this one [referring to the Bible]."¹⁶¹ According to oral histories, the Indigenous nations present understood this statement to mean that they would receive an education to teach them English literacy skills and perhaps Christian values. Morris' book focused solely on the treaty process between the Crown and Indigenous people in Canada; therefore, it does not indicate whether Indigenous communities could expect settlers to force them to reject their cultural practices. It can be inferred that the government sought to undermine Indigenous culture, knowledge, and pedagogies through Treaty 7—as was the intention of government policies outside of Treaty 7 territory. Katherine Pettipas stated that Department officials believed that culture, social, worldviews, etc. were deeply connected to each other. Pettipas argued that "the official vision of Canada was that of a culturally and politically homogenous nation."¹⁶² Therefore, it is not surprising that ambiguity surrounded written treaty promises.

By 1877 there were already several day schools established, as well as manual labour schools in central Canada that provided Indigenous people with education that focused on farming and trades. The first to open was the Mohawk Institute in Ontario in the 1830s, which focused on manual training in mechanics, tailoring, carpentry, and farming for boys, and domestic arts for girls.¹⁶³ Other industrial schools such as Shingwauk Home in Sault Ste. Marie, the Wikwemikong School on Manitoulin Island, and the Mount Elgin Institute in Muncey opened shortly after. While churches largely instigated and funded these schools in their early years, the federal government

¹⁶⁰ Price, *Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties*, 142.

¹⁶¹ Alexander Morris, *The Treaties of Canada, with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories* (Toronto: Willing & Williamson, 1880), 269.

¹⁶² Katherine Pettipas, *Severing the Ties That Bind: Government Repression of Indigenous Religious Ceremonies on the Prairies* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1994), 3.

¹⁶³ Jennifer Pettit, "To Christianize and Civilize: Native Industrial Schools in Canada," (PhD diss., University of Calgary, 1997).

saw the value of partnering with the churches to extend a similar education system to western Canada.

Day schools also were established on reserves in Treaty 7 territory similar to those in central Canada. The government, however, viewed these schools as undesirable, and that the epistemicide of Indigenous people would be more effective if the students engaged themselves totally in settler education. Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior between 1896 and 1914, believed day schools were the least effective of all school types because “the Indian children are not removed from the surroundings which tend to keep them in a state of more or less degradation.”¹⁶⁴ Sifton heralded the boarding school model as being the most effective because it provided a moderate education to a larger number of children. To Sifton, the plan was “not to give a highly specialized education to half a dozen out of a large band of Indians, but if possible to distribute over the whole band a moderate amount of education and intelligence, so that the general status of the band would be raised.”¹⁶⁵ Likewise, Hector Langevin, a cabinet minister, stated: “The fact is that if you wish to educate the children you must separate them from their parents during the time they are being taught. If you leave them in the family they may know how to read and write, but they will remain savages, whereas by separating them in the way proposed, they acquire the habits and tastes...of civilized people.”¹⁶⁶ Boarding and industrial schools were the favoured model. The government established them based on the perception that Indigenous people were “unclean,” and that the schools would help “save” Indigenous children from the influences of their home life.¹⁶⁷

The Report on industrial schools for Indians and half-breeds –The Davin Report—certainly shaped Sifton and Langevin’s views on the potential of boarding and industrial schools. The Davin Report was written in 1879 by Nicholas Flood Davin. Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald commissioned a study of the functioning of industrial boarding schools in the United States, with the hope of implementing the same system in the western provinces to eradicate Indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing. The United States had implemented Industrial schools through a

¹⁶⁴ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1899, cols. 740-99, July 14, 1899 in Gregory P. Marchildon, *Immigration and Settlement, 1870-1939* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2009), 190-191.

¹⁶⁵ *Debates*, 1899, cols. 740-99, July 14, 1899 in Marchildon, *Immigration and Settlement*, 190-191.

¹⁶⁶ Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, *Debates*, 5th Parliament, 1st session, vol. 14 (1883), 22 May 1883: 1376.

¹⁶⁷ Mary-ellen Kelm, ““A Scandalous Procession”: Residential Schooling and the Re/formation of Aboriginal Bodies, 1900-1950,” *Native Studies Review* 11, no. 2 (1996): 51.

“policy known as that of “aggressive civilization.””¹⁶⁸ Davin recommended that the government build similar schools in Canada, as the influence of their culture “was stronger than the influence of the school.”¹⁶⁹ Davin explained that the experiences in the Dominion of Canada were similar to the experiences in the United States regarding the “Indian”—that “not much can be done with him.” Davin wrote that “he [the Indian] can be taught to do a little at farming, and at stock-raising, and to dress in a more civilized manner, but that is all,” and that “the child...who goes to day school learns little and what he learns is soon forgotten.”¹⁷⁰ Further into his report, Davin summarized a meeting he had with Colonel Pleasant Porter, a respected man of the Creek Nation in Washington on the ability of Indigenous people to understand colonial education. Mr. Porter was quoted as saying that “the children made good progress in the ordinary branches of an English education, but not in the higher branches of study. It was impossible to show the Indian the utility of advanced studies.”¹⁷¹ Davin concluded his report with thirteen suggestions regarding the implementation of Indian schools in Canada, beginning with the suggestion that the government utilize current schools where they existed, and sign contracts with religious bodies. He suggested paying teachers according to their qualifications, that the teachers’ morality was vitally important, and that inspection of the schools should happen regularly.¹⁷² The report evidences that the government marginalized the abilities of Indigenous people, as well as their knowledge systems. The report illustrates this as it focused on Western-style education through the establishment of Western-schools, and failed to mention the inclusion of Indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing. Davin’s report suggests that students be educated away from their families, thus being away from Indigenous knowledge systems and ways of knowing. He makes note that in day schools, where the students could go home, the students “learns little, and what little he learns is soon forgotten, while his tastes are fashioned at home, and his inherited aversion to toil is in no way combated.”¹⁷³ Davin based his proposal on education through eradication of Indigenous knowing and ways of knowing, and a process of re-socializing Indigenous people to function in non-Indigenous society. Schools in Canada would attempt to do this. Industrial and boarding

¹⁶⁸ Report on industrial schools for Indians and half-breeds – The Davin Report, March 14, 1879, 1843-1901, University of Alberta Libraries, https://archive.org/details/cihm_03651, 1. The original of this document can be found in LAC, RG 10, Volume 6001, File 1-1-1. See also David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1873-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995).

¹⁶⁹ The Davin Report, March 14, 1879. 1.

¹⁷⁰ The Davin Report, March 14, 1879. 2.

¹⁷¹ The Davin Report, March 14, 1879. 6.

¹⁷² The Davin Report, March 14, 1879. 19.

¹⁷³ The Davin Report, March 14, 1879. 2.

schools in the west (including the Treaty 7 territory) began as a joint venture between the Department of Indian Affairs and Christian churches. While the churches ran the schools and were responsible for building maintenance, the Department of Indian Affairs was typically in charge of building, furnishing, and paying for all major repairs to the schools.¹⁷⁴ The schools that the government would build, however, and how they managed them, would not be what Indigenous signatories of Treaty 7 envisioned.

Indigenous pedagogies for Indigenous communities in Treaty 7 relied and rely on experiential learning and oral tradition. Indigenous knowledge is centered on family and community. In this system, Treaty 7 Elders pass down knowledge and learning through “indirect and non-coercive means.”¹⁷⁵ Indigenous pedagogies focus on a holistic approach and do not need buildings or Western-style structuring for people to learn. Indigenous pedagogies teach communities’ cultural ways.¹⁷⁶ Much of this learning is done through rites of passage, ceremonies, and rituals, and the natural environment plays a large role in the ways of knowing for many Indigenous communities. Piikani member and academic Betty Bastien—assisted by Duane Mistaken, Chief of the Kainai—stated in *Blackfoot Ways of Knowing: Worldview of the Siksikaitapi* that many Indigenous communities acknowledge that there is no separation between humans and nature.¹⁷⁷ Bastien argued that “all knowledge and wisdom comes through the alliances with insects, animals, and plants. Sometimes...knowledge is revealed through the natural orders, such as animals and stars.”¹⁷⁸

Indigenous pedagogies, as revealed by community leaders, were and are essential in passing on community mores. According to Blackfoot Elders, Indigenous groups believe that Indigenous ways of knowing teach the “values and traditions of [their] people.”¹⁷⁹ Bastien wrote that learning Indigenous knowledge begins within the kin network or the source of light: *Ihtsipaitapiyo’p*. *Ihtsipaitapiyo’pa* is everything. It is present in all people, animals, nature, and space. These life forms work in unison and carry knowledge. Subsequently, kinship networks were and are the

¹⁷⁴ Kelm, ““A Scandalous Procession,”” 54.

¹⁷⁵ J. R. Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 18.

¹⁷⁶ Treaty 7 First Nations Education Systems, “Shared Voices and Visions: Treaty 7 First Nations Dialogue on Education,” *Native Education Policy Review, Alberta Learning* (April 2000), 7.

¹⁷⁷ Betty Bastien and Duane Mistaken Chief, *Blackfoot Ways of Knowing: Worldview of the Siksikaitapi*, edited by Jurgen W. Kremer (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004), 80.

¹⁷⁸ Bastien and Duane Mistaken Chief, *Blackfoot Ways of Knowing*, 81.

¹⁷⁹ Treaty 7 First Nations Education Systems, “Shared Voices and Visions.” 7.

givers of knowledge because families are a source of life during a child's formative years.¹⁸⁰

Bastien expanded, stating

Knowing is relational and dependent upon relationships that are learned in childhood. *Siksikaitsitapi* ways of knowing are dependent upon relationships, which create and generate knowledge. All life experiences are a source of knowledge. As an example, dreams are a primary source of knowledge for *Siksikaitsitapi*. Often dreams are prophetic, contain warnings, or reveal knowledge. Such dreams are passed on through the oral traditions among the people and are repeatedly found in stories and ceremonies.¹⁸¹

The Blackfoot, in addition to relationships with their families, Elders, and community, learn from nature and animals. They believe that they have a great moral and ethical responsibility to all forms of life. The Blackfoot see these as alliances and sacred relationships. This responsibility includes thanking the creator for things given to them and only taking what is needed. Otherwise, there will be negative repercussions.¹⁸² In knowing what it means to be a human being, and having ethical and moral responsibilities with all other forms of life, the Blackfoot are able to keep harmony with these alliances.

Sacred stories are important in understanding Treaty 7 communities' origins and cultural identity. Education scholar and Piikani member, Audrey Weasel Traveller, argued that sacred stories are a form of knowledge that is "essential in making sense of their existence."¹⁸³ She stated that sacred stories define a society, hold the geographic history of the society, contain the society's morals, and define family and community structures.¹⁸⁴ Sacred stories confirm cultural identity. These stories would not be taught in residential school. Instead, Weasel Traveller argued, Indigenous children were forced to reject their culture at Western-style schools. The result was youth resisted, adapted and/or acted out due to feelings of anxiety, isolation, and rejection.¹⁸⁵ The value of vision quests is also explored by Weasel Traveller. She described vision quests as allowing "the seeker opportunity to renew their relationship with creation and the creator...creating depth in ways to relate to the spiritual and physical world."¹⁸⁶ It is noted that language cannot appropriately honour these experiences. Child rearing is also referred to as a way

¹⁸⁰ Bastien and Duane Mistaken Chief, *Blackfoot Ways of Knowing*, 77.

¹⁸¹ Bastien and Duane Mistaken Chief, *Blackfoot Ways of Knowing*, 79.

¹⁸² Bastien and Duane Mistaken Chief, *Blackfoot Ways of Knowing*, 84.

¹⁸³ Weasel Traveller, *A Shining Trail to the Sun's Lodge*, 23.

¹⁸⁴ Weasel Traveller, *A Shining Trail to the Sun's Lodge*, 23.

¹⁸⁵ Weasel Traveller, *A Shining Trail to the Sun's Lodge*, 34.

¹⁸⁶ Weasel Traveller, *A Shining Trail to the Sun's Lodge*, 36.

of knowing as children learn through “modeling and encouragement.”¹⁸⁷ These ways of knowing serve as important experiential learning methods to confirm cultural identity and disseminate knowledge. Weasel Traveller added that “the vast amount of knowledge that is accessible through...ways of knowing necessarily requires a teacher and learner relationship for its transference.”¹⁸⁸ Without a Piikani teacher, ways of knowing would not be respected, nor would Indigenous knowledge be disseminated correctly or appropriately.

Due to the deep and complex nature of Treaty 7 communities’ education, it is likely Treaty 7 signatories believed that the Crown’s promise to help teach them English would not force them to reject all other forms of knowledge and culture. English would help students engage with settler society and help them to work in farming and ranching have a new economic livelihood.¹⁸⁹ However, the focus of the treaty was not education, nor did the idea of settler education to Treaty 7 communities imply that their knowledge and ways of knowing would be replaced by Western knowledge and pedagogies. Richard Price stated that Treaty 7 education was not “dealt with to the extent it [was] in the Treaty Six interviews. It is not clear what is meant by the term, though some interviews imply that education should help Indians speak English....many elders feel the treaty payment was reduced from twelve to five dollars to pay for education.”¹⁹⁰ Many Treaty 7 Indigenous people welcomed the proposed new school system as they assumed they would benefit from it. George Manuel, an Aboriginal leader and former chief of the National Indian Brotherhood, stated: “we want our children to learn science and technology...literature and social studies...learning and teaching [is] an integral part of living...not a five hour, five day a week exercise for a dozen or so years.”¹⁹¹ It is evident that there was a stark contrast between the education Indigenous people expected, and what they would eventually receive. Kainai Elder, Wallace Mountain Horse, stated “we found the White man’s way of life [was] good... We thought the White man’s way of life was O.K.... We wanted the good life they had.”¹⁹² Treaty 7 Indigenous people were most concerned about future generations and how they would fare in this new society. They wanted to ensure that their children would be taken care of and able to survive;

¹⁸⁷ Weasel Traveller, *A Shining Trail to the Sun’s Lodge*, 80.

¹⁸⁸ Weasel Traveller, *A Shining Trail to the Sun’s Lodge*, 75.

¹⁸⁹ Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, Hildebrandt, Carter, and First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 79, 81, 123, 211, 271.

¹⁹⁰ Price, *Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties*, 106.

¹⁹¹ George Manuel, *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality* (Toronto: Collier-MacMillan, 1974).

¹⁹² Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, Hildebrandt, Carter, and First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 120.

thus, schooling and welfare were of the utmost value.¹⁹³

SECOND STRATEGY: A School System Begins (1879-1923)

Schools and reserves were not immediately established after the signing of Treaty 7. Instead, the government sent Edgar Dewdney, a former Member of Parliament and a newly-appointed Commissioner, and Colonel Macleod to the Treaty 7 territory. Their task was to inform the government on the conditions of the territory and Indigenous communities. Reports came back to the government that spoke to the demise of the bison food supply, and Indigenous communities' need for government assistance. Dewdney observed that "reports as to the scarcity of the buffalo had not been exaggerated, and numbers of Indians...and Blackfeet were awaiting the arrival of Col. MacLeod and myself." Macleod told Treaty 7 communities they encountered that "the Government expected they would work and earn their own living, and that I was sent up to show them how to live."¹⁹⁴ At Blackfoot Crossing he found "Indians in a very destitute condition, and many on the verge of starvation."¹⁹⁵ The Blackfoot Nation stated in an address that they welcomed change and wanted farming, schools, etc. to begin immediately:

The beneficial measures you have proposed to us in the name of the Government we all accept, and guided by your advice and care we hope to fulfil them to the satisfaction of the Government. Our ancestors were tillers of the soil, but our warlike and nomadic habits have unfitted us for their ancient calling and industry; however, we hope with patience and time that our children may get the benefit of honest labour, and enjoy the more secure means of existence than the precarious mode of living of a hunter of the wild.¹⁹⁶

In response, Dewdney provided various farming instruments and informal farming instruction, but overall, government officials seemed in no hurry to implement schools and were unsympathetic to the plight of the Treaty 7 nations.¹⁹⁷

Schools were initially established by various churches, which built and equipped the schools with teachers and supplies. Without government aid, Reverend George McKay built a school on

¹⁹³ Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, Hildebrandt, Carter, and First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 79, 81, 123, 211, 271.

¹⁹⁴ DIA, Annual Report, 1879, 78.

¹⁹⁵ DIA, Annual Report, 1879, 78.

¹⁹⁶ DIA, Annual Report, 1879, 79-80.

¹⁹⁷ Carter, *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queens Press, 1990).

the Piikani reserve where he taught eighty boys and girls a variety of subjects.¹⁹⁸ Similarly, the Church Missionary Society sent Samuel Trivett to build a schoolhouse for the Kainai, where he taught English, the alphabet, figures, and writing to a daily attendance average of thirty-five children.¹⁹⁹ Though the basis for church-run schools was Christian conversion, they still allowed for Indigenous people to continue their ways of knowing at home—complementing the non-Indigenous education system and subjects also provided. Mike Mountain Horse of the Kanai band attended one of these day schools. Mike Mountain Horse spoke to Christian conversion stating, “after we settled on reserve, these missionaries visited our Indian camps periodically to enrol pupils for the day schools opened by some of the churches.”²⁰⁰ The government was also pressed for the creation of schools for Indigenous children. An Indian Agent at Fort Macleod in 1880 urged the government to act, claiming that “as the Peigans, Bloods and Stoneys are so far settled, it would be advisable to establish schools on their reservations. No government assistance has been given as yet, in this direction.”²⁰¹ Government bureaucrats instead highlighted the problems they faced when trying to open schools—the desolate locations of reserves, difficulties securing teachers, indifferent parents, and a lack of clothing for the children.

The first mention of a boarding and industrial school system in the Treaty 7 area was in the 1870s. The first school to open would be in Morleyville (present-day Morley, an Indigenous reserve west of present-day Calgary). This school was opened when John and George McDougall opened a mission and school for the Stoney Nakoda. The Morleyville schoolhouse was converted to a boarding school in 1886. The annual reports of the Department of Indian Affairs for the 1880s reveal that schools continued to be open to the point that the Piikani, Siksika, Kainai, Tsuut’ina and Stoney Nakoda nations all had access to schools.²⁰² The Indian Agent at Fort Macleod in 1880 pointed out that the schools at Morleyville and on the Kainai reserve “have been conducted with marked success,” meaning a number of Indigenous students attended the school. By the 1880s, the government finally established several other schools for Treaty 7 children.

In 1883, the government decided that at least one government-sponsored school should be built in every treaty area; for the Treaty 7 territory, the first government school was established in

¹⁹⁸ DIA, Annual Report, 1880. 98.

¹⁹⁹ DIA, Annual Report, 1880, 98-99.

²⁰⁰ Mike Mountain Horse, *My People The Bloods* (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1979), 14-15.

²⁰¹ DIA, Annual Report, 1880, 98.

²⁰² DIA, Annual Report, 1882 xviii-xix.

High River under Roman Catholic management in 1884.²⁰³ During the early 1880s, the government began to fund McDougall Orphanage in Morleyville. The government considered these schools to be manual labour or industrial schools and the government preferred them over day schools as the students' manual labour helped in funding them.²⁰⁴

²⁰³ Brian Titley, "Dunbow Indian Industrial School: An Oblate Experiment in Education," *Western Oblate Studies* 2 (1992): 95-113.

²⁰⁴ Pettit, "To Christianize and Civilize: Native Industrial Schools in Canada," 2.

Table 1: Residential schools in Treaty 7 territory, 1884-1975

Name²⁰⁵	Location	Opened	Closed
High River Industrial (Dunbow/St. Joseph's)	High River	1884	1922
Immaculate Conception Residential School (a combination of Immaculate Conception Boarding School and Blood Indian Residential School)	Stand-Off	1884	1926
McDougall Orphanage and Residential School (Morley Indian Residential School)	Morley	1880	1949
Peigan Indian Residential School (Victoria Jubilee Home)	Brocket	1892	1965
Red Deer Industrial School	Red Deer	1893	1919
Sarcee Indian Residential School	Calgary	1894	1930
Old Sun's Boarding School (a combination of North Camp Residential, White Eagle's Boarding, and Short Robe Boarding Schools)	Gleichen	1894 – this school burned down in 1912 and was re-opened in 1929	1971
Calgary Industrial School	Calgary	1896	1907
St. Barnabas Indian Residential School	Sarcee	1899	1922
St. Cyprian's Indian Residential School	Brocket	1900	1962
St. Paul's Indian Residential School	Cardston	1900	1972
Crowfoot Indian Residential School	Cluny	1909	1968
Immaculate Conception Boarding School (a combination of Blood Indian Residential school and St. Mary's Mission Boarding School)	Stand-off	1911	1975

Residential school attendance in Treaty 7 territory is addressed in several government annual reports. The 1889 Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs reports that the High River Industrial School was well attended by Indigenous students, especially the Blackfoot; twenty-one out of forty-nine children in residence at the school were Blackfoot.²⁰⁶ The report also noted that education was of high importance to many of “the Indians of the North West... and this has been

²⁰⁵ This table was created from the information from Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, “List of Recognized Institutions,” Government of Canada, 2013, <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100015606/1100100015611> ; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, “Residential School Locations,” TRC Canada, <http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/index.php?p=12> ; as well as the annual reports of the Department of Indian Affairs.

²⁰⁶ DIA, Annual Report, 1889, xxviii.

followed by their children being voluntarily sent to day schools, or entered at the boarding or industrial institutions.”²⁰⁷ However, the report stated that there was often a fluctuation in attendance, due to parents admitting children to the school and then removing them after a short time.

One reason for the parental discontent was that Davin’s suggestion of a boarding/industrial school model proved not to be an economic priority for the government. The 1890s saw a cut in grants for Indigenous schools, which were already inadequately funded, and thus the schools increasingly began to rely on child labour to raise funds.²⁰⁸ The students sold goods that they had cooked and baked, as well as the produce that they had cultivated. To make matters worse, schools inadequately outfitted students with the supplies required to complete their work. For instance, in 1905 James Back-Looking, principal of St. Mary’s school on the Kainai reserve, sent a letter on behalf of his male students to the Department of Indian Affairs that requested tools for gardening:

Dear Sir, Trusting in your kindness, that is well known to us by what our kind teacher tells us we take the liberty of asking you a favour today, convinced that in doing so will not be refused. Garden time is coming and we have neither hoes nor rakes for this purpose, if you could let us have a few, it would render us a great service, and we would work like little men with them. Hoping that our letter will please you, and that you find us cute enough to be worthy of this favour.²⁰⁹

Shortages of resources, such as food and educational materials for the students were also commonplace.²¹⁰

By 1910, the government addressed the conditions of many day, boarding, and industrial schools. Duncan Campbell Scott, Superintendent of Indian Education, reached an agreement with the churches to phase out the most inefficient industrial schools and focus on improved day and boarding schools.²¹¹ The government needed these schools for Indigenous people to become active contributors to settler society. Scott explained that the government should not shut down school systems entirely, because he believed that Indigenous people would become “a dangerous element

²⁰⁷ DIA, Annual Report, 1889, xxviii.

²⁰⁸ Linda Bull, “Indian Residential Schooling: The Native Perspective,” *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 18: Supplement (1991): 11.

²⁰⁹ The Boy Pupils of the Boarding School, Blood Reserve, written by James Back-Looking to R.N. Wilson, 25 March 1905, LAC, RG 10, volume 3695, file 14,942.

²¹⁰ See principals’ reports from the various schools throughout this era.

²¹¹ J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 267.

in society” if this were to happen, and said that it “was never the policy, nor the end aim of the endeavor to transform an Indian into a white man.” Instead, the goal was “to fit the Indian for civilized life in his own environment.”²¹² However, the goal would attempt epistemicide on Indigenous people because Indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing would need to be removed and replaced by settler pedagogies and knowledge.

Concerns over the quality of education continued even with the government phasing most “inefficient” schools out. Indigenous parents were concerned about their children, as students were unable to find work after graduation. In 1918 Alberta Indian Department inspector J. Markle wrote in an Old Sun’s School report that “many parents are not pleased with the lack of progress that the children are making.”²¹³ Likewise, in 1916, an inspector at Old Sun’s School commented that the students got “too little time at their studies.”²¹⁴ The department also noted that they needed to address a lack of employment after graduation and the quality of education that Indigenous students were receiving.²¹⁵ In 1903 a Kainai Indian agent stated that “any lad who has never left the reserve, is... far better off than a lad who has been in schools for years, and what is more is very much more self-reliant and able to make his living as easy again as any of these schools lads.”²¹⁶ Another inspection report of the Crowfoot School in 1923 by M. Christianson reported that “the boys on leaving school have had practically no experience along the lines of farming or stock raising and are placed upon a reserve where they are supposed to make their living from this source, without any experience.”²¹⁷ This theme would continue well into the mid-twentieth century; however, by 1923, when boarding and industrial schools merged to form the new category of “residential” school, the government constructed several residential schools on Treaty 7 lands.²¹⁸

²¹² DIA, Annual Report, 1910, 273.

²¹³ Benson to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 23 June 1903, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3919, file 116751-1A.

²¹⁴ Provincial Inspection Report, Old Sun’s School, by W. Frame, 1935, LAC, RG 10, vol. 8452, file 772/23-5-002, MR C 13801.

²¹⁵ DIA, Annual Report, 1909, xxxiv.

²¹⁶ Old Sun’s Inspection Report, by J. Markle, 1918, LAC, RG 10, vol. 8452, file 772/23-5-002, MR C 13801.

²¹⁷ Report on Crowfoot School, by M. Christianson, 16 April 1923, LAC, RG 10, vol. 6348, file 752-1, MR C 8705.

²¹⁸ Some schools began as day schools and were eventually merged or closed due to a lack of funding and other models being preferred more-so than day schools. One example is McDougall Orphanage that began as a day school in 1873. In 1883, the school became the Methodist Orphanage and Training school. In 1885, a new day school was opened, however, between 1890 and 1895 the day school closed as it merged with the Orphanage. In 1905, the Orphanage closed due to overwhelming debt. The Morley Industrial School closed in 1922 after another unsuccessful attempt to resurrect the Day School model in 1909. In 1926, the Industrial School became a residential school. See: DIA, Annual Report, 1887, 1887, 1888, 1894-96, 1901-1912, 1925-1931.

THIRD STRATEGY: Hiring Teachers

Teachers needed to be fluent not only in English but also several Indigenous languages. But most spoke English and occasionally French, while Indigenous students spoke neither. Many students began school never having heard English; however, teachers required the students to speak only English. The teachers would discipline the students harshly if they spoke their own language at school. Inspector J. Boyce noted this challenge and stated that teachers needed to be specialized to educate the students to address Indigenous students' education in residential school. He wrote:

with regard to the teacher of an Indian school it is quite evident that a special type is required. As I size up instruction for Indian Children, the problem is very much more difficult than the average school of foreign speaking children. Normal training, wide experience, broad human sympathy and missionary zeal are very desirable but in addition an investigative and experimental turn of mind is the most necessary qualification in order that special study and special tests be made of the problem of education of Indian Children.²¹⁹

The qualifications of teachers in schools for Indigenous people were minimal and did not parallel non-Indigenous schools.²²⁰ In a review of residential school programs conducted in 1968, R. F. Davey, the director of educational services, found that as late as the 1950s, over 40 percent of residential school teachers still did not have professional training. Furthermore, many of the teachers had not even graduated high school. Davey concluded that, because of the lack of education in residential schools, it was impossible for students to make progress.²²¹ In comparison, in 1913 scholar James Collins Miller's published data of rural, non-Indigenous schools that showed that the majority of teachers held certificates: 9.7 percent of teachers held first class certificates; 42 percent held second class certificates; 30% held third class certificates; And, 18 percent were "below third class," which included teachers teaching on permits.²²² James Collins Miller asserted that being "below third class" does not necessarily suggest that these teachers were ill-educated. Instead, some were university students; some only taught a few months a year while

²¹⁹ Old Sun's Inspection Report, by J. Boyce, 1923, LAC, RG 10, vol. 8452, file 772/23-5002, MR C 13801.

²²⁰ Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 135.

²²¹ INAC file 601/25-2, volume 2, R.F. Davey, Residential Schools Past and Future, 8 March 1968; INAC file 6-37-1, volume 2, Notes on Highlights of Indian Affairs Operations 1957 to Date, Memorandum for the Director, Education Division, 1952-1957.

²²² James Collins Miller, *Rural Schools in Canada: Their Organization, Administration and Supervision* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1913), 9.

others were unable to meet requirements of a certificate.²²³ Additionally, public schools required licenses for all teachers at the time the government organized public schools in Canada.²²⁴ In contrast, the teachers hired to teach at Indigenous schools not only lacked the qualifications to teach at non-Indigenous schools, but most did not know or understand Indigenous students' needs.

There was a vast difference between Western-focused teachers and Elders. Like the Blackfoot, the Stoney Nakoda looked, and continue to look, to nature, community, and Elders for knowledge. The Stoney Nakoda education website defines an Elder as “a male or female that has demonstrated, usually from an early age, a special aptitude for a certain cultural characteristic.”²²⁵ An Elder can be young, or old, as long as they have displayed the aptitude and willingness to learn and disseminate ancestral knowledge and ways of knowing. Elders disseminate knowledge, spiritual beliefs and practices, and provide guidance—making them essential for Indigenous communities. Like most Indigenous Elders in southern Alberta, they have led their lives listening and sharing their knowledge—when appropriate. Elders are concerned about both the “well-being of individuals and families.”²²⁶ Additionally, the role of an Elder is to maintain, disseminate, and protect the culture, traditions, spirituality, knowledge, and ways of knowing. Not only do Elders play an important role in disseminating Indigenous knowledge, but they are also “teachers of the young, counselors for adults, and advisors to the leaders.”²²⁷ Indigenous students rely on Elders to affirm their Indigenous identity.²²⁸ The role of Elders is to provide guidance, wisdom, and teach community members how their traditions can remain present in a modern world. While the government hired teachers to educate Indigenous students in residential schools on settler topics, the students lacked the learning they were accustomed to. The students left these schools not fully prepared for settler society. Consequently, teachers trained students for menial jobs, which led to a perpetuated inequality between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people.²²⁹ The results of the minimal qualifications of teachers created a discrepancy between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students' education. As a result, Indigenous students were generally not as skilled as settler children in Western-style labour and subject matters.

²²³ James Collins Miller, *Rural Schools in Canada*, 10.

²²⁴ R. D. Gidney and W. P. J. Millar, *How Schools Worked: Public Education in English Canada, 1900-1940* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), 126.

²²⁵ Stoney Education Authority, “Elders,” *Stoney Education Authority*, <http://www.stoneyeducation.ca/Elders.php>

²²⁶ Stoney Education Authority, “Elders.”

²²⁷ Stoney Education Authority, “Elders.”

²²⁸ Stoney Education Authority, “Elders.”

²²⁹ Sarah Carter, *Aboriginal people and colonizers to 1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 103.

These problems were not confined to Treaty 7 schools. For example, one Saskatchewan Cree boarding school graduate, Edward Ahenakew, mentioned this discrepancy in his manuscript written in 1923, which was published in 1973. In this fictional biography, Ahenakew created Keyam from the numerous stories of former residential school students. The biography discussed the impact of residential school education on former students. Ahenakew echoed the reality that the discrepancy in education had left Indigenous children unable to participate fully in settler society due to Indigenous students not being as skilled. Additionally, Indigenous students were not able to function fully in their communities due to the them not being able to practice their culture. Keyam noted that a former student “is in a totally false position. He does not fit into the Indian life, nor does he find that he can associate with the whites. He is forced to act a part. He is now one thing, now another, and that alone can brand him as an erratic and unreliable fellow.”²³⁰ The former student belongs to neither world, and “for most Indian children, I hold that boarding school are unnatural, that they are contrary to our whole way of life.”²³¹ Keyam added that sometimes residential schools had an even worse outcome, and “again and again I have seen children come home from boarding schools only to die, having lost during their time at school all the natural joys of association with their own families, victims of an educational policy, well-meant but not over-wise.”²³² A former Regina industrial school principal expressed the same sentiments in 1923. He commented that parents complained that the students “are not kept regularly in the class-room; that they are kept out at work that produces revenue for the School that when they return to Reserves they have not enough education to enable them to transact ordinary business—scarcely enough to enable them to write a legible letter.”²³³

The physical, emotional, spiritual, and sexual abuse of Indigenous children in residential schools is well documented. Historian J. R. Miller argued that residential schools were “the vehicle of the newcomers’ attempts to refashion and culturally eliminate the first inhabitants’ way of life and identity.”²³⁴ Not only did the lower qualifications of teachers contribute to this, but so did poor treatment at the schools. This was a significant cause of parental and student discontent, as was the ban on Indigenous languages and ceremonies and religion. Residential school students’ stories are

²³⁰ Edward Ahenakew and Ruth Matheson Buck, *Voice of the Plains Cree* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 1973), 91.

²³¹ Ahenakew and Matheson Buck, *Voice of the Plains Cree*, 91.

²³² Ahenakew and Matheson Buck, *Voice of the Plains Cree*, 90.

²³³ As quoted in Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada’s Residential Schools: The Legacy: The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s Press, 2016), 319.

²³⁴ Miller, *Shingwauk’s vision*, 10.

consistent with this latter historiography. For example, Andrew Bull Calf recalled that at the residential school in Cardston, Alberta, “I got strapped a lot of time because I didn’t know English, you know, and the only language we spoke was Blackfoot in our community and so I got strapped a lot for that.”²³⁵ Historian Mary-Ellen Kelm explained that “the struggle between the schools’ commitment to cultural imperialism and Indigenous peoples’ ability to mediate the forces of that imperialism [was] inscribed on the bodies of the children who experienced residential schooling.”²³⁶ In other words, the impact of colonialism endangered Indigenous people. Not only did they experience dispossession of land and resources, and the introduction of disease and alcohol, but the physical and emotional abuse at residential schools as well. This trauma rendered many Indigenous students unable to confront or even recognize forces of imperialism, putting them at a disadvantage as students became adults and engaged with settler society. These schools would make Indigenous people ill-prepared for the non-Indigenous world, and their communities.

It is important to remember that the concept of literacy was new to Indigenous students in these early years. Previously, these treaty nations used oral tradition, petroglyphs, and pictographs to disseminate knowledge—Indigenous ways of knowing. In 1923 inspector J. Boyce’s report on the Old Sun School reminded officials that the Department needed to be “mindful of the fact that Indian children have no literacy background... and as a consequence it would not be fair to the Indian children to expect the same degree of attainment in classroom work.”²³⁷

Like residential schools, funding was also an issue for settler public schools. Many schools lacked the basic amenities that urban schools had, such as lights, indoor toilets, maps, libraries, and drinking fountains.²³⁸ However, public schools were under the jurisdiction of the province, and the local and provincial governments shared the funding.²³⁹ The provincial government also assisted in the operation of the schools and subsidized teachers’ salaries. Instead of each school controlling the maintenance, buildings, teacher qualifications, and curriculum, these aspects were under the control of each school district.²⁴⁰ Additionally, unlike Indigenous students attending residential schools, settler students attending public school were allowed to go home after school. Not

²³⁵ TRC, AVS, Andrew Bull Calf, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Lethbridge, Alberta, 10 October 2013, Statement Number: 2011-0273. 49.

²³⁶ Kelm, ““A Scandalous Procession,” 51.

²³⁷ Old Sun’s Inspection Report, by J. Boyce, 1923.

²³⁸ J. Boyce, MacLean’s Magazine, 15 April, 1951, 8-9, 61.

²³⁹ R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, *How Schools Worked: Public Education in English Canada, 1900-1940* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2012), 5, 3.

²⁴⁰ Gidney and Millar, *How Schools Worked*, 4.

surprising though, is that while non-Indigenous students of “average intelligence” received schooling such as reading, writing, and arithmetic...students considered to be “sub-normal” were placed in classes such as: art, household arts, manual training, music, and physical training.²⁴¹ Moreover, household arts and manual training were the classes that the government forced Indigenous students to take to fund residential schools, Therefore, it is implied that the government perceived Indigenous students as being on the same level as “sub-normal” settler children. This unofficial, yet overt, marginalization of Indigenous students’ capabilities combined with mounting costs of implementing this dysfunctional education system led to significant changes in the 1920s.

FOURTH STRATEGY: Residential Schools

Given the outcry over costs in the 1920s, the financial needs of the schools took priority over the education of the children. About half of the industrial and boarding schools on Treaty 7 lands had closed by the 1920s.²⁴² In this new model of schooling, the government merged industrial and boarding schools and reclassified them as “residential” schools. Attendance would become mandatory.²⁴³ Teachers taught fewer trades than had been the case in industrial schools, and the government would enact cost-saving measures at the boarding schools. Child labour was ultimately allowed and encouraged by the Department to subsidize funding, resulting in overworked and under-taught students. In a letter to another official, Department of Indian Affairs official W. Graham complained that the financing of St. Mary’s and St. Paul’s schools was dependent upon on the students’ labour. In response, R. Ferrier cautioned Graham about criticizing how residential schools were ran. He observed that there “has been difficulty in having some schools give adequate training in farming, [he] therefore hesitates to criticize a school management in this regard without giving very careful consideration to the matter.”²⁴⁴ But, this was “expected when only a portion of the day [wa]s devoted to classroom activities.”²⁴⁵

Lack of attention to study is also echoed by Mike Mountain Horse, who attended St. Paul’s Residential School at the turn of the century. Mountain Horse remembered the only experience he had with writing English was to get to the point where he was able to write a note in English to

²⁴¹ Alberta Department of Education, Public Archives of Alberta, 1922, 70.

²⁴² See chart on page 48.

²⁴³ Pettit, “To Christianize and Civilize: Native Industrial Schools in Canada,” 335.

²⁴⁴ R. Ferrier to W. Graham, 14 June 1930, LAC, RG 10, vol. 8452, file 773/23-5003, MR C 14234.

²⁴⁵ Inspection Reports, Crowfoot and Old Sun’s School, 1940, LAC, RG 10, vol. 8451, file 772/23-5-001, MR C 13801.

obtain a present from the principal.²⁴⁶ In his autobiography, *My People, The Bloods*, Mountain Horse wrote that students “passed [their] time in drawing pictures on [their] slates, anything that suited [their] fancy to portray.”²⁴⁷ When students were taught, teachers placed emphasis on the instruction of language, domestic science, manual training, and agriculture instead of on academic subjects.²⁴⁸

Yet, instead of recognizing the shortcomings in the school system, the Department of Indian Affairs continued to pass the blame for the failure of Indigenous people to become succeed onto Indigenous people. The government blamed reserve life, refusing to recognize the internal problems inherent in the school system itself, such as the lack of education standards.²⁴⁹ Instead, each school relied on their own rules and curriculum. Not surprisingly, the quality of education in the Treaty 7 schools continued to be weak throughout the 1930s and 1940s. Pauline Dempsey (nee Gladstone), who attended St. Paul’s Indian Residential School for eight years until 1942, recalled going to class in the mornings and having to spend the afternoons doing chores around the school.²⁵⁰ Often, the focus of schools affected the ability of Indigenous people to participate in settler society after graduation. Likewise, Piikani Elder Tom Yellowhorn recalled that children, after attending school for twelve, thirteen, or fourteen years “were not qualified to work for White people.”²⁵¹ John Yellowhorn mentioned the same issues saying that not only was he forced to forget Indigenous ways, but also that “he was not taught.”²⁵² Victoria McHugh recalled hearing her “teachers saying that we cannot educate those Indians because they would take our jobs away.”²⁵³ In his 1934 inspection of the Old Sun School inspector W. Frame recommended that the schools be “adapted to the needs and capacities of the pupils,” illustrating the attempted epistemicide on Indigenous people.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁶ Mike Mountain Horse, *My People The Bloods* (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1979), 17.

²⁴⁷ Mountain Horse, *My People The Bloods*, 5.

²⁴⁸ DIA, Annual Report, 1931, 13.

²⁴⁹ John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986* (Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), 164.

²⁵⁰ Pauline Dempsey, “My Life in an Indian Residential School,” *Alberta History* (Spring 2011): 23.

²⁵¹ Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, Hildebrandt, Carter, and First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 160.

²⁵² Price, *Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties*, 142.

²⁵³ Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, Hildebrandt, Carter, and First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 161.

²⁵⁴ Inspection Report, Old Sun’s School, by W. Frame, 1934, LAC, RG 10, vol. 8452, file 772/23-5-002, MR C 13801.

One of the “legacies” of the residential schools was that students found themselves between two worlds, not fitting into non-Indigenous society and not able to make a smooth transition to life on reserves. Tim Yellowhorn of the Piikani Nation stressed that students “lost the way of their people... they’d lost everything and were not qualified to work for the White society.”²⁵⁵ John Yellowhorn tells a similar story stating that “the individual was brought away from the reserve, just to take away anything that was left of his Indian ways. He was not taught – he did not know the White man’s way of life either.”²⁵⁶ Indigenous people in Treaty 7 were ill-prepared not only for the non-Indigenous world, but their communities as well because of residential schools. Many lost their language and had to re-learn their culture that the residential schools had tried to eradicate.

The lack of funding continued to plague the remaining residential schools. Correspondence during the late 1930s and early 1940s between school officials in southern Alberta and the Department of Indian Affairs bemoaned the lack of sufficient resources and weak teachers, whose main goal continued to be proselytizing instead of teaching. To address these problems, the first step was to make changes to the curriculum in the remaining residential schools. Government officials advised that the schools begin to follow the provincial non-Indigenous school curriculum, without allowing students also to practice their ways of knowing. A series of letters in 1939 and 1940 between G. Fred McNally, the Superintendent of Education in the Department of Indian Affairs, and R. A. Hoey, Superintendent of Welfare and Training, debated this change.²⁵⁷ One letter, dated 1940, discusses reports sent by Superintendent Thomas F. Hamilton of Cardston regarding the unexplained supplementary material. Hamilton, as quoted in McNally’s letter, protested “against the supplementary reading books supplied to... schools.”²⁵⁸ In reply, Hoey explained to McNally that they had been trying to follow the provincial curriculum in residential schools, but it was difficult because the provincial government repeatedly revised the curriculum. Hoey also noted that it would be more beneficial for Indigenous students to receive manual training even though he knew that this would “likely handicap the Indian pupil who is proceeding in the direction of a high school course.”²⁵⁹

²⁵⁵ Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, Hildebrandt, Carter, and First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 160.

²⁵⁶ Price, *Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties*, 142.

²⁵⁷ Personal Correspondence, G. Fred McNally to R. A. Hoey, April 5, 1939, LAC, RG 10, vol. 6015, file 1-1-6-Alta.

²⁵⁸ Personal Correspondence, G. Fred McNally to R. A. Hoey, May 23, 1940, LAC, RG 10, vol. 6015, file 1-1-6-Alta.

²⁵⁹ Personal Correspondence, May 23, 1940.

Residential schools in Treaty 7 territory did not meet Indigenous people's original vision of cooperative education for Indigenous students in the mid-twentieth century. Since the government relied on the churches to deliver education to Indigenous children, one main goal was Christian conversion. Moreover, the government underfunded the residential schools, and as a result, they relied on "free" student labour to run the school. Not surprisingly students do not receive an adequate education. Piikani member Tim Yellowhorn commented on the residential school system, emphasizing that students had "lost the way of their people... they'd lost everything and were not qualified to work for the White society."²⁶⁰The great majority of children returned to their communities unprepared for Indigenous and non-Indigenous life.²⁶¹

In 1877 when Treaty 7 was negotiated, many Indigenous leaders were cautiously optimistic that their children and future generations would have the same opportunities as non-Indigenous leaders. Under Treaty 7, the government agreed to pay the salaries of teachers. This clause was broadly interpreted by both parties to provide an educational system. Between 1877 to the 1960s, the provision of education for Indigenous children evolved through 5 strategies. First, the government placed Indigenous students in Western-style schools that ignore their culture and traditions; second, the teachers hired for Indigenous people had minimal qualifications, and the emphasis was on vocational training; third, the Crown established a residential school system that was so underfunded it had to rely on the labour of Indigenous students to function, and very little learning took place. The effect of these policies was that Indigenous children were ill-prepared for Indigenous and non-Indigenous lives. However, the last strategy of epistemicide would take form in the process of integration. As First Rider (Bill Heavy Runner) observed, "they [the government] burned out the sun, they emptied the rivers because the promises they made have all changed."²⁶²

²⁶⁰ Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, Hildebrandt, Carter, and First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 160.

²⁶¹ Milloy, *A National Crime*, 158.

²⁶² First Rider (Bill Heavy Runner), interview by Mike Devine and Paul Russell, interpreted by Allan J. Wolfleg, transcribed by J. Greenwood, Tape: IH-233A, 4.

Chapter 3— “They’d Lost Everything and Were Not Qualified”²⁶³: Integration as the 5th strategy, 1960-2015

The last strategy of integration—abolishing the residential school system and placing Indigenous students in public schools—was not a quick process; it took almost four decades to be implemented fully.²⁶⁴ One problem was the organization of the department and the carelessness put into the transition of Indigenous students into public schools. Historian Brian Titley explained “the Indian department was organized in a haphazard and unsystematic way, reflecting its relative unimportance.”²⁶⁵ Taking the lack of organization into consideration, it may explain why Indigenous students continued to experience low-quality education steeped in non-Indigenous pedagogical practices and culture during this post-residential school era. As a result, Indigenous students remained at a disadvantage in comparison to settler students within Treaty 7 territory. Although minimal in the beginning, the number of Indigenous students who attended non-Indigenous provincial schools continued to increase. In 1947 scholars estimate that only 137 Indigenous children across Canada were attending non-Indigenous schools. By 1961 the number had increased to 10,822 (about twenty-five percent of the total Indigenous school population). By 1963 forty percent of the Indigenous school population attended integrated schools.²⁶⁶ The last residential school to close in Treaty 7 territory was Immaculate Conception Boarding School in 1975.

Indigenous education has been discussed by many scholars. For example, Albert Howard and Frances Widdowson have looked at the results of integration of Indigenous students in public schools and argued that there is a clear deficiency of Indigenous student performance in public

²⁶³ Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, Hildebrandt, Carter, and First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 160.

²⁶⁴ Milloy, *A National Crime*, 189-190.

²⁶⁵ Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 3.

²⁶⁶ Milloy, *A National Crime*, 201.

schools and that a “cultural development gap” attributes to this.²⁶⁷ Widdowson and Howard suggest that Indigenous cultures are inferior, and therefore, result in lower-performance rates. Howard argued that Western-style “high-quality publicly funded educational services” can address Indigenous performance rates.²⁶⁸ Contrary to Widdowson and Howard’s position, several scholars in the field of Indigenous history in Canada claim that education at Western-style institutions is the cause of low performance rates for Indigenous students.²⁶⁹ Mi’kmaq education scholar Marie Battiste, for instance, argued that the government should not force Indigenous people to integrate into Western-style education systems, but rather Indigenous knowledge and pedagogies need to be integrated for Indigenous students’ performance rates to increase. Furthermore, Battiste argued Western-style institutions are a form of racism and need to be rejected.²⁷⁰ Battiste used personal experience in addition to textual sources to support the notion that Western-style education has a negative impact on Indigenous knowledge. Western-style institutions reinforce assimilation and concepts of cultural superiority, attempts of epistemicide, resulting in the negative performance of Indigenous students.

The evidence for this chapter and the case study of Treaty 7 communities support Battiste’s argument. The following analysis examines the process of integration from 1960 to 2015, taking into consideration both government and Indigenous programs and initiatives. Ultimately, the examples highlight that while this period was characterized by a continuation of policies geared towards the epistemicide of Indigenous people, Treaty 7 communities resisted the eradication of their knowledge and pedagogies and adopted new ways to disseminate Indigenous culture and traditions.

FIFTH STRATEGY: Integration

The failure to create an equitable and functioning system of education for Indigenous students caused a growing disparity of academic achievement between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. After the Second World War, there was sufficient opposition to the government’s management of Indian Affairs that in 1946 a special joint committee of the House of

²⁶⁷ Frances Widdowson and Albert Howard, *Approaches to Aboriginal Education in Canada: Searching for Solutions* (Toronto: Brush Education, 2013), 117.

²⁶⁸ Widdowson and Howard, *Approaches to Aboriginal Education in Canada*, 117.

²⁶⁹ See John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986* (Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press, 1999) and J. R. Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

²⁷⁰ Marie Battiste, *Decolonizing Education: Nourishing the Learning Spirit*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013).

Commons and the Senate was created, with the intention of amending the *Indian Act*. Most of the recommendations were ignored, except for those regarding the education of Indigenous people. Integration was put forward as the solution to these problems, and the department and parliament agreed with the committee's recommendation "that wherever and whenever possible Indian children should be educated in association with other children."²⁷¹ The government favoured integration for a number of reasons including socialization of children from different cultural backgrounds. This is evident in the recommendation by Diamond Jenness, a historian who worked closely with the department, that the government should "change the present Indian educational system by abolishing separate Indian schools and placing Indian children in the regular provincial schools, subject to all provincial school regulations."²⁷² As an added benefit, the government thought that integration would help economize, as funding would also be streamlined into one education system.

While some saw integration and the wind-down of the residential school system as the best way to proceed, the churches in particular were averse to this idea because many churches believed that the Indigenous children had mental handicaps that would negatively affect their non-residential school experience, and because non-Indigenous schools would prepare Indigenous students for jobs off reserves in settler society, thus taking away reserves' most intelligent members. Treaty 7 nations also expressed concerns over integration because they felt Indigenous students were not welcome in non-Indigenous schools.²⁷³ Integration placed Indigenous students into non-Indigenous schools to educate them to become, what the government thought of as, active contributors to society. However, intentional or not, integration used epistemicidal strategies as integration sought to eradicate Indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing by replacing it with colonial knowledge.

The federal government sought to remove itself from the funding and management of separate schools for Indigenous people in the 1960s and 1970s. This shift in policy happened even though not all government and church officials believed that integration was the answer, and many clung to the idea that Indigenous students required a separate school system. In 1975, the Department of Indian Affairs sent out numerous programme circulars concerning Indigenous self-governance and self-determination. The federal government not only wanted to relinquish

²⁷¹ Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 390.

²⁷² Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 382.

²⁷³ Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 391-92.

responsibility, but they also sought to incorporate Indigenous authorities and reduce funding to bands.²⁷⁴ However, Indigenous people in Treaty 7 found a way to self-govern their education and administer their own schools without the threat of federal withdrawal. The government's plan to shift responsibility in Treaty 7 territory was due in part to circumstances of another residential school: Blue Quills in Treaty 6 territory.

Events regarding the management of Blue Quills would be paramount to Indigenous people's control of their education, not only in Alberta but throughout Canada. In her study of Blue Quills, Diane Persson argued that between 1931 and 1945 the operation of the school was based on a mutually beneficial relationship between the government and the Catholic church. However, between 1945 and 1960 the relationship between the church and state would slowly separate due to different views about educating Indigenous students; the Church argued that Catholic Indigenous students should attend schools with solely Indigenous children whereas the state believed that Indigenous students should be integrated with non-Indigenous students.²⁷⁵ A sit-in was staged by members of the surrounding Indigenous community and non-Indigenous allies. The sit-in lasted approximately two weeks and resulted in the government ceding to Indigenous wishes to self-govern their education. Blue Quills would become the first Indigenous-administered school in Canada in 1970, setting a precedent for the operation of all other residential schools on reserves.²⁷⁶ Treaty 7 schools followed suit, either becoming self-managed or replaced entirely.

Disputes surrounding the Canadian Indian policy came to a head in 1969 with the *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy*, better known as the *White Paper*. The *White Paper* reviewed the role of government-funded Indigenous departments and the handling of Indigenous people in Canada. The paper discussed "some of the activities of the Department of Indian Affairs... together with government policy directives on local government and post-secondary education for Indians."²⁷⁷ Ultimately, the *White Paper* recommended several far-reaching changes such as: the elimination of Indian status; the repeal of the *Indian Act*; the closure of the Department of Indian Affairs; and the immediate integration of Indigenous people into non-Indigenous society.

²⁷⁴ Marie Smallface Marule, "The Canadian Government's Termination Policy: From 1969 to the Present Day," in *One Century Later*, edited by Ian L. Getty and Donald B. Smith (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1978), 109.

²⁷⁵ Diane Persson, "The Changing Experience of Indian Residential Schooling: Blue Quills, 1931-1970," in *Indian Education in Canada, Volume 1: The Legacy*, edited by Jean Barman and Don McGaskill (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1986), 150.

²⁷⁶ Persson, "The Changing Experience of Indian Residential Schooling," 150.

²⁷⁷ Smallface Marule, "The Canadian Government's Termination Policy," 103.

To that end, a confidential Department memorandum explained that the Department would “relinquish the responsibility of actively providing educational services to Indians.”²⁷⁸ Accepting the *White Paper* would also eliminate any promises made in Treaty 7.

Many Indigenous people condemned the government’s suggestions in the *White Paper*. Canadian-born Cree political leader Harold Cardinal published a reply to the *White Paper—The Unjust Society*—in 1969. Cardinal argued that Indigenous people “want better education, a better chance for [their] children and the option to choose [their] own pathway in life.”²⁷⁹ However, Cardinal stated that though Indigenous people were willing to contribute and participate in Canadian society, they were also fully aware of the threat of losing their culture and identities as distinct members of Canadian society. Furthermore, Indigenous people wanted to control their future and that was not possible unless they are afforded the opportunity to control their education.²⁸⁰ Cardinal concluded by stating the government cannot be trusted with Indigenous people’s future anymore and that the government needs to listen and learn from Indigenous communities.²⁸¹ After Cardinal’s reply, supported by a backlash from Indigenous communities, the *White Paper* was abandoned.

In 1972, the Chiefs of the National Indian Brotherhood²⁸² adopted a policy called *Indian Control of Indian Education*. The document focused on local control and family responsibility for Indigenous education and was shown to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Jean Chrétien. The National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) demanded that their children attend an educational system that was based on Indigenous values. They wanted an “education to provide the setting in which our children can develop the fundamental attitudes and values which have an honoured place in Indian tradition and culture.”²⁸³ The NIB also included policies that were addressed specifically adult education. Many Indigenous communities recognized that they needed help with academic upgrading to qualify for well-paying jobs. The adult education section of the policy stipulated that “other adult education programs which should be provided as the need demands, might include: business management, consumer education, leadership training,

²⁷⁸ Milloy, *A National Crime*, 202.

²⁷⁹ Harold Cardinal, *The Unjust Society* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre and University of Washington Press, 1969), 13.

²⁸⁰ Cardinal, *The Unjust Society*, 12.

²⁸¹ Cardinal, *The Unjust Society*, 15.

²⁸² The National Indian Brotherhood changed to the Assembly of First Nations in the 1980s. The organization focuses on the protection and advancement of treaty rights in Canada.

²⁸³ *Indian Control of Indian Education*, (Ottawa: National Indian Brotherhood, 1972), 2.

administration, human relations, family education, health budgeting, cooking, sewing, crafts, Indian art and culture, etc.”²⁸⁴ These courses suggest that Indigenous people did not have the foundational skills to perform common tasks.

Treaty 7 communities also wanted to address the gap in Indigenous education. In 1968, the Mount Royal Junior College’s *Reflector* published an article “Indians Go Ahead,” described Project Go Ahead, an initiative sponsored by Mount Royal Junior College and the Federal Indian Affairs Department. The article stated that Mount Royal Junior College created the project in response to requests from many Indigenous people on reserves around Calgary who realized that they needed to “fill gaps between elementary and high school.”²⁸⁵ When they began to apply for jobs, they found that they were eligible only labour jobs because they did not have the requisite educational achievements. Interestingly, the Mount Royal project was “designed to help the Indian fit into the white society without losing his identity.”²⁸⁶ This was the first Indigenous people’s outreach program by Mount Royal Junior College. Indian Affairs provided residences, while Mount Royal provided the lesson plans of what would be taught. Only fifteen Indigenous people attended the program, and it was not renewed.

It seems the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development agreed with the policy presented by the National Indian Brotherhood. In 1973, the Department stated:

Since December of last year, the Department has been studying and analysing the policy changes necessary to bring the Department’s education programme into line with the National Indian Brotherhood submission. This analysis is now complete and the Minister, in his opening statement to the committee stated, ‘I have given the National Indian Brotherhood my assurance that I and my Department are fully committed to realizing the educational goals for the Indian people which are set forth in the Brotherhood’s proposal.’²⁸⁷

While the statement of policy change seemed promising, there were jurisdictional and legal challenges as regional governments ran the schools. The Department would not be able to apply policy changes without the approval of the regional governments. Additionally, although the

²⁸⁴ *Indian Control of Indian Education*, 13.

²⁸⁵ *The Reflector*, Friday, October 4, 1968, The Reflector, Mount Royal College Archives, N2 (Box 3) – (1965-1970 June) A-205-45, The Reflector 1968-1969, Calgary, Alberta.

²⁸⁶ *The Reflector*, Friday, October 4, 1968, The Reflector, Mount Royal College Archives, N2 (Box 3) – (1965-1970 June) A-205-45, The Reflector 1968-1969, Calgary, Alberta.

²⁸⁷ *The Indian News*, vol. 16, No. 3 (Ottawa: Government of Canada, July 1973).

Department of Indian Affairs had been quick to agree with the NIB's policy, the government defined control as only a degree of participation.²⁸⁸

Government Programs and Initiatives

The rapid decline in Indigenous languages in Treaty 7 was also problematic. In the 1980s, Alberta Education began to implement Indigenous language development and cultural awareness programs that the provincial government approved for use in all Indigenous schools in Alberta, be they public or band funded.²⁸⁹ Alberta Education was responsible for funding these educational programs created specifically for Cree, Piikani, Kainai, Siksika, Tsuut'ina and Métis people.²⁹⁰ Alberta Education rolled out the program over the course of nearly a decade—1985 to 1994. Programs included courses such as “Blood Lands: A Century Later,” “Legacy: Indian Treaty Relationships,” “Pow Wow Fever,” and “Siksika Language Series.”²⁹¹ However, in 2003 only 24 percent of Indigenous people admitted to being able to carry on a conversation in an Indigenous language.²⁹²

A report by Alberta Education titled *Native education in Alberta: Alberta native people's views on native education, 1985*, stated that changes needed to be made to Alberta provincial schools with Indigenous students. The report noted, however, that non-provincial schools can use these recommendations as learning resources if required. Alberta Education stated that it believed each student was entitled to an education that met their needs and abilities, and conveyed that it intended “to enhance the opportunity for Native students to fulfill their personal aspirations and to make positive contributions to society.”²⁹³ The program was not mandatory; rather it offered suggestions to provincial schools. Additionally, the recommendations would not affect the overall

²⁸⁸ Jean Barman, Yvonne Hebert, and Don McCaskill, *Indian Education in Canada: Volume 2 - The Challenge* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987), 25.

²⁸⁹ Alberta Education is the provincial governing body of curriculum taught in Alberta schools. All public schools must follow the curriculum approved by Alberta Education. It can be inferred that programs such as these were implemented based on requests by Indigenous groups (such as the Nation Indian Brotherhood and Indigenous people who advocated for Project Go Ahead) who requested Indigenous revitalization and for the government to focus on increasing Indigenous student's performance to fill education gaps.

²⁹⁰ Alberta Education, “1987 Native Education Policy Results,” last modified 2015, <http://education.alberta.ca/teachers/fnmi/policies/fnmipolicy/policyresults.aspx>.

²⁹¹ Alberta Education, “1987 Native Education Policy Results,”

²⁹² Alberta Chamber of Resources. “Aboriginal Population in Alberta.” 2003,” 3.

²⁹³ Alberta Education, *Native education in Alberta: Alberta native people's views on native education, 1987* <https://archive.org/details/nativeeducationi00albe> 1.

learning style or approach of Alberta Education's provincial schools; instead, recommendations would be limited to Alberta Education's Social Studies curriculum.²⁹⁴

The provincial government conducted interviews with Indigenous communities and studies of school programs all over Alberta. The report concluded that education should provide the "knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary to survive in today's society" and that "schools should reflect the contribution made to Canadian society by Native cultures and should provide opportunities for Native students to develop positive self-esteem and take pride in their Native heritage."²⁹⁵ Even though there is the suggestion for public schools to develop spaces whereby Indigenous students could connect with their Indigenous identity, this document suggests the continuation of western-style knowledge in public school through the goal of educating Indigenous children to become what the government deems as active contributors to settler society. This report only provides suggestions to Alberta Education of what Indigenous families want for their children, and does not mandate implementation by Alberta public schools. This report also has undertones of epistemicidal policies on Indigenous communities because Alberta Education states that even though they recognize the significance of Indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing to Indigenous communities, that Indigenous worldviews are not necessarily supported by public schools. This is highlighted most clearly in the admission that:

it is recognized that schools which are Band-operated offer education within a philosophy advocated by the community. Some federal and provincial schools do not necessarily reflect the community philosophy.... This report is not intended to give direction to the education in Band-operated or federal schools. It is anticipated, however, that some Band education committees will seek to implement the recommendations contained in this report.²⁹⁶

Alberta Education not only stated that they are aware of Indigenous pedagogies, their recommendations were vague and still based on settler perspectives even though Indigenous people had commented that they wanted their children to function in non-Indigenous society while still retaining their Indigenous identity, and promote positive relationships between non-Indigenous students, Indigenous students, and teachers.

Two years later Alberta Education published *Native Education in Alberta's Schools Policy Statement on Native Education in Alberta*. This policy statement encouraged integrated programs and curriculum all over Alberta. Alberta Education argued that it would provide equal

²⁹⁴ Alberta Education, *Native education in Alberta*, 3.

²⁹⁵ Alberta Education, *Native education in Alberta*, 9.

²⁹⁶ Alberta Education, *Native education in Alberta*, 9.

opportunities for Indigenous students. Integration would help them to become productive members of society and challenge Indigenous students. Alberta Education would also continue to work with, and assist, school boards and Indigenous people to develop course material and encourage schools to use these learning resources.²⁹⁷ Further, with these policies in place, Indigenous parents would be able “to help shape the education of their children, and help young people reach their potential.”²⁹⁸ It is not clear if any of the recommendations from 1985 and 1987 were implemented in schools from the available documents for this case study.²⁹⁹ It is worth noting that, much like the *Native Education in Alberta* document, this policy did not apply to band-operated or federal schools, only to provincial schools. The report concluded that the relationship between non-Indigenous and Indigenous people is crucial in the future of the province, and that “Alberta Education has made a commitment to Native students to provide them with enhanced opportunities to learn, to grow, to succeed, to become confident and responsible Albertans proud of their Native heritage.”³⁰⁰ However, this document was only a suggestion of changes that could be made to Alberta public schools’ curriculum. This intention was a continuation, though a change, of epistemicidal policies, because the provincial system that governed education still marginalized Indigenous pedagogies by teaching these classes in a Western-style format and non-Indigenous languages. It is not clear whether Alberta public schools applied these suggestions to their social studies curriculum. However, if the government applied the suggestions, they still needed to incorporate Indigenous pedagogies.

Integration, recommendations, and Indigenous programs did not end the disparity between Indigenous and non-Indigenous academic achievements in Alberta. By the mid-nineties, Indigenous students’ averages were still lower than non-Indigenous students. One study completed by Alberta Education in 1996 concluded that those who claimed Indigenous ancestry were 15

²⁹⁷ Alberta Education, *Policy Statement on Native Education in Alberta, March 1987*, 1-6.

²⁹⁸ Alberta Education, *Policy Statement on Native Education in Alberta*, 2.

²⁹⁹ Though beyond the scope of this thesis, several initiatives to implement Indigenous content into Alberta Education’s curriculum via community engagement have been established in the past two decades. Most recently, Alberta Education (along with subsequent Alberta Education focused branches) signed a Joint Commitment to Action with the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation so that kindergarten to grade 12 teachers, working with Indigenous partners, receive extra training pertaining to Indigenous history and culture. Simultaneously, Alberta Education also released plans to develop new curriculums. This is to insure students will be able to learn about these cultures and perspective, along with Indigenous people’s contributions to Canadian society. This commitment is to be implemented beginning in 2017. See: <https://education.alberta.ca/education-for-reconciliation/professional-learning/everyone/professional-development-resources/>

³⁰⁰ Alberta Education, *Policy Statement on Native Education in Alberta, March 1987*, 8.

percent less likely to graduate from high school than non-Indigenous students.³⁰¹ In regards to post-secondary education, only 4 percent of Indigenous students were completing university compared to 14 percent of non-Indigenous students.³⁰² Indigenous students had yet to see the opportunity “to help shape the education of their children, and help young people reach their potential.”³⁰³ One explanation for the poor performance is the loss of culture and, therefore, identity at residential schools. Jacqueline Hookimaw-Witt argued that the intergenerational trauma caused by the residential schools in Canada is likely the main contributor to this disparity.³⁰⁴ Other scholars have agreed, arguing that survivors of residential schools who did not receive adequate parenting impart negative child-rearing practises and their children experienced deficits in education and social functioning.³⁰⁵ Additionally, psychologists T. B. Smith and L. Silva argued that a weak cultural identity is detrimental to the health of minority group members.³⁰⁶ Nonetheless, efforts must be made to create an Indigenous education system that recognizes and seeks to repair intergenerational trauma to bridge the achievement gap.

Reconciliation is needed to help repair the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Canada to fully address intergenerational trauma and the achievement gap. Lawyer Fred Fenwick has noted, “educational negligence or failure to educate is not a normally recognized basis for a lawsuit... [but they can] be maintainable against the federal government because they are tied up with the federal government’s fiduciary responsibility for native education and their ability to force native children into schools.”³⁰⁷ To confront residential school trauma, residential school survivors in Canada launched thousands of court cases against the federal government and churches in the mid-1990s to 2000s. These cases documented a wide range of abuses including “sexual abuse; physical abuse and beating; sub-standard food; psychological abuse in alienation of the students from their families, culture, and language; and sub-standard

³⁰¹ Alberta Education, “FNMI Policy Framework Appendix B,” last modified 2015, <http://education.alberta.ca/teachers/fnmi/policies/fnmipolicy/appendixb.aspx> .

³⁰² Alberta Education, “FNMI Policy Framework Appendix B.”

³⁰³ Alberta Education, *Policy Statement on Native Education in Alberta, March 1987*, 2.

³⁰⁴ Jaqueline Hookimaw-Witt, “Any Changes Since Residential School?” *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 22, no. 2 (1998): 159.

³⁰⁵ T. Evans-Campbell, “Historical trauma in American Indian/Native Alaska communities: A multilevel framework for exploring impacts on individuals, families, and communities,” *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 23, no. 3 (2008): 316-338.

³⁰⁶ T. B. Smith and L. Silva, “Ethnic identity and personal well-being of people of color: A meta-analysis,” *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 58, no. 1 (2011): 42-60.

³⁰⁷ Fenwick, “Residential School Update,” 3-4.

education depriving the children of a reasonable chance to move ahead economically.”³⁰⁸

Ultimately survivors won the settlement, which was titled Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (RSSA). These court cases led to the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada in 2008 as the RSSA mandated a plan to archive student experiences and guide Canadians toward reconciliation through mutual understanding and respect. Additionally, the TRC would provide a platform for former residential school students share their experiences in a safe environment.

Despite the abuse and subsequent trauma suffered by Indigenous people in residential schools, minor improvements in Indigenous student retention in public schools became evident in 2001. The Alberta Chamber of Resources noted, “there was an increase of 63 per cent in the number of Aboriginal people graduating from university and a 46 per cent increase in the number graduating from college.”³⁰⁹ The disparity between Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth persisted as “61 per cent of the population aged 25 to 64 reporting Aboriginal identity had completed at least high school in 2001 compared to 77 per cent for the non-Aboriginal population. By comparison, for the Indigenous population living on-reserve, only 41 per cent had a high school graduation certificate.”³¹⁰ All in all, high school education levels for Indigenous students at the start of the twenty-first century were below the Alberta average, as is still the case today.³¹¹

A gap in Indigenous students’ academic performance in public schools was still a major issue even though the government had implemented previous epistemicidal policies that sought to replace Indigenous communities’ knowledge with Western knowledge. Performance records calculated by Alberta Education, which analyze the results of self-identified Indigenous students who take provincial achievement tests in grades three, six, and nine, point to discrepancies between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students in Treaty 7 territory. In the year 2000, only 40 percent of grade three students in band-managed schools met the Acceptable Standard in English language arts and mathematics, compared to 50-70 percent of Indigenous students in other school systems. By grade nine the percentage dropped to 15 percent of students in band-operated schools and fewer than 50 percent in other school systems who met the acceptable standard in mathematics, science,

³⁰⁸ Fred R. Fenwick, “Residential School Update,” *Law Now* 25, no. 3 (2000): 33-36.

³⁰⁹ Alberta Chamber of Resources. “Aboriginal Population in Alberta.” 2003. 2. <http://www.acr-alberta.com/Portals/0/Aboriginal%20Population%20in%20Alberta.pdf>

³¹⁰ Alberta Chamber of Resources. “Aboriginal Population in Alberta.” 2003,” 2.

³¹¹ Alberta Education, “Performance Measures,” <https://education.alberta.ca/teachers/fnmi/policies/fnmipolicy/measures.aspx>

and social studies.³¹² The performance gap in Alberta increased as students grew older because foundational knowledge was not present from the start.

The disparity has continued to grow in recent years. By 2006 the percentage of Indigenous people in Alberta aged 20 to 24 with no high school diploma rose to 61 percent.³¹³ The Congress of Aboriginal Peoples (CAP) stated in 2010 that disengagement in public schooling is a factor for Indigenous youth not completing high school. Disengagement has to do with many factors that involve the “student, school, and community... and that is associated with unfavorable school experiences.”³¹⁴ Nevertheless, the CAP article on engaging Indigenous students focused on a blanket solution to cover all Indigenous communities and uses a Western-style format that seeks to address improving family engagement, encouraging youth leadership, providing resources for teachers, and promoting awareness in non-Aboriginal teachers.³¹⁵ However, this “solution” neglected—intentional or not—to support and engage Indigenous students through their pedagogical and epistemological philosophies.

Resistance to Epistemicide

Many former students wrote autobiographical accounts of their experiences in residential school. The first autobiography of a Treaty 7 member was written at the turn of the nineteenth-century. Mike Mountain Horse of the Kainai band wrote about his experience at St. Paul’s residential school in his book *My People the Bloods*.³¹⁶ Mountain Horse stated that “the diminishing ruggedness of the present day ‘educated’ or ‘civilized’ Indian is due to his lack of knowledge in adapting to the too-sudden change...and style of living introduced by the white man.”³¹⁷ Essentially, Mountain Horse argued that gaps in Indigenous and non-Indigenous academic performance is due to Western-style schools ignoring Indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing when attempting to impart Western knowledge to help Indigenous people actively contribute to the growing settler society. His use of the words “diminishing ruggedness” implies that the residential school student has lost his/her ability to live off the land like their ancestors

³¹² Alberta Education, “Performance Measures.”

<https://education.alberta.ca/teachers/fnmi/policies/fnmipolicy/measures.aspx>

³¹³ Congress of Aboriginal Peoples, *Staying in school: Engaging Aboriginal students*, Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (2010), 4. <http://www.abo-peoples.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/Stay-In-School-LR.pdf>.

³¹⁴ Congress of Aboriginal Peoples, *Staying in school: Engaging Aboriginal students*, Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (2010), 9.

³¹⁵ Congress of Aboriginal Peoples, *Staying in school*, 19.

³¹⁶ Mike Mountain Horse, *My People The Bloods* (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1979).

³¹⁷ Mountain Horse, *My People The Bloods*, 104.

would have—which is imperative to Indigenous ways of knowing and passing down Indigenous knowledge. Mountain Horse’s book did not focus on his experience at residential school; however, at one point he did state that teachers stripped him of his Blackfoot clothing, steamed in a tub of water and scrubbed, and cut off his braids and his hair. All the while he was screaming and crying.³¹⁸ Mountain Horse’s experiences having his braids cut off exemplifies residential schools’ initial attempt to eliminate the indigeneity of Indigenous students.

Other autobiographies provide a more critical and focused look at residential school experiences. A century after the signing of Treaty 7, Howard Adams, a University of California, Berkeley Ph.D. published the book *Prison of Grass* in 1975. As a product of the St. Mary’s Residential School (in Treaty 7), Adams provided an Indigenous perspective to schooling. Adams noted that “the school systematically and meticulously conditions natives to a state of inferiorization and colonization...thus force the students to deny their language, culture, and essential being.”³¹⁹ He also addressed the problem with non-Indigenous education systems in his chapter “Schooling the Redman”. According to Adams, non-Indigenous education is simply another process of eradication of Indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing and colonization:

the present formal education program is irrelevant and meaningless to native people. The white-middle-class values inherent in classroom instruction mean very little to native students. The curriculum is so strange that students have difficulty relating it to their frame of reference and making it part of their knowledge. Métis and Indian children drop out of school because the program is as alien to them as ballet.³²⁰

Adams also noted that Western-style education systems that require Indigenous students to focus on settler history and language, ultimately force Indigenous students to feel ashamed, unworthy, and deny their “language, culture, and essential being.”³²¹ Adams stated, “the school is an agency of social and political control” because they “systematically and meticulously condition[ed] natives to a state of inferiorization and colonization.”³²² Adams was one of many Indigenous students that, through residential schooling, the government forced epistemicidal policies on in an attempt to make Indigenous people like but not equal to settlers. The only way for many Indigenous people to

³¹⁸ Mountain Horse, *My People The Bloods*, 15, 16.

³¹⁹ Howard Adams, *Prison of Grass: Canada from a Native Point of View* (Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers, 1975), 152.

³²⁰ Adams, *Prison of Grass*, 132.

³²¹ Adams, *Prison of Grass*, 132.

³²² Adams, *Prison of Grass*, 136, 152.

thrive academically, he suggested, is for the Western-style based education system to be completely eliminated for Indigenous people. Indigenous people must be educated in their ways, to understand their oppression and dehumanization.

Additionally, Adams provides further statements that outline how settler pedagogies were the sole schooling style made available to Indigenous students, which aimed to eradicate Indigenous ways of knowing and knowledge. He expressed this writing: “One of the most important phenomena in the [residential] school system is the colonization of students by the persons of authority who exercise their power arbitrarily and oppressively... The school is an agency of social and political control.”³²³ Adams also noted that schools used fear as a manipulation tool for students who deviated from the prescribed pattern. Fear also affects the students’ growth. Adams argued “today [in 1979] schooling is an agency of dehumanization and oppression. Schooling leads to alienation, subordination, and conformity. Instead of providing social mobility and serving as an equalizer for its citizens, it rigidly maintains the class system.”³²⁴ However, Adams added that schooling has the potential to become involved in decolonization.³²⁵

Adams’ and Mountain Horse’s testimonies are important for several reasons. In addition to highlighting the systematic epistemicide in Indigenous education, they exemplify Indigenous people using the same system of education that sought to eradicate them—by utilizing the written word. Historian Kathryn Labelle focused on this method, arguing in her article “Mother of Her Nation” that the Wendat woman Dr. Éléonore Sioui used “colonial systems of education to navigate the colonial world and engage in transnational movements of decolonization.”³²⁶ Additionally, Labelle noted that Sioui specifically used writing to “disseminate an anticolonial critique,” which Sioui had distributed worldwide.³²⁷ This method of using colonial systems to challenge colonialism is not limited to Sioui. Several other Indigenous people, such as scholars Taiaiake Alfred, Winona Wheeler, Marie Battiste, and Jacqueline Hookimaw-Witt, are using academia, written publications, and conferences to argue for Indigenization and challenge colonialism.³²⁸

³²³ Adams, *Prison of Grass*, 157.

³²⁴ Adams, *Prison of Grass*, 159.

³²⁵ Adams, *Prison of Grass*, 159.

³²⁶ Kathryn Labelle, ““Mother of Her Nation:” Dr. Éléonore Sioui (1920–2006)” *Ethnohistory* 64, no. 2 (April 2017): 167-190.

³²⁷ Labelle, “Mother of Her Nation,” 167-190.

³²⁸ See: Jacqueline Hookimaw-Witt, “Any Changes Since Residential School?” *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 22, no. 2 (1998): 159; Winona Wheeler, “Thoughts on the responsibilities for Indigenous/native studies,”

The gap in education for Indigenous people described by Adams was not isolated to Treaty 7. This was and remains a national issue that has gained attention by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous society. Many scholars believe that focussing on Indigeneity within the curriculum is necessary if Indigenous students are to achieve higher performance rates. The argument stems from the assertion that Western-style schooling's focus on non-Indigenous pedagogical methods, ignorance of Indigenous knowledge, and intergenerational traumas stemming from residential school abuse caused lower performance by Indigenous students. Jacqueline Hookimaw-Witt argued that the disparity in academic achievement between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people is due to non-Indigenous schools being "a continuation of residential schools [and they are] still breaking down our cultures and societies. Education for Indigenous people can be successful only when it has grown within the culture of the people."³²⁹ Maxine Matilpi pushed this adaptation further, arguing that schools and teachers need to adopt Indigenous pedagogies. Matilpi noted that learning is an ongoing process and her role as an Indigenous educator is not to just teach, but to allow for the Indigenous voices in her classroom to be heard and allow for herself to be taught as well.³³⁰ By allowing Indigenous voices to be heard she "learned, early on, that it was important for students to see themselves but also that they are seen, recognized, re-recognized, and known by others. They accomplish this knowing by hearing each other and by coming to see their story as connected to a bigger story."³³¹ Matilpi suggested that this adoption could potentially help bridge the gap in academic disparity between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people if used on a wider scale.

When Alexander Morris wrote about the negotiation process at Blackfoot Crossing, he noted that David Laird, the Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories stated during Treaty 7 negotiations that "...teachers will be sent to you to instruct your children to read books like this one [referring to the Bible]."³³² The Indigenous nations present understood this to mean

The Canadian Journal of Native Studies 21, no. 1 (2001): 97-104; Marie Battiste, *Decolonizing Education: Nourishing the Learning Spirit* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013); Taiaiake Alfred, "Opening Words," in *Lighting the Eight Fire: The Liberation, Resurgence and Protection of Indigenous Nations*, edited by Leanne Simpson (Manitoba: Arp Books, 2008).

³²⁹ Jacqueline Hookimaw-Witt, "Any Changes Since Residential School?" *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 22, no. 2 (1998): 159.

³³⁰ Maxine Matilpi, "In Our Collectivity: Teaching, Learning, and Indigenous Voice," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 35, no. 1 (2012): 211.

³³¹ Matilpi, "In Our Collectivity: Teaching, Learning, and Indigenous Voice," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 35, no. 1 (2012): 212.

³³² Alexander Morris, *The Treaties of Canada, with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories* (Toronto: Willing & Williamson, 1880), 269.

that they would receive education to teach them English literacy skills and perhaps Christian values. After the treaty, Indigenous communities experienced several epistemicidal policies in addition to the education promise outlined in Treaty 7 due to the government's implementation of education. Indigenous schooling focused on colonial ideologies and disallowed Indigenous students to practice their traditions, cultures, and speak their native language. This epistemicide resulted in a lower performance rate of Indigenous students compared to non-Indigenous students—as defined by Western education standards. This performance rate has remained low even with several attempts for initiatives, and Indigenous content programs throughout the integration period.

Conclusion: The Teachings Persist

This thesis has traced the consistent and persistent attempts by the Canadian government to implement education practices that attempted to eradicate Indigenous knowledge and pedagogical customs. Treaty 7 began this process with the hiring of interpreters by the Crown. Many Indigenous people in Treaty 7 territory trusted the Crown's commissioners. They did not expect that the treaty's education promise would force them into schools that applied epistemicidal policies, such as prohibiting students from speaking Indigenous languages. The Crown hired unqualified teachers to teach Indigenous students and underfunded Indigenous schools, resulting in reliance on students' manual labour to keep schools open. These policies continued well into the twentieth century. When the last residential school in Treaty 7 closed in 1975, epistemicidal policies continued through the policies that were designed to integrate Indigenous students into non-Indigenous schools.

Despite these attempts of epistemicide, Indigenous knowledge and pedagogies did not disappear. Indigenous communities have spent decades resisting governmental epistemicidal policies that attempted to eradicate Indigenous knowledge and pedagogies, utilizing new methods to resurge and disseminate their culture. Kahnawake scholar Taiaiake Alfred stated "fighting for [Indigenous people's] survival in the twenty-first century is less about defeating the aggression of an external enemy than it is about finding new ways...to love ourselves and our people."³³³ Here, Alfred implies that cultural knowledge, identity, and revitalization should be used to combat colonialism.

Fighting for the survival and revitalization of Indigenous culture can be seen in many efforts across Canada to disseminate Indigenous knowledge. RedX Talks and the Alberta Native Centres Association are two examples. Established in Treaty 7 territory, RedX Talks is a not-for-profit organization that travels across Canada, striving to educate Indigenous and non-Indigenous people

³³³ Taiaiake Alfred, "Opening Words," *Lighting the Eight Fire: The Liberation, Resurgence and Protection of Indigenous Nations*, edited by Leanne Simpson (Manitoba: Arp Books, 2008), 10.

by speaking about all aspects of Indigeneity through Elders, allies, and teachers.³³⁴ Two Native Centres in Treaty 7 territory are the Napi Friendship Centre (located in Pincher Creek—southwestern Alberta) and the Aboriginal Friendship Centre of Calgary. These centres are federally funded and subsidized by provincial grants and provide a variety of different programs and services to Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in the community. These programs and services include efforts for equal access to health and wellness and cultural connections for urban youth.³³⁵ Despite these changes and suggestions, it is important to note that the education conditions implemented by provincial governments have improved, performance gap still persists for Indigenous students in educational institutions that follow Western-style education methods. The legacy of Treaty 7 and the attempted epistemicide of Indigenous people has caused a divide between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people.

Calls for action to reform education in Canada have not gone unnoticed.³³⁶ Indigenous content has become more present in the educational systems across Canadian society thanks to different movements and a push to disseminate Indigenous knowledge to a wider audience. Since 2014, some Canadian universities have started the process of implementing Indigenous content into all academic units as an undergraduate degree requirement. Previously, the inclusion of Indigenous content, outside of Indigenous-focused courses, was at the discretion of the professor. In 1987 at Queen’s University in Kingston, Ontario a student asked his professor how the Queen obtained land in Canada. Flustered, the professor cancelled class for the day. The next class was different. There, the professor resumed by inserting Indigenous cultures, histories, and title.³³⁷ This student was Blaine Favel who would eventually earn his law degree from Queen’s University, as well as a master’s degree in business administration from Harvard University, and accept leadership roles in Indigenous governance, such as the Grand Chief of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations and special counsellor on international Indigenous issues with the federal government.

³³⁴ Visit <http://www.iiniistsi.org> for information on talks near you.

³³⁵ Alberta Native Friendship Centres Association, *ANFCA*, <http://anfca.com/what-we-do/friendship-centre-facilitation/>

³³⁶ Government of Canada, “Fact Sheet—Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement,” Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, last modified October 31, 2014, <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1332949137290/1332949312397> .

³³⁷ Moira McDonald, “Indigenizing the academy: What some universities are doing to weave Indigenous peoples, cultures and knowledge into the fabric of their campuses,” *University Affairs* (April 6, 2016). <http://www.universityaffairs.ca/features/feature-article/indigenizing-the-academy/> .

In November 2015, Favel, along with other academics and administrators, gathered at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon to address how the 94 calls to action in Canada's Truth and Reconciliation (TRC) final report could be implemented in universities.³³⁸ Several people in attendance agreed that the current university system promoted a white, colonial history, and needed to include Indigenous histories, cultures, knowledge, and in some cases: languages. During the meeting, Professor Shauneen Pete of the University of Regina stated that adding Indigenous content was "really about transforming the university at its very core...It's about recentring Indigenous world views as a starting point for that transformation and it's a process of institutional decolonization."³³⁹ Beginning in early 2015, the process of adding mandatory Indigenous content classes began to roll out in universities across Canada, beginning with Lakehead University in Thunder Bay, Ontario, and the University of Winnipeg in Winnipeg, Manitoba.

The inclusion of Indigenous content in universities is part of two education recommendations in the TRC's 94 calls to action report. These recommendations include:

1. We call upon the Government of Canada to repeal Section 43 of the *Criminal Code of Canada*.
2. We call upon the federal government to develop with Aboriginal groups a joint strategy to eliminate educational and employment gaps between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians.
3. We call upon the federal government to eliminate the discrepancy in federal education funding for First Nations children being educated on reserves and those First Nations children being educated off reserves.
4. We call upon the federal government to prepare and publish annual reports comparing funding for the education of First Nations children on and off reserves, as well as educational and income attainments of Aboriginal peoples in Canada compared with non- Aboriginal people.
5. We call on the federal government to draft new Aboriginal education legislation with the full participation and informed consent of Aboriginal peoples. The new legislation would include a commitment to sufficient funding and would incorporate the following principles:
 - a. Providing sufficient funding to close identified educational achievement gaps within one generation.

³³⁸ Moira McDonald, "Indigenizing the academy: What some universities are doing to weave Indigenous peoples, cultures and knowledge into the fabric of their campuses," *University Affairs* (April 6, 2016).

<http://www.universityaffairs.ca/features/feature-article/indigenizing-the-academy/> .

³³⁹ Quoted in Moira McDonald, "Indigenizing the academy: What some universities are doing to weave Indigenous peoples, cultures and knowledge into the fabric of their campuses," *University Affairs* (April 6, 2016).

<http://www.universityaffairs.ca/features/feature-article/indigenizing-the-academy/> .

- b. Improving education attainment levels and success rates.
 - c. Developing culturally appropriate curricula.
 - d. Protecting the right to Aboriginal languages, including the teaching of Aboriginal languages as credit courses.
 - e. Enabling parental and community responsibility, control, and accountability, similar to what parents enjoy in public school systems.
 - f. Enabling parents to fully participate in the education of their children.
 - g. Respecting and honouring Treaty relationships.
6. We call upon the government to provide adequate funding to end the backlog of First Nations students seeking a post-secondary education.
7. We call upon the federal, provincial, territorial, and Aboriginal governments to develop culturally appropriate early childhood education programs for Aboriginal families.³⁴⁰

Treaty 7 negotiations and the treaty held a promise of education for Indigenous people in what would become southern Alberta. The divergent worldviews and goals of the two parties led to misunderstandings over the type of education that would be provided. While Indigenous people thought they would be able to prosper from non-Indigenous education, the government instead created a system designed to eradicate Indigenous cultures. In 1920 when Duncan Campbell Scott advocated for the mandatory attendance of Indigenous children at residential schools, the primary goal was not to educate Indigenous students but to “continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic.”³⁴¹

Ultimately, the government’s epistemicidal policies in Treaty 7 failed because Indigenous people continue to practice their traditions and preserve Indigenous pedagogies—at the same time adapting to colonial regimes. Residential schools suffered throughout their existence from a paucity of funding, instruction, and relevant curriculum; even worse, abuse of students in the schools occurred in a variety of ways. Not surprisingly, students typically made little progress in the areas of reading, writing, and arithmetic, in no small part due to school priorities focusing on student manual labour to fund the schools, and the educational efforts to convert students to Christianity. The history of epistemicide in Treaty 7 applies to other treaties in Canada because similar policies have affected Indigenous students’ performance rates in other treaty areas. When Justice Murray Sinclair stated that “[r]econciliation is about forging and maintaining respectful

³⁴⁰ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, “Call to Action,”

http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Findings/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf.

³⁴¹ Duncan Campbell Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian affairs, testimony before the Special Committee of the House of Commons examining the Indian Act amendments of 1920, LAC, RG 10, vol. 6810, file 470-2-3, volume 7, pp. 55 (L-3) and 63 (N-3).

relationships. There are no shortcuts," he meant that respectful relationships need to be forged, built, and maintained.³⁴² Additionally, treaty promises of education and subsequent epistemicidal policies need to be interrogated for reconciliation to occur. The context of colonial policies and cultural understandings can be utilized to confront education policies and plan for the future.

³⁴² Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, "TRC Home," *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, accessed Sept. 20, 2015. <http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/index.php?p=3> .

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