

THE REGINA INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL (1891-1910)

**HISTORICAL OVERVIEW AND
CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE**

BY DOUGLAS STEWART



**The Regina Indian Industrial School
(1891–1910)**

Historical Overview and Chronological Narrative

DISCLAIMER

Readers are advised that the spelling of students' names throughout this work cannot be guaranteed as correct. The recording of names, both at the time students were enrolled in the school and later during their residency, was subject to a lack of knowledge as well as to instances of carelessness on the part of school officials.

Appendices I and II of this work record the names of students who died either while at the Regina Indian Industrial School or shortly following their discharge from it. Readers are asked to respect an Indigenous practice of not speaking the names of deceased loved ones, a practice based on the belief that to do so disrupts the journeys of their spirits to a final resting place.

Published with assistance from the RIIS Commemorative Association Inc., and from First Presbyterian Church, Regina.

Cover image: RIIS students and staff, circa 1907 (PAS R-B2507).

**The Regina Indian Industrial School
(1891–1910)**

Historical Overview and Chronological Narrative

Douglas Stewart

2017

COPYRIGHT © Douglas Stewart

No part of this publication covered by the copyrights hereon in may be reproduced or used in any form or by any means—electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or information storage and retrieval systems—without prior written permission of the copyright holders.

Printed and bound in Canada

First printing in 2017

Layout design by Brian Mlazgar

Cover design by Diana Rapoport

Front cover photo: The Regina Indian Industrial School Students and Staff, circa 1907, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, PAS, R-B2507

Back cover photo: The Regina Indian Industrial School, 1905, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, PAS, R-A21262-3

The Regina Indian Industrial School (1891-1910)

Historical Overview and Chronological Narrative

By Douglas Stewart

ISBN 978-1-927352-35-9

BENCHMARK PRESS is a division of Benchmark Public Relations, a full service public relations firm with offices in Regina and Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; and Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Benchmark Press specializes in all aspects of print production including researching, writing, editing, proofreading, designing, print management, marketing, promotion and distribution. We publish books, commemorative booklets, family histories, corporate histories, and other publications, as well as our annual guides—the Saskatchewan Media Directory and the Manitoba Media Directory. For details, visit www.benchmarkpress.ca.



CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations.....	vi
Acknowledgements.....	vii
Foreword.....	ix
Introduction.....	1
The Wider Context.....	4
The RIIS Story: An Overview.....	9
The Principals.....	9
School Staff.....	16
Students and School Ethos.....	17
School and Town.....	30
The School's Closing.....	31
The Cemetery.....	31
Concluding Reflections.....	33
An RIIS Chronological Narrative: 1885–1923.....	37
Appendix I: RIIS Students/Ex-students Who Died, 1892–1897.....	129
Appendix II: Student Deaths and Burials at the RIIS.....	135
Appendix III: Partial List of RIIS Graduates, 1897–1910.....	137
Appendix IV: First Nations from which Students were sent to, or recruited for, the RIIS.....	141
Appendix V: Names of RIIS Students not Included in the School's Admissions Register.....	145
Proper Name Index.....	151

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DIA: Department of Indian Affairs

FMC: Foreign Missions Committee (Presbyterian Church in Canada)

LAC: Library and Archives Canada

NWT: North-West Territories

PAS: Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan

PCC: The Presbyterian Church in Canada

PCCA: The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives

RIIS: Regina Indian Industrial School

UCCA: The United Church of Canada Archives

WFMS: Women's Foreign Missionary Society (Presbyterian Church in Canada)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express a sincere thanks to the archivists who have been extremely helpful in making significant historical documents related to the Regina Indian Industrial School (RIIS) available, documents that were indispensable to the construction of the chronological narrative: Elizabeth Mathew, The United Church of Canada Archives (Toronto); Bob Anger, The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives (Toronto); Anne Lindsay, National Research Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, University of Manitoba; and staff at the Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan in Regina. Fortunately, many of the large number of holdings related to residential schooling in Library and Archives Canada, and which were invaluable to this work, are digitised and readily accessible on-line.

As well, I gratefully acknowledge the painstaking efforts, respectively, of Mary Jesse (member of the RIIS Commemorative Association) and the Reverend Dawn Rolke (United Church of Canada) in reformatting the RIIS Admissions Register making vital data it contains, including ages of students and dates of their admission, their heights and weights, their “tribes,” the names of parents or guardians, etc.,¹ much more accessible and extremely helpful for research purposes.

I am most grateful to the following who read earlier drafts of this work and offered constructive feedback: Anthony Johnston² (Mistawasis First

¹ The school’s Admissions Register (1891–1908), Public Archives of Saskatchewan (hereafter PAS).

² A grandson of Joseph Dreaver who graduated from the RIIS in 1909.

Nation) and Bill Wall, both members of the RIIS Commemorative Association Inc; colleagues Dr. Sandra Bruneau (Vancouver) and Professor Don Cochrane (Saskatoon).

Lisa Hein, Project Archaeologist and RIIS Commemorative Association member, kindly made available the map showing Treaty Lands across Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta and the locations of First Nations communities from which students were recruited or sent to the RIIS.

Thanks also to Jenna Tickell (Métis) for information regarding an Indigenous practice of not speaking the names of deceased loved ones (see Disclaimer).

FOREWORD

Nêhiyawak, my nation, my community, my family and personal story become more complete through the work of people such as Douglas Stewart. Thank you, my friend.

Prior to the signing of Treaty No. 6 in 1876, Chief Mistawasis (c. 1850–September 21, 1895) saw that life was changing for Nêhiyawak. Mistawasis realized that our people would need to learn a new way of living and new ways to provide for ourselves. Mistawasis believed the words contained in the Treaty and especially believed the words spoken by the Treaty Commissioner to be truths that would help our people prosper in this new life.

Mistawasis Nêhiyawak likely had the greatest number of children that attended the Regina Industrial School. Our children travelled by horse and wagon over 400 kilometres to further their education and training. Some of our children did not return home. We may have four children buried in the School's cemetery. Doug tells us of the horrors that visited children at the School, and these horrors visited children from my community, some of whom are my family members.

The truth of the horror that visited our children can be very difficult to image. I have had tears. But I know that these horrors must be shared, heard, reflected upon, discussed and accepted as fact in order for all of Canada to find true reconciliation.

Today Mistawasis Nêhiyawak continues to look for ways to prosper in

THE REGINA INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL (1891–1910)

the 21st Century. We will continue sitting with others and we will find ways to reconcile with all who share these lands with us.

Anthony Blair Dreaver Johnston
Special Projects, Iron Buffalo Centre

INTRODUCTION

*There are no schools anywhere of any description better designed than our Government Industrial Schools for Indians. There is no system of schools kindlier of intent, more truly thoroughly educational, better adapted for the great work of unfolding and disentangling the warp and woof of the mysteries of life, more developing, expanding and comprehensive, than the present system of Government Industrial Schools.*³

A great deal has been written and spoken about Indian residential schooling in Canada to which an estimated 150,000 First Nations, Inuit and Métis children and youth were subjected over a period of roughly 120 years, ending in the mid-1990s. It is not my intent to add needlessly to this well-documented and often tragic story, especially in light of the recent painstaking and revealing work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada—work that culminated in a six-volume report (December 2015) with 94 “Calls to Action” addressed to governments, churches, educational institutions and Canadians in general to begin building new relationships with Aboriginal peoples based on mutual respect and trust.

My reasons for offering an essentially factual and quite extensive chronological account of one residential school in particular are as follows.⁴

³ The Reverend Thompson Ferrier, “Indian Education in the Northwest” in Alison Prentice and Susan Houston (eds.), *Family, School and Society in 19th Century Canada* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 227–31.

⁴For a feminist and post-colonial analysis see April Rosenau ChiefCalf, “Victorian

First, this school was one of the earliest of its type built by the federal government in Western Canada, yet it operated for barely 19 years—from 1891 to 1910. Consequently, it is one of the lesser known of some 140 government-funded Indian residential schools across Canada,⁵ scarcely registering even to this day in the wider consciousness of either The Presbyterian Church in Canada (PCC) which operated the school for the government, or of the Regina community near which the school was located and after which it was named. Even some First Nations communities whose children were recruited for the school have today very little if any awareness of its existence. This story needs to be brought more fully into the light of day.⁶

Second, and in support of the recently (2015) constituted RIIS Commemorative Association Inc. consisting of First Nations members—some of whom are descendants of former RIIS students—local church people, archaeologists and others dedicated to preserving and commemorating the school’s small cemetery where at least 35 children are buried, it seemed only fitting that these initiatives be informed by an understanding of the school in as many aspects of its scope and operation as possible.

Third, by casting light on how the children and youth brought to this school were treated, what they were subjected to, what some of them accomplished and what became of others, it is my hope that in doing so the reconciliation process might possibly be advanced if only in small ways.⁷

Ideologies of Gender and the Curriculum of the Regina Indian Industrial School, 1891–1910” (MEd thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2002). Richard Enns analyzes problems that plagued the school as a test case for “handling fiscal and administrative issues in similar schools across western Canada” in “‘Then Shall the Wilderness be Glad and Blossom as the Rose’: Presbyterian Hopes for the Regina Industrial School (1891–1910),” *Prairie Forum* 35, no. 2 (Fall 2010): 433–78. A short analysis of the RIIS may be found within Chapter 5 of Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986).

⁵ The term “residential schools” covers what were known in the latter 19th and early 20th centuries as Indian industrial schools and Indian boarding schools. See “The Wider Context” below for an explanation of how these institutions differed and when the designation “residential” was adopted for both.

⁶ An important advance in this regard was the release in 2015 of a film documentary on the school aptly titled “RIIS from Amnesia.” It may be accessed at www.riismedia.org

⁷ Throughout the chronological narrative section of this work readers will find the

I have drawn extensively on available archival material: on annual reports submitted by the school's principals to the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA); on reports of departmental inspectors who periodically visited the school; and on reams of correspondence between and among school, Indian Affairs and church officials dealing with a host of matters from the financing of the school, student recruitment, the school's farm operation to daily routines, diseases, deaths and much else. In the chronological narrative that follows I quote frequently from this material so as to capture as clearly as possible who said or did what to or for whom, and when, as well as to expose the negative attitudes and beliefs typically held by major players towards Aboriginal peoples and their ways of life.

Voices missing in this work, regrettably, are those of students themselves (save for an occasional glowing comment about the school that finds its way into a principal's report or the school's newspaper, *The Progress*) giving *their* impressions of what life at the school was like, of how they coped under an unfamiliar regimen of rules and routines upon being uprooted from their home communities and thrust into a thoroughly Anglo-centric one. In the archival holdings consulted⁸ I found no independently written statements by any of the students describing their experiences at the RIIS. No doubt oral accounts or stories by some former students will have been preserved through succeeding generations of their descendants. Perhaps one day some of these may be publicly shared.

Research for this project was also limited by the fact that many of the

names of many RIIS students in various school contexts, including names of those who played on some of the school's sports teams, who joined some of the school's organizations, who played in the school's brass band, and who graduated from the school (see Appendix III), as well as the names of many children and youth who died while at the school or not long after being discharged in poor health (see Appendices I and II). Wherever possible, the First Nations identities of these students are included in parentheses immediately following their names: eg., Archie Apwato (Pasqua), identifies this student as being from the Pasqua First Nation; Ellen Cote (Cote), from the Cote First Nation. The Indigenous identities of most RIIS students are recorded in the school's Admission Register (Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan).

⁸ Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), United Church of Canada Archives (hereafter UCCA), Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives (hereafter PCCA), and PAS.

school's records have either been destroyed or lost and by the fact that many government-held files on residential schooling were not publicly accessible prior to the time of writing.

THE WIDER CONTEXT

In the latter 19th and early 20th centuries—the period of particular relevance here—industrial schools along with boarding and day schools constituted the core of a generally ill-fated and thoroughly colonialist-minded federal policy to “Christianize” and “civilize” Canada’s Aboriginal children and youth or, as it was frequently stated, to “take the Indian out of the child.”⁹ The goal of “Christianizing” entailed the systematic inculcation of Christian precepts and practices while eliminating Indigenous spiritualities and ceremonies; that of “civilizing” consisted of the attempted assimilation of Indigenous children and youth to a Euro-Canadian lifestyle, economy and culture while prohibiting the use of Native languages and discrediting the lifestyles and cultures of Aboriginal peoples. In pursuit of these objectives the federal government turned to mainline Christian denominations—Anglican, Catholic, Methodist/United, and Presbyterian—to staff and operate these schools on the understanding that basic funding and ultimate control of these institutions lay with the federal Department of Indian Affairs (DIA).¹⁰

Indian industrial schooling¹¹ in a Canadian context predates Confederation. By the 1840s, for instance, a few such institutions, also known at the time as manual labour schools, were operating in Upper Canada (later Ontario) under the auspices mainly of Anglican and Methodist missionary

⁹ That is, a policy described as “cultural genocide” by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* (Ottawa: Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015), 1.

¹⁰ Which also set the curricula, inspected the schools, normally exercised a voice in the appointment of principals, set expectations for diet, clothing, ventilation of school dormitories, etc.

¹¹ According to one source, the idea of industrial schools for Indian youth was conceived by a Presbyterian missionary in 1804 while working among the Cherokee in the United States. See Joan Scott-Brown, “The Short Life of St. Dunstan’s Calgary Industrial School,” *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 14, no. 1 (1987): 41.

organizations.¹² The greatest expansion of this type of schooling, however, occurred in Western Canada in the decades following Confederation. Anxious to make the recently acquired prairie region more hospitable for white European settlement by, among other measures, acculturating Aboriginal children and youth in educational institutions far removed from the “depraved” influences of their home environments, the government of Sir John A. Macdonald commissioned Nicholas Flood Davin, a Conservative politician, lawyer and subsequently a Regina journalist, to visit Indian industrial schools in the United States and, based on his findings, to submit recommendations for establishing similar institutions in the Canadian west. Arguing that the Indian race was “in its childhood,” and that Indian youth were in need of “firm, bold, kindly handling and boundless patience,” Davin advised that four industrial schools be established initially,¹³ identified possible locations and different church denominations to staff and operate each one¹⁴ while stressing the “vital importance” of hiring teachers with strong intellectual and moral character.

By 1883 the Battleford Industrial School (Anglican-operated) had opened and a year later the St. Joseph’s Industrial School at High River and the Qu’Appelle Industrial School at Lebret (both Catholic-run) were opened. In 1885 the Presbyterian Church’s Board of Missions for Manitoba and the North West, fearing it might otherwise lose out in competition for the minds and souls of Indigenous youth to other church-run industrial schools in the region—the Qu’Appelle school in particular—sought government permission to operate an industrial school as part of its broader mission to the

¹² A noted educator and Methodist clergyman of the period, the Reverend Dr. Egerton Ryerson, Ontario’s Chief Superintendent of Education (1847–76) and staunch supporter of industrial schools, argued that the “North American Indians cannot be civilized or preserved in a state of civilization” unless religious instruction and religious feelings were superimposed on training in manual skills. See Egerton Ryerson, “Report on Industrial Schools,” (May 26, 1847) in W.J. Wasylow, “History of Battleford Industrial School for Indians” (MEd thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1972), Appendix B.

¹³ Nicholas Flood Davin, *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds* (March 1879), accessed at www.indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca

¹⁴ One near Prince Albert, to be run by the Anglican Church, one near Old Bow Fort, to be Methodist-run, one at Qu’Appelle, to be Catholic-run, and one in the Riding Mountain area of Manitoba to be Presbyterian-run.

Plains Indians. After two different sites had been considered and found either unavailable or unsuitable—the former near the foot of Long (or Last Mountain) Lake, the latter roughly where the campuses of the University of Regina and the First Nations University of Canada are located today—the Crown agreed to a land exchange with William White, a lawyer from Whitewood in the District of Assiniboia, and thereby secured in 1888 a half-section (320 acres) of land four miles northwest of Regina for the school’s location.¹⁵ By April 1891, the large two-storey main building for the new Presbyterian-run Regina Indian Industrial School with dormitory accommodation for 150 students (boys and girls), was ready. Unlike other church denominations, this would be the only Indian industrial school operated by The Presbyterian Church in Canada.

Although industrial and boarding schools differed, at least theoretically, in terms of their curricula, the age-range of students, the organization of the school day,¹⁶ and physically in terms of size and location,¹⁷ these institutions were nonetheless expected to work co-operatively in common cause. This did not always work out as planned. By 1904–05 the number of Indian industrial schools in Canada had peaked at 24 (5 in Ontario and 19 in western Canada from Manitoba to the Pacific coast), while the number of government-funded Indian boarding schools across the nation had grown to 47. Thereafter industrial schools, once considered the “elite of the system,”¹⁸ gradually declined in number.¹⁹

¹⁵ Further details regarding this land exchange may be found in the chronological narrative for the year 1888.

¹⁶ Industrial schools operated on the “half-day” principle: mornings were devoted to instruction in basic academic subjects; afternoons to instruction in farming and manual trades for boys and domestic or home-making skills for girls; boarding schools theoretically devoted the entire day to basic academic subjects. The age-range of students for industrial schools was initially intended to be 13–18; for boarding schools, roughly 5–12. In theory, the latter were meant to be feeder schools for the former.

¹⁷ Industrial schools were generally larger institutions that accommodated more students, required more equipment and land than boarding schools, and were almost always located near centres of white population. Boarding schools, on the other hand, typically were built on or near reserves.

¹⁸ John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 177.

¹⁹ St. Dunstan’s Calgary Industrial School closed in 1908; St. Paul’s Industrial School,

Several factors were at play. Aboriginal parents had grown increasingly reluctant to release their children to industrial schools fearing they might never see them again given the distant locations of most such institutions and their higher rates of disease and death. As a result, enrolments at many industrial schools struggled while operating costs increased with all the equipment and upkeep these institutions required. Meanwhile, principals of boarding schools unhappy with a departmental policy requiring them to send their students aged 14 and over to industrial schools for trades and domestic training, started to offer limited industrial programs themselves believing they could do this work as well as if not better than industrial schools; while the latter, for their part, started recruiting much younger students in attempts to shore up enrolments and help maintain or increase their levels of government funding. The result of these growing trends was a gradual blurring of distinctions between the two types of institution. This, along with a deepening concern in government quarters over the effectiveness and rising costs of industrial schooling, led Indian Affairs by 1923 to abolish the terms “industrial” and “boarding” and classify thereafter all remaining schools of the former type and all those of the latter as “residential.”

Middlechurch, Manitoba was destroyed by fire in 1906 and did not re-open; St. Boniface Industrial School, Manitoba, closed in 1905; Metlakatla Industrial School, British Columbia, closed in 1908.

THE RIIS STORY: AN OVERVIEW

THE PRINCIPALS

During its 19 years of operation the Regina Indian Industrial School was administered under three different principals: the Reverend A.J. McLeod (1891–1900), the Reverend J.A. Sinclair (1901–04), and R.B. (later the Reverend) Heron (1905–10). McLeod, reportedly “experienced in Indian work,”²⁰ had just completed a year as minister at St. John’s Presbyterian Church in Medicine Hat; Sinclair had served two years as a missionary in the Klondike prior to his appointment; and Heron had been a staff member at the church’s Round Lake Boarding School 110 miles east of Regina. Both McLeod and Sinclair died while in office: McLeod at age 39 and Sinclair at age 42.

Although McLeod’s tenure was saddled with high mortality rates due primarily to tubercular diseases—between 1891 and 1898 the RIIS-related death rate had reached 21%²¹—enrolments nevertheless grew under his

²⁰ Eleanor Brass, *I Walk in Two Worlds* (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1987), 6.

²¹ By “RIIS-related deaths,” I mean deaths of students that occurred at the school and of ex-students who died not long after being discharged from the school in poor health. Death rates at the Qu’Appelle, Battleford and St. Boniface industrial schools to 1898 were 25%, 20%, and 19% respectively. The DIA had not yet made medical examinations compulsory for children prior to entering industrial schools. This, coupled with the poor ventilation of school dormitories, were major contributing factors in student/ex-student deaths.

watch from 25–30 students initially to near the school’s capacity of 150.²² A dedicated and seemingly compassionate man for the most part, despite serious lapses into stereotypical and pejorative ways of characterizing Indigenous lifestyles captured, for example, in his references to the “uncivilized life of the tepee,” and in his belief that “all influences should be used to break up . . . the tribal systems,”²³ McLeod showed no hesitation in lobbying Indian Affairs for causes he believed would benefit the students. He persisted and eventually succeeded in getting permission to extend home visits in summers of up to four weeks for younger students at the school, contrary to departmental policy. He secured funding from Indian Affairs to buy tool kits for several graduating carpentry students as a way of helping them start their careers, and a prosthetic limb for a talented boy who had lost an arm but was keen to learn the art of typesetting. He started a small library in the school, initiated an annual school picnic day held at times in the Qu’Appelle Valley, a two-week camping experience in a nearby grove along the Wascana Creek for students who remained at school during summers, and had a pond created on the school grounds by diverting water from the creek so students could swim in summers and skate during winters. Through letters, book-loans from the school library, and a wide distribution of the school’s newspaper, *The Progress*, he kept in touch with numerous ex-students. Respected by department and church officials alike, McLeod, with one minor exception early in his tenure, ran a deficit-free operation until his sudden death in November 1900. Indian Affairs officials familiar with the RIIS and its operation under McLeod rated it as one of the best of its kind in Canada²⁴—a reputation that did not long survive his death.

Sinclair, McLeod’s successor, a difficult man with extravagant tastes

²² Principals often reported both yearly “enrolments” and “attendance.” The former and larger number would typically include both older students out on work terms away from the school as well as those at the school attending classes, learning manual trades or domestic skills.

²³ LAC, Correspondence Relating to the Education of Indian Children, RG 10, vol. 3964, file 149,874, items 4–13, “McLeod to Hayter Reed, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, September 15, 1896.”

²⁴ Martin Benson, DIA, claims that by the end of the McLeod era the RIIS was at its “zenith” and in the “foremost rank of Indian schools in the Dominion.” See entry under 1904 in the chronological narrative.

and a robust sense of entitlement, was not averse to roughly handling others either verbally or physically if he felt justified or temper got the better of him. Not long into his appointment in 1901, operating deficits began to accumulate and reached a hefty \$14,000 by 1904, triggering an external audit of the school's operation and seemingly endless wrangling between Indian Affairs and church officials over who was responsible for cost overruns. Sinclair's frequent and sustained absences from the school had not escaped the department's attention. Allegations by one of the church's missionaries (familiar with the school) concerning a lax management of the institution under Sinclair's watch, and of the sexual abuse of girls by senior boys had surfaced though none of these charges were followed up by church officials (see chronological narrative for 1903). Sinclair's working relationships with principals of the church-run Indian boarding schools who, in some cases had become increasingly reluctant to release their older students to the RIIS for vocational training,²⁵ soon soured (see chronological narrative for 1904). This, along with rumours circulating among several Indigenous communities that the school was an unhealthy and unsafe place, especially for girls led, in turn, to increased parental resistance that cut severely into Sinclair's recruiting efforts, pushing enrolments steadily downward. He seemed determined, on the other hand, to do what he could to help students suffering from severe respiratory conditions by proceeding, despite departmental opposition to his plan, to purchase several large tents (with wooden floors)

²⁵ Prior to church union in 1925 that led to the formation of the United Church of Canada, the PCC had operated a total of 10 boarding schools for the government, in addition to the RIIS. These were: the Cecilia Jeffrey School, Kenora, Ontario; the Birtle and Portage la Prairie boarding schools in Manitoba; the Crowstand, File Hills, Lakesend and Round Lake boarding schools in Saskatchewan; the Stoney Plain school in Alberta; and the Ahousaht and Alberni boarding schools in British Columbia. The small Lakesend and Stoney Plain schools lasted only a few years, closing in the mid-1890s. Presbyterian Church historian, the Reverend Peter Bush, refers to several of these boarding schools in his *Western Challenge: The Presbyterian Church in Canada's Mission on the Prairies and the North, 1885–1925* (Brantford, ON: Watson-Dwyer Publishing Ltd, 2000). Most of these boarding schools had transferred a number of their students to the RIIS for trades and domestic training: at least 38 students had been sent from the Birtle school, at least 65 from Crowstand, 5 from File Hills, at least 20 from the Lakesend school, at least 10 from Portage la Prairie, at least 17 from Round Lake, and 1 from Stoney Plain boarding school (see PAS, RIIS Admissions Register).



FIGURE 1. Tents erected on the school grounds for students with tubercular and related respiratory conditions. (PAS R-A21262-1)

and have them erected on school grounds (*Figure 1*) so those worst afflicted could reap the benefits of sleeping in fresh air during warmer months well away from poorly ventilated dormitories while lessening, in turn, the risk of infecting others. He introduced the “garden-plot” system (*Figure 2*), having observed it in operation while on a visit to the Hampton Industrial Institute in Virginia, and gave selected students full responsibility to grow and sell locally for modest profit whatever portion of their produce was not earmarked for the school’s dining hall. And he succeeded in establishing scholarships through a Scottish fund for able students who wished to continue their education in teaching, nursing, or mission work.

Despite Indian Affairs finally agreeing to absorb the major operating deficit accumulated under Sinclair prior to his sudden death in 1905—thereby sparing the church whose responsibility it was to cover cost overruns—Heron’s task of repairing the damage left by his predecessor was nonetheless daunting. With enrolments numbering in the mid-60s he found it impossible to run the school under the government’s per capita grant system of funding without incurring a string of small deficits, necessitating frequent appeals to the Church’s Foreign Missions Committee (the body



FIGURE 2. Students working in their garden plots. (PAS R-A21261)

ultimately accountable for the school's over-expenditures) for supplementary financing. By this time the main building at the school (*Figure 3*) which housed offices, classrooms, kitchen, dining and assembly halls, dormitories, etc., was in a poor state of repair; Regina businesses and suppliers were owed for unpaid accounts; and stories were circulating through First Nations communities of the school's immanent closure. Heron's recruiting trips to reserves in search of more students bore little fruit. When Dr. P.H. Bryce, Indian Affairs' chief medical officer, visited the school during his 1907 inspection tour of industrial schools on the prairies and reported that the quality of water from RIIS's drinking wells and the ventilation of dormitories were both unsatisfactory, and that students were getting insufficient levels of physical health exercises and activities, Heron was forced into damage control (see chronological narrative under 1908 for his responses). Believing himself ill-suited to run an industrial school Heron submitted his resignation at least twice only to be persuaded each time by church officials to remain in his post, not that this made much difference in the end. The headaches Indian Affairs had sustained over difficulties with the school's

THE REGINA INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL (1891–1910)



FIGURE 3. The Regina Indian Industrial School, shortly before its closure in 1910. (Canada, *Sessional Papers* 14-2)

operation during the Sinclair years plus Heron's struggles to barely make ends meet despite his best efforts, along with his failure to increase enrolments significantly, had convinced the department to close the school by April 1910.²⁶

Over a decade later Heron presented a paper²⁷ to the Regina Presbytery that sharply criticized the quality of Indian education offered by the Church's residential schools, arguing that while Aboriginal children and youth attending these institutions were fully capable of an education they were being seriously shortchanged by the system. Parents, he contended, "are anxious to have their children educated" yet complain their children are not kept regularly in the classroom but instead are out at work on school farms and in school gardens, helping produce revenues for these institutions. Published in the *Presbyterian Witness*, the church's national magazine, his paper predictably triggered charges of exaggeration and half-truths from

²⁶ Heron's final report, March 1910, gives an attendance of "about 65" but makes no reference to the school's immanent closing. LAC, Indian Affairs Annual Reports, 1864–1990.

²⁷ LAC, Headquarters–General Education Policy–Presbyterian Church, 1888–1889, 1894–1927, RG 10, vol. 6040, file 160-4, part 1, "Heron, May 1923."

several boarding school principals and others, but also declarations of support from other respondents.

Recruitment of students was an ongoing challenge and a vital aspect of the principals' mandate, particularly after the government had introduced the per capita system of funding for the RIIS and other industrial schools in 1893 as an incentive for these institutions to increase enrolments *and* become more efficient in their money-management. Wherever possible RIIS principals were expected to work in their recruitment efforts in conjunction with Indian agents, church missionaries on reserves, and principals of Presbyterian-run Indian boarding schools. No evidence surfaced to show that any of the RIIS's principals invoked the federal compulsory attendance law passed in 1894 as a means of forcing Aboriginal parents to release their children, preferring instead the use of persuasion—which in Sinclair's case often took the form of bribery—rather than resorting to the harsher measures of legal coercion.²⁸

All three principals routinely submitted glowing accounts of the school in their annual reports to Indian Affairs, doubtless fearing that to speak the fuller truth about unsanitary conditions, poor ventilation, or disease, deaths, and deficits would reflect badly on their management of the institution. A rare exception to this pattern—precipitated by a new but short-lived departmental directive requiring industrial school principals to report annually on the status of discharged students²⁹—was McLeod's one-time submission listing the names and First Nations' identities of 50 RIIS students and ex-students who had died during the five-year period from 1892 to 1897 (see Appendix I). McLeod was the only RIIS principal to report the use of corporal punishment at the school, claiming it was seldom needed and always administered in a “judicious but effective manner” in his office.

None of the principals ever acknowledged in their annual reports the existence of the school's cemetery, not even McLeod whose infant children

²⁸ Even some DIA officials believed compulsion should rarely be used. Commissioner David Laird, for example, argued that “compulsory power” regarding school attendance of Indian children “should be used sparingly” and only as a “last resort” (see entries in Chronology under 1901).

²⁹ “Short-lived” due to a reluctance of industrial school principals to comply, believing the directive created extra work they deemed not important.

are buried there. In fact, the principals generally understated the number of students who died at the school and were most likely buried in its cemetery, and only sporadically gave their names while at other times identifying deceased students simply by their student number.³⁰ Whether parents or guardians were ever notified of these deaths and school burials is unknown, though it is likely that in many and possibly most cases they were not.³¹

SCHOOL STAFF

In addition to a principal, the RIIS staff at its fullest complement consisted of a vice-principal, two teachers (one each for the senior and junior classrooms), a matron, governess, farm instructor, carpentry instructor, shoe and harness-making instructor, a tin smithy and painter, a seamstress, laundress, cook, and a baker, that is, 13–14 individuals, given that vice-principals sometimes doubled as the senior classroom teacher. Accommodation for staff members—with the exception of principals and their families, who lived in a separate two-storey brick house on the school grounds—consisted of 10–12 small rooms on the second floor of the main building, where the boys' and girls' dormitories were also located.

A medical doctor from Regina visited the school once a week, was on call at all times, and periodically gave talks on “physiological topics” to students during winter evenings. For a few years, beginning in 1900, the school had a resident nurse and a small “cottage hospital” or infirmary.

³⁰ In Sinclair's annual report to the DIA for the school year ending June 30, 1904, for example, the following statement appears: “One student, No. 169, died in November of consumption, and another, No. 108, died in May after an operation for cancer of the bowels.” LAC, Indian Affairs Annual Reports, 1864–1990, “Sinclair, September 15, 1904.” When children and youth were enrolled at the RIIS each was assigned a number, as per departmental policy, which was recorded in the school's Admissions Register. Over time, as students graduated or were discharged and new students were registered, these numbers were often reused, thus rendering it difficult if not impossible to determine correctly which student a given number actually referred to, particularly so when deceased students were identified in this manner.

³¹ Often parents were left to conclude that if a child of theirs never returned home or was never seen again, then that child had died at the school and would have most likely been buried there. Industrial schools were responsible for burial expenses when a student died while in attendance. Discharging and sending gravely-ill students home before they died so as to avoid burial costs may have been a fairly common practice at the RIIS.

As with most industrial and boarding schools of the day, little is known of the pedagogical or other relevant qualifications of RIIS staff members, not altogether surprising given the difficulties in finding competent teachers for these institutions on salaries typically “less than half” what teachers could expect to make in other school systems at the time.³² One or two RIIS instructors had taught at other boarding schools prior to their appointments: the school’s first full-time matron had trained as a nurse in Chicago, and a recent graduate of the Regina Normal School joined the staff in 1903. One farm instructor, a graduate of the Ontario Agricultural College in Guelph, had worked at the school but a short while when he was abruptly terminated following a physical altercation with the principal, the Reverend Sinclair (see chronological narrative for 1903).

Staff turnovers, apart from several deaths, were relatively modest overall with the exception of four resignations in 1905, mostly for reasons of internal friction. The senior teacher during the school’s early years, about whom allegations of physical and emotional abuse of students later emerged (see chronological narrative for 1903), left and became a principal at the church’s Indian boarding school at Birtle, Manitoba. Although the hiring of Aboriginal personnel as classroom teachers for industrial and boarding schools at this time was rare, in 1902 a young Oneida woman and graduate of the Hampton Industrial Institute, a Miss Cornelius, joined the staff as the new junior classroom teacher and vocal music instructor for the younger girls. After two years at the school, having been landed with additional responsibilities of instructing girls in beadwork and dairying, she left and returned to the United States in search of better wages. According to Sinclair, who hired Miss Cornelius and lamented her departure, she had brought a “very high reputation” and was a “great inspiration” to the girls.

STUDENTS AND SCHOOL ETHOS

At least 500 children and youth³³ (roughly 200 girls and 300 boys), including

³² D.J. Hall, “Clifford Sifton and Canadian Indian Administration, 1896-1905.” In A.L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier (eds.), *As Long as the Sun Shines and the Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), 127.

³³ The school’s Admissions Register (PAS) lists 394 names although it is known to be incomplete. During the research for this project I came across an additional 106 names of students not included in the Register (see Appendix V). Most of these were found in

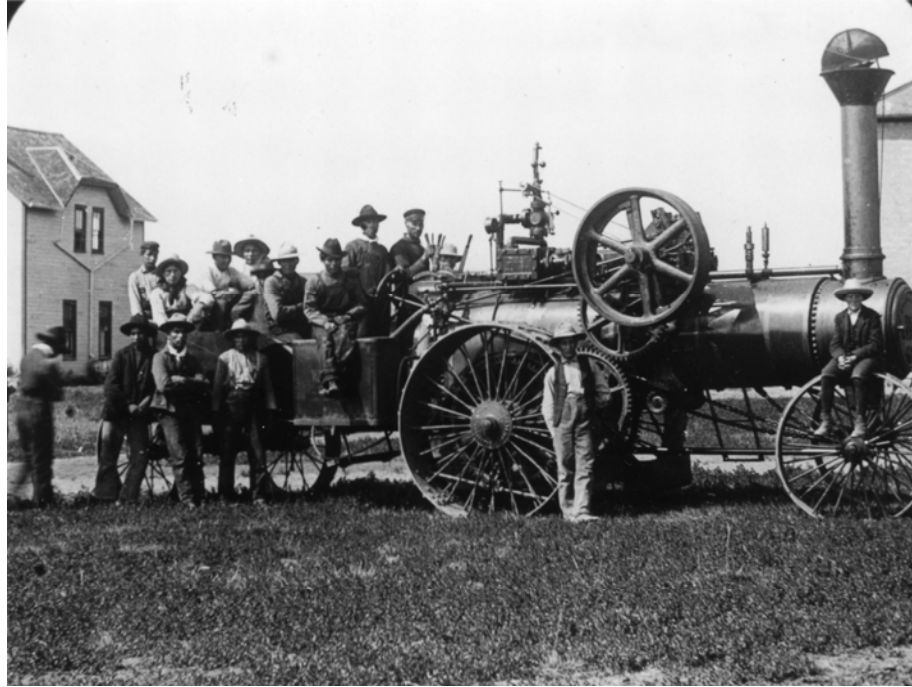


FIGURE 4. Male students with the school's steam traction engine. (PAS R-A2674)

orphan children, were taken or sent to the school. Incredibly, some were as young as 3 and 4 while others were in their early 20s, with the majority falling in the 6–18 age range. Those too young for industrial training, or who were deemed “backward,” spent the school day (morning and afternoon) in the junior classroom which was supplied with kindergarten and other basic learning materials. Middle years and older students spent mornings in the senior classroom where they were taught the general school subjects (including vocal music), with special attention to English, Religion, and the discussion of newspaper articles as a way of learning “current

issues of the school's paper, *The Progress* (PAS) and to a lesser extent in LAC files. Only about one-third of *The Progress* issues have survived, however, and since the paper was a bi-monthly publication for a number of years beginning in 1894, it is likely that numerous other names of students mentioned in the many missing issues were also not included in the Register. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to suggest that the total number of students sent to the RIIS was well over 500 and possibly closer to 600.



FIGURE 5. Female students in the RIIS kitchen. (PAS R-A2677)

history”; afternoons were spent in different instructional settings devoted to mastering various manual trades (boys) and domestic or homemaking skills (girls). At the RIIS, the former included farming and the operation of a steam traction engine (*Figure 4*), carpentry, shoe and harness-making, type-setting and printing, and painting; the latter included cooking (*Figure 5*), baking, laundry, ironing, dairying, knitting, sewing and dress-making, setting and serving tables, and (at times) basic first aid.

Children and youth were recruited for the school from approximately 43 First Nations³⁴ representing a range of different cultural and language groups from across Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, forcing many to travel great distances. At least 25 of these Nations were in Saskatchewan

³⁴ A few of these First Nations no longer exist and a few have since amalgamated. See Appendix IV for a list of Indigenous communities where students were recruited for the RIIS.

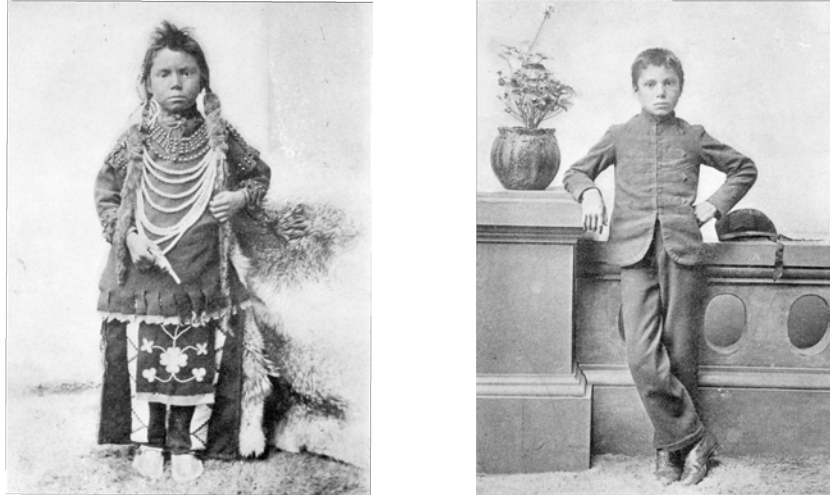


FIGURE 6. “Before” and “After” photos of Thomas Moore Keesick of Muscowpetung First Nation, 1891. (PAS: Left: R-A88223, Right: R-A8223-2)

with the largest number of recruits coming from Mistawasis west of Prince Albert and the Cote Nation near Kamsack, followed by Carry-the-Kettle south of Sintaluta, Muscowpetung west of Fort Qu’Appelle, and the Beardy’s and Okemasis Nation southwest of Prince Albert.³⁵ As well, several Aboriginal children were brought to the school from the northwestern states of Montana and North Dakota following disruptions to Indigenous communities wrought by the American “Indian Wars.”³⁶

Consistent with departmental policy, the underlying rationale for virtually all school-approved activities and events at the RIIS was a thorough and systematic Christianizing and anglicizing of the student body—a cultural transformation graphically depicted in iconic “before” and “after” photographs of one young RIIS student, Thomas Moore Keesick of Muscowpetung First Nation who was enrolled in 1891 at age 8 (*Figure 6*), and in a photograph of the 1898 graduating class depicting female graduates in long

³⁵ See PAS, RIIS Admissions Register.

³⁶ For an interesting glimpse into the story of how one such boy from the State of Montana, Phillip Ironstar, was brought to the school in October 1893, see the short video, “Grandpa go-go” (2015) narrated by Carmen Ironstar, accessible at RiiSmediaproject.com



FIGURE 7. RIIS graduate class of 1898 wearing typical Victorian-era clothing. (PAS R-B570)

black Victorian-style dresses and male graduates with short hair-cuts dressed in shirts, ties, and suits (*Figure 7*).

School days opened and closed with prayers, featured daily Bible readings and midweek prayer meetings. Sundays were devoted almost entirely to religious observances: a morning worship service,³⁷ an afternoon Sunday school (during which students were expected to memorize many biblical verses) and an evening service of singing and readings.³⁸ The formation of Christian moral character with particular emphases on nurturing the virtues

³⁷ Weather permitting, older students were often taken into Regina to attend Sunday morning worship at Knox Presbyterian Church.

³⁸ Taken from works such as *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Up From Slavery*, and *Character Building*. LAC, Indian Affairs Annual Reports, 1864–1990, “Sinclair, Annual Report to the Department of Indian Affairs, September 15, 1904.”

of self-reliance, truthfulness, faithfulness, diligence, temperance, and thrift, emboldened by the examples and exhortations of staff members, permeated the school day. Editorials and articles in *The Progress* frequently featured moral themes and stories under such headings as “The Ideal Boy,” “Humility,” “Good Resolutions,” “Advice to a Young man,” and “Health and Hygiene”; while the adoption of a school uniform in 1903 had, according to Sinclair, done a “good deal to develop a desirable school spirit.” Students were encouraged to join the school’s missionary and temperance societies. Quite a number were baptized at the school and at least 150 became members of The Presbyterian Church in Canada by profession of faith during their residency.

To enforce the rule that English was the only permissible language at the school except when parents or friends visited, McLeod appointed several “trustworthy” students as “language monitors” to report on peers caught speaking in their Native dialects. Infractions were met with various disciplinary measures.

The school had a literary and debating society and a small library which housed carefully censored materials: biographies including a 500-page volume on Queen Victoria; an Encyclopaedia Britannica donated by a staff member; various story and picture books, maps and newspapers. A few musical instruments including fiddles and mouth organs were see available for those interested; and in 1894 a boys-only brass band (*Figure 8*) was formed that played at various school and community functions. Annual school banquets were held in late fall, often featuring prominent guest speakers such as N.F. Davin, and student-provided entertainment.

Like all institutions of its kind, the RIIS made extensive use of forced and unpaid student labour in its attempts, among other things, to help hold the line on operating expenses given the budget restraints imposed by Indian Affairs funding arrangements. Boys learning carpentry, for example, helped build tables, chairs, desks and blackboards for the school’s main building, as well as ladders, fences, boardwalks, a toboggan slide and an octagonal bandstand on the school’s grounds; those learning to farm fed the cattle and chickens, cleaned stables, worked in the fields during seeding and harvest and operated the school’s threshing machine that prepared various grains for market; those in leather work repaired shoes and made horse-harnesses,



FIGURE 8. The RIIS boys' brass band. (Canada, *Sessional Papers* 14-1)

while the printing room (where in 1893 *The Progress* was launched under the editorship of a staff member³⁹) was run by boys who had mastered the art of typesetting (*Figures 9 and 10*). Much of the school's laundry, ironing and cleaning of halls and dormitories fell to the girls; while both boys and girls tended the large vegetable garden and at times helped repaint the dormitories.

School and department officials justified these practices as part of the training necessary for developing industrial and domestic skills, thus ostensibly falling under RIIS's mandate. Parents, on the other hand, often condemned such practices as exploiting their children and taking valuable time away from their classroom learning.

Senior students (male and female) were also required to complete work terms of several months away from the school as part of their industrial or domestic training, during which times they were referred to as "out-pupils."

³⁹During the height of its publication, the school newspaper had over 500 paid subscribers as well as an exchange of newspapers with about 50 other schools in Canada and the United States. *The Progress*'s mandate was "...to further the interest of Indian work of The Presbyterian Church in Canada, and to give the public information regarding the race and its advancement." PAS, *The Progress* 13, no. 3, March 1905.

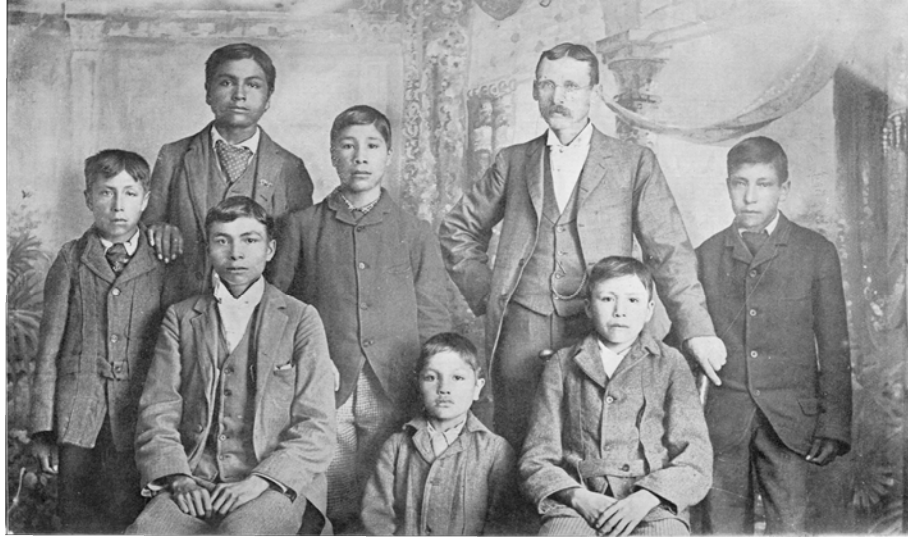


FIGURE 9. A typesetting and printing class with the instructor. (Canada, *Sessional Papers* 14-3)

As RIIS principals were anxious to have a majority of male graduates take up farming—believing this the best way for them to become assimilated into a dominant white economy⁴⁰—many such out-pupils spent their work terms on local area farms during summers and autumns; others served as apprentices to local carpenters or in local news printing offices, while a few assisted with missionary work. Female out-pupils were invariably employed as domestic help in the homes of white settlers. Both groups received modest monthly wages—male out-pupils being paid more than female—which were deposited for them in Post Office Savings Bank accounts by school officials.⁴¹

Very little information is recorded concerning the nutritional value of meals students were served at the school. McLeod’s 1896 report to Indian Affairs did acknowledge that “We have found out the advantage of a liberal

⁴⁰ See, for example, LAC, Correspondence Relating to the Education of Indian Children, items, 4–10, “McLeod to Hayter Reed, September 15, 1896.”

⁴¹ Male out-pupils were usually paid between \$15 to \$25 a month. Once their work terms were finished and out-pupils were back at the school attending classes, they could draw on their savings accounts for certain purchases provided they had the permission of the school’s principals. After graduating or being discharged they were not free, however, to withdraw the remainder of their savings without the written consent of an Indian agent and the Secretary, DIA.

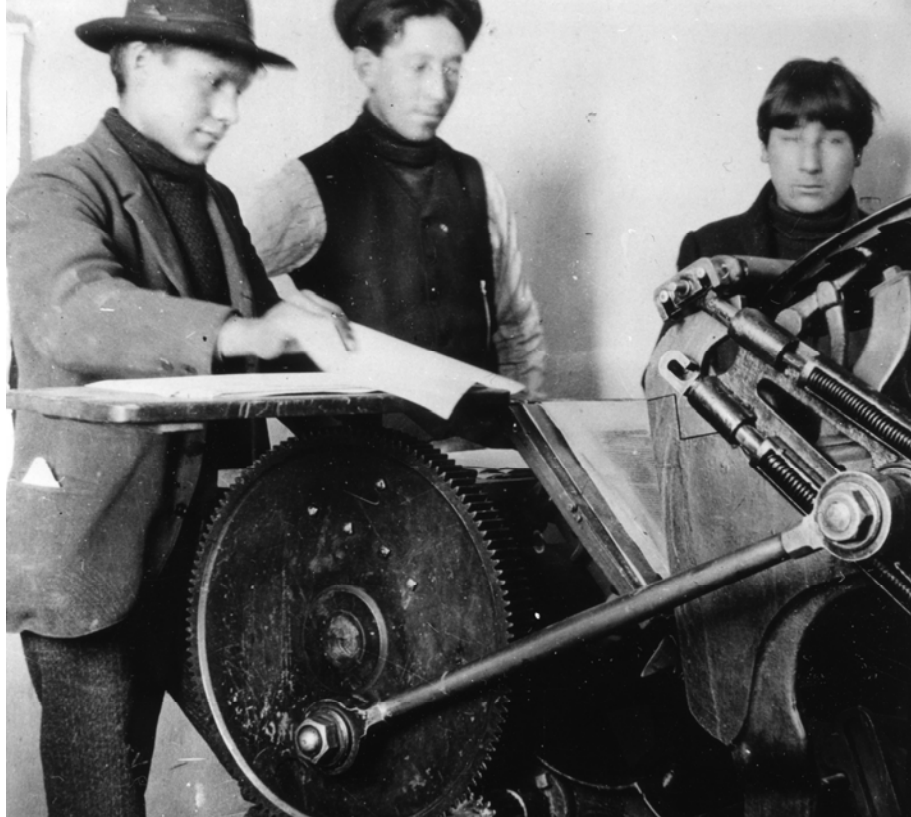


FIGURE 10. RIIS students operating the school printing press. (PAS R-A2679)

vegetable diet” as he anticipated a good yield that year from the school’s garden,⁴² although in 1900 he expressed concern that unless the school was granted increased grazing lands for its cattle, a “reliable supply of fresh milk,” especially for those students not in “robust health,” might be threatened.⁴³ Only one of the departmental inspectors who visited the school ever commented on the food served, claiming (in glowing terms) it to be “well cooked” and “wholesome” with vegetables forming “a good portion of the mid-day meal” and the beef, supplied by Mr. Darke of Regina, to be of “the

⁴² LAC, Indian Affairs Annual Reports, 1864–1990, “McLeod, August 20, 1896.”

⁴³ LAC, Correspondence Relating to Land for the Regina Industrial School, 1885–1901, RG 10, vol. 3926, file 116,836-1, “McLeod to Laird, July 2, 1900.”

best quality.”⁴⁴ Given that criticisms of the food served at industrial schools during this and subsequent eras were not uncommon, the veracity of these claims is difficult to assess. Moreover, as Martin Benson of Indian Affairs observed, departmental inspectors were, “as a rule,” opposed to making “adverse reports on a school if there [was] any way of avoiding it,” fearing that to do so “would bring them into collision with missionaries and interfere with their authority among the Indians,”⁴⁵ as in their efforts (for example) to recruit students for these institutions. Benson, also known to have been highly critical of the school’s administration under Sinclair—especially of Sinclair’s extravagant and expensive tastes as shown in the speciality foods he ordered for himself and his family and at times for the school including syrup, honey, marmalade, raisins, dates, icing sugar and chocolates—was finally driven in exasperation to exclaim “It’s no wonder . . . that 46 pupils needed to have their teeth treated by Dr. Pollard,” a local dentist.⁴⁶

Physical recreation and outdoor sports were an integral part of school life, particularly throughout the McLeod years. For many students these activities offered a welcome escape from the drearier and harsher realities of industrial schooling as well as opportunities to excel in various athletic endeavours. Lacrosse was the most popular boys’ sport initially, with the senior team handily defeating their local area opponents in friendly matches, eliciting McLeod’s praise and admiration for the players’ “fleetness of foot and keenness of eye.”⁴⁷ Although lacrosse continued to be played (*Figure 11*) it gave way in popularity to rugby football (*Figure 12*), followed by hockey, then baseball, and hunting in season for older boys. Much less popular (one

⁴⁴ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1864, 1990, “Alex McGibbon, 1898.”

⁴⁵ Martin Benson, 1897, quoted in Agnes Grant, *No End of Grief: Indian Residential Schools in Canada* (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications Inc., Winnipeg, 1996), 94.

⁴⁶ A more extensive account of Benson’s criticisms of the Sinclair years may be found in the chronological narrative under 1904.

⁴⁷ Because of its close association with Indigenous culture, lacrosse was routinely banned at industrial and boarding schools. That it was permitted and even encouraged for a time at the RIIS was a striking exception. Historian J.R. Miller claimed, perhaps a little too quickly, that “one never hears of a lacrosse team being started or encouraged at a residential school.” J.R. Miller, “Reading Photographs, Reading Voices, Documenting the History of Native Residential Schools,” in Jennifer Brown and Elizabeth Vibert (eds.), *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 1996), 475.



Top: FIGURE 11. The RIIS lacrosse team. (PAS R-A2685)

Bottom: FIGURE 12. The 1901 RIIS football team. (PAS R-A21257)



might assume) were military-style drills for boys offered by instructors from the nearby North-West Mounted Police barracks. Recreational activities for girls included basketball, handball, ping-pong, skating (every student old enough was provided with a pair of skates according to Heron), exercising with dumb-bells, Indian club-swinging, and long walks accompanied by a female staff member.

Surprising as it might seem—particularly for a Presbyterian-run industrial school of this era—rules governing the segregation of male and female students were somewhat less stringent than at many similar types of institution. Apart from obvious areas of gender segregation such as dormitories, training in trades and homemaking skills (though several boys learned how to bake bread and were subsequently put in charge of the school’s bakeshop), and athletic or recreational activities (though at times girls and boys played pick-up basketball together), there were several built-in opportunities for the sexes to intermingle. In evenings during warmer months of the year, students were free to socialize for an hour or two on school grounds, albeit under the watchful eye of a staff member, prompting Sinclair to observe that such activities helped improve the conduct of both sexes. In winters, one evening a week was usually set aside for a social gathering of students and staff that included vocal and instrumental music, games, storytelling, recitations, magic lantern slide-shows (sometimes featuring life in other cultures or illustrated stories of “Cinderella,” “Dick Whittington and his Cat,” etc.), and occasionally dancing. Morning classes were co-educational, as were the school’s societies mentioned earlier; male and female students ate meals together and jointly attended worship services.

For lack of school exit records, it is difficult to say how many students “graduated” with what would have been the equivalent of a grade 5 or 6 education (the highest grades offered) and a proficiency in trades or homemaking skills. At the first graduation ceremony in April 1897, 10 students (5 male, 5 female) received their diplomas. The following year the number graduating more than tripled to 35⁴⁸ but this trend did not continue. Based on principals’ reports and issues of *The Progress*, it appears that close to 100, or almost 20% of the school’s known overall enrolment of 500, would

⁴⁸ The group photo of the 1898 graduating class (see Figure 7, p. 21) indicates that about one-third of graduates that year were young women.

have received diplomas or honourable discharge certificates (see Appendix III for a partial list of graduates' names). Of these, several went on to further education, usually in teaching or nursing and usually with the aid of a scholarship.⁴⁹ One young woman graduate became Matron at the church's Alberni Boarding School in British Columbia, another a nurse at the File Hills Boarding School after briefly serving as acting nurse at the Regina school; two other young women graduates joined the staff for brief periods in the homemaking area, one as a seamstress instructor and the other as a laundress instructor. A male graduate had fought in the South African War, returning safely to tell of his experiences; others enlisted during World War I.⁵⁰ A number of male graduates took up farming, others carpentry, while some found employment in local newsprint offices and a few worked as translators for missionaries on reserves, for boarding school principals, or for Indian Agents. Two or three male graduates were taken on staff at the school to assist with instruction in farming and carpentry.

All three principals were keen to see many of the graduating and ex-students married, settled into a domestic way of life and raising families, and were more than willing to facilitate this transition by conducting wedding services at the school. The first of several took place in 1896. These weddings, not infrequently featured in issues of *The Progress*, were taken as tangible evidence that the ideals of Christian marriage and family life were being consciously promoted by the school among its recent graduates.

Of the majority who did not complete their schooling, many had been discharged for reasons of poor health and within a year of two a number of them had died in their home communities. Others were discharged for reasons of age. The total of school-related deaths (1891–1910) is not precisely known, but piecing together the information on student and ex-student

⁴⁹ Awarded by the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, Edinburgh.

⁵⁰ In a letter to the DIA, one such former RIIS student, Edwin Gardippy (Beardy's), who referred to himself as a "returned man" from the war (1914–18), sought proof of his age from old school records so he could qualify for a veteran's allowance. LAC, General Correspondence Relating to the Regina Industrial School, 1910–1939, RG 10, vol. 3927, file, 116,836–1C, item 36, "Gardippy to Department of Indian Affairs, March 30, 1939." Gardippy was told in reply that the relevant records pertaining to his time at RIIS had been destroyed. *Ibid.*, item 35, "R.A. Hoey to Gardippy, April 21, 1939."

deaths recorded in various reports and memos of departmental officials, the number is at least 95, about 20% of the overall known enrolment. Those who ran away from the school were routinely rounded up, returned and punished (e.g., put in solitary confinement). Other ex-students wandered seemingly as lost souls unable to settle easily into either a First Nations community—having had their cultural roots and identities called seriously into question if not wholly discredited—or into a white community. While McLeod and Heron often spoke proudly of former students who kept in touch with the school and who sought their advice on various matters including those of a “most delicate personal interest,”⁵¹ the sad truth is that little or nothing is known of what became of a large number of RIIS students.

SCHOOL AND TOWN

Interactions between the school and people of Regina⁵² were limited. Apart from the school’s lacrosse, football and hockey teams competing periodically against teams from the Regina Collegiate, the Regina Normal School and the North-West Mounted Police barracks, and apart from more senior students attending Sunday morning services and other functions at Regina’s Knox Presbyterian Church, there was not a lot of local contact (though according to one source Regina residents “often” invited students from the school out to their homes).⁵³ Doubtless the town was a destination for some of the older students during their half-day of free time Saturday afternoons. The annual Regina Fall Fair was an occasion for girls at the school to exhibit some of their handicraft work and for the school’s brass band to perform. Students who “owned” garden plots at the school were allowed to sell some of their produce to Regina residents. Sinclair at one point reported that local citizens had contributed over \$800 towards the purchase of a traction steam engine for the school as part of his plan to initiate a practical course in steam engineering for boys hoping, thereby, to boost enrolments. A few members of the Women’s Missionary Society visited the school from time to time;

⁵¹ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1864–1900, “Heron, Annual Report for the Year 1905, July 16, 1905.”

⁵² Between 1900 and 1911 the population of Regina grew quickly from roughly 2,200 to 30,000. www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca

⁵³ G. Goulden and D. Connell, “Paul Dojack Youth Centre: Historical Essay” (1985). PAS, RE 1982, p.11.

and the minister at Knox Presbyterian Church in Regina, a Reverend Henry, took considerable interest in the school and its affairs and made frequent visits; but not, it seems, did other members of the Regina Presbytery, at least during the latter years of the school's operation.

THE SCHOOL'S CLOSING

As the RIIS drew to its end, the immediate concern of school and church officials was the plight of some 65–70 remaining students. Heron unequivocally believed they should be returned to their home communities. A few DIA officials, including Duncan Campbell Scott, Superintendent of Indian Education at the time (1909), floated the idea of building a new Presbyterian-run Indian boarding school on or near the Qu'Appelle Reserves in order to accommodate the Regina and other potential students—only to abandon the notion shortly thereafter in favour of greatly expanding the small File Hills school to accommodate these additional students. Church officials, on the other hand, were more inclined to send the remaining RIIS students to several of the Church's existing Indian boarding schools provided the DIA agreed to distribute the RIIS's per capita grant across these institutions, including the File Hills School, the Portage la Prairie School, and the Cecilia Jeffrey School in Kenora, Ontario. This latter option prevailed.

By 1911, all the RIIS buildings and land had been transferred to the federal Department of the Interior. The school's main building was converted into a temporary jail, much to Heron's chagrin, while a new jail for the city of Regina was under construction. By 1919 it had been converted into a "boys' detention home."⁵⁴ All of the RIIS's buildings including the main one destroyed by fire in 1948, the two-storey home for principals and their families, a carpenter's cottage, the trades building housing the carpentry shop, shoe and leather shop and paint shop, the bakery building, the bandstand, stables, sheds, etc., have long since disappeared.

THE CEMETERY

Only two references to the school's cemetery were found in the extensive archival material consulted. The first, in a report by Indian Affairs inspector

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14. What is known today as the Paul Dojack Youth Centre is situated where the RIIS's main school building once stood.

Alex McGibbon following his second visit to the school in 1894, describes the cemetery as measuring 100' by 66' enclosed within a white picket fence with “good gates” located in the far north end of the school’s property, and concludes with “I only noticed two graves.” The second was in a 1921 letter by a Mrs. McAra of Regina on behalf of the Presbyterian Women’s Missionary Society (Saskatchewan Branch) to Indian Commissioner W.H. Graham, stating that the original fence and small wooden crosses marking the last “resting place” for “some thirty-five to forty of our little Indian children” had been destroyed years earlier by a prairie fire, and the gravesites trampled on by grazing cattle. She went on to implore the Commissioner to put the cemetery in good order so that it may be kept sacred to the memory of all the children buried there (see chronology for 1921).

Thereafter the cemetery languished for nearly a century—unnoticed, unattended and essentially unknown with its unmarked graves enclosed by a rail fence, situated on what today is privately owned grassland under threat of encroaching industrial development (*Figure 13*).

Official documents recording the names and death dates of students buried in the cemetery have not come to light (many of the school’s records having been lost or destroyed). During the course of research for this project, 14 RIIS students were found named in various archived sources, including issues of *The Progress* and memos of principals and Indian Agents, as having died while at the school and whose remains are most probably buried there (see Appendix II).

In 2010 and 2012 geophysical (remote sensing) surveys of the cemetery conducted by professional archeologists detected 38 “anomalies” interpreted as likely burial sites, more or less commensurate with the numbers recorded in the McAra correspondence, 32 of which are located inside the current fenced area and 6 immediately outside that area. A small and barely visible gravestone in one corner of the plot, and the only surviving marker in the cemetery, identifies the burial site of 2 and possibly 3 young children of the school’s first principal, the Reverend A.J. McLeod, and his wife Lillie.

According to a recent statement by Mr. Justice (now Senator) Murray Sinclair who headed the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *all* children buried in this or in any other residential school cemetery in Canada—



FIGURE 13. The RIIS cemetery by Pinkie Rd. in northwest Regina, 2016. (Photo credit: Lisa Hein, Project Archaeologist)

regardless of their race or ethnicity—are deemed to be casualties of the government’s residential school system.⁵⁵

In light of sustained and dedicated efforts by the RIIS Commemorative Association Inc., of the support of several First Nations Chiefs as well as the co-operation of Regina’s Planning Commission and the eventual good will shown by Regina City Council that culminated in a unanimous vote by Council on September 19, 2016, a new by-law giving the RIIS cemetery a municipal heritage designation was passed. In May 2017, Saskatchewan government officials confirmed with the RIIS Commemorative Association that the cemetery will be designated a Provincial Heritage site as well—the only cemetery in Saskatchewan to receive such a designation, and the only residential school cemetery in Canada known to lie within the bounds of a provincial capital city.

This sacred ground, now officially recognized and protected will not again—it is to be hoped—fade from public memory or consciousness.

⁵⁵ Speaking at a meeting with the RIIS Commemorative Association, Regina, March 9, 2016.

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

In 1955, the Indigenous author Eleanor Brass described a small reunion of several former RIIS students. The gathering included her parents, Fred Dieter and Marybelle Cote, both of whom had been members of the first graduating class in 1897 and had farmed successfully on the Okanese Reserve in the File Hills colony, and four women (Katy and Alice Aspen, Sady Snow and Agnes Thompson) who had returned for the occasion from the United States where they had worked in responsible positions for many years. All of them, Brass claimed, had “reason to be proud of their alma mater.”⁵⁶ Years later she wrote that “those of us who are descendants of [RIIS] pupils often wonder why this technical school and others like it were not kept open,” concluding that had they been “the Indians might be further advanced than they are today.”⁵⁷

This is not a sentiment that would garner much if any support in the 21st Century especially in light of the heartwrenching stories of residential school “survivors” recently brought to light by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. It is worth noting, though, that Brass’s parents and their classmates were at the school during the McLeod era. If it could be said there were any “brighter moments” to the RIIS’s history—scarred as that history is by the human costs of removing hundreds of Aboriginal children and youth during their formative years from their home communities to be given industrial training at a distant school in a culturally alien and a highly structured and physically unhealthy environment—these brighter moments would arguably have occurred during McLeod’s tenure. It is also true of others who graduated in subsequent years that some went on to lead reasonably productive lives, at least by colonial standards of the day, in which the basic education and training they received at the school doubtless played an instrumental role.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Eleanor Brass, “Indian School’s Fine Record,” *Regina Leader-Post*, July 8, 1955. Regina Public Library, Central Branch, Prairie History Room.

⁵⁷ Eleanor Brass, *I Walk in Two Worlds* (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1987), 8–9.

⁵⁸ The Regina Indian Industrial School along with the Battleford Industrial School and the Qu’Appelle Industrial School at Lebret were in some respects forerunners to the types of vocational training programs not introduced into the provincial secondary

But for far too many and perhaps a majority of RIIS ex-students, the outcomes were much grimmer.

Reasons behind the school's closing were alluded to earlier and are detailed much further in the following chronological narrative: a growth in parental resistance to releasing their children, the prevalence of disease and death, and sagging enrolments—none of which were untypical of other industrial school closures. Another contributing factor to the RIIS's ultimate demise was the unpopular and deeply troubled administration of the second principal, the Reverend J.A. Sinclair, from which the school never really recovered.

One of the saddest legacies of the Regina Indian Industrial School—in addition to that of its systematic and persistent efforts to “cleanse” the students of their Aboriginal identities and heritage—was the palpable indifference exhibited by the school's principals (evidenced in their annual and other reports) towards the children who died while at the school and lie buried in its cemetery, as well as towards those they discharged from the school in ill-health, many of whom died not long thereafter.

school systems for non-Aboriginal youth until decades later. Following the federal government's passage of the *Technical Education Act* (1919), which made funds available to assist any of the provinces desiring to initiate vocational training in their school systems, the first public secondary school in Saskatchewan to offer industrial/technical and commercial programs was Regina's Balfour Collegiate Institute which opened in 1930.

AN RIIS CHRONOLOGY

The extensive chronological narrative that follows begins with 1895, the year The Presbyterian Church in Canada first expressed interest in operating an Indian industrial school in what was then the North-West Territories, and continues year-by-year to map the rise and fall of the RIIS until its closure in 1910. Entries relevant to the school beyond 1910 appear in selected years up to 1923.

1885

On behalf of the Presbyterian Church's Board of Missions for Manitoba and the North West Territories, Rev. Dr. James Robertson seeks permission from Indian Commissioner E. Dewdney for the Church to operate a new Indian industrial school. Citing the "Christian and educational work" his church is already doing on the Okanese, Bird's Tail Cree Crowstand, Broadview, and Mistawasis reserves, and is about to start on the Pasquah Reserve, he reminds Dewdney that "all the Indians connected with our missions" were "loyal" to the government during the Northwest Rebellion. He suggests a location for the new school about 40 miles north of Regina near the foot of Long Lake, adding that he trusts the DIA will extend the "same rights and privileges" to his denomination as it has to Anglican and Catholic denominations who have found the running of industrial schools to be a "valuable aid to their [Indian] work."⁵⁹

Dewdney urges the department to give Robertson's request "favourable consideration," arguing that parents from reserves on Treaty 4 territory where Protestant missions are being established should not be obliged to send children to Catholic-run institutions like the Qu'Appelle Industrial School at Lebret.⁶⁰ Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, L.

⁵⁹ LAC, Correspondence Relating to Land for the Regina Industrial School, 1885–1901, RG 10, vol. 3926, file 116,836-1, items 5–8, "Robertson to Dewdney, December 7, 1885."

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, item 34, "Dewdney to Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, December 11, 1885."

Vankoughnet, concurs, adding that such institutions should be established “universally” throughout the Dominion since they are the “most important ... lever for elevating the Indian race to anything like an equality with the other classes of the population...”⁶¹

1886

Dewdney is informed that Parliament voted \$20,000 for construction of the school near Long Lake to be operated under the “auspices” of the Presbyterian Church. Public Works is to arrange for the construction of buildings in accordance with plans and specifications of that department’s chief architect in consultation with Indian Affairs.⁶²

1887

Preliminary drawings for the proposed industrial school at Long Lake are deemed inadequate by Hayter Reed, Assistant Indian Commissioner in Regina. Reed asks Public Works to draw up new plans ensuring the building meets “what are now recognized to be the necessities of such an Institution” including: accommodation for 100 students (boys and girls), provisions to “isolate infectious diseases,” a thorough ventilation plan for dormitories and dining room, a basement to house furnaces and store coal, and a roof “specially constructed to keep the dormitories cool.”⁶³

Federal Deputy Minister of Justice informs the DIA that the quarter section of land near Long Lake proposed for the school is unavailable. The will of the late owner, E.J. Boswell, does “not authorize” any release of the property, naming his infant nephew as heir.⁶⁴

A 60-acre site of government-owned land near Regina lying immediately below the Pile of Bones Creek (described as the southeast quarter of Section 18, Township 17, Range 19, West of the 2nd Meridian) is under consideration.⁶⁵ Commissioner Dewdney “heartily endorses” the location

⁶¹ Ibid., items 9–11, “Vankoughnet to Sir John A. Macdonald, Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, December 29, 1885.”

⁶² Ibid., items 13–14, “Letter to Dewdney, July 9, 1886.”

⁶³ LAC, Correspondence Regarding the Building of the Regina Industrial School, RG 10, vol. 3927, file 116,836-5, items 6–13, “H. Reed to Vankoughnet, January 31, 1887.”

⁶⁴ Ibid., item 78, “To Dewdney from Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, March 30, 1887.”

⁶⁵ LAC, Correspondence Relating to Land for the Regina Industrial School, 1885–

saying the “proximity to a white population will, in many ways, prove very beneficial to the pupils.” He urges DIA to take “prompt action in this matter” as a “valuable portion of our short building season has already gone by, and the Presbyterian Body are becoming anxious.”⁶⁶

Authority to use this land for purposes of a new industrial school is granted to Indian Affairs by the Governor General in Council.⁶⁷

Dewdney requests the school building be of brick construction and named the “Regina Indian Industrial School” (RIIS) given its proximity to the town, noting that if plans are finished in time the construction “could begin this autumn.”⁶⁸ Estimated cost is \$40,000.⁶⁹

Permission is sought by Assistant Indian Commissioner Reed to have the site tested for a “plentiful supply” of water.⁷⁰

Dewdney reviews architects’ drawings for the school’s main building and requests several alterations to ensure that “water closets” are placed adjacent to dormitories for “night use and sick children” and that a “good basement for furnaces and other requirements” is provided.⁷¹

1888

Extensive drilling tests determine an insufficient water supply under “any portion” of the chosen site.⁷²

1901, RG 10, vol. 3926, file 116,836-1, items 129–30, “Plan Showing Proposed Site of Industrial School.” This indicates a location in the vicinity of where today the campuses of the University of Regina and the First Nations University of Canada are located.

⁶⁶ Ibid., items 85–88, “To the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from E. Dewdney, June 4, 1887.”

⁶⁷ Ibid., item 133, “Memo to Dewdney, October 7, 1887.”

⁶⁸ LAC, Correspondence Regarding the Building of the Regina Industrial School,” items 28–29, “Hayter Reed to Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, October 17, 1887.”

⁶⁹ Ibid., items 23–25 Deputy Minister of Public Works (Ottawa) to Dewdney, October 10, 1887.”

⁷⁰ Ibid., item 27, “Reed to Superintendent General, DIA, October 13, 1887.”

⁷¹ Ibid., items 33–34, “Dewdney to Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, November 23, 1887.”

⁷² LAC, Correspondence Relating to Land for the Regina Industrial School, “Dewdney’s memo, March 5, 1888.”

William White, a lawyer from Whitewood, expresses his willingness to release a half-section of his land (320 acres) 4 miles northwest of Regina for purposes of an industrial school on condition he be paid either \$8.00/acre or given in exchange for his land an “equivalent” area of unoccupied government territory in Assiniboia “wherever I see fit to select it at the government price of \$2.50/acre, either cancelled homesteads not again taken up, or lapsed pre-emptions.” He claims his farm is “very well adapted to the purpose for which I am offering it” and suggests his terms are “reasonable especially in view of the price paid by the Government for the Experimental Farms in Manitoba and the North West.”⁷³

Indian Affairs informs the Minister of Public Works that White’s offer of a land exchange has been accepted and that the new site for the Regina Indian Industrial School is defined as the north one-half of Section 28, Township 17, Range 20, West of the 2nd Meridian, known locally as “the White farm.”⁷⁴

Land evaluators Messrs. LeJeune and Marsh of Regina appraise White’s land and report it to be “one of the best half sections in this district and fully worth \$10.00/acre,” adding they consider White’s proposition a “very reasonable one.”⁷⁵

Articles of Agreement are drawn up (May 14) between the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs and White for transferring ownership of his 320 acres in exchange for “certain vacant lands” valued at \$3,200 (as set by the land appraisers) that White may select in the District of Assiniboia.⁷⁶

1889

The federal Department of Public Works informs Indian Affairs that contractors for building both the Regina Indian Industrial School and the St. Paul’s Indian Industrial School at Middlechurch, Manitoba, are anxious to proceed with the work, and seeks assurances from Indian Affairs that sufficient funds are available for both projects to begin: \$36,000 for constructing

⁷³ Ibid., items 163–64, “White to Dewdney, May 4, 1888.”

⁷⁴ Ibid., items 179–80, “DIA Secretary to F. Baillairge, Minister of Public Works, May 15, 1888.”

⁷⁵ Ibid., item 184, “LeJeune and Marsh to Dewdney, May 14, 1888.”

⁷⁶ Ibid., items 228–29.

the RIIS and \$20,000 for constructing St. Paul's IS.⁷⁷ Indian Affairs Vankoughnet responds that \$36,000 has been transferred to Public Works for "construction of the Regina School."⁷⁸

1890

Discussions ensue regarding DIA's method of financing the operation of the RIIS, whether on a per-capita grant basis which technically places responsibility for any cost overruns on the denomination operating the institution, as is the arrangement with the new St. Paul's Industrial School, or on a full-funding basis in which the Government pays all operating expenses regardless, as in the case of the Qu'Appelle, Battleford, and High River industrial schools in the NWT.

Presbyterian Church officials have the understanding that Indian Affairs would pay "all expenses connected with the School."⁷⁹

Vankoughnet⁸⁰ warns of "heavy expenditure" involved in running industrial schools. He now thinks it is time for DIA to change the way these schools in the NWT are financed and to "fix a rate per capita, beyond which [DIA] should decline to be further responsible for the expenses of the institution."⁸¹

The Reverend Andrew Baird speaking on behalf of a committee of the Presbyterian Synod for Manitoba and the NWT looking into the management of the school lists the church's proposed terms of engagement: that DIA provide all furnishings for the school and pay all staff salaries and fuel costs during the first year of operation, plus \$150 travel allowance for the principal, \$100 for lighting, \$200 for horses and cows, and \$50 per student for food and clothing. He says the committee has tried to keep estimates to

⁷⁷ LAC, Correspondence Regarding the Building of the Regina Industrial School, item 50, "Secretary, Department of Public Works to Vankoughnet, Deputy Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, April 6, 1889."

⁷⁸ Ibid., item 52, "Vankoughnet to Deputy Minister, Public Works, April 8, 1889."

⁷⁹ Ibid., items 247–49, "Memo of Wm McGirr to the Deputy Minister (nd)."

⁸⁰ James Daschuk describes Vankoughnet as a "fastidious keeper of DIA accounts," a person with a "zeal for fiscal restraint" but possessing "little direct knowledge of conditions in the northwest." James Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2013), 134.

⁸¹ LAC, Correspondence Relating to Land for the Regina Industrial School, items 251–59, "Vankoughnet to Dewdney, Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, June 10, 1890."

the “lowest possible.” He is not yet able to recommend someone for the principal’s position.⁸²

Assistant Commissioner Reed announces the RIIS building “has at length been finished,” expressing his hope that the church “under whose auspices it is to be conducted will speedily have arrangements completed and the institution in operation.”⁸³

An internal departmental circular is issued by Vankoughnet forcefully stating that the “Department considers it advisable that some means . . . be adopted to compel the Parents and Guardians of [Indian] children of school age to send their children to school” and that the “Chiefs in Council” be called upon “to frame rules and regulations under subsection (g) of section 76 of the Indian Act . . . respecting the attendance at school of children between the age of six and fifteen years.”⁸⁴

1891

In comparing the Synod committee’s conditions for running the new industrial school with DIA’s experience in running similar institutions in the Territories, Assistant Commissioner Reed concludes that “we could maintain [the Regina school] as cheaply, if not more so, ourselves” and by doing so “retain considerably more control.”⁸⁵

The Reverend Baird and Professor Hart, convenor of the western branch of the Church’s Foreign Missions Committee (FMC), believe it is “better for the Department to take the maintenance [of the school] into their own hands for the first year, and . . . at the end of that time the Church would be in a better position to make an offer of terms upon which to take it over.”⁸⁶

RIIS officially opens April 15 with a staff consisting of the principal, The Reverend A.J. McLeod of Medicine Hat,⁸⁷ assistant principle C.D.

⁸² Ibid., items 282–83, “Baird to H. Reed, December 17, 1890.”

⁸³ LAC, Indian Affairs Annual Reports, 1864–1990, p. 183, “Hayter Reed, 1890.”

⁸⁴ LAC, Correspondence Regarding the Regulations Relating to the Compulsory Education of Indian Children, RG 10, vol. 2552, file 112,220, item 5, “Vankoughnet, December 29, 1890.”

⁸⁵ LAC, Correspondence Relating to Land for the Regina Industrial School, op. cit., item 284–85, “Reed to Vankoughnet, Deputy Superintendent General, DIA, January 21, 1891.”

⁸⁶ Ibid., item 287, “Reed to Vankoughnet, February 17, 1891.”

⁸⁷ PCCA, Annual Report of the Women’s Foreign Missionary Society (hereafter

McKenzie, a matron (temporarily McLeod's wife), and a farmer, Mr. Gilbert. By June the enrolment is 32 (17 boys and 15 girls) and by September it is 42 (22 boys, 20 girls) drawn primarily from the Piapot, Muscowpetung, Pasqua, and Indian Head reserves—with 26 from Muscowpetung alone despite its Chief, along with the Piapot Chief, being “the two most determined against Indian education in this Agency,” according to Agent J.B. Lash.⁸⁸

McLeod's first annual report⁸⁹ describes the school day: mornings are devoted to teaching all students the basic school subjects with particular emphasis on English, and afternoons to instruction in the industrial skills of farming and carpentry for boys and domestic skills of laundry, cooking and sewing for girls. Morning classes are taught by McLeod; afternoon industrial classes by McKenzie. McLeod's wife helps with instruction of girls in homemaking classes. Boys “have shown themselves very useful in the garden, and in cleaning up the grounds ... while the girls have done good work in ... the laundry, the kitchen ... and shown cheerfulness and a willingness to learn. ... [but] in spite of all the comforts provided for them, some pupils have shown at times an inclination to forgo the advantages they here enjoy, and return to the uncivilized life of the tepee.” In every case, McLeod affirms, “these runaways have been brought back to us.”

Principals of industrial schools in the NWT are directed to submit with each annual report the “status” of pupils discharged during the year, showing what has become of them, how many are “prospering and what avocations, if any, they are pursuing.”⁹⁰

Cost of operating the RIIS in its first year is \$12,783 covered fully by DIA.⁹¹

WFMS), 1890–1891, p.32. The report says McLeod possesses the “scholastic ability necessary” for the job and is commencing his work with a “genuine Missionary spirit.”

⁸⁸ LAC, Correspondence Regarding the Regulations Relative to the Compulsory Education of Indian Children, 1890–1903, item 41, “J.B. Lash, Muscowpetung Agency, to H. Reed, Indian Commissioner (Regina), September 14, 1891.”

⁸⁹ LAC, Department of Indian Affairs Annual Reports, 1864–1990, pp. 152–53, “McLeod, September 16, 1891.”

⁹⁰ LAC, Status of Discharged Pupils, 1891–1933, RG 10, vol. 3861, file 82,390, item 6, “Departmental Memo to Indian Commissioner for Manitoba and the NWT, September 16, 1891.”

⁹¹ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1891, p. 104.

1892

The school is visited by Indian Affairs official, Alex McGibbon, to conduct a first inspection. In his report⁹² he notes: an increase in staff to 9 with the addition of a carpentry instructor, farm instructor, laundress instructor, seamstress instructor, a cook and a head maid; an enrolment of 86 (51 boys, 35 girls) made up of 7 from Piapot, 11 from Muscowpetung, 10 from Pasqua, 8 from Indian Head, 1 from File Hills, 9 from Crooked Lakes, 3 from Moose Mountain, 36 from Fort Pelly and 1 from Duck Lake. The main building is described: a two-storey brick structure with accommodation for 150 students which houses classrooms, dining/assembly hall, offices, private dining room, kitchen, laundry room and scullery on the main floor, and separate dormitories for boys and girls plus small rooms for 10 staff members all on the upper floor. Outbuildings include a laundry house, ice house, root house, stables for farm animals. Visitors include parents, the Reverend Hugonnard, principal of Qu'Appelle Industrial School who brings "friendly congratulations ... very much appreciated by McLeod," various Protestant clergy from communities in the Territories, Manitoba, and Ontario, and several people from overseas including the Earl and Countess of Aberdeen.

Referring to Vankoughnet's departmental circular (December 29, 1890) regarding the compulsory attendance of Indian children between the ages of 6 and 15 at boarding and industrial schools, the Assistant Indian Commissioner, A.E. Forget (Regina), reports the Commissioner is "of the opinion that nothing short of legislation" will be needed to enact and enforce such a policy.⁹³

Assistant principal, C.D. Mackenzie, resigns. His position is filled by a new teacher, Neil Gilmour from Banff.⁹⁴

McLeod's annual report⁹⁵ expresses satisfaction with improvements in students' English vocabulary, crediting the use of word drills, the memorizing

⁹² LAC, DIA Annual Reports, A. McGibbon, 1892, pp. 169–73.

⁹³ LAC, Correspondence Regarding the Regulations Relative to the Compulsory Education of Indian Children, item 45, "A.E. Forget to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, March 23, 1892."

⁹⁴ PCCA, Report of the Foreign Missions Committee, Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Appendix No. 11, Missions Among the Indians in Manitoba and the North-West, June 1892.

⁹⁵ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, pp. 424–26 "McLeod, September 19, 1892."

of poetical extracts and short talks by staff on “helpful” topics. One evening a week in winters features a social hour for staff and students consisting of games, music (violin, accordion and mouth organ are “popular instruments”), recitations, and dancing. Corporal punishment, he says, “is resorted to as little as possible.” Twenty-eight pupils are permitted a brief visit to their home reserves where McLeod hopes they will notice “the marked contrast between the school and the more cheerless and wilder life of the tepee.” Religious and moral training, he emphasizes, is given the “prominence its importance demands” in forming a “true and noble character,” which is the “greatest requisite for the success of our Indian work.” During winter evenings, the magic lantern is used to “good advantage” to illustrate stories of Dick Whittington and His Cat, Cinderella, etc., to the “great amusement” of the children. A new building to house a printing shop, paint shop, shoe shop, and storerooms is “well under way” with the help of boys learning carpentry. Four acres of garden vegetables, 9 of wheat, 19 of oats and 27 of mixed grains are seeded under supervision of the farm instructor. After gaining some experience in sewing, girls are expected to make some of their own clothing. Two students, according to McLeod, die from consumption: one at school and the other at home after being discharged in poor health.

An Order-in-Council, October 22, sets conditions under which DIA’s new method of per-capita funding of church-run industrial schools in the NWT will apply beginning July 3, 1893: all books and appliances for educational purposes to be furnished by government; staff salaries and maintenance costs to be paid by the denominations out of their per-capita grant (RIIS’s grant will be \$120 per pupil per year)⁹⁶; those managing the schools “shall agree to conform to the rules of the Indian Department . . . to keep the schools at a certain standard of instruction, dietary and domestic comfort”; “Inspectors and officers of the Indian Department may at any time inspect and report upon the institutions”; and per-capita payments are to be made “only for children authorized by the Commissioner to be admitted.”⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Per-capita grants allotted to the Qu’Appelle, Battleford and High River Industrial Schools under the same Order-in-Council were \$115, \$140, and \$130 respectively.

⁹⁷ UCCA, PCC Board of Home Missions and Social Services, Missions Among the Indians in Manitoba and the North-West, Accession # 79,199C Box 4, File 52.

1893

Recruitment of students for the RIIS is reported to occur officially through the Commissioner’s visits to Indian agencies—particularly those reserves with Presbyterian-run boarding schools⁹⁸—and through Indian agents “in charge at such points working in conjunction with Principals of those boarding schools.”⁹⁹

Ninety-six pupils currently attend the school,¹⁰⁰ including a “few children” from Birtle, Manitoba,¹⁰¹ 30 from the Cote Reserve,¹⁰² and 7 from Carry-the-Kettle.¹⁰³

Both McLeod and the Church’s FMC (western branch) view per capita funding “as desirable” but agree the \$120/pupil grant for RIIS is insufficient, noting that nothing less than \$140–\$145 “is needed to meet expenses of the school with its present attendance...”¹⁰⁴ The school’s management, they insist, has “never been extravagant” and the “fair and reasonable” request for a \$140 per pupil grant is based on a “very careful and economical estimate of the cost of meeting...expenses given an attendance of 120.”¹⁰⁵

A new matron, Mrs. Leckie, trained as a nurse in Chicago and formerly assistant matron at the Birtle Boarding School, is appointed.¹⁰⁶

McLeod reports¹⁰⁷ the health of students to be “remarkably good” and

⁹⁸ At the time the Presbyterian Church in Canada operated six boarding schools for DIA in Manitoba and the NWT: Birtle, Portage la Prairie, File Hills, Crowstand, Lakesend, and Round Lake.

⁹⁹ LAC, Correspondence Regarding Unqualified Teachers Conducting the Schools in the Agencies, RG 10, vol. 3893, file 96,217, item 104, “A.E. Forget, Assistant Indian Commissioner, Regina, to Deputy Superintendent General, IA, January 28, 1893.”

¹⁰⁰ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1892–93, p. 118,” McLeod, August 18, 1893.”

¹⁰¹ LAC, DIA Annual Report for 1893, p. 77, “Report of Birtle Indian Agent, 1893.”

¹⁰² Ibid., “Report of Indian Agent W.E. Jones.”

¹⁰³ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1893, pp. 118–19.

¹⁰⁴ UCCA, PCC Board of Home Missions and Social Services, Missions Among the Indians in Manitoba and the North-West, Accession # 79,199C, Box 2, “The Reverend A.B. Baird to Hamilton Cassals, January 9, 1893.”

¹⁰⁵ LAC, Per Capita Grants to Industrial Schools, Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, RG 10, vol. 3879, file 91,883, items 65–67, “Baird to Reed, Indian Commissioner (Regina), May 13, 1893.”

¹⁰⁶ PCCA, WFMS Annual Report, 1892–1893, p. 34.

¹⁰⁷ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, p. 118, “McLeod, August 18, 1893.” However, in LAC,



FIGURE 14. Family of Two Horns and his wife visiting the school. Two children of staff are shown with the family. (PAS R-A2690)

that the school enjoys an “ample supply of most excellent water” from its well. He attributes the “feelings of contentment” and “degree of earnestness” in the students’ work variously to their enjoyment in playing the school’s musical instruments, the “pleasure and profit” they find in books and pictures with which they have been supplied, and to magic lantern exhibitions. “[W]e have now reached the state of development” in which English has become the “common language of the school,” yet McLeod adds that he finds it necessary to appoint “nine of the most trustworthy pupils” as

Correspondence Relating to Land for the Regina Industrial School, item 295, “McLeod to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, December 15, 1893,” he pleads for a school library, saying that although “our pupils have not as yet cultivated a taste for reading, it is one of the main objects of our work,” adding that the books needed would be of a “primary character—illustrative, instructive and moral.” In response (*ibid.*, item 296), McLeod is told there are no funds available for such a purpose and that he would have to pay for a library out of the school’s per capita allowance.

language “monitors” to report on peers who lapse into speaking a Native tongue,¹⁰⁸ except when visited by family or friends. The most popular game for boys, he notes, is lacrosse, adding that their “fleetness of foot and keenness of eye make them most formidable opponents,” as witnessed in the senior team’s “brilliant victory against a strong team from Regina” played at the school’s annual picnic in the Qu’Appelle Valley (to which children from Knox Presbyterian Church Sunday School in Regina were invited). Boys are given military drills under an instructor from the North-West Mounted Police barracks. Carpentry apprentices, he adds, are making tables, cupboards, blackboards, benches, etc., for the school. A leather shop is opened for teaching shoe and harness-making. Students too young to profit from trades or domestic instruction spend each school day (morning and afternoon) in the newly opened Junior classroom.¹⁰⁹ A bimonthly newspaper, *The Progress*, is launched at the school; and Friday night entertainment of music, Indian club swinging, readings, recitations, etc., continues. Over 70 acres are under crop including five acres of garden vegetables.

For such a large school the children are orderly and well behaved, though there is trouble to some extent with “runaways.”¹¹⁰

A Mrs. Bethune of British Columbia deposits \$50 in a Post Office Savings Bank for William Genaille (Cote), age 16, for “his use when he leaves the school,” expressing her desire he might take the name of Bethune in addition to his own.¹¹¹

1894

An enrolment of 118 (74 boys, 44 girls) is distributed as follows: 39 in

¹⁰⁸ Sisters Alice and Annie Aspdin (Moose Jaw Sioux), for example, were disciplined even for conversing in private at the school in their own language. See Peter Bush, *Western Challenge: The Presbyterian Church in Canada’s Mission on the Prairies and North, 1885–1925* (Winnipeg: J. Gordon Shillington Publishing Inc., 2000), 109.

¹⁰⁹ An analysis of the RIIS’s Admissions Register indicates that by 1893 there were 32 children from ages 3 to 8 on the rolls.

¹¹⁰ PCCA, WFMS Annual Report, 1892–1893, p. 34.

¹¹¹ LAC, Post Office Saving Bank Deposits of Annuity Money for Students, RG 10, vol. 3883, file 95,833-1, item 116, “Forget, Assistant Indian Commissioner, Regina, to Deputy Superintendent General, DIA, October 31, 1893.”

Standard I¹¹²; 25 in Standard II; 22 in Standard III; 21 in Standard IV; 11 in Standard V.¹¹³ Average attendance is 90.¹¹⁴

DIA's McGibbon inspects the school a second time and claims it to be in good order with many evident improvements. He reports¹¹⁵ an enlarged staff of 14 including: McLeod; N. Gilmour, assistant principal; D.C. Munroe, teacher; Mrs. Leckie, matron; Miss Russell, governess; Miss Cumming, seamstress; John Atchison, carpenter; J. Densmore, shoemaker; James Milne, farmer; J.R. Reed, painter, tinsmith, and bandmaster; S. Reed, baker; Mrs. Smith, cook; Mrs. Portman, laundress; and John Gilmour, temporary farm helper. Sunday observances include worship at 11 a.m., Sunday school in the afternoon, and a "singing service" in the evening. Five boys are learning the trade of painting and 10 of leather work. The newly formed brass band is making "very fair progress." Both schoolrooms (main building) are "prettily adorned with engravings, photographs, mottoes. The boys' main dormitory with 47 beds (there is a smaller separate dormitory with 17 beds for young boys) has a pink ceiling and light blue walls; the girls' dormitory with 44 beds has a red and yellow ceiling and light blue walls. The whole building, he says, is "clean and neat and ventilation [is] good." The school's primary vegetable garden, located to the east of the main building, grows an array of different vegetables including potatoes, turnips, onions, cabbage, beans, beets, carrots, cauliflower, tomatoes, radish, lettuce. A thousand young maple trees plus hundreds of berry bushes are recently planted. A toboggan slide, a foot bridge across Wascana Creek, and a boardwalk around the main building have all been built with the help of boys taking carpentry. McGibbon mentions a small graveyard measuring 66' x 100' located at the north end of the school land, enclosed with a white picket fence and "good gates" (built by boys); he says that trees are to be planted in the cemetery,

¹¹² The colonial terminology for denoting Grade 1, Grade 2, etc., was Standard I, Standard II, etc.

¹¹³ LAC, DIA Annual Report, 1894, p. 290, "Hayter Reed, Deputy Superintendent, Indian Affairs."

¹¹⁴ This statistic is mentioned in LAC, Correspondence Relating to Land for the Regina Industrial School, pp: 323–24, "McLeod to Assistant Indian Commissioner, April 13, 1896."

¹¹⁵ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, pp. 161–63, "Report of A. McGibbon, September 11, 1894."

and that he noticed only “two graves.” McLeod is praised for looking after “nearly all the [office] work himself” including bookkeeping (“I doubt if more correct accounts can be found in the whole service”). McGibbon concludes that the school is in “capital condition in all departments.” The boys and girls are making “splendid progress”—they are “neat and tidy in their dress,” speak English “very well,” are “cheerful and appear happy and contented.” Over the past two years the school received 156 visitors.

McLeod expresses appreciation on behalf of the students to the church’s Foreign Mission Committee for providing the school with a new portable organ, saying it’s a “valuable gift” that will “help us greatly in the singing of hymns of which the children are so fond.”¹¹⁶

A Regina physician makes weekly visits to the school and is on call at all times.

McLeod reports¹¹⁷ the “general health” of students to be “good,” adding that the ventilation of the main building is “admirable.” Both junior and senior boys’ lacrosse clubs are “victorious in most of the games they play against outside teams.” The school’s missionary, temperance, literary and debating societies, he says, do “good work” and “all our older pupils have signed a temperance pledge.”¹¹⁸ Several boys are learning how to make shoes as well as light and heavy harnesses, while carpentry boys have completed building a new bakery and a printing office, and are “well under way with a new stable.” At the head of all departments, McLeod enthuses, “we have instructors who are both capable and energetic” and “without exception they seem to be deeply interested in their work and full of hope regarding the future welfare of the pupils under our care.” He “regrets” the number of girls at the school is not greater. He is pleased that only “an occasional word of Indian is heard around the institution.” Some of the smaller children, he notes, “seem to have entirely forgotten the Indian language.”

McLeod’s bid to send 30 students from each of Pelly and Muscowpetung reserves home for a month’s summer break is denied by DIA on

¹¹⁶ UCCA, box 2, file 8, “McLeod to the Reverend R.P. MacKay, March 7, 1894.”

¹¹⁷ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, pp. 172–73, “McLeod, August 2, 1894.”

¹¹⁸ “Sixty of the older pupils” according to McLeod, “are pledged to fight King Alcohol... Only three of the older pupils have not signed...” PCCA, Report of the Foreign Missions Committee, Acts and Proceedings of the 20th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, June 1894.

grounds it risks their becoming “de-moralized and unwilling to return.” Permission is granted for one-week visits instead, provided students are accompanied by school officials.¹¹⁹

The WFMS of the Presbyterian Church states that a fine example of the “regard” Indian parents in the vicinity of Duck Lake have for the school is shown by their sending 13 children without ever having seen the school or met any of the teachers.¹²⁰

“Regulations Relating to the Education of Indian Children” (signed into law by an Order-in-Council, November 10) gives legal authority to Indian Agents and Justices of the Peace to remove Indian children ages 6 to 16 whose parents or guardians are failing to provide for their education, and to place them in industrial or boarding schools until they reach age 18. In a subsequent amendment to Section 12 of the Regulations, children so placed in an industrial or boarding school who leave without permission of a principal or Assistant Indian Commissioner, or who run away, shall be arrested and returned to the schools from which they “escaped.”¹²¹ Indian agents are also given authority to “secure orphans” to fill vacancies in industrial and boarding schools such as the Battleford and Regina industrial schools which have less than a “full complement of pupils.”¹²² Copies of the amendment are forwarded to 19 Indian Agents across Manitoba and the NWT, to 8 industrial school principals (including McLeod) and to 16 boarding school principals.¹²³

Costs of operating the RIIS for the year ending June 30, 1894 are: \$4,765 (salaries); \$3,972 (food and clothing), \$883 (furnishings) and \$1,863 (buildings).¹²⁴ Monthly staff salaries range from \$83 for the principal to \$14

¹¹⁹ LAC, Correspondence Relating to Land for the Regina Industrial School, items 229–30, “Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs to A.E. Forget, Assistant Indian Commissioner, July 20, 1894.”

¹²⁰ PCCA, WFMS Annual Report 1893–94, p. 24.

¹²¹ LAC, Correspondence Regarding the Regulations Relating to the Compulsory Education of Indian Children, 1890–1903, items 69–77 and 90–91, “From Clerk of Privy Council to Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, November 10, 1894.”

¹²² *Ibid.*, items 82–83, “Deputy Superintendent General, DIA, to Assistant Indian Commissioner (Regina), December 20, 1894.”

¹²³ *Ibid.*, items 93–95.

¹²⁴ LAC, Correspondence Relating to the Financial Affairs of Industrial Schools in

for the seamstress.¹²⁵ Average attendance is 106; the per-capita grant remains at \$120 while the per-capita cost is \$136, and the total estimated cost of operating the school for the stated period is \$12,720.¹²⁶

The school's first operating deficit is \$962 for the 1893–94 year.¹²⁷ DIA agrees to cover the deficit provided McLeod reduces staff salaries to avoid a recurrence.

Regulations regarding control of expenditures at industrial and boarding schools operated and maintained by churches under the per-capita grant system are established.¹²⁸

1895

Hayter Reed, Deputy Superintendent General advises A.E. Forget, the new Indian Commissioner for Manitoba and the NWT, that DIA is adopting regulations for “close control of the per capita allowance” paid to the Qu’Appelle, Regina, St. Joseph’s High River, and Elkhorn industrial schools, believing the deficits at these institutions are the results of principals disregarding regulations, purchasing unnecessary or luxury articles and overspending on transporting children between schools and their reserves. DIA declares it will henceforth prohibit excess spending on food, clothing, luxury and other unnecessary items and warns schools they must seek prior permission before allowing students to visit their homes so as to curtail travel costs.¹²⁹

Reasons for adopting per-capita funding of industrial schools, says J.J. McGee, Clerk of Privy Council, are their higher operating costs and a belief

Manitoba and the NWT, RG 10, vol. 3938, file 121,607, item 4, “Statement of Expenditures ...[for] Industrial Schools during the Year Ended June 30, 1894.”

¹²⁵ Ibid., item 8, “Statement of Officers with their Salaries.”

¹²⁶ Ibid., item 12, “Statement Showing Per Capita Cost, etc., for Selected Industrial Schools.”

¹²⁷ Ibid., Correspondence Relating to the Financial Affairs of Industrial Schools in Manitoba and the NWT, item 33.

¹²⁸ LAC, Correspondence Relating to the Industrial Schools in Manitoba and the NWT, items 13–16, “H. Reed, Deputy Superintendent General, DIA, to Superintendent General, December 11, 1894.”

¹²⁹ LAC, Correspondence Relating to the Financial Affairs of Industrial Schools in Manitoba and the NWT, items 20–24, “Reed to Forget, January 18, 1895.”

this funding system would yield a greater economy and savings for the DIA. He says that grants set for each industrial school are not “absolutely fixed” but “tentative” and subject to “revision from time to time if experience proves they did not fairly represent the actual cost of maintaining a pupil for one year.” Following the first year of operating on the per-capita system, deficits are incurred at Qu’Appelle, Regina, and St. Joseph’s High River Industrial schools.¹³⁰

Commissioner Forget is directed to exercise the “closest possible supervision over these schools in order that any over-expenditures may at once be put a stop to.” He is informed that the DIA will in future not “supplement the grant or provide for any deficit.”¹³¹

Enrolment at the RIIS is 137 (85 boys and 52 girls), average attendance is 110.¹³² There are 56 pupils in Standard I, 26 in Standard II, 26 in Standard III, 19 in Standard IV, 7 in Standard V, and 1 in Standard VI.¹³³

McLeod reports¹³⁴ an average attendance of 120—an increase of 14 pupils over last year. The senior classroom, he says, regularly discusses current events to stimulate student interest in reading daily newspapers. Authority to hire a tailoress is granted which, he claims, will “enable us at a reduced cost to make up much of the boys’ clothing.” The school’s farm operation—regarded by McLeod as both a valuable source of income for the school and a means of instruction—has over 100 acres under crop. The “outing system” (whereby senior students gain practical work experiences for which they receive modest remuneration) is in full swing during summers and early fall with several boys working for local farmers, builders, and newspapers, and several girls in settlers’ homes working in domestic service. The school’s semi-monthly newspaper, *The Progress*, edited by senior teacher D.C. Munroe, has 500 subscribers and 50 exchanges with papers from other schools, including many in the US. It is produced with the assistance of two boys training as typesetters. “Our lacrosse team,” he

¹³⁰ Ibid., items 39–41, “J.J. McGee, Clerk of Privy Council, March 29, 1895.”

¹³¹ Ibid., item 42, “Reed to Forget, April 11, 1895.”

¹³² LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1895, p. 153, “Indian Agent T.P. Wadsworth.”

¹³³ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1864–1990, p. 385, Annual Report of Hayter Reed, 1895.”

¹³⁴ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, pp. 175–76, “McLeod, August 14, 1895.”

reports, “entered into competition for the championship of the North West Territories,” adding that “many of the boys are good athletes, and enjoy all manner of manly sports.” The literary, missionary and temperance societies have, according to McLeod, “never enjoyed a more successful season than last winter,” and pupils seem “almost without exception to be contented and happy.” They have the “affectionate regard of all their teachers. Good health has prevailed . . . caused in no small degree by good ventilation, good diet, outdoor exercise. . .” He concludes by noting (approvingly) that a “sweet-faced orphan Indian girl about six years of age” who had been at the school was “adopted into a comfortable home in Ontario.”

Several students win prizes at the Regina Annual Fair for their handicraft work; and the school band performs for fair-goers.¹³⁵

“There have been several cases of serious illness [at the school] through the year” according to the church’s WFMS and some [pupils] “have been taken to the Heavenly Home. . .”¹³⁶

A two-storey brick house situated on school grounds for principals and their families has been completed.

McLeod expresses an “urgent” need for more pasture for the school’s cattle, including “numerous Indian ponies” belonging to some of the younger boys. He suggests a section (640 acres) of government-owned land directly west of the school be secured for grazing purposes.¹³⁷ Department of the Interior is willing to lease this land upon receipt of rent for one year at 4 cents per acre.¹³⁸

Deputy Superintendent Reed informs the Governor General in Council that steps are being taken to reduce salaries at those industrial schools where operating deficits have occurred (while not increasing the per-capita grant). He asks that current deficits be paid from government funds.¹³⁹

¹³⁵ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, p. 25, Hayter Reed, Deputy Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, June 1895.”

¹³⁶ PCCA, WFMS Annual Report, 1895–95.

¹³⁷ LAC, Correspondence Relating to Land for the Regina Industrial School, items 327–28, “McLeod to Assistant Indian Commissioner, August 10, 1895.”

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, item 331, “From Assistant Secretary, Department of the Interior, to D.C. Scott, Chief Clerk, DIA, October 4, 1895.”

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, items 35–36, “Reed to the Governor General in Council, March 15, 1895.”

The RIIS receives a per-capita grant totalling \$15,388 for the current operating year.¹⁴⁰

1896

McLeod reports an attendance of 122 (75 boys, 47 girls).¹⁴¹ In the senior classroom “every effort is made” to “create a love for reading.” Kindergarten materials for the junior classroom are supplied by the DIA. Short religious services are held each weekday morning. The Bible is the main text for Sunday school instruction and during the past year, according to McLeod, students have collectively memorized 31,042 biblical verses. Two female staff—the junior teacher, Miss Maggie Nicoll, and the seamstress—spend “many hours a week off duty” cultivating in boys a taste for music and other “fine” habits. Twelve boys receive instruction in carpentry and an equal number in shoe- and harness-making. Corporal punishment, McLeod reiterates, is “very seldom” required and when needed is administered in the school’s office in a “judicious but effective manner.” *The Progress*, which publishes and distributes 1,000 copies monthly, is eagerly read by students. Traces of scrofula in “very earliest stages” are found in several pupils. Disinfectants, he says, are frequently used in the school to guard against diseases. Fire protection consists of 10 fire extinguishers and 12 buckets filled with water. Student recreation includes swimming in the school pond (created by diverting water from Wascana Creek which flows through school property), skating on it in winter, and tobogganing on the school’s wooden slide. Lacrosse is giving way in popularity to rugby football. With the “outing system” older students are earning up to \$15 a month,¹⁴² and as a result have the “pleasure of entirely supporting five native missionaries” in India, China and the New Hebrides. “We expect most of our graduates to be engaged in mixed farming, and the experience [boys]

¹⁴⁰ PCCA, Minutes of the Foreign Missions Committee, September 20, 1895.

¹⁴¹ LAC, DIA Annual Report, pp. 396–99, “McLeod, August 20, 1896.”

¹⁴² During 1896 the school had 44 “out-pupils” working in various kinds of service earning a total of \$1,710 banked under their individual names. See LAC, Correspondence Regarding the Education of Indian Children,” RG 10, vol. 3964, file 149,874, “*Winnipeg Morning Press*, November 7, 1896,” under “Indian Missions,” a report on a Conference on Indian Schooling by the Presbyterian Church in Manitoba and the North-West Territories.

now enjoy in the cultivation of the land and care of the stock [horses, oxen, cows, steers, heifers, pigs and poultry] will at a later stage be invaluable to them...” About 140 acres are under crop with over 50 in wheat. “We have 10 acres of potatoes and a liberal supply of other vegetables, [having discovered] the advantage of a liberal vegetable diet.” Total consumption of fuel during the year: 74 loads of wood, 232 tons of coal.

According to the WFMS, the “hearts of Mr. McLeod and the staff have been discouraged . . . by sickness of pupils and the loss through death of several of the young people.”¹⁴³

The first Christian marriage is performed at the school.¹⁴⁴

McLeod “very cordially” thanks the DIA for covering the school’s operating deficit for the fiscal year that ended June 30, 1894, explaining that overexpenditures were due to a slightly lower than expected enrolment plus the cost of a pair of heavy horses and wagon needed for instruction in farm work, and not because of excessive spending on food for students and staff, or making “unusual purchases of clothing,” or for “unauthorized transport of school children.” He asks the DIA to give the school “one more chance” on the “distinct understanding there be no more deficits to face.”¹⁴⁵

A five-year lease for grazing land adjacent to school property is signed.¹⁴⁶

In a lengthy letter¹⁴⁷ to Hayter Reed, Deputy Superintendent General, McLeod expresses his belief that “Indian work” in the PCC should be “more systematized” and vows to do what he can to bring about the “formation of a Canadian Presbyterian Indian Association,” suggesting that, in the interest of moving this idea forward, a conference of “all our missionaries and teachers” might be convened in Winnipeg. He says “[o]ur committees recognize that promotions [of students] should take place from our Day Schools to

¹⁴³ PCCA, WFMS Annual Report, 1895–96, p. 34.

¹⁴⁴ PCCA, Report of the Foreign Missions Committee, Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the PCC, Appendix No. 6, June 1896, p. xx.

¹⁴⁵ LAC, Correspondence Relating to Land for the Regina Industrial School, items 322–24, “McLeod to Assistant Indian Commissioner, April 13, 1896.”

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, item 347.

¹⁴⁷ LAC, Correspondence Regarding the Education of Indian Children, RG 10, vol. 3964, file 149,874, items 4–13, “McLeod to H. Reed, September 5, 1896.”

our Boarding Schools and from our Boarding Schools to ... our Industrial Schools ... which may be regarded as the High Schools of our educational system.” He goes on to express his belief that “all influences should be used to break up the reservation and tribal systems.” In support of this view he says he would like to see a few thousand acres set aside, preferably within 12 to 15 miles of the RIIS, so that male graduating students who have a “taste and an ability for mixed farming” could “obtain on probation a small farm,” and if after a year’s trial they have done good work then let them have “a title to its ownership at the same time giving up their ownership to any portion of the Reserve to which they belong or their right to reserve treaty money,” adding that “were I wealthy I would buy some land for this purpose myself.” For every new farm granted to a student in this manner, McLeod continues, a “corresponding portion would be deducted from the Reserve in which he now claims a part,” bringing about “the extinction” of the Reserve system, and “Indian farmers would be scattered as they ought to be “among the white settlers.” In further helping to achieve this end, he tells Reed, “we teach our pupils that they are to continue to love their parents, but that perhaps they can show love in a more tangible way by becoming useful industrious citizens side by side with the white man ... it [being] their duty to God and the Government to become such [persons].” In closing, McLeod comments on the school’s outing system, saying it is “working admirably” and that “we expect every out-pupil to be back at school on November 1 when all our societies are re-opened and our winter [term] begins in earnest.” He pays tribute to three out-pupils in particular who have done good work and will likely become permanently employed when they graduate next year: William Genaille (Cote), who served as an interpreter and “Assistant Missionary” at Rolling River for his work-term, earning \$25 per month; Albert Fiddler (Cote) who served as an interpreter and helper at Crowstand school earning \$15 per month plus room and board; and Angus Bone (Keeseekoowenin), who served as an interpreter for Indian Agent Markle, earning \$35 per month.

The operating grant for the RIIS is increased to \$130/ pupil/year.¹⁴⁸ Forget notifies Deputy Superintended General Reed that industrial schools in

¹⁴⁸ LAC, DIA Annual Report for 1896, p. 464.

Reed's jurisdiction (i.e., the North-West Territories) are "heavily handicapped" in purchasing coal for winter by not having the necessary "cash in hand" to benefit from the 10%–20% discounts currently on offer, and recommends that cash advances be made as soon as possible to "relieve the schools of [this] hindrance." The advance to the RIIS is \$2,780.¹⁴⁹

A report on the Status of Ex-Pupils of Industrial Schools (NWT)¹⁵⁰ mentions the situation of several former RIIS students: Elize Bear (Cowessess) and Jennie Nepahpeness (Cowessess) are unmarried mothers living with their parents and assisting in housework; Sarah Bear (Cowessess) is married to Louis Henry who, if "more settled down," would make them "very comfortable indeed"; Benjamin Striped Back (Little Child), formerly at Round Lake Boarding School before transferring to the RIIS in July 1891 where he learned carpentry, is believed to be residing in Manitoba; Basil Tanner (Kaniswetang) left his Reserve following discharge from the RIIS, married at Lizzard Point Reserve and is in "poor circumstances."¹⁵¹

Various Indian agents¹⁵² report the whereabouts and situations of other ex-pupils.

Maggie Cappo (Muscowpetung), admitted to the RIIS in August 1891, age 13, ran away, was returned, subsequently discharged and lives with former student George Cappo (Muscowpetung), who suffers from consumption

¹⁴⁹ LAC, Correspondence Relating to the Financial Affairs of Industrial Schools in Manitoba and the NWT, items 46–47, "Forget to Read, September 18, 1896."

¹⁵⁰ LAC, Status of Discharged Pupils, 1891–1933, items 20–27, "Copy of Report on the Status of Ex-Pupils of Industrial Schools [from] Crooked Lake Agency, 1896."

¹⁵¹ According to Indian Agent J.A. Markle (Birtle, Manitoba), Basil Tanner "exercised poor judgment" in his selection of a life partner—Lizzie Tanner—and this "unwise step is likely to hinder his progression considerably," though Markle admits that Tanner is gaining a fair livelihood and is "unquestionably finding the knowledge acquired at [the RIIS] of great help..." Markle notes that Lizzie Tanner had been at the Qu'Appelle IS, then at Birtle Boarding School before coming to the RIIS. LAC, Status of Discharged Pupils, 1891–1933, RG 10, vol. 3861, file 82,390, item 29, "Markle, February 17, 1896."

¹⁵² Historian Brian Titley characterizes Indian agents as "those intrepid sentinels of Anglo-Canadian civilization" who "carefully regulated" the "actions of reserve inhabitants." See Brian Titley, "Red Deer Industrial School: A Case Study in the History of Native Education," in N. Kach and K. Mazurak (eds). *Exploring Our Educational Past* (Calgary: Detselig, 1992), 55.

and is unable to work. Lucy Anakwad (Muscowpetung), admitted May 1891, age 13, lives with Joseph Matoney, splitting their time between families at Muscowpetung and Pasquah reserves (Agent J.B. Lash).¹⁵³

RIIS students who died shortly after being discharged during the period 1891–96 are: Maggie Baldhead; John Cook (Cote), admitted April 1892 at age 16; Joseph Cote (Pasqua), admitted August 1891 at age 7; Kate Cote (Cote) admitted July 1893 at age 6; Jim Crow (Cote), admitted April 1892, age 8; Jane Fiddler (Cote), admitted December 1891 at age 12; Sam Ka-ke-we-ass; and Lizzie Severight (Cote), admitted April 1892 at age 8. Maggie Torrange is reported to be fatally ill from consumption, at home; John Severight (Cote) admitted December 1891, age 13, is recovering at home from fever; and Alex Shinguish (Cote) admitted June 1892, age 14, is blind (Agent W.E. Jones).¹⁵⁴

Miriam Waywinichakappo (White Bear), admitted in 1893, age 9 is now married to Musquahkaweensapit (White Bear) and quite ill. Her mother and sister-in-law are looking after her (Agent J.J. Campbell, Moose Mountain).¹⁵⁵

Ex-pupil Benjamin Striped Back (Cowessess), admitted July 1891, age 17 is married to a daughter of Kahputwetang and living at Hampton's Crossing on the Assiniboine River (Agent A. McDonald, Crooked Lakes).¹⁵⁶

1897

A departmental analysis of RIIS enrolments indicates 205 students have been enrolled since the school's opening in 1891. Of those, 153 are currently on the rolls (97 boys, 56 girls); 52 were discharged. Thirty-four of the current students (25 boys, 9 girls) are 18 or over; 51 (35 boys, 16 girls) are ages 14–17; 45 (23 boys, 22 girls), ages 10–13; 21 (12 boys, 9 girls), ages

¹⁵³ LAC, Status of Discharged Pupils, 1891–1933, RG 10, vol. 3861, file 82,390, items 54–58, “J.B. Lash, March 10, 1896.”

¹⁵⁴ LAC, Correspondence Regarding the Education of Indian Children, item 44, “Report on the Status of Industrial School Children who have been Discharged, signed by Agent W.E. Jones, February 6, 1896.”

¹⁵⁵ LAC, Recommendations that Principals of Industrial Schools be Requested to Furnish a Statement on the Status of Discharged Pupils, 1891–1933, RG 10, vol. 3861, file 82,390, items 16–17, “Campbell to Indian Commissioner (Regina), February 13, 1896.”

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, item 68, “McDonald to Indian Commissioner, Regina, March 25, 1896.”



FIGURE 15. Male students harvesting on the RIIS's farm land. (PAS R-A2673)

6–9; and 2 are under 6 years of age.¹⁵⁷ Of the 34 pupils 18 or over, 3 are in Standard VI, 18 in Standard V, 12 in Standard IV, 6 in Standard III, and 3 in Standard II.¹⁵⁸

According to the DIA's "Status of Pupils Discharged from Industrial Schools to June 30, 1897," the number of RIIS discharges is 76. Of these 19 are "doing well," 2 have "turned out badly," 3 are "sickly," 48 have "died," 3 have been "lost sight of," and 1 has "transferred to another school."¹⁵⁹ McLeod submits the names of 50 RIIS pupils and ex-pupils (including their First Nations identities) who died during the period 1892–97 (see Appendix I for details).¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ Analysis of the school's Admissions Register indicates that by 1898 at least four children had been enrolled at age 3, at least seven at age 4, seven at age 5, fourteen at age 6, thirteen at age 7, and sixteen at age 8.

¹⁵⁸ LAC, Correspondence Relating to Land for the Regina Industrial School, item 353, "July 25, 1897."

¹⁵⁹ LAC, Correspondence Regarding the Compulsory Education of Indian Children, item 82, "Status of Pupils Discharged from Industrial Schools to June 30, 1897."

¹⁶⁰ LAC, Manitoba and North-West Territories—Post Office Savings Bank Deposits of Annuity Money for Students, RG 10, vol. 3886, file 95,833-5A, items 427–29.

Issues of *The Progress* include the following items: the school's Literary Society holds two meetings in January, one featuring a Scottish theme (with songs, readings, talks on John Knox and Robert the Bruce plus stories of famous Scottish battles), the other an English theme with songs, a reading of "The Death of Nelson" and student recitations; a Mr. White of Regina teaches Indian club-swinging to a group of the girls¹⁶¹; Neil Aneunt (Carry-the-Kettle) and "youngest of pupils"¹⁶² dies at school in March of scrofula and his funeral is held the next day; four male students engage in a formal debate—"Resolved that Indians were happier before the coming of the white man than they are now"¹⁶³; Maggie Nicoll, the Junior classroom teacher, donates an Encyclopaedia Britannica to the school; a 500-page book on Queen Victoria is in "great demand"¹⁶⁴; Dr. O.C. Edwards is appointed school physician¹⁶⁵; an outbreak of measles is creating an "anxious time"; student Alex Thunder (Cowessess) dies at the school on October 16 from scrofula¹⁶⁶; and the following students make the Honour Roll: James Thompson (Carry-the-Kettle) and James Tatiyasamani in Standard I; Percy Strong and James Seeseequasis (Beardy's) in Standard II; Archie Thompson (Carry-the-Kettle) and Daisy Mooso (Cote) in Standard III; Martha Browne (Beardy's) and John (?) (Turtle Mountain) in Standard IV; Robert Badger and Solomon Friday (Cote) in Standard V.¹⁶⁷

McLeod reports¹⁶⁸ an average attendance of 120 (75 boys, 45 girls). During winter term, which "exceeds six months," junior and senior classrooms are in "constant use"; during summer with "out-pupils on work terms and others on leave of absence" the two classes merge. Many pupils are showing "considerable aptitude" in both instrumental and vocal music; and much "energy is thrown into the reading of daily and weekly newspapers, 65 or 70 of

¹⁶¹ *The Progress* 3, no. 71, February 1, 1897.

¹⁶² According to the school's Admissions Register he was 3 years old when admitted in December 1895.

¹⁶³ *The Progress* 3, no. 74, March 15, 1897.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 3, no. 80, July 1897.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 3, no. 81, September 1897.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 3, no. 84, November 1897.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 3, no. 80, July 1897.

¹⁶⁸ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1864–1990, pp. 309–10, "McLeod, August 14, 1897."

which come regularly to hand.” All boys are “expected to work for some period on the [school’s] farm as our plan is to make every boy competent for general farm work,” in addition to any other trade they may be able to follow. A few boys are allowed to keep ponies at school during the grazing season. Because of “impurities” found in the school’s water supply the health of students, he says, “has not been satisfactory” and plans are afoot to dig a new well. The fuel bill is a “heavy draw on our school funds.” In recreation, the senior boys’ rugby team is champion of the district. Boys and girls separately enjoy a “free and easy health-giving outing for 2 weeks [of camping] away from all work and worry of school life” at a “beautiful spot [Whitmore’s Grove] shaded by trees near a running stream [Wascana Creek] about 7 miles west of the school.” Respected teacher, D.C. Munroe, resigns for health reasons and dies shortly after at his home in Georgetown, Ontario.

During the past summer, according to the WMFS, 40 RIIS pupils were working for farmers, earning a total of \$1,700. Many local farmers have applied for a return of the school’s out-pupils for next year, indicating a “satisfaction” with their work. Sixteen students are baptised at the school and 54 are “received into the Church on profession of faith in Christ.”¹⁶⁹

Diplomas are awarded to 5 young men and 5 young women at the school’s first graduation ceremony in April. Three of the graduating male students (ages 21–22) are recognized for their pursuit of mission work in the Presbyterian Church.¹⁷⁰

The DIA inquires of McLeod why the annuity money of \$50 donated four years ago by a Mrs. Bethune for William Genaille (Cote) has not been forwarded to “headquarters to be funded for him.”¹⁷¹ McLeod replies that Genaille recently severed his connection with the Rolling River mission and McLeod thinks it “needless to intimate” to Genaille he has this amount owing him until such time as Genaille is “married and settled down in life.”¹⁷²

A November issue of *The Progress* welcomes students George Hunter

¹⁶⁹ PCCA, WMFS Annual Report, 1896–97, p. 39.

¹⁷⁰ William Genaille (Cote), Albert Fiddler (Cote), and Angus Bone (Keeseekoowenin).

¹⁷¹ LAC, Manitoba and NWT—Post Office Savings Bank Deposits of Annuity Money for Students,” RG 10, vol. 3886, file 95,835-5A, item 493, “Assistant Secretary, DIA to McLeod, October 7, 1897.”

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, items 494–95, “McLeod to J.D. McLean, DIA Secretary, Nov. 5, 1897.”

(Oak Lake Sioux), Andrew Ben, James Assinicappo (Mistawasis), Frank Seaton (Waywayseecappo), Robert and William Henry (Cote) all returning from work terms in time for the school's annual banquet, November 2.¹⁷³ The school's rugby team consists of James Assinicappo (Mistawasis), James Friday (Cote), Andris Okemassis (Okanese), Herman Nowekeswape (Sakimay), George Bell Cote (Cote), John Hunter (Oak Lake Sioux), Robert Cote (Cote), Francis Favel (Cote), Percy Gordon, and Frank Seaton (Waywayseecappo).¹⁷⁴ A December issue reports that Nicholas F. Davin, Regina lawyer, and journalist who authored the 1879 government-commissioned study on industrial schools for Western Canada¹⁷⁵ recommending the establishment of Indian industrial schools in Manitoba and the NWT, delivers an invited speech at the school. His topic: "Great Men I have known on both sides of the Atlantic."¹⁷⁶

1898

DIA inspector McGibbon reports¹⁷⁷ that a cottage hospital, a new ice-house, and a house for the carpenter are all nearing completion at the school; pupils are served "good wholesome food" with lots of vegetables for the noon meal, and the beef is of the "best quality" supplied by Mr. Darke of Regina; the office books audited by McLeod are found to be "properly accounted for" in both receipts and expenditures; wages earned by 10 boys working for local farmers over summer and two girls working in service are deposited for them by McLeod; the positive behaviour observed in students is motivated, he claims, by the "pride" they feel "in keeping up the good name of the school" and not by fear. McGibbon concludes that "good honest work is being done" at the school. Enrolment is 140¹⁷⁸ with an average attendance of 105 (61 boys, 44 girls).

¹⁷³ *The Progress* 3, no. 85, November 16, 1897.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ "Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds," Ottawa, March 14, 1897, accessed under "The Residential School System," www.indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca

¹⁷⁶ *The Progress* 4, no 2, December 4, 1897.

¹⁷⁷ LAC, DIA Annual Reports for 1898, pp. 362–64, "McGibbon, June 30, 1898."

¹⁷⁸ UCCA, box 2, file 13, "Assistant Secretary, DIA, to the Reverend Wm. Moore, February 7, 1898."

McLeod reports that the department-authorized curriculum¹⁷⁹ for Indian industrial schools is adhered to and exams are held quarterly, after which promotions are made “when desirable.” The morning classes are co-educational with “boys and girls competing together.” Books in the school library are “all carefully selected” and in demand, especially during winter months. Daily newspapers are discussed to motivate interest in “present history.” A “great emphasis,” he says, is placed on religious training, and since 1891 a total of “72 boys and girls have been admitted into the Presbyterian Church by profession of faith.” McLeod stresses that in the “great work of character-building, all members of the staff most cordially co-operate,” and the “evil and wide-spread influences” of alcohol are repeatedly pointed out along with efforts to have both present and past students “consistent prohibitionists.” The farm and garden “are made as remunerative for the school as possible” and are given a “place of honour” as most of the boys, McLeod once again conjectures, will earn a “comfortable living” as a result of “their knowledge of mixed farming” gained at the school. Girls receive a “thorough and systematic training in all branches of household work” under the Matron’s supervision. Both the bake shop and printing office are now in charge of older boys who have “nobly responded” to their responsibilities. The playing of the brass band is a “very refining and pleasing recreation for all engaged.” McLeod rates the general health of students as “fair,” acknowledging that consumption and scrofula are the “enemies we have learned to dread.” The newly dug well is giving “us an abundant supply of purest water” while rain water is collected for washing and laundry.¹⁸⁰

Two students, Herman and James Friday (Cote), are teaching in the Sunday school.¹⁸¹

On the strength of Dr. Edwards’ recommendation, McLeod “urgently” seeks the DIA’s permission to purchase an artificial limb for a “particularly bright and intelligent boy,” Peter Contois (Portage la Prairie), who is making

¹⁷⁹ DIA-approved curriculum consists of English, General Knowledge, Writing, Geography (Grades 3–6), Ethics, Reading, History (Grades 3–6, includes stories of the Indians of Canada, history of local regions or provinces, Canadian history), Music, Calisthenics, Religious Instruction. LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1896, p. 450.

¹⁸⁰ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, pp. 348–49, “McLeod, August 1898.”

¹⁸¹ PCCA, WFMS Annual Report, 1897–98, p. 50.

“good progress” in typesetting, to replace an arm amputated at his shoulder several years ago.¹⁸² Permission is granted.¹⁸³

Thirty-five students (23 boys, 12 girls) are awarded “Honourable discharge” certificates in ceremonies attended by Indian Commissioner A.E. Forget. Some graduates have “returned to reserves” but many are working in the neighbourhood of the school, which McLeod says they still “- affectionately regard as their home.” He successfully solicits the DIA for funds to buy three sets of carpentry tools for graduating students Napoleon Sutherland (Beardy’s), Andris Okemassis (Okemassis) and Herman Nowekesewape (Sakimay), and promises to help them find employment.¹⁸⁴ Reports of the life and work of graduates received by McLeod are “on the whole very full of inspiration and hope.”¹⁸⁵

Hugh McKay (Waywayseecappo), a member of the graduating class and currently engaged in missionary work, asks that the savings he accrued while a student at the RIIS be sent to him to offset the cost of a life insurance policy he purchased.¹⁸⁶ His request is endorsed by Commissioner A.E. Forget, who notes that McKay is in “full charge of the Mission at Lizard Point Reserve and doing well.” The amount of his savings is \$196.14.¹⁸⁷

Statistics on the number of discharges and deaths for Industrial Schools in Manitoba and NWT from their opening dates to December 31, 1898 give the following data for the RIIS¹⁸⁸: 1891: Enrolment - 61, Discharges - 0, Deaths - 1; 1892: Enrolment - 104, Discharges - 1, Deaths - 4; 1893: Enrolment - 127, Discharges - 1, Deaths - 5; 1894: Enrolment - 145,

¹⁸² LAC, Correspondence Relating to Land for the Regina Industrial School, item 362., “McLeod to McLean, Secretary, Indian Affairs, March 19, 1898.”

¹⁸³ Ibid., item 363, “McLean to McLeod, March 30, 1898.”

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., item 366, “McLeod to Indian Commissioner A.E. Forget, April 12, 1898”; *ibid.*, item 370, “J.D. McLean, Secretary, DIA to Forget, May 9, 1898.”

¹⁸⁵ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, p. 349, “McLeod, August 1898.”

¹⁸⁶ LAC, Birtle Agency–Post Office Savings Bank Deposits of Annuity Money for Students, RG 10, vol. 3887, file 95,833-6, item 27, “Hugh McKay to Indian Commissioner, June 7, 1898.”

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., item 28, “A.E. Forget, Indian Commissioner to the General Secretary, Indian Affairs, June 24, 1898.”

¹⁸⁸ LAC, Correspondence Regarding the Education of Indian Children, item 72, “Statistics of Discharges and Deaths Since the Opening of Industrial Schools in Manitoba and the NWT to 31 December, 1898.”

Discharges - 10, Deaths - 5; 1895: Enrolment - 150, Discharges - 4, Deaths - 5; 1896: Enrolment - 163, Discharges - 5, Deaths - 12; 1897: Enrolment - 160, Discharges - 15, Deaths - 16; 1898: Enrolment - 151, Discharges - 37, Deaths - 3. Total Discharges - 73, Total Deaths - 51.

Mortality rates for Industrial Schools in Manitoba and the NWT to 1898 indicate that Qu'Appelle IS has the highest death rate at 25% followed by the RIIS at 21%, Battleford IS at 20% and St. Boniface IS at 19%.¹⁸⁹

According to the church's Foreign Missions Committee the number of student deaths at home and at the RIIS during the year is five.¹⁹⁰

McLeod and seven other industrial school principals are informed that the DIA will "no longer assist in paying off deficits."¹⁹¹

Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, J.A. Smart, reaffirms the department's policy in matters of recruiting children for government Indian schools, i.e., to "refrain from compulsory measures and try the effect of moral suasion and an appeal to self-interest," adding that the "persuasive" approach is working as evident in the "healthy growth of interest [that] can be noticed ... on the part of parents."¹⁹²

1899

"[O]ur principals and medical attendants are everyday becoming more alive to the wisdom of admitting to industrial and boarding schools none but thoroughly healthy pupils," resulting in a "material decrease in the mortality of late," according to the new Indian Commissioner, David Laird. He attributes improved student health to better sanitary conditions "heretofore practically overlooked," adding that a "high percentage of deaths in certain years is due to epidemics, the origins of which could be traced to bad sewerage and ventilation."¹⁹³

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., item 73, "Percentage of Mortality in Industrial Schools in Manitoba and NWT, 1885–1898."

¹⁹⁰ PCCA, Foreign Missions Committee Report, Acts and Proceedings of the Annual General Assembly of the PCC, June 1898, p. 176.

¹⁹¹ LAC, Correspondence Relating to the Financial Affairs of Industrial Schools in Manitoba and the NWT, item 57, "Memo from A.N. McNeill, Assistant Secretary, DIA."

¹⁹² LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1864–1990, p. 27, "J.A. Smart, 1898 Annual Report."

¹⁹³ LAC, Correspondence Relating to Industrial Schools in Manitoba and the NWT, items 74–75, "Laird to J.D. McLean, April 29, 1899."

In his annual report to the DIA, Laird argues¹⁹⁴ that the rule restricting the age of industrial school pupils to between 12 and 18, along with the “indifference or opposition of parents” towards releasing their children to such institutions, only increase the difficulty of “finding recruits.”¹⁹⁵ Yet he thinks it “unwise” to use compulsion except rarely, preferring instead to “allow time to break down the prejudices of the parents.” He cites as a case in point the Moose Jaw Sioux—a band “hitherto intractable” that is now sending children to the Regina school.

The school’s enrolment is 114 with an average attendance of 101, according to McGibbon’s latest inspection.¹⁹⁶ The cottage hospital is complete and a new bandstand, a new swing for junior girls, a new pump house, lumber house, porches, and new fencing are all in place. Regarding the farm—which had a good yield of wheat, oats, potatoes and many other garden vegetables—he says there are now 25 head of cattle, 10 horses, 28 pigs, and 34 chickens. The school’s finances show a “balance on hand” of \$587 as of April 30. Dry goods, groceries and hardware are all purchased in the “cheapest markets.” Two staff members resign—teacher Miss Nicholl and Assistant Principal Mr. Stewart. McGibbon concludes: “I spent one Sunday at the school, and was much pleased with the quietness and respect with which the day was observed, and [with] the neat appearance in dress of the boys and girls.” Appended to his report is a breakdown of the school’s enrolment according to the different Indian agencies from which students are sent: Swan River (15), Assiniboia (18), File Hills (1), Muscowpetung (10), Duck Lake (10), Birtle (26), Edmonton (7), Carlton (8), Crooked Lakes (2), Portage-la-Prairie (8), Moose Jaw (8), Moose Woods (1), Sandy Bay (1), Moose Mountain (1).

RIIS student, Jerry Bone (Keeseekoowenin), asks that \$15 be taken from his Post Office Savings bank account to repay the Reverend A.J. McLeod, who had advanced him money and paid some of his bills. Bone adds that he has been granted a “leave of absence” from the school by the Indian

¹⁹⁴ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1864–1990, p. 266, “Report of D. Laird, 1899.”

¹⁹⁵ In order to maintain and increase their enrolments, Indian industrial school Principals frequently ignored this rule. According to the RIIS Admissions Register, by 1899 the school had admitted at least 85 pupils under age 10.

¹⁹⁶ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, pp. 439–41, “McGibbon, May 1899.”

Commissioner “to spend time helping my father and working for farmers or others with whom I may be able to secure work.”¹⁹⁷

McLeod reports¹⁹⁸ an average attendance of 96 (53 boys, 43 girls). School hours are from 9 to 12 a.m. and 1:30 to 4 p.m. Saturday afternoons are regarded as a “half-holiday” but pupils are expected to be at work Saturday mornings. To “foster a love for reading,” newspapers and books are given to many pupils in evening hours. A graduate of the school, put in charge of the carpentry shop and doing “most creditably,” is now a staff member. “Regarding moral and religious training, the virtues of truthfulness, diligence, faithfulness, and . . . other qualities that enter into true character” are emphasized through “public and private talks with pupils.” Students participate in a mid-week prayer meeting. The health of pupils, McLeod observes, “has been very good” with fewer signs of scrofula “than ever before,” adding that “only healthy pupils are admitted to the school, and by [paying] careful attention to each pupil it is our constant effort to keep them healthy and strong.” Girls “take great pleasure in long walks” accompanied by a female staff member; a number of boys play baseball but football remains their most popular game. The graduates, on the whole, have “acquitted themselves well,” according to McLeod, though a few have “disappointed us.” The school has two good wells. Two hundred tons of soft-coal from Lethbridge are burned during the year in the three double furnaces in the basement of the main building. The seamstress instructor, Mrs Moffet, dies of pneumonia.

Two student deaths at the RIIS are reported by FMC.¹⁹⁹

McLeod notes that on “different reserves we have ex-pupils who are now married and living in homes of their own. We are trying to follow up all ex-pupils. Many letters are sent to them, and a book is kept in the office [showing] a record of all the reading and study books forwarded to them. . . . *The Progress* is also forwarded to every ex-pupil and out-pupil; it keeps [them] in touch with the school, and fosters their *esprit de corps*.”²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ LAC, Birtle Agency–Post Office Savings Bank Deposits of Annuity Money for Students, item 65, “Bone to the Secretary of Indian Affairs, May 4, 1899.”

¹⁹⁸ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, pp. 424–25, “McLeod, July 22, 1899.”

¹⁹⁹ PCCA, Report of the Foreign Missions Committee, Acts and Proceedings of the Annual General Assembly of the PCC, June 1899, p. 136.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 136–37.

The WFMS reports that recent graduate, George Hunter (Oak Lake Sioux), has joined the school staff as a farm instructor. In the past year 8 pupils were baptised at the school and 16 students added to “the Communion roll.”²⁰¹

McLeod seeks the DIA’s permission to allow pupils from the Cote, Muscowpetung, Moose Jaw, and Assiniboia agencies and “2 or 3” from each of Portage la Prairie, Duck Lake, Birtle, and Crooked Lakes to visit their homes for three weeks in July or August. He argues that extended holidays reap health benefits for pupils and will address the objections of parents who claim that once they give up their children to the school they hardly ever see them, making it easier, as a result, to secure new recruits. He estimates the cost of transporting the children and having Indian agents ensure all are back at school on time would be \$200.²⁰² The DIA grants permission provided it is not called upon to cover any deficit resulting from transportation costs and that the financial position of the school is not “impaired” as a result.²⁰³

The school’s total revenue for the current operating year is \$13,858 (including the \$13,000 government grant at \$130/pupil); total expenses (salaries, food, clothing, fuel, light, repairs, and equipment) are \$13,787.²⁰⁴

1900

Medical Officer Dr. O.C. Edwards finds the “general health of [Treaty 4] Indians is much better than 2 years ago—the food they eat is more suitable, and the houses they live in ... more commodious,” adding, however, that the “ever present scourge to Indian life, consumption and its co-relative physical ill [of] haemorrhage from the lungs,” remain. Regarding the health of Indian students living at industrial and boarding schools, he suggests they be allowed to sleep in tents on school grounds during summers to derive maximum benefits from fresh air. In demonstrating the need for such a practice he cites the RIIS, where he says the “breathing space for the number of

²⁰¹ PCCA, WFMS Annual Report, 1898–1899, p. 44.

²⁰² LAC: “Correspondence Relating to Land for the Regina Industrial School, item 390, “McLeod to Laird, June 10, 1899.”

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, item 394, “McLean to Laird, June 19, 1899.”

²⁰⁴ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1899, p. 491 and p. 514.

children in the sleeping wards is very much less than what the laws of health demand” (though he concedes, on moral grounds, that his idea for the use of tents may not be well received at schools with a co-educational student body).²⁰⁵

Enrolment is 135, average attendance, 105. The general health of pupils, McLeod reports,²⁰⁶ is “better than former years” even though a “number of cases of scrofula” occurred during the year. These were “skilfully treated” by the nurse who is now a permanent member of staff. The school’s rugby football team plays numerous matches with “varied success.” The third annual graduation exercises are held in April with five male students receiving diplomas. All, he says, “are doing well for themselves” while “[m]any other ex-pupils are reflecting credit on their alma mater.”

The WFMS reports an RIIS enrolment of 115, “8 or 10 of whom will receive [honourable] discharges at graduation exercises on April 25,” and that an “interesting ceremony on that day will be the marriage of our graduates Herman Wonkawanis and Sawin Snow” (Jack’s)—the former now an “efficient” carpentry instructor at the school.²⁰⁷

McLeod repeats his earlier appeal for additional grazing lands for the school’s increasing herd of cattle while emphasizing the need of students—particularly those not in “robust health”—for a reliable supply of fresh milk. He reminds Commissioner Laird that the “greater part” of the school’s original 320 acres is already under cultivation and that due to other developments in the neighbourhood he fears the school is in “danger of being hemmed in on all sides.” He points out that the High River Industrial School has 960 acres and both the Qu’Appelle and Red Deer industrial schools have 1,100 acres.²⁰⁸

Laird recommends that for grazing purposes the RIIS be given “full possession” of the section of land in question (School Section 19, Township

²⁰⁵ LAC, A Circular from Chief Medical Officer Peter H. Bryce to all Agents, Superintendents, all Medical Officers Regarding Sanitary Instructions and Reports from Various Agents on Disease, Illness and Treatment, RG 10, vol. 3067, file 254,017-1, items 22–24, “Edwards to J.D. McLean, Secretary, DIA, January 8, 1900.”

²⁰⁶ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, pp. 448–50, “McLeod, June 1900.”

²⁰⁷ PCCA, WFMS Annual Report, 1899–1900, pp. 44–45.

²⁰⁸ LAC, Correspondence Relating to Land for the Regina Industrial School, pp. 401–03, “McLeod to Laird, July 2, 1900.”

17, Range 20, west of the 2nd Meridian).²⁰⁹ The Department of the Interior responds that the school's current lease of that section "should answer every purpose for some years to come."²¹⁰

Upon receipt of a request from Isabella McKay (Waywayseecappo), a discharged student asking that the savings in her Post Office Bank account be forwarded to her, Indian Agent J.A. Markle (Birtle Agency) confirms that it is Isabella's wish (following the death of her step-father) to have this money to invest in cattle. Markle adds that she and her brother Hugh McKay, a recent RIIS graduate, have decided to return to their Reserve to support their mother, though Isabella is "not in good health."²¹¹

News of McLeod's sudden death in November is a "deeply regret[ed]" loss.²¹² Commissioner Laird pays the following tribute: "I fear the school [which has held its own in terms of attendance] will now suffer owing to the death of its respected, whole-souled and successful principal, Rev. A.J. McLeod, which painful event occurred on [November] 20th. His place will be difficult to fill; but the school is so well organized that it ought to be comparatively easy to carry on the work."²¹³

The *Regina Leader* reports that McLeod's funeral, held at the school and conducted by the Reverend Prof. Hart of Winnipeg College, was attended by a "large number ... from Regina" including a representative of the Lieutenant Governor. Several Presbyterian clergy along with Indian Affairs Inspector Alex McGibbon were pallbearers. Following the service McLeod's remains were taken to the town of Kincardine, Ontario, for burial.²¹⁴

Questioned whether the Church's "missionary board ... will nominate a successor," Hart says it's "impossible to get a suitable [replacement for] the late Principal of the school" in a short period of time and recommends

²⁰⁹ Ibid., item 404, "Laird to McLean, DIA Secretary, July 5, 1900."

²¹⁰ Ibid., "McLean to Laird, July 30, 1900."

²¹¹ LAC. Birtle Agency–Post Office Savings Bank Deposits of Annuity Money for Students, items 130, 133, "Markle to Secretary of Indian Affairs, August 14, 1900."

²¹² LAC, Correspondence Relating to Land for the Regina Industrial School, item 411, "Laird to McLean, November 20, 1900."

²¹³ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, p. 289, "Laird, December 1, 1900."

²¹⁴ *Regina Leader*, November 29, 1900. Regina Public Library, Central Branch, Prairie History Room.

that the school's head teacher, Alex Skene (formerly of File Hills Boarding School), be appointed acting Principal.²¹⁵

A new Matron, Miss Nicol, arrives at the school. A brother of Mrs. McLeod from Kincardine, Ontario and student at Manitoba College is to assist in the school's office and take Sunday services. Skene commits to continuing the work of the school along the "same lines" established by McLeod, saying "we all feel his removal very keenly," especially when in need of his "sound advice."²¹⁶ Hart reports that "several very good applications" for principal have been submitted; he trusts the church's Foreign Missions Committee will "exercise very great care in making a selection."²¹⁷

The school's total revenue for the year (incl. the Government per capita grant of \$13,411) is \$15,011; total expenses are \$14,950.²¹⁸

Regarding student deaths for the 1899–1900 school year at industrial schools, Commissioner Laird regrets to say that "mortality ... has been somewhat heavy numbering forty-two," adding that he can't account for this as students have "every comfort, the best medical care, and no particular hardship of any kind." The "zeal" to find recruits for these schools, he suspects, has probably resulted in some students being admitted who are already afflicted with "seeds of disease."²¹⁹

1901

Deputy Superintendent J.A. Smart questions the main purposes of industrial schools and the large expenses "entailed upon the country" that are incurred in operating such institutions. Are they to limit admissions according to the number of employment openings available for graduates, he asks, or is it the case that graduates ought to return to their reserves to become "centres of improving influence for the elevation of their race" (in which case there is less reason for strict limits on special training).²²⁰

²¹⁵ LAC, Correspondence Relating to Land for the Regina Industrial School, item 416, "Telegram from Laird to McLean, December 13, 1900."

²¹⁶ UCCA: "Presbyterian Church in Canada Board of Home Missions and Social Services, Missions to the Indians in Manitoba and the North-West Territories," Accession No. 79,199C, Box 2, File 20, "Skene to MacKay, December 1, 1900."

²¹⁷ Ibid., "Hart to MacKay, December 20, 1900."

²¹⁸ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1900, p. 531.

²¹⁹ Ibid., p. 289.

²²⁰ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1901, Report of J.A. Smart, p. 29.

The church's Foreign Missions Committee pays tribute to McLeod: his "thorough organization and successful management ... made [RIIS] what it is—probably the most successful industrial school in the West"²²¹—and announces the appointment of his successor, the Reverend J.A. Sinclair, noting the latter's "excellent record of practical experience and noble achievement," and expressing confidence that the school "will maintain its high standing."²²²

Commissioner Laird reaffirms his belief that the use of "compulsory power" regarding school attendance of Indian children "should be used sparingly" and as a "last resort." Only when Bands are "prejudiced" against education might compulsory measures "properly be applied," but as to the general use of compulsion he says it is "unnecessary."²²³

Sinclair's first annual report²²⁴ describes the school's location: situated on the "high banks of Wascana Creek, affording splendid facilities for drainage and commanding a fine view of the country for many miles around," including views of the "headquarters for North West Mounted Police, of the Lieutenant Governor's residence, the legislature buildings and the town of Regina." He also comments on the "artistically laid out" school grounds with roadways and walks, "bordered with trees and flowers," adding that when the "hundreds of young trees have advanced a little further in growth" they will present a "very fine appearance" (*see Figure 17*). The enrolment is 101 with 31 students in Standard I, 21 in Standard II, 22 in Standard III, 15 in Standard IV, and 12 in Standard V. Average attendance is 95 (55 boys, 40 girls). Six students are lost through sick leave, death and marriages; one death from consumption occurs at the school. All students, he notes, are weighed and measured each month so as to "detect the first beginnings of disease," adding that with "good nutrition, good ventilation ... we hope to still further reduce tubercular diseases." A "modern refrigerator"

²²¹ "He lived for [the school] and was greatly loved by all connected with it. He took the deepest interest in the welfare of the students both when ... in attendance and after they had left." PCCA, Report of the FMC, Acts and Proceedings of the 27th Annual General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, June 1901, p. 150.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ LAC, Correspondence Regarding the Regulations Relative to the Compulsory Education of Indian Children, items 223–26, "Laird to J.D. McLean, February 7, 1901."

²²⁴ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1864–1990, pp. 421–24, "Sinclair's Annual Report, September 16, 1901."

replacing the old cold storage system is installed that will, he believes, “keep meat for two weeks in the hottest weather if necessary.” The farm stock currently consists of 1 bull, 11 cows, 3 heifers, 12 horses, 2 foals, 24 hogs and 60 hens. Sinclair introduces the “garden-plot system”—having observed it in action on a visit to the Hampton Industrial Institute in Virginia—by assigning plots to 12 of the “best pupils” (6 boys, 6 girls). “Plot-owners” are promised one-third of the market value of the vegetables they raise. Results have been “most satisfactory.” Stimulated by a “sense of ownership and stirred by competition, these pupils have learned more about gardening this season than they would during many seasons in the [school’s] common garden.” Several recent graduates and their occupations are mentioned: Willie Bird (Peepeekeesis), Ben Wonkawanis, and Napoleon Sutherland (Beardy’s) are all farming; John Kasto (Turtle Mountain) is assisting the Reverend McKittrick in Lake of the Woods; Clara Williams (Carry-the-Kettle) is matron at the Presbyterian-run Alberni Boarding school; John Hunter (Oak Lake Sioux) and Herman Nowekeswape (Sakimay) are on the RIIS staff. Noting McLeod’s death as a “terrible loss,” Sinclair says he is “daily struck with some new phase of [McLeod’s] capacity and devotion.”

With 26 students graduating and several discharges due to illness, attendance drops to 78. Sinclair muses that unless Presbyterian-run boarding schools in Manitoba and the NWT become “more energetic” in recruiting and sending their pupils age 14 and over to his school for industrial training, it will be unable to maintain instruction in leather work, blacksmithing, etc.,²²⁵ nor will it “escape deficits.”²²⁶ Ten pupils are received into membership of the Presbyterian Church. Two staff members, including the Matron, resign.²²⁷

Commissioner Laird is “instructed to impress upon [industrial school principals in Manitoba and the NWT] to keep their expenditures down within the per capita allowances,” and to notify all inspectors under his jurisdiction “to see that the estimate for each school is not exceeded as it must

²²⁵ UCCA, Accession # 79, 199C, box 2, file 24, “Sinclair to MacKay, April 19, 1901, PCC Board of Home Missions and Social Services: Missions to the Indians in Manitoba and the NWT.”

²²⁶ *Ibid*, file 25, “Sinclair to MacKay, May 11, 1901.”

²²⁷ PCCA, WFMS Annual Report, 1900–1901, pp. 44–45.

be distinctly understood the Department will not be responsible for any over expenditures.”²²⁸

1902

Transfers of pupils from boarding to industrial schools are not living up to expectations, according to Laird, mainly due to parental resistance and the reluctance of boarding school principals to part with older pupils, adding that as a result, he’s tried “to discourage the introduction or even the continuance of so many [industrial] schools which are unlikely to turn out but a small number of good mechanics.”²²⁹

Total government expenditures on the four industrial schools in Manitoba and the six in the NWT to March 1902 is \$2,128,719. Of that amount, the RIIS has received \$230,053 since opening in 1891.²³⁰

The DIA’s Martin Benson laments that “[o]ur schools have not succeeded in producing Indians who are able to hold their own in competition with their white neighbours or to advance themselves without Government supervision and assistance,” despite all the funding that has been provided. Data submitted by industrial schools up to June 30, 1901 show that 2,752 children and youth have been admitted, 1,700 have been discharged and of these 506 are known to be dead, 249 have been lost track of, 139 are in bad health, 86 have transferred to other schools, 121 have turned out badly, and 599 are said to be doing reasonably well. The cost of educating those who have not died or “utterly failed,” Benson suggests, works out to \$4,000 per head. He claims the “main object” of Indian education “should be the improvement and not the transformation of the Indian, and Industrial Schools should provide a training which will prepare the Indian boy and girl for the everyday life of the average Canadian citizen.” He thinks this objective can be aided through “practical lessons in self-support which are not given at our schools.”²³¹

Appearing before the church’s Foreign Missions Committee in June, Sinclair discloses an operating deficit of \$1,200, claiming the shortfall is primarily the result of interim principal Skene discharging 20 students—

²²⁸ LAC, Per Capita Grants to Industrial Schools, Manitoba and the North-West Territories,” RG 10, vol. 3897, file 91,883, item 110, “McLean to Laird, December 1902.”

²²⁹ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1902, Report of Commissioner Laird, p. 235.

²³⁰ LAC, Correspondence Regarding the Compulsory Education of Indian Children, item 132, “Benson to DIA Secretary, March 24, 1903.”

²³¹ *Ibid.*, items, 133–37.

reducing attendance to 70—adding that a deficit “is not likely to recur” as the attendance has “again been worked up to 100.” Upon stressing the value of maintaining the only Presbyterian-run industrial school in Canada, the FMC agrees to pay the deficit.²³²

Sinclair’s report²³³ for the year ending June 30 shows an average attendance of 94 with an enrolment of 103. Seventeen students are discharged and 35 new recruits arrive (21 boys, 14 girls). A new junior school teacher, Miss Cornelius, trained at the Hampton Industrial Institute in Virginia and a “full-blooded” Oneida, is appointed and brings a “very high reputation” with her; while a new senior teacher, Mr. Bayne, is “steadily raising the standard of school work under his charge.” The garden-plot system is extended to include the smallest children from the junior department. Sinclair praises 12-year old Annie Seesequasis (Beardy’s) for her quick mastery of lace-making. Nearly all the staff, he notes, assist in Sunday school work. The Bible is read each day in classrooms and “we seek daily to build up steady, strong Christian character” by a “strict but kindly discipline,” and by “fastening” students’ minds on moral and religious truths. He reports three student deaths at school during the year, two from TB and one from heart disease, but claims the experiment of having sickly students sleep in tents during the summer is bearing good results. Girls’ recreational activities include ping-pong and handball; boys enjoy baseball along with football and hunting (for the older ones) in season. Sinclair attributes the improved conduct of students to the school’s policy of allowing boys and girls to eat meals together and mix “freely” for an “hour or so every evening” on the school playground. A number of recent graduates including John Hunter (Oak Lake Sioux), John Kasto (Turtle Mountain), Willie Bird (Peepeekeesis), Fred Dieter (Okanese), Ben Assineawasis (Okanese), Philip Ironstar (Carry-the-Kettle), Willie Grant (Jack’s), Nellie Achaza and her husband Joseph Jack (Jack’s) are praised for their progress and various accomplishments. Assisting graduates to “do well for themselves is a distinct improvement,” Sinclair claims, “on the [practice] of sending [them] home to be drudges of indolent, non-progressive parents and relatives.” Through the generosity of friends in Scotland, Sinclair announces a new source of

²³² PCCA, Minutes of the FMC (Western Division), June 19, 1902, vol. 25, p. 2.

²³³ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, pp. 419–23, “Sinclair, June 30, 1902.”

funding is available that will allow a “limited number of our graduates of ability and worth” to pursue further education.

The WFMS reports that 27 students at the Regina school have joined the Presbyterian Church.²³⁴

The Scottish Fund agrees to help finance John Kasto’s studies at the Hampton Institute. Kasto,²³⁵ whose three brothers are also RIIS students, is praised by Sinclair for his spiritual, intellectual and moral qualities and for his potential as a “splendid instructor” for any of the church’s schools.²³⁶

In support of his application to the DIA for “additional financial assistance,” Sinclair identifies current “conditions and needs” of the RIIS: (a) an average attendance “of at least 100 full grant earners” to prevent deficits, noting the present attendance of 93 includes 16 pupils under age 10 for whom the school gets only a half grant or \$65 per pupil (observing that recruitment is increasingly difficult due to a growing number of boarding schools near reserves desiring to retain their pupils on reaching age 14); and (b) the costs of maintenance including wages, price of meat and repairs to equipment and buildings have “greatly increased” in the last three years. He requests an increase in the school’s per-capita grant to \$140 while acknowledging that the FMC is assisting with a special (one-time) grant of \$1,200.²³⁷

Frank Pedley, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, calls for a “full” internal report on the RIIS, including enrolments, average attendance, cost per pupil, the agencies from which students are sent, any increases in costs of supplies, and any justification for additional grazing land.²³⁸

In response, Benson reports²³⁹ that: RIIS’s per-capita grant is \$130, of which \$10 per pupil is set aside for medical costs, school materials, student

²³⁴ PCCA, WFMS Annual Report, 1901–02, p. 48.

²³⁵ Kasto’s father fought as a young man against General Custer in the battle of Little Bighorn (1876) in Montana before migrating north into Canada as a refugee.

²³⁶ UCCA, PCC Board of Home Missions and Social Services, box 4, file 42, “Sinclair to MacKay, October 4, 1902.”

²³⁷ LAC, General Correspondence Relating to the Regina Industrial School, 1903–1905, RG 10, vol. 3927, file 116,836-1A, items 2–5, “Sinclair to the Minister of the Interior and the Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, December 18, 1902.”

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, item 6, “Pedley to Benson, December 19, 1902.”

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, items 7–9, “Benson to Pedley, December 19, 1902.”

transportation, etc., reducing effectively the grant to \$120; the 1901 average attendance of 90 resulted in a small operating surplus of \$76; Inspector McGibbon says the principal is doing his best to avoid a deficit for which “careful management” will be needed; the attendance if not at least 110–120 will create a deficit, “whoever has to pay it”; Sinclair would rather see the school close than run it with “cheap help and continually from hand to mouth”; and finally, that it will be “next to impossible to keep up an average attendance of even 100” given the difficulties in recruiting. Benson suggests the school “be allowed to draw the full grant voted to keep up its efficiency” and he lists the 12 agencies sending students to the school, which indicates that 70% of students come from the Birtle, Carlton, Assiniboine, and Muscowpetung agencies.

A December issue of *The Progress*²⁴⁰ announces the youngest child of James and Bella Keepness (Muscowpetung) was baptised by the Reverend Sinclair in a ceremony at the school, and that another daughter is born to the Sinclair family. Other news: skating is the favourite winter activity among the students; a graduate of the Ontario Agriculture College, Guelph, a Mr. Harris, arrives to take charge of the Farm Department; ex-pupil Ed Gardippi (Beardy’s) is working at Milestone, and John Hunter (Oak Lake Sioux) is the fireman at the school for the winter season. The same issue includes Sinclair’s own account of his recruiting trip north to Mistawasis and points beyond in which he criticizes the way in which he was received: “Tired and hungry, driver and horses reached Mistawasis Mission at 7 pm only to be told in true North of Ireland plainness of speech that we were not welcome ... [this] in-hospitality was as unexpected as it was undeserved” and was compounded shortly thereafter, according to Sinclair, by the Indian agent at Mistawasis bluntly telling him that “he can’t stay here.”²⁴¹

1903

The Government per capita grant for the RIIS is increased from \$130 to \$140.²⁴²

²⁴⁰ *The Progress* 8, no. 13, December 1, 1902.

²⁴¹ Sinclair’s full account of his northern trip, printed in the December issue of *The Progress*, provided the occasion for a damning characterization by the Mistawasis missionary, the Reverend W.S. Moore, of Sinclair’s management of the school. See entries under “1903,” below.

²⁴² LAC, General Correspondence Relating to the Regina Industrial School, items 104–

A missionary at Mistawasis, the Reverend W.S. Moore, condemns the Regina school for its “polluted moral atmosphere,” blaming Sinclair’s management for this condition.²⁴³ In support of these allegations Moore cites reports he’s received of: three girls, two of whom were from Mistawasis, being sexual abused and “ruined” by boys in the school’s basement, claiming that Sinclair “threatened” both the boys and girls involved with a “terrible punishment if they spoke to one another or to their parents of the matter”²⁴⁴; of “big boys” stealing keys from the school’s office to enter the girl’s dormitory at night; of promiscuous lifestyles exhibited by several male graduates of the school upon returning to Mistawasis; and of Sinclair’s displays of rudeness to Miss Gillespie, teacher at the Mistawasis day school and to others during his recruiting trips north. In all, Moore seriously questions the advisability of sending any more children from this reserve to Regina. Noting that he’s had “quite a lot to do with the RIIS from its very beginning” when, in the early 1890s as a missionary at Muscowpetung and principal of the Church’s Lakesend Boarding School west of Fort Qu’Appelle, he says he sent over 20 students to the RIIS but that only 3 survived while the others either “died at the school or left it in a dieing condition.”

Sinclair responds²⁴⁵ that it’s “scarcely necessary to say we are ready at any time for the fullest investigations,” adding he is “not surprised” by Moore’s “wild statements” regarding the school’s past record morally and physically but that it is only necessary for anyone to be here to “see the monuments that remain of Mr. McLeod’s capacity, energy and consecration to know how false many of these statements are.” Were the school anything like the “pest house that [Moore] describes,” Sinclair continues, “people living so near [the school] would feel differently toward it” which, he asserts, is not the case.

Moore subsequently discloses²⁴⁶ two cases of “heartless brutality” perpetrated by the senior teacher at the school in the early 1890s, Neil

09, “Reported in letter from Benson to Pedley, October 2, 1903.”

²⁴³ UCCA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Board of Home Missions, box 4, file 45, “Moore to the convenor of the FMC, 1903.”

²⁴⁴ Two of the abused girls died only months later.

²⁴⁵ UCCA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Board of Home Missions, box 4, file 46, “Sinclair to MacKay, Secretary, February 16, 1903.”

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, box 4, file 47, “Moore to MacKay, March 11, 1903.”

Gilmour,²⁴⁷ against students who had been sent to the RIIS from the Lakes-end Boarding School. Moore claims Gilmour had confessed to him of rounding up a runaway 16-year-old female student who he immediately put in solitary confinement where she attempted to commit suicide by hanging herself²⁴⁸; and of tracking down a runaway boy 11 miles north of Regina and forcing him to run the full way back to the school.²⁴⁹

In further correspondence Moore identifies two male students involved in sexual assaults at the school which he had reported earlier, apologizing to the FMC's General Secretary, the Reverend R.P. MacKay for seeming to be "in any way ... censorious" of Sinclair, adding that what he "meant to secure was not the vindication of my character or the condemnation of Mr. Sinclair's but to place before the Presbytery good reasonable facts why I should not be expected to help the Regina School by [continuing to send] children there... ." In a further memo to MacKay, Moore claims "there is nothing to be gained by an investigation of statements in my letters in regard to the Regina School, either to the Church, Mr. Sinclair or myself."²⁵⁰

The issue of securing a much-needed section of land for grazing purposes is once again raised, with Sinclair lamenting that what could have

²⁴⁷ Gilmour went on to become Principal of Crowstand Boarding School on the Cote Reserve. Writing from Norway House following Sinclair's death (January 1905), and in response to an invitation to be the next RIIS principal, Gilmour pays tribute to Sinclair, saying that despite his "weak points" he was a man of "untiring energy" and doubtless "very much loved and respected by his pupils [who] will feel his loss very keenly." In speaking of his own time at the RIIS in the early 1890s, Gilmour comments on the many discussions he had with McLeod about the "Indian Problem," saying the solution is to get Indian children "away from the evil environment of the reserves." He declines the offer to be the next principal of the school. UCCA, PCC Board of Home Missions and Social Services—Missions to Indians in Manitoba and NWT, box 5, file 70, "Gilmour to MacKay, February 11, 1905."

²⁴⁸ According to Moore, Gilmour intercepted the girl's attempted suicide, handed her a revolver and suggested she try shooting herself instead. Only after the girl had pulled the trigger twice and nothing happened did Gilmour confess to her that the gun was unloaded.

²⁴⁹ By tying a rope around the boy, hitching him to a primitive horse-drawn wagon behind which he was forced trot back to Regina "in the manner of an animal."

²⁵⁰ UCCA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Board of Home Missions, box 4, file 46, "Moore to MacKay, March 19, 1903."

been purchased for \$2,000 during McLeod's tenure would now cost "nearly \$10,000." He wonders if "some wealthy friend of Indian Missions" could buy it and lease it to the school for a "term of [some] years," saying that a sufficiently long lease would greatly help to keep the deficit down, adding that if this land is secured by other interests he does not know what the school would do for pasture. Regarding potential enrollments he says "I run across many very promising half-breed boys and girls, with Scotch blood in their veins and a Scotch burr on their tongues who are most anxious to get into such a school as this but whose parents are too poor to provide the means necessary." On the matter of adding a training course in steam engineering, which Sinclair thinks will attract many new students, he notes that Regina citizens have donated over \$800 towards a traction steam engine on which to instruct boys.²⁵¹

Pedley informs Commissioner Laird that a government "loan" of \$1,500 has been advanced to Sinclair to cover "pressing accounts."²⁵²

Dr. Graham, the school's physician, asks Sinclair to secure four new large tents where pupils with scrofula could sleep during summer: one tent for boys and one for girls with "open sores," and two for those with "enlarged glands." He wonders if a trained nurse can be taken on staff who could teach girls the art of basic nursing as a part of her duties.²⁵³

In seeking the DIA's permission to purchase the tents and wood for flooring, Sinclair suggests that \$10 of the per-capita grant normally reserved for medical treatment of students could be drawn upon to cover the \$250 needed.²⁵⁴ Laird responds the price is too high and that drawing on the per-capita fund for this purpose is "not practicable," noting it is better the scrofula children be sent home where they would be less confined and have "open prairie air."²⁵⁵ Sinclair appeals once more to Indian Affairs for "careful and sympathetic assistance," saying the "experiment" conducted last summer with smaller inferior tents produced "most startling" health results

²⁵¹ Ibid, box 4, file 47, "Sinclair to Mackay, March 11, 1903."

²⁵² LAC, General Correspondence Relating to the Regina Industrial School, item 28, "Pedley to Indian Commissioner, February 26, 1903."

²⁵³ Ibid., item 51, "Graham to Sinclair, April 6, 1903."

²⁵⁴ Ibid., items 49–50, "Sinclair, April 7, 1903."

²⁵⁵ Ibid., item 52, "Laird to Pedley, April 11, 1903."

for infected students, while re-iterating that death and illness is a main reason why parents are reluctant to send their children to the school.²⁵⁶ Sinclair's appeal is denied; he purchases the tents regardless.

Appearing before a meeting of the FMC (Western Division) in Vancouver, Sinclair announces a \$4,000 deficit, saying that a per-capita grant of \$165 is necessary to break even. He confesses there is not money in hand to pay the salaries of staff members presently going on holidays, and he repeats his claim that principals of the Church's boarding schools should be "required to have all pupils 14 years of age passed on to the Industrial school in order to maintain attendance" at the latter.²⁵⁷

Assistant Indian Commissioner J.A. McKenna, of Winnipeg, argues there is no need for school principals to keep up the practice of reporting in their yearly returns the names of all the dead children from their schools. He argues that the object of these "returns" is to "convey information as to the conditions of ex-pupils" and that does not extend to giving the names of the deceased with the exception of those who died in the year of the "return."²⁵⁸ Deputy Superintendent General F. Pedley concurs.²⁵⁹

The FMC withholds a loan of \$1,200 to Sinclair, saying that although the committee is responsible for the administration of the RIIS it does so as an "Agent of the Government" and that the financial affairs of the school are "entirely in the hands of the Department," concluding that the committee is not "in a position to account for deficits that may have accrued and cannot hold itself responsible for them."²⁶⁰

Referring to "Mr Sinclair's difficulties in getting pupils," the FMC's MacKay thinks this might relate to an "impression" that the government has modified its views as to the value of its industrial schools relative to that of boarding schools and whether, if industrial schools are to continue, "more pressure" might be "brought to bear on Boarding schools and parents to pass children who have reached 14 years, to the Industrial school." He

²⁵⁶ Ibid., items 66–70, "Sinclair to Deputy Superintendent, April 27, 1903."

²⁵⁷ PCCA, Minutes of the FMC (Western Division) meeting, vol. 16, June 17, 1903, pp. 2–3.

²⁵⁸ LAC, Status of Discharged Pupils, 1891–1933, item 83, "McKenna to DIA Secretary, June 19, 1903."

²⁵⁹ Ibid., item 84.

²⁶⁰ PCCA, Minutes of the FMC Executive meeting, July 28, 1903, p. 8.

suggests that a “frank conference” might help clear the air on this and several related matters,²⁶¹ and asks that such a meeting consist of representatives from only Protestant denominations operating industrial schools to allow for “more unrestricted” discussions than would be possible if Catholic representatives were in attendance.²⁶²

Pedley reminds MacKay that although Indian Affairs acceded to the FMC’s request in 1900 to send per-capita payments directly to the school’s principal rather than to the FMC’s treasurer, he now states that because of the school’s “unsatisfactory financial condition” and the church’s responsibility for the school’s “maintenance and management,” it will be necessary to send these payments directly to the Reverend Dr. Warden, the FMC’s treasurer, to manage.²⁶³

Sinclair tells the relatively new farm instructor, Mr. Harris, to “be on the look-out for another situation” due to his “inexperience and lack of judgment.”²⁶⁴ Harris’s subsequent account of events recalls a heated disagreement between Sinclair and himself over Sinclair’s treatment of farm animals, including Sinclair’s order that spring calves be “turned out in spite of the threatening and wet weather,” against Harris’s expressed wishes. Sinclair, he recounts, “white with rage rushed at me ... I slipped ... and before I could get up he struck me a heavy blow on the back of my neck.” According to Harris, further blows were avoided only by the intervention of student Willie Oliver (Keeseekoowenin), who rushed from the stable to grab and hold Sinclair. This whole “disgraceful scene,” Harris laments, was witnessed from the main school building by the seamstress and a number of boys, adding “Is it any wonder [Sinclair] has lost the respect of staff and pupils?” On departing school the next day, Harris admits to making mistakes but says he did the work “conscientiously” and tried at “all times to set a Christian example before the boys.”²⁶⁵

²⁶¹ LAC, Correspondence Regarding the Compulsory Education of Indian Children, items 148–50, “MacKay to Pedley, August 11, 1903”; and *ibid.*, item 144, “MacKay to Pedley, August 1, 1903.”

²⁶² *Ibid.*, item 146, “MacKay to Pedley, August 4, 1903.”

²⁶³ UCCA, PCC Board of Home Missions and Social Services: Missions to the Indians of Manitoba and the NWT, box 4, file 51, “Pedley to MacKay, August 4, 1903.”

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, box 4, file 49, “Sinclair to MacKay.”

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, box 4, file 53, “Harris to MacKay, August 27, 1903.”

Sinclair's annual report²⁶⁶ gives an attendance of 91. All farm and garden produce as well as farm stock are itemized, and the garden-plot system is again praised. Gas and steam fitting and steam engineering are added to the industries taught for boys; beadwork, house painting and dairying are new skills taught by Miss Cornelius. Her work, Sinclair enthuses, has been a "great inspiration" to the girls. He expresses pride over the "decided improvement in the tone and conduct of the pupils as a whole." A graduate of the Regina Normal School, a Mr. Mackey, joins the staff, replacing a Mr. Bayne, and is the new editor of *The Progress*. Three new large tents with wood floors are erected for the "fresh air treatment of pupils lacking in robust constitution"; new floors are laid in the kitchen, scullery and large boy's dormitory. Three large tanks of water are kept in the attic in case of fire. A new lighting system is installed in the main building, making an "immense improvement" in illumination, increasing safety and cleanliness over the old coal-oil lamps, and lifting "the spirits of the pupils." Antoine Burns (Keeseekoowenin) and Pius Natakas (Birtle agency) paint the large boy's dormitory without supervision, choosing the colours themselves. The Bible, he says, is "used every day in the classroom as a reading textbook," and staff are urged to "seize every opportunity to build up and strengthen [the students'] character." Sinclair claims an improvement in pupils' general health is due mainly to the practice of having those with respiratory ailments sleep in the new "ventilated tents" even in "pretty cold weather," yet he reports "we have had several losses through consumption." Regarding recreation, basketball is catching on with both boys and girls playing the game together. The adoption of a school uniform has reduced clothing bills and done a "good deal to develop a desirable school spirit," and music by the school band "brightens the evening." Regina citizens contribute generously to the purchase of a double-cylinder traction engine worth \$2,170; a company in Smith Falls (Ont.) donates shop machinery. Sinclair speaks proudly of former graduates John Hunter, "our South African veteran," and his brother George (Oak Lake Sioux) who are successful horse ranchers; of Fred Dieter (Okanese) and Marybelle Cote (Cote) married and "comfortably settled on a farm at File Hills."

Following the FMC's failed arguments as to why the DIA and not the

²⁶⁶ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, pp. 433–37, "Sinclair, September 24, 1903."

committee should be held responsible for the school's current deficit, the secretary, the Reverend MacKay, proposes an immediate "investigation of the conditions in Regina," adding that "if a change in the principal-ship is deemed necessary this is the time to present it."²⁶⁷

Dr. Graham makes five visits to the school during September, attending to six different health conditions (including rheumatism and bronchitis), and to Basil Contois (Portage la Prairie), who requires leg surgery at the Regina Victoria Hospital.²⁶⁸

Sinclair submits a financial statement showing a deficit of \$5,941 as of June 30, the bulk of which is in unpaid accounts and salaries.²⁶⁹

The resulting "proposed inquiry" into the school's financial state is not intended to be an audit, according to Deputy Superintendent General, J.D. McLean, but to "discover whether the school has been economically managed under Mr. Sinclair and whether the present per capita grant ... is sufficient to meet legitimate expenses."²⁷⁰ The investigating committee will consist of Assistant Indian Commissioner J. McKenna, Winnipeg,²⁷¹ J.H. Menzies, a Winnipeg chartered accountant recommended by the FMC,²⁷² and the Reverend R.P. MacKay, the FMC's general secretary.

The school is placed under quarantine in December due to a case of smallpox. The financial investigation is put on hold.

A \$900 coal bill for heating plus a \$576 bill from the Regina Lumber Co. have been received.²⁷³

1904

The school's medical officer, Dr. Graham, is criticized by Sinclair (who was away from the school at the time of the smallpox outbreak) for Graham's

²⁶⁷ LAC, General Correspondence Relating to the Regina Indian School, 1903–1905, items 100–01, "MacKay to Pedley, September 29, 1903."

²⁶⁸ Ibid., items 116–17, "Graham to Sinclair, October 2, 1903."

²⁶⁹ Ibid., item 121, "Sinclair, dated October 15, 1903."

²⁷⁰ Ibid., item 124, "J.D. McLean, Acting Deputy Superintendent General, DIA, to MacKay, November 25, 1903."

²⁷¹ Ibid., item 123, "McLean to MacKay, November 25, 1903."

²⁷² Ibid., item 134, "MacKay to Pedley, December 15, 1903."

²⁷³ UCCA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Board of Home Missions and Social Services, box 4, file 57, "Sinclair to MacKay, December 30, 1903."

alleged negligence in dealing with the situation, claiming Graham took insufficient measures against the spread of the disease by failing to fumigate promptly the male dormitory where the case occurred, and by delaying the vaccination of boys who had been exposed.²⁷⁴ Graham defends his handling of the case, saying he immediately removed the infected boy, Tom Peters, to a vacant house on school grounds where he was quarantined, had all remaining pupils vaccinated, and ordered the clothing of all students and staff and all bedding plus the entire building be thoroughly fumigated. Noting that no other cases of small pox appeared, Graham claims his measures were effective²⁷⁵—adding that a good many of Sinclair’s statements are “absolutely untrue.”²⁷⁶

Criticism is registered within the DIA of Sinclair’s frequent absences from the school, with a suggestion these may have “something to do with the apparent extravagance in carrying on the [institution].”²⁷⁷

Half-fare rail permits for all clergy in the West are cancelled. Sinclair asks the FMC’s MacKay if he can secure a special passenger rate, otherwise he says he will either have to stay put or “greatly increase another item in our expenditure.”²⁷⁸

The team investigating the RIIS arrives on February 23. It finds the books had not been audited in two years and that in the past year alone there had been three different bookkeepers.

The team’s final report,²⁷⁹ March 11, covering the school’s operation from April 30, 1901 to January 31, 1904, and using the period ending June 30, 1900 as a baseline for comparison finds: (i) a steady decline in attendance from 104 in 1900 to 72 as of January 31, with a corresponding decline in per-capita revenue, while expenditures grew in almost all departments; (ii) an accumulated deficit to January 31 of \$9,201 due largely to an increase in food consumption of staff members (e.g., from 1900 to 1904 staff

²⁷⁴ LAC, Correspondence Relating to the Regina Industrial School, 1903–1905, items 152–53, “Sinclair to Laird, January 28, 1904.”

²⁷⁵ Ibid., items 155–56, “Graham to Sinclair, January 6, 1904.”

²⁷⁶ Ibid., item 215, “Graham to Laird, April 27, 1904.”

²⁷⁷ Ibid., item 151, “McLean to Laird, February 1, 1904.”

²⁷⁸ UCCA, box 5, file 58, “Sinclair to MacKay, February 15, 1904.”

²⁷⁹ LAC, General Correspondence Relating to the Regina Industrial School, 1903–1905, items 164–82, “Report of McKenna, Menzies, MacKay, March 11, 1904.”



FIGURE 16. Principal's residence (constructed on school grounds, 1894) with Rev. Sinclair's wife, Laura, and their children in a horse-drawn buggy. (PAS R-A21260)

consumed 400 lbs of beef/person/year as against 183 lbs/pupil/year), and not to an increase in food prices; (iii) that amounts allowed by the DIA for building repairs have not been sufficient; (iv) a large increase in the quantity of coal for the school's seven furnaces, which are "not well adapted to economical heating" of the main building where heat loss is significant; (v) that the farm operation contributes very little to the school's maintenance; (vi) that floors in the main building are in "wretched condition" and the stairs "really dangerous"; (vii) that creditors are starting to "press for payment of accounts" and consequently the school is in "danger of ... falling into public discredit"; (viii) the principal's travel expenses have grown from \$41 in 1901 to \$540 in 1903; (ix) that financial statements submitted by the school to the DIA are inaccurate—omitting unpaid accounts and creating an impression the institution's finances are sound; and (x) there is need of a "larger more authoritative inquiry" than was commissioned—one that would include an examination of the practice of isolating industrial school students from the "cultural environment where they will eventually earn a livelihood."

In reacting to the report, the DIA's Benson notes that the RIIS was at its "zenith" when Sinclair was appointed and was in the "foremost rank of Indian schools in the Dominion," yet in less than three years it is "over head-and-ears in debt, discredited by whites and Indians and fast running down." He notes the report's failure to explain a 30% attendance drop during the period from 1900 to December 1903, and is dumfounded to find it fixes no blame on the principal who he claims is "certainly responsible for the present condition of affairs," adding that expenditures leading to the deficit show either "extravagance, mismanagement or incompetence." On what he calls the crucial point—who is to cover the deficit—he finds the report silent,²⁸⁰ even though the DIA (he says) had made it clear to MacKay that responsibility for the "management and maintenance" of the school lies with the FMC as long as the per-capita arrangement continues.²⁸¹

MacKay claims the "discovery" of a \$9,200 deficit at the RIIS is "a surprise to us" and is "both grave and urgent." He thinks that for so large a school to have received only \$3,750 from the department for maintenance since April 1903, and no payment for provisions since October 1903, is "extraordinary to say the least." He wants the investigating committee to meet with the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs for a "detailed discussion" of the situation.²⁸²

The investigating team's report of the RIIS's financial situation is graded "not very satisfactory" by Indian Affairs Deputy Superintendent General Pedley, who observes that when it is read "in connection with the information already possessed by the Department," a "very undesirable condition of affairs [is revealed] in connection with this school."²⁸³ In light of information missing in the report, Sinclair is directed to "forward at once" a statement of expenditures in detail for 1901–02, 1902–03 and seven months of the 1903–04 year, along with vouchers, a certified copy of the bank book with paid cheques, statements in detail of revenues from outside sources, and a list of creditors with accounts in detail.²⁸⁴

²⁸⁰ Ibid., items 184–92, "Benson to Pedley, March 17, 1904."

²⁸¹ Ibid., items 193–94, "Benson to Pedley, March 17, 1904."

²⁸² Ibid., items 200–01, "MacKay to Sifton, Superintendent General, DIA, March 19, 1904."

²⁸³ Ibid., "Pedley to Sifton, March 24, 1904."

²⁸⁴ Ibid., "Pedley to Sinclair, March 28, 1904."

Sinclair apologizes for the delay in forwarding the financial statements requested by Pedley, explaining that “our ordinary routine work is sufficient to keep us all very busy” and the work needed to prepare the statements “had to be done after hours.”²⁸⁵

DIA’s accountant predicts the school’s deficit will likely exceed \$10,000 by June 30, the primary causes of which are Sinclair’s careless spending on general supplies and repairs without DIA approval, his inability as an administrator to “properly discharge his responsibilities,” and the drop in per-capita revenue due to declining enrolments. He recommends that the DIA pay the deficit once a “careful audit” of all accounts is done and that the school be closed (with all worthy pupils transferred to Elkhorn Industrial School, thus relieving Sinclair of his position without “implying censure”).²⁸⁶

Miss Cornelius, the Junior School teacher, announces she is returning to the US in search of better pay. Sinclair inquires if the WFMS could supplement her salary by \$10 to \$15 per month, bringing her monthly pay to \$40 as an inducement to stay, saying the Church’s Canadian Indian work needs her “encouraging presence.”²⁸⁷

Dr. Graham reports the general health condition of students is good, with the exception of Bessie Fox (Piapot) suffering from a severe abdominal tumour for which he advises surgery.²⁸⁸ She is transferred to a Winnipeg hospital, operated on for advanced bowel cancer and dies following surgery. Sinclair is criticized by the Assistant Indian Commissioner for a three-week delay in notifying his office of this student’s serious condition, at which point she had already undergone surgery and died.²⁸⁹

The church’s Foreign Missions Committee passes a motion disclaiming “all responsibility for the financial condition of the school,” noting that from the introduction of the government’s per-capita system of funding in 1893 the Committee had never assumed such responsibility, while observing that

²⁸⁵ Ibid., “Sinclair to Pedley, April 9, 1904.”

²⁸⁶ Ibid., items 208–11, “Memo to Deputy Superintendent General, n.d.”

²⁸⁷ UCCA, “Presbyterian Church in Canada Board of Home Missions and Social Services–Missions to Indians, box 5, file 58, “Sinclair to MacKay, April 26, 1904.”

²⁸⁸ LAC, General Correspondence Relating to the Regina Industrial School, 1903–1905, item 236, “Graham to Sinclair, May 4, 1904.”

²⁸⁹ Ibid., item 235, “Assistant Indian Commissioner (Winnipeg) to Sinclair, May 28, 1904.”

when the DIA modified the original granting system in 1900 by cutting the per-capita grant in half for children under age 10, revenues for the school were reduced. The motion “respectfully” urges immediate action by Indian Affairs to “avoid deeper complications.”²⁹⁰

Clifford Sifton, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, express his “surprise” that church authorities were unaware of the nature of grant arrangements, as this is “common knowledge” in the running of industrial schools. Either the FMC must put the school under “competent management and assume responsibility” or else relinquish all control to the DIA, assuming the latter agrees to cover the deficit. A definite statement from the FMC as to which option it favours is requested.²⁹¹

The FMC’s executive “protests against” closing the RIIS and, in the interest of Indian work being done there, believes the department should pay the deficit while the school continues to operate under the “oversight of our church,” at least until the whole policy regarding industrial schools is settled.²⁹²

Benson claims that school officials are “well aware” of the policy regarding the reduced per-capita grants for pupils under age 10, and should not have accepted such children if the school was unwilling to meet the reduction in “earning power” these children represent. Industrial schools, he says, were never intended for youngsters of “tender years,” as they are unable to profit from such training. He thinks Sinclair is disregarding this intent in order to shore up enrolments, noting that were the school as popular as it was under McLeod there would be no difficulty in maintaining student numbers. In the FMC’s anxiety to shift financial accountability for the school to the department it has, he believes, avoided acknowledging the “utter incapability of the present principal.”²⁹³

Speaking before the General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada held in St. John, New Brunswick, in June, Sinclair claims that unless the church assumes “some measure of financial responsibility” the school will fall under the control of the Catholic Church. To close the school, he

²⁹⁰ Ibid., items 225–27, “MacKay to Pedley, May 9, 1904.”

²⁹¹ Ibid., items 228–29, “Sifton to Pedley, May 1904.”

²⁹² Ibid., items 232–34, “MacKay to Pedley, May 27, 1904.”

²⁹³ Ibid., items 242–44, “Benson to Pedley, June 4, 1904.”

said, would be a “symbol of Presbyterian surrender.” A motion directing the FMC to enter into “arrangements” with the department to “ensure the continuance of the Regina School,” assuming “if necessary some financial responsibility,” is referred to a “joint committee from the Assembly and FMC” to report at a later sederunt.²⁹⁴ Following receipt of such report, the Assembly “resolved” that it “join in the protest of the Foreign Missions Committee against the closing of the Regina School ... and [that it] urge the consideration of the interests of the work carried on amongst the Indians and demand first, that the deficit be paid by the department, second, that the school be carried on under the oversight of our church at least until such time as the whole policy of industrial schools is settled, third, that three members of the General Assembly be appointed to be associated with the deputation appointed by the Foreign Mission Committee to the Indian department [to] press these views; and that Rev. Dr. Carmichael, the Rev. D.G. McQueen, and Rev. J.A. Sinclair be those three.”²⁹⁵

Saying it is time “to put an end to the uncertainty as to the financial responsibility for the administration of the Regina [School],” Deputy Superintendent Pedley sets out the conditions for the school’s continued operation: that the department agrees to cover the deficit to June 30 provided a “proper audit” (paid for by the church) is first completed and found to be “correct and satisfactory” and is understood by the FMC to be a “full and final settlement of the deficit”; that the DIA agrees to increase the per-capita grant in the 1904–05 year to \$145 per pupil; that after July 1, the church be responsible for the school’s operation without holding the DIA liable for expenditures not already specified (e.g., unauthorized repairs or additions to buildings), and that the church make no further claim against the department for any deficit; and finally that the FMC makes a “determined effort” to maintain a “thoroughly efficient staff.”²⁹⁶

The FMC accepts the new per-capita grant provided an extra section of land is set aside for the school’s farming and grazing operations, but balks at paying an accountant’s fee for a financial audit of the school.²⁹⁷ MacKay

²⁹⁴ Ibid., item 245, “Reported in the *St. John Telegram*, June 5, 1904.”

²⁹⁵ LAC, General Correspondence Relating to the Regina Industrial School, 1903–1905, RG 10, vol. 3927, file 116,836-1A.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., items 248–50, “Pedley to MacKay, June 23, 1904.”

²⁹⁷ Ibid., items 252–56, “MacKay to Pedley, July 4, 1904.”

subsequently arranges with Robert Menzies of Clarkson, Cross and Menzies, Chartered Accountants in Winnipeg, for an audit²⁹⁸ to be completed by August covering the period December 31, 1901 to June 30, 1904, setting forth the school's liabilities to the latter date.

Dr. Graham's health report for May (submitted to Sinclair) notes several students are suffering from enlarged glands in the neck, two of whom are hospitalized in Regina to have their glands lanced. He recommends they be allowed to go home on sick leave.²⁹⁹ His July report to Sinclair notes that student Colin Kanawas (Cowessess) was treated for an abscess on his leg and, upon recovery, returned to school.³⁰⁰

The audit by Clarkson, Cross and Menzies shows a deficit to June 30 of \$13,960. It includes unpaid accounts for school uniforms (\$393), meat from Regina butcher suppliers (\$2,000), groceries from A. Macdonald Co., Winnipeg (\$910), dry goods from John Macdonald and Co., Toronto (\$312), materials from Regina Lumber and Supply Co. (\$942), etc., as well as unpaid staff salaries amounting to \$1,707.³⁰¹

Sinclair promises to “do the best he can” to avoid further deficits and report monthly to MacKay on “our financial condition.” He says “our attendance must be increased” and asks the FMC to assist in recruiting.³⁰²

According to Menzies, the “backwardness of the [the school's] farm department” is a “major factor” contributing to the deficit, and that a better managed farm would generate a reasonable income.³⁰³ In subsequent correspondence—referencing his February visit to the RIIS as part of the former investigating team—Menzies notes it is “not business-like” for pupils “to be seen so much about the office as we saw in February last,” claiming that were this situation to continue, “the confidence that should subsist between the pupils and the Principal” could be destroyed. He also claims that acting school nurse, Maggie Cote (Cote), is seldom on duty, and

²⁹⁸ Ibid., item 264, “MacKay to Pedley, July 16, 1904.”

²⁹⁹ Ibid., item 283, “Graham to Sinclair, June 1, 1904.”

³⁰⁰ LAC, General Correspondence Relating to the Regina Industrial School, 1903–1905, “Graham to Sinclair, August 6, 1904.”

³⁰¹ UCCA, box 5, file 64, “Clarkson, Cross and Menzies to MacKay, August 5, 1904.”

³⁰² Ibid., “Sinclair to MacKay, August 11, 1904.”

³⁰³ Ibid., “Menzies to MacKay, August 15, 1904.”

he suggests that Sinclair “might usefully be asked not to be away from the Institution any more than is absolutely necessary,” otherwise the interests of the school “must suffer.”³⁰⁴

Commissioner Laird voices frustration at not receiving “monthly medical reports” from the RIIS, and with Sinclair’s excuses for the oversight on account of his absence from the school.³⁰⁵

Sinclair’s annual report³⁰⁶ shows an average attendance of 88 (56 boys, 32 girls)³⁰⁷ and notes that “quite a number, being under age,” draw only half the government per-capita grant. Forty-five students have individual garden plots with proceeds for half the produce going to the “respective owners of the plots,” while six prizes were given out to “owners” of the “best kept plots at the end of the season.” A new bandstand, built mainly by carpentry boys, replaces one that blew down; and a new engine house for the traction engine is completed. Several neighbours, he says, “have spoken enthusiastically of [the] good conduct” of students who worked for them during threshing time and who were paid \$1.50 per day. Nine boys are receiving carpentry instruction, seven are employed in the printing office, seven are learning to bake bread, five are learning the operation and maintenance of the traction engine, and three the repair of shoes and harnesses. The Socratic method of teaching is used as much as possible. Four or five girls have become “quite expert nurses.” Chapters from *Pilgrim’s Progress*, *Up from Slavery*, and *Character Building* are read during Sunday evening services, which Sinclair believes make a “deep and . . . permanent impression.” The use of the outdoor tents for infirm students continues with “good results.” One student, Arthur Johnstone (Waywayseecappo), dies of consumption at the school in January. Correspondence with graduates, he says, have given

³⁰⁴ Ibid., “Menzie’s to MacKay, August 19, 1904”

³⁰⁵ LAC, General Correspondence Relating to the Regina Industrial School, 1903–1905, “Laird to the Secretary, DIA, August 24, 1904.”

³⁰⁶ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1864–1990, pp. 428–33, “Sinclair, September 15, 1904.”

³⁰⁷ Fifteen days earlier Sinclair had informed MacKay the attendance is “only about seventy-two,” and asks what steps MacKay will be taking to assist in recruitment. UCCA, PCC Board of Home Missions and Social Services–Missions to Indians, box 5, file 64, “Sinclair to MacKay, August 31, 1904.”

“much encouragement,” especially in light of the “hold that our school has upon their affections” for the place, and displays their “manifest earnestness” not to disappoint the “expectations of their alma mater.” A female graduate whose youngest child has died and whose husband is near death writes to thank the staff and students for the “small relief donation,” urging Sinclair to visit her husband as it would do “a great deal of good to have the principal of our dear Regina school come and see him.” Graduate Albert Fiddler (Cote) is praised for following his carpentry career in the Pelley Agency where he is building some “very substantial houses” including one for the Reverend McWhinney, principal of Crowstand Boarding School. Graduate James Friday (Cote) is mentioned as being an “efficient interpreter” for the missionary at the Cote Reserve, and Friday’s wife, Jessie Fox (Piapot), also a graduate, keeps a house “which is a model of neatness.”

In concluding his report, Sinclair muses that one of the “greatest weaknesses of the Indian character” is its “readiness to give up in the face of difficulties,” and that as “much emphasis as possible” should thus be “placed on the development of [their] general intelligence . . . especially along the line of investigation and invention in contact with concrete things.” Staff members are applauded by Sinclair for their “energetic, cheerful and efficient services rendered.” He acknowledges the “extra long hours” they serve, their “privation from social pleasures,” and the “strain of responsibility”—all for the “good of the pupils” and for much less pay (he adds) than they could get working elsewhere.

In summarizing the positions of the Church’s boarding schools at File Hills, Round Lake and Crowstand regarding their opposition to sending pupils to the RIIS, Crowstand’s principal, the Reverend McWhinney, notes that agricultural training and housekeeping are already being offered at their schools in a more “practical way” than at the large industrial schools, and that DIA officials have given assurances there is “no need for our pupils to go elsewhere for an industrial education.”³⁰⁸ In a further memo McWhinney reports he has spoken to “his people” many times about the Regina school, but they “emphatically” do not want any more pupils to be sent there from this reserve. During one of Sinclair’s visits to Crowstand he used “such insulting language,” according to McWhinney, that “only for his position I

³⁰⁸ UCCA, box 5, file 65, “McWhinney to MacKay, September 7, 1904.”

would have closed the door ... against him,” adding that Sinclair’s visits are “never pleasant for any of us...” In a postscript, he says Sinclair defends the practice of giving parents money to release their children to the RIIS as a “charitable act.” McWhinney complains this practise smacks of the Catholic method of “purchasing pupils.”³⁰⁹

Regina MP Walter Scott is informed that as of June 30 the financial affairs of the school are in the hands of Presbyterian Church authorities with whom Indian Affairs is dealing directly, and that the department is paying \$4,300 for a new heating system in the school’s main building.³¹⁰

Sinclair implores Scott to bring pressure on Indian Affairs to authorize expenses for needed repairs and extensions to farm buildings, especially the poultry house, lest some 300 chickens die for want of protection, leaving the school faced with buying eggs at a cost.³¹¹

On a directive from Superintendent General Clifford Sifton, Pedley tells Indian Commissioner Laird in Winnipeg to arrange for the DIA’s payment of the RIIS’s liabilities of \$13,963, as reported in Menzie’s audit.³¹²

Acknowledging that the department’s payment of the school’s deficit brings a chapter in its history to a close, Benson nonetheless expresses reluctance to let matters rest because of the “manner in which this deficit was accumulated.” Noting that when Menzies revisited the school in June for the audit he found the deficit had grown by nearly \$5,000 in only five months—from \$9,200 as of January 31 to \$13,963—but for which Menzies offers no explanation. To illustrate Sinclair’s extravagance, Benson itemizes in detail the supplies purchased from various outlets (adding that a good number of these should have been disallowed by the audit): syrup, strawberries, raspberries, blueberries, peaches, plums, cherries, pears, pineapples, apricots, raisins, figs, dates, honey, and kippered herrings from Winnipeg wholesaler, A.J. Macdonald Co.; gelatine, marmalade, sardines, lemons, oranges, shelled walnuts, icing sugar, tongue, canned salmon, bananas, olives, chocolates, tobacco, etc., from the Regina Trading Co., which (he says) was visited as “frequently as the ordinary grocery store”; and Stetson hats,

³⁰⁹ Ibid., box 5 file 66, “McWhinney to MacKay, October 3, 1904.”

³¹⁰ Ibid., “Pedley to Scott, November 25, 1904.”

³¹¹ LAC, General Correspondence Relating to the Regina Industrial School, 1903–1905, items 314–15, “Sinclair to Scott, MP, November 7, 1904.”

³¹² Ibid., item 293, “Pedley to Laird, October 10, 1904.”

collars, ties, razors, braces all purchased at the “highest prices” from E. McCarthy & Co. Regina. It is “no wonder,” Benson says, “that after such an elaborate bill of fare 46 pupils needed to have their teeth treated by Dr. Pollard.” Additional purchases (on credit) include various dry goods and hardware items from companies in Winnipeg and Toronto while staff salaries remain unpaid. It is “astonishing,” Benson concludes, how a principal of an Indian school conducted on a fixed per-capita grant “with any conception of the fitness of things, can justify himself in purchasing such luxurious and superfluous articles³¹³ as are charged in these accounts without any prospects of being paid for out of the earnings of the school.”³¹⁴

The FMC resolves that “in-as-much as the Industrial school system at present carried on, necessitates the taking of Indian children from their Reserves and educates them in some measure away from the conditions in which they must ultimately live ... the Committee is of the opinion that the Church should withdraw from Industrial school work, and that our efforts ... should be devoted to the education of them on their own Reserves.” The motion is referred to the next meeting of the committee.³¹⁵

In support of his belief that the church should reimburse the department for the “luxury items” Sinclair purchased for his own personal use in “excess of any reasonable requirements of pupils and staff,” Benson muses that it is “not the practice of good Presbyterians to countenance extravagance and luxurious living.” He suggests a statement appear in the school’s newspaper, *The Progress*, to alert the public that the financial management of the RIIS rests with the church.³¹⁶

³¹³ R.B. Heron, Sinclair’s soon-to-be successor, explains in a letter written six months later that luxurious items are sometimes ordered and paid for by senior students out of money they earned as out-pupils, but that for purposes of the school’s financial reporting to the DIA, all such orders are shown as “charged” against the school. Heron claims “many articles can be accounted for in this way” and cites two examples of student purchases: a Stetson hat ordered by Archie Thompson (Carry-the-Kettle) and a fur ordered by Miranda Severeight (Cote). UCCA, PCC Board of Home Missions and Social Services–Missions to Indians in Manitoba and the NWT, box 5, “Heron to MacKay, June 2, 1905.”

³¹⁴ LAC, General Correspondence Relating to the Regina Industrial School, 1903–1905, items 320–26, “Benson to Pedley, December 30, 1904.”

³¹⁵ PCCA, Minutes of the FMC, September 1904, p. 34.

³¹⁶ LAC, General Correspondence Relating to the Regina Industrial School, 1903–

The FMC's western branch recommends to the Synod of Manitoba and the NWT that a special commission be appointed to visit Indian reserves and Presbyterian-run boarding schools in the province and the territories with a mandate to determine what the working relationship should be between its boarding schools and the RIIS, what types of students should be sent from the former to the latter, and under what conditions.³¹⁷

In December, the Commission of Synod visits the Presbyterian boarding schools at Portage la Prairie, Birtle, Crowstand, File Hills and Round Lake, as well as the RIIS. Several days are spent at the Regina school inspecting the buildings and the industrial work of both boys and girls, as well as interviewing staff members, including the Principal, with whom the Commission says it was "closeted" until a "late hour" on the Saturday of their visit and again on the Monday evening "until two o'clock the next morning."

The Commission's observations and findings,³¹⁸ having visited all the schools named, include: a general "lack of system" or of any "fixed standards" among the schools regarding industrial work noting, in particular, that some boarding schools do only a little such training while others do a lot; a near-unanimous opposition of the Church's boarding schools to transferring their older pupils (age 14 and over) to Regina for industrial training; and a general lack of sympathy on the part of boarding schools towards the RIIS—in some instances there exists a "very lively and heartfelt degree of irritation" towards the Regina school which is "cordially reciprocated." Reasons the Commission heard for these and related attitudes include: an overlap of industries offered at the boarding schools with those offered at the RIIS; a belief that RIIS graduates do not acquit themselves as well as boarding school graduates; a reduction in per-capita grant revenue for boarding schools who transfer their older pupils to Regina; complaints by parents of estrangement with their sons and daughters when transferred to the distantly located Regina school; a unanimous belief that the "industrial future"

1905, items 328–30, "Benson to Pedley, December 31, 1904."

³¹⁷ UCCA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Board of Home Missions and Social Services—Missions to Indians, box 5, file 67, "S.C. Murray, Clerk of Synod, Manitoba and the NWT, to MacKay, November 12, 1904."

³¹⁸ "Report of the Synod's Commission on Indian Affairs Regarding Indian Schools and Reserves," December 1904. *Ibid.*, Box 5, file 68.

of the Indian lies with mixed farming on reserves rather than working at trades in a white economy; and the generally poorer health of industrial school pupils compared to their boarding school counterparts. During the Commission's visit to Crowstand it heard that girls sent to the RIIS "had not been sufficiently protected" and had returned to their homes "only to bring disgrace thereon," and that in some quarters the school "bears a reputation for looseness of discipline." The missionary at Round Lake, the Reverend McKay, tells the commissioners he has repeatedly tried to "induce parents to send pupils to Regina without effect" (in Regina, Sinclair admitted, according to the commissioners, that the RIIS's reputation had "suffered" for a time due to its temporary unsanitary conditions, which he says have been corrected, adding his belief that the unwillingness of Indian parents to send children to the RIIS is "fostered and intensified" by the negative attitudes of missionaries and boarding school teachers towards the Regina school). Commissioners believe that "much of the friction between boarding schools and the RIIS is the result of misunderstandings on both sides [but] aggravated by the lack of tact on the part of the Principal of the Industrial School when visiting Boarding Schools." Sinclair, nonetheless, is applauded by Commissioners for throwing himself with "tremendous energy into his work," and for having made "careful study of Indian education from the Industrial standpoint." They say he is determined to bring the Regina school to the "highest state of efficiency possible."

The overall "unanimous conclusions" of the Commission include: discipline in the church's boarding schools is superior to that at the RIIS; Indians need above all else a "greater strength of moral fibre," not for want of intellect but for want of moral weakness, and that boarding schools are "better agents of moral uplift" than the "larger more complicated Industrial School"; the Indian population is insufficient to "supply our Industrial School with pupils . . . who could really profit by such industrial education"; and that Indians are "slowly but gradually rising in the scale of civilization as a result of contact with white civilization and of the uplifting tendency of Teacher and Missionary."³¹⁹

The father of Mary Wahpahoo (Beardy's), a discharged RIIS student

³¹⁹ Ibid.

sent home in poor health where she died shortly thereafter, asks that money in her Post Office Savings Bank account (\$15) be forwarded to him to help cover the costs of providing a “decent burial” for his daughter.³²⁰

1905

The number of government-funded industrial schools in Canada peaks at 24 (5 in Ontario and 19 in western Canada from Manitoba to British Columbia) while boarding schools increase to 47.³²¹

Sinclair dies suddenly on January 15, age 42.³²² The FMC pays tribute: “His connection with the school covered a very trying period in its history, but his work was done with so much enthusiasm and efficiency, that he was enabled to surmount many of the great difficulties that so frequently arose, and at the time of his death the outlook seemed very hopeful.”³²³

A lengthy obituary in the *Regina Leader* reports that Sinclair’s death—which “cast a deep gloom over the city for wherever he was known he was popular”—was the result of complications from appendicitis. An “admirable feature of the work done under his supervision,” the obituary continues, “is the thorough manner in which the Indian pupils are provided for.” In realising “his responsibilities to his wards no expense was spared in looking after their health, comfort and progress.” Sinclair’s “variety of executive talents, tireless energy, knowledge of details and unlimited resourcefulness, combined with breadth of view, large sympathies, thorough earnestness, rare good sense and unwavering adherence to the principles of right are seldom met within one individual.” A funeral service at the RIIS on January 18 was conducted by the Reverend Hart of Winnipeg College.³²⁴

Sinclair’s position is temporarily filled by senior teacher, James Quigley,

³²⁰ LAC, Duck Lake Agency–Post Office Savings Bank Deposits of Annuity Money for Students, RG 10, Vol. 3887, File 95833-9A, items 18–19, “Indian Agent, Duck Lake, to the Secretary, Indian Affairs, November 29, 1904.”

³²¹ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1864–1990, “Frank Pedley, Deputy Superintendent General, Department of Indian Affairs, 1905.”

³²² PCCA, Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly, June 1905. Report of the Foreign Missions Committee, p. 160.

³²³ PCCA, Minutes of the FMC, January 1905, p. 62.

³²⁴ “Sudden Death of Rev. John A. Sinclair,” *Regina Leader*, January 18, 1905. Regina Public Library, Prairie History Room.

who urges little time be lost in making a permanent appointment, saying he's not competent to run the school along "missionary lines" or "strong enough as a disciplinarian to keep the rougher element in hand."³²⁵

Ten applications for principal are received. The FMC agrees to withhold an appointment while the government's policy governing educational work among the Indians is "under consideration." The Reverend Professor Baird's judgment is sought regarding a temporary appointment of one of the applicants, R.B. Heron, as principal.³²⁶

The DIA endorses the FMC's recommendation that Heron, a teacher at the Church's Round Lake Boarding School, be appointed acting principal and asks departmental inspector W.M. Graham to meet with Heron at the school.³²⁷

RIIS student Thomas Wahpahoo (Beardy's), discharged suffering from consumption, requests that his savings be sent to him as soon as possible to be used "for his comfort." According to the Duck Lake Indian Agent, this "young lad made good progress" at the school and it is very sad to have him sent home only to die."³²⁸

Temporary management of the school is handed over to Heron by Graham, who notes the general "unsatisfactory and unsanitary state" of the main building, and that \$2,851 is owing to merchants.³²⁹ Graham's subsequent report³³⁰ puts the attendance at 77. The junior classroom, he says, is "clean and well ventilated" and has 21 children (Standards I and II); the senior classroom has 17 students in Standard III, 20 in Standard IV, and 7 in each of Standards V and VI, all of whom seem "well-advanced in their studies, especially in arithmetic and writing." He adds "I made a complete audit of the books in the office and found that the work had been well done by Mr.

³²⁵ UCCA, box 5, file 69, "Quigley to MacKay, January 20, 1905."

³²⁶ PCCA, Minutes of the FMC, January 31, 1905, pp. 66–67.

³²⁷ LAC, General Correspondence Relating to the Regina Industrial School, 1903–1905, item 339, "Pedley to Laird, February 6, 1905."

³²⁸ LAC, Duck Lake Agency–Post Office Savings Bank Deposits of Annuity Money for Students, RG 10, vol. 3887, file 95833-9A, Indian Agent to Secretary, Indian Affairs, March 6, 1905, item 23.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, items 340–42, "Benson to Pedley, March 22, 1905."

³³⁰ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1864–1990, p. 470, "Graham's Annual Report, 1905."



FIGURE 17. The main RIIS building and students with landscaped grounds in front. (PAS R-A21262-3)

Quigley.” He expresses confidence that “good work will be done . . . under Mr. Heron’s supervision.” In commenting on the state of the farm stock he notes there are 24 head of cattle, 65 pigs, 12 horses (some of which are “of little use” because of their advanced age). Dr. Graham of Regina is the school’s current medical officer.

Heron informs the FMC that certain wholesale houses should be paid immediately and that funds are needed for recruiting new students. The Reverend Baird (Winnipeg) is asked to visit the school as soon as possible to report on its prospects.³³¹ Other letters from Heron follow in which he requests an additional \$1,200 to \$1,800 for further maintenance.³³²

In a series of memos³³³ Heron refers to recruiting trips he will make to Hurricane Hills, Piapot, Muscowpetung, Pasqua, Pelly, and Crooked Lakes

³³¹ PCCA, FMC Minutes, March 1905, p. 98.

³³² PCCA, FMC Minutes, April 24, 1905, p. 106.

³³³ UCCA, box 5, file 71, “Heron to MacKay, March 22, 1905”; *ibid.*, file 72, April 1, April 6, April 17, 1905.

to get “acquainted and get the good will of the Indians” and to help “strengthen our school” as current attendance is insufficient to maintain it at a \$145 per capita. Many of the children that should be at the RIIS, he observes, are now going to Qu’Appelle Industrial School at Lebret.

The school’s matron, cook, and farm instructor all resign due to friction among staff members, forcing Heron to concede it will be difficult to find the “right kind” of people with relevant skills who are “Spirit-filled,” adding that in Indian education more of the “Spiritual” is needed (we have “enough of the mechanical and scientific,” he claims).

The boy’s hockey team defeats the Regina High School team on two occasions; the football team loses twice.³³⁴

The Winnipeg accountant, Menzies, takes issue with the department’s characterization of Sinclair as an “extravagant spender,” claiming Sinclair’s table was “most poorly furnished” (in common with that of the Indians under his charge) and that there was no sign “anywhere in his family house-keeping or that of the school of anything beyond the barest necessities.” Menzies claims he knows of no article bought by Sinclair “for his own use” and he wonders if Indian Affairs ever asked Sinclair for explanations of the items purchased, though he admits that “some particular items that made up the sum of the indebtedness might have contravened the rules of the Indian Department.”³³⁵

According to the Indian Agent at Rolling River Reserve in Manitoba, the RIIS is looked upon with “disfavour.” Of seven children sent to the school “only one is alive today, all the rest dying of tuberculosis.” Parents, he says, are “really afraid” to release their children given what has happened and the great distances involved. He continues that he would like “to help Regina out,” but when two young women recently decided they wanted to go to the school their parents prevented them from doing so.³³⁶

The FMC asks the “[General] Assembly [to] authorize the committee to hand over the school to the department or make such other arrangement as they deem best.”³³⁷

³³⁴ *The Progress* 13, no. 3, March 1905.

³³⁵ UCCA, box 5, file 72, “Menzies to MacKay, April 26, 1905.”

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, “Indian Agent to MacKay, April 28, 1905.”

³³⁷ PCCA, FMC Minutes, May 1905 p. 116.

Heron is instructed by the FMC to cease all operations that “imply expenditures as far as possible” and be aware the school will likely close.³³⁸

In a lengthy reply to the FMC’s general secretary, Heron states³³⁹ “it is most saddening to think of [the school] being closed” as it means “loss and defeat.” Regarding expenditures on “luxuries” he claims these are mostly items students buy using the money they earn on work terms that is kept in their accounts with the school; and although these items appear as charges against the school they are actually paid for out of the students’ accounts. As for the future of the RIIS, he says that to close it would indicate the Presbyterian Church has not entered into [Indian] work with the “devotion and determination that brings success.” He notes that “the Roman Catholics have been our strongest opponent” in this work and have been “steadily gaining ground,” as instanced by the Qu’Appelle Industrial School which, he says, has “enough children of Protestant Indians . . . from Pasqua, Muscowpetung, and Piapot to have placed [the RIIS] on a safe financial footing [if only those children] had been procured for it.” He adds that the loss of Presbyterian missionaries on these reserves has been serious. He disagrees with the suggestion that the Church’s Indian work should be placed under control of the different Presbyteries in the West, saying that members of these Presbyteries “are not much interested . . . in our Indian work.” In citing evidence for this lack of interest, he notes that since his arrival at the RIIS on February 1 “no member of the Regina Presbytery has visited our school, nor has anyone written to ask ‘How are you getting along?’” And secondly, that nearly half the ministers who attended a recent conference on missions held at Round Lake were “quite ignorant” of work the Church’s schools and Indian missions are doing. He says that ever since Indian parents got the “impression” the Regina school is to be closed recruitment has been made more difficult, while at the same time the Government has allocated \$50,000 to rebuild the Qu’Appelle Industrial School. He believes the Government should adopt a recruiting system that would stop the practice of some principals “bribing parents [with presents of clothing and money] to send their children to the

³³⁸ PCCA, FMC Minutes, May 16, 1905, p. 124.

³³⁹ UCCA, “Presbyterian Church in Canada Board of Home Missions and Social Services—Missions to the Indians in Manitoba and the NWT, box 6, file 74, “Heron to MacKay, June 2, 1905.”

schools”—a practice he claims to be both expensive and “extremely demoralizing to the Indians,” giving them the “wrong impression of education.”

The RIIS deficit as of June 1 is \$1,147.³⁴⁰

A departmental architect finds the school’s buildings “very much out of repair and in need of immediate attention”: the walls of the main building are bulging, the interior drainage system is “very defective,” new floors are required, the principal’s residence needs a new foundation and plaster repair, the stables are in poor shape, etc. Estimated cost of repairs is \$3,556.³⁴¹ Deputy Superintendent General Pedley expresses his dismay at how these buildings “could possibly deteriorate to such an extent” and says he needs to know the intent of the FMC regarding the school before the department can authorize this “large expenditure.”³⁴²

Heron’s first annual report³⁴³ as acting principal puts the average attendance at “about 87” across Standards I to VI. The different crop yields are noted, as is the produce from the school garden which, in addition to supplying fresh vegetables in season for the diningroom tables, generated “considerable revenue” for the school. Usual comments are made about the industries taught: boys learn the care of horses, cattle, hogs, pigs, poultry and are instructed in the use of ploughs, harrows, discs, seeder, land-roller, and harvester, while special mention is made of eight boys who have learned to bake “very good quality bread and buns” for the dining-hall (bread for the staff is baked by girls). For the past two years, all the threshing for the school as well as for many neighbours has been done by senior boys under guidance of the mechanical instructor. Many senior girls make their own clothing with “quite as much taste and neatness as white girls would do.” In good weather the older students attend Sunday morning worship services in Regina at Knox Presbyterian Church. Dr. Graham operates on four pupils with scrofulous lumps—none are entirely cured. The old forced-air furnace in the basement of the main building is replaced with a new steam heating system. A supply of “very pure [drinking] water” is pumped from a depth of 90 feet, while water for farm animals is secured from Wascana Creek.

³⁴⁰ UCCA, box 6, file 73.

³⁴¹ Ibid., file 74, “Architect’s Report, June 5, 1905.”

³⁴² Ibid., “Pedley to MacKay.”

³⁴³ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, p. 403, “Heron, July 16, 1905.”

Heron pays tribute to his predecessor, the Reverend Sinclair, as a man of “intense energy” with “high standards” and a strong “faith in the possibilities of Indian education,” noting that students have lost a “personal friend and the school a practical and forceful head.” Many of the graduates, he says, continue to write their “dear old Regina school” about “all kinds of subjects”—work, business and even “matters of most delicate personal interest,” often seeking advice and guidance. Noting the “unusual ability” of some students, Heron cites the case of a splendid clay model of a wolf created by a junior boy, following which the idea of sculpting caught on with other students that resulted in the crafting of many different animal miniatures “with remarkable accuracy.”

Nearly 20 students graduate, several of whom have been at the school 10 years. One of the “serious problems confronting the Principal is to find suitable homes for some of the girls,” otherwise they are faced with “only a tepee for a home when they leave, and in many cases immoral parents to receive them.”³⁴⁴

Regarding the difficult task of recruiting new students in the light of rumours the school is likely closing, Heron notes it will take some effort to “overcome this impression” and to secure more students. He admits he would “not be sorry” to be relieved of his duties as there are better qualified people for the position than he.³⁴⁵

An October issue of *The Progress* extends a welcome primer to returning students for the start of a new school year: “Holidays are gone for another season and we come back refreshed and gladdened as we saw our home, parents, brothers and sisters. Still it is hard to settle down to outdoor work or school work. . . . So let us get interested in our work and the holiday craving will soon leave us as we see what we have to do. . . . Let every boy and girl resolve to do a good honest winter’s work, that when summer comes again we will be stronger in body, clearer in mind and more willing to do what we can. So good-bye holidays and hurrah (!) for work.” The same issue reports the occupations of some recent graduates: Donald Cote (Cote) is a carpenter; George Raymond (Carry-the-Kettle), a printer with the *Moosomin World* and later the *Regina Leader*; Herb Oliver and Frank Netawaminis (Portage la

³⁴⁴ PCCA, WFMS Annual Report, 1904–05, p. 53.

³⁴⁵ UCCA, box 6, file 75, “Heron to MacKay, July 13, 1905.”

Prairie) are farming at File Hills; Archie Thompson (Carry-the-Kettle) farming in Hurricane Hills; Agnes Thompson (Carry-the-Kettle) is attending Hampton Industrial Institute in Virginia; Maggie Cote (Cote) is a nurse at File Hills; Philip Ironstar (Carry-the-Kettle) works at Hurricane Hills and Robbie Young (Portage-la-Prairie) is a carpenter there; John Matheson is a carpenter at Mistawasis.³⁴⁶

Senior teacher Quigley leaves the school for other work and is replaced by an experienced teacher who is also a “good carpenter,” E.C. Jordan.³⁴⁷

The FMC executive expresses “satisfaction with Mr. Heron’s administration”³⁴⁸ and agrees to appoint him as permanent principal, which the DIA supports. The department’s architect says he will attend to necessary repairs for the school building before winter.³⁴⁹

Heron reports a deficit of \$1,168 as of September 30 and seeks funds to purchase a supply of coal for the winter.³⁵⁰

Executive of the school’s student Christian Endeavour Society consists of Basil Contois (Portage-la-Prairie), McKay Flett (Keeseekoowenin), Tommy Kasto (Pipestone), Katie Aspdin (Moose Jaw Sioux), Victorine Wilburne, and Bessie Fox (Piapot).³⁵¹

Winter evenings during the week are organized as follows: letter writing, reading or quiet games (Mondays); social time (Tuesdays); Christian Endeavour (Wednesdays); singing practice (Thursdays); boys’ drill (Fridays); girls’ drill (Saturdays).³⁵²

1906

The Honours List for the junior classroom includes: Jean Bone (Keeseekoowenin); Annie Seesequasis (Beardy’s); Elisa McKnife (Ahtakakoop); Maggie Calavan; Jimmie Ogle (Moose Jaw Sioux); Berrell Grey (Carry-the-Kettle); and Fred Peters (Swan Lake).³⁵³

³⁴⁶ *The Progress* 14, no. 4, October 1905.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁸ PCCA, FMC Minutes, November 17, 1905, p. 51.

³⁴⁹ PCCA, FMC Minutes, p. 40, “Pedley to FMC, October 18, 1905.”

³⁵⁰ PCCA, FMC Minutes, p. 46.

³⁵¹ *The Progress* 14, no. 7, December 1905.

³⁵² *Ibid.*

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 15, no. 1, January 1906.

A Statement of Assets and Liabilities shows a deficit of \$1,162 as of January 31.³⁵⁴

The cost of returning “deserters” or truant children to industrial and boarding schools is to come from the schools’ per-capita grants and not from parents (as is the practise in Ontario where per-capita grants are much smaller).³⁵⁵

Heron reports the deficit is “nearly provided for.” He inquires about the DIA’s latest thinking on the future of industrial schools. The FMC is informed the department intends to reduce the number of such schools while improving boarding schools.³⁵⁶ The sale of wheat and hogs from the school’s farm nets the RIIS about \$800. Heron asks again whether the department has made any changes to its industrial school policy and “what is likely to be the future of our own school?”³⁵⁷ A statement of Assets and Liabilities shows a deficit of \$158 as of March 31.³⁵⁸

Heron resigns effective June 1, indicating he would continue “if relieved of the responsibility of recruiting and is assured of an attendance from 80 to 90 in order that the school might be [put on] a working basis.” The FMC asks Heron to stay and guarantees that any “unavoidable financial claims [that] might accrue through small attendance” will be met by the Committee.³⁵⁹

The yearly attendance is “about 60” according Heron’s annual report.³⁶⁰ The school farm produced 2,300 bushels of wheat, 400 of oats, 200 of barely, and 1,000 of potatoes while the school garden produced all the vegetables used in the diningroom. Both the farm and garden “contributed very much to the maintenance of the school” and provided students with useful types of training. A number of boys have become expert typesetters—work that also enhances their spelling and English composition. Heron reports no student deaths at the school during the past year though Miss Dorrance, the

³⁵⁴ UCCA, box 6, file 81.

³⁵⁵ LAC, Correspondence Regarding the Compulsory Education of Indian Children, item 194, “Benson to Deputy Superintendent General, February 16, 1906.”

³⁵⁶ PCCA, FMC minutes, March 12, 1906, p. 85.

³⁵⁷ UCCA, box 6, file 83, “Heron to MacKay, March 15, 1906.”

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

³⁵⁹ PCCA, FMC minutes, May 16, 1906, p. 125.

³⁶⁰ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1864–1990, pp. 416–18, “Heron, June 30, 1906.”

seamstress, dies there in January. Several pupils have scrofulous lumps, one suffers from consumption, and another, Alfred Ermine (Ahtahkakoop), falls ill while at home for summer holidays and dies there during Christmas. The boys' rugby and hockey teams play friendly matches against teams from the NWMP barracks, the local high school, and the Regina Normal School, with usually good results. Heron says visitors from eastern provinces and Europe show "surprise that all our children speak English so well; and that many ... are so apt in their studies and work."

A member of the WFMS (Western Division), Margaret Craig, comments on the challenges Heron faces in securing "efficient staff," given the school's uncertain future, adding she has not seen a more difficult staff anywhere else. Heron, she says, seems "powerless to manage matters" except for the financing, and she believes that something should be done to "strengthen [his] hands."³⁶¹

The Statement of Assets and Liabilities to August 31 shows a deficit of \$1,068.³⁶²

Citing health reasons, Heron asks to be relieved of his duties not later than November 1. While accepting his resignation with "much regret" and expressing appreciation for his "valuable service" rendered in filling a "very difficult position ... with conspicuous wisdom and success," the FMC executive asks Heron to continue as principal while it consults its western branch regarding a possible replacement.³⁶³

Heron spells out the qualification he thinks an industrial school principal should have: be a missionary with a business sense; know something about farming and carpentry; have experience in dealing with Indians and know "something of the peculiarities of the Indian character." He says he has not lost interest in Indian work and that it is his wish to visit "all our schools and missions," adding that a change of principal would be "for the best interests of this school and in every way for the good of the Indians under its influence."³⁶⁴

³⁶¹ UCCA, box 6, file 87, "Craig to MacKay, July 14, 1906."

³⁶² Ibid., box 6, file 88.

³⁶³ PCCA, Minutes of FMC Executive, October 1, 1906, pp. 38–39.

³⁶⁴ UCCA, box 6, file 90, "Heron to the Reverend A.E. Armstrong (Toronto), October 6, 1906."

Heron agrees to remain in office until a successor is found or until the spring, saying his health is somewhat improved.³⁶⁵

The DIA commends Heron for the “satisfactory reduction” in the deficit from \$2,285 (February 19, 1905) to \$1,086 (August 31).³⁶⁶

The RIIS staff salaries to July 1, 1906 are reported by Heron who receives \$1,000/year, the mechanical instructor, farmer, and senior teacher each receive \$40/month, the junior teacher and matron each \$25/month, the cook, seamstress and the laundress each \$20/month.³⁶⁷

The Reverend A.J. Miller from eastern Canada accepts the FMC’s offer to be the RIIS’s next principal, contingent upon the agreement of its western branch.³⁶⁸ That body objects to Miller’s appointment stating the next principal of the RIIS should be familiar with the West and urges that both Mr. Hendry of Portage la Prairie and the Reverend McWhinney, Principal of Crowstand Boarding School, be given serious consideration.³⁶⁹

The school’s annual banquet in November is an occasion for a reunion of ex-pupils and friends and for displays of student talents.³⁷⁰ The school’s Christmas party in December involves many students in the program as well as a visit from Santa with whom it is said that “most of the children are well acquainted.”³⁷¹

1907

Current members of the school’s brass band include Tommy Kasto (Pipestone), Henry Dreaver (Mistawasis), Alfred Moosine (Portage la Prairie), Alex Flett (Keeseekoowenin), David Meesqwapamayo, Frank Dreaver (Mistawasis), Josiah Matoney (Pasqua), Hugh Kasapet (White Bear), and

³⁶⁵ PCCA, Minutes of FMC Executive, October 26, 1906, p. 51.

³⁶⁶ UCCA, Presbyterian Board of Home Missions and Social Services—Missions to the Indians, box 6, file 90, “L. Stewart, Assistant Secretary, DIA to MacKay, October 30, 1906.”

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, file 91, “Heron to Rev. Armstrong, November 5, 1906.”

³⁶⁸ PCCA, Minutes of FMC Executive, November 22, 1906, p. 67.

³⁶⁹ UCCA, box 6, file 92, “The Reverend Dr. Farquharson to the Reverend W.A.J. Martin.”

³⁷⁰ PCCA, WFMS Annual Report, 1906–07, p. 68.

³⁷¹ *The Progress* 15, no. 10, December 1906.

Solomon Flett (Keeseekoowenin).³⁷² Four band members—Donald Cote, Henry Dreaver, Alex Flett and Tommy Kasto play for a social meeting following an evening service at Knox Presbyterian Church, Regina.³⁷³

A request for \$1,000 from Heron to deal with “embarrassing circumstances” under which he is working is approved by FMC.³⁷⁴

In a letter of support for Heron the Reverend E.A. Henry, minister at Knox Presbyterian Church, Regina, writes: the “Principal is a hard worker, intensely interested in the Indian work ... but he is compelled to run a big [operation] in a margin so close that he cannot afford to offer salaries of sufficient value to induce the very best help to come.” Prices, he adds, “are rising enormously here and still the [government] grants do not rise and the Principal must run the school on old lines under new boom conditions in this country.”³⁷⁵

The Inspector of Indian Agencies, W.M. Graham, reports³⁷⁶ the school is in good financial condition and that credit is due to Heron who “devotes all his time to the school and is a hard worker.” He notes, however, that many changes in the teaching staff over the last year and a half are “showing on the children” and that a great many repairs are needed in the main building, “especially in the plumbing line.” The clerical work of Miss McIlwain, he says, is in “good order,” and the school’s new medical officer is Dr. Thompson of Regina.

Heron’s report³⁷⁷ for the year ending March 31 states an attendance of 64. Threshing operations for the school’s farm and several neighbouring farms have gone well over the past four years, he notes, thanks to those boys who operate the school’s steam thresher. Six carpentry students made tables, chairs, doors, wagon-axles, neck-yokes, gates, stairs and ladders for the school and are learning how to frame roofs and cut rafters. Domestic training for girls includes the art of setting and waiting on tables. The practice

³⁷² Ibid., 16, no. 9, November 1907.

³⁷³ Ibid., 16, no. 1, January 1907.

³⁷⁴ PCCA, FMC minutes, January 22, 1907, p. 89.

³⁷⁵ UCCA, box 6, file 94, “Henry to the Reverend Martin, February 19, 1907.”

³⁷⁶ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1864–1990, p. 390, “Report of W.H. Graham, May 1907.”

³⁷⁷ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1864–1990, pp. 381–83, “Heron, March 31, 1907.”

of staff members and pupils meeting for prayers every morning and evening continues. The drinking water from the school's wells is of "excellent quality." Several cases of scrofulous lumps are reported, some of which have been successfully operated on. He notes that one student, Basil Contois (Portage-la-Prairie), died last summer of consumption, having spent his last months in one of the school's isolated tents while receiving the "best medical attention and most careful nursing." Several boys instructed in "steam engineering" were operating steam threshing engines on their reserves last fall.

Indian Affairs chief medical officer, Dr. P.H. Bryce, conducts an inspection of all industrial and boarding schools in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, and submits his report on the present conditions of these institutions and the health of pupils attending them. Among his chief criticisms are the sparse provisions for good ventilation in school buildings and dormitories, and high student death rates of around 24% mainly from tubercular diseases.³⁷⁸

In light of Bryce's report, the DIA's Pedley suggests that principals, teachers and even physicians "were at times inclined to question or minimize the dangers of infection from scrofulous or consumption" among pupils at industrial and boarding schools.³⁷⁹

The DIA informs the church's FMC that "extensive repairs and improvements" to RIIS buildings will go ahead only if a change is made in the "management of this institution."³⁸⁰

The Reverend Henry, Knox Church, Regina, addresses the annual school banquet on November 14.³⁸¹

Heron submits statements of assets and liabilities for September to the FMC's, executive which fears it may have to recommend the closing of the RIIS to the Presbyterian Church's General Assembly.³⁸² Letters from Heron state he is "financially embarrassed" by not yet having received a promised

³⁷⁸ LAC, Report by Dr. PH Bryce on His Tour of Inspection of Indian Schools in Manitoba and the North-West Territories, RG 10, vol. 4037, file 317,021, items 16-27, Ottawa, 1907.

³⁷⁹ Ibid., items 28-29, "Benson to Pedley, November 6, 1907."

³⁸⁰ UCCA, box 6, file 98, "McLean, DIA Secretary, to MacKay, June 7, 1907."

³⁸¹ *The Progress* 16, no. 9, November 1907.

³⁸² PCCA, Minutes of FMC Executive, November 4, 1907, p. 36.

\$1,000 grant and that recruiting has stopped as a result. Concern is expressed over the small number of pupils in attendance, and the loss of revenue from the threshing operation due to recent heavy frosts that “seriously injured” the wheat crop.³⁸³ No staff salaries have been paid since June 1 and merchants are asking that the school’s outstanding accounts with them be settled.³⁸⁴

The Indian Mission Committee, Synod of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, recommends Heron be paid the \$1,000 and that the FMC “should be prepared to spend \$2,000/year on the maintenance of the [school] until such time as a sufficient number of pupils can be gathered so that it may be sustained out of the per capita grant...”³⁸⁵

The WFMS (western division) votes \$500 for the school.³⁸⁶

Speaking on behalf of the Synod’s Indian Mission Committee, the Reverend James Farquharson says he will “discourage the Department from ordering a new investigation” into the school, adding the Committee is looking for a successor to Heron and that there is little point in asking Heron to continue his attempts at recruiting since his connection with the institution is about to end.³⁸⁷

The Foreign Missions Committee reports that Heron tendered his resignation, noting that when he took on the principalship in 1905 the school was “buried in debt.”³⁸⁸

Two male students—Henry Dreaver (Mistawasis) and Solomon Flett (Keeseekoowenin)—bake 500 loaves of bread in 3 days.³⁸⁹

1908

Heron strongly reacts³⁹⁰ to Dr. Bryce’s claims (following Bryce’s inspection

³⁸³ Ibid., December 31, 1907, p. 48.

³⁸⁴ UCCA, box 6, file 103, “Heron to Armstrong, November 30, 1907.”

³⁸⁵ Ibid., “Farquharson to Armstrong, November 9, 1907.”

³⁸⁶ Ibid., “WFMS to Rev. Armstrong, November 27, 1907.”

³⁸⁷ Ibid., file 104, “Farquharson to Armstrong, December 21, 1907.”

³⁸⁸ PPCA, Report of FMC to the General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada, June 1907, p. 172.

³⁸⁹ *The Progress* 16, no. 11, December 1907.

³⁹⁰ LAC, Report by Dr. PH Bryce on His Tour of Inspection of Indian Schools in Manitoba and the North-West Territories, items 187–90, “Heron to McLean, Secretary, DIA, January 8, 1908.”

of the school) that the RIIS has made “no special attempt at ventilation,” pointing out that the main dormitories have 13’ high ceilings and 17 windows with ventilation slides that provide a “free circulation of air day and night”; and that a “trap” in the roof provides ventilation for hallways. He defends the school’s current health record, arguing that many of those admitted during the early years of the school’s operation without any medical examination would not be admitted now, and that had Bryce compared the RIIS’s death rate for 1891–96 to that for 1901–06 he would have found “the percentage of deaths [was] reduced by more than one-half.” Bryce’s contention that there is an “almost complete absence of drill” or physical exercise at the school is countered by Heron who cites the military drills for boys and the training in dumbbells and Indian club swinging for girls, and the even greater emphasis being placed on outdoor activities such as skating in winter (every student old enough is provided a pair of skates and “encouraged to spend play hours on the ice”) that results in as much fresh air exercise as possible. Under Dr. Thompson, the school’s physician, “scrofula has been almost entirely cleared out,” Heron claims.

The Reverend E.A. Henry criticizes³⁹¹ Inspector Graham for being “two-faced” in his assessment of Heron’s management of the RIIS, saying that while Graham praises Heron in his official report (1907) to the department he speaks disparagingly of the man behind his back, and suggesting that anyone who would do this is “either a knave or a fool.” Henry, who claims a familiarity with the school from frequent visits, says there “is not a single scholar boy or girl . . . who does not respect and love the Principal,” nor a single member of staff who is not a “loyal, devoted and enthusiastic supporter.” While conceding that “mistakes” are made, Henry claims the fault lies with the inadequacy of government funding. He lists various difficult conditions under which Heron, staff and students live and work—a scarce water supply, a coal shortage the previous severe winter that forced extensive burning of wheat straw (collected by the boys) in the school’s furnaces, deteriorating conditions of floors in the main building and of beds in the dormitories, lack of locker space, useless blackboards in the classroom, the need of a good bookkeeper (the former one, Miss McIlwain, he says was

³⁹¹ UCCA, Presbyterian Board of Home Missions and Social Services—Missions to the Indians, box 6 file 106, “Henry to Farquharson, February 5, 1908.”

dismissed for incompetence), etc. Despite staff members being overworked they are doing their level best in a very trying situation and doing so with “a sacrificing spirit that Mr. Graham does not seem able to appreciate.”

Having received the school’s financial statements for January and February showing a deficit of \$1,670, along with Inspector’s Graham’s report and Heron’s criticism thereof, plus applications for the principalship, the FMC’s executive confesses it is “perplexed as to what ought to be done.”³⁹²

Graham’s latest report of the school, dated April 13, lists a staff of 10 and an enrolment of 64. He says ventilation in the dormitories is solely dependent on open windows and that the main building is “very much in need of repairs, particularly in the boy’s section where a great deal of new flooring is required.” Dr. Thompson tells him the general health of pupils has been “very good throughout the year.”³⁹³

An issue of *The Progress* reports that graduates Andrew Ben, George Hunter (Oak Lake Sioux), George Bear (Bird Tail Sioux), and Joseph Paul (Turtle Mountain) are all farming; students Frank Seaton (Waywayseecappo), Basil Turner (Kaniwistetang), Young Shingoosh (Waywayseecappo), Joseph Nucos, Patrick Bone, Hugh McKay (Waywayseecappo) and Jim Tanner are engaged in seeding at Lizzard’s Point; and that George Hunter (Oak Lake Sioux) and Eunice McKay are married by the Missionary at the Birdtail Reserve.³⁹⁴

The Synod of Manitoba and Saskatchewan proposes to establish a new boarding school and wonders whether the RIIS—were it to close—would be a suitable facility for that purpose. The FMC’s MacKay thinks “such an arrangement would be a happy solution of the Regina school problem.”³⁹⁵

Heron’s annual report³⁹⁶ puts the school’s attendance at “about 66” with an enrolment showing 76. The school’s farm produces 3,600 bushels of grain (wheat, oats, barely) over the past year. *The Progress* continues to publish monthly with all the typesetting and related mechanical work being done by boys in the printing room. Three of the six boys mastering the

³⁹² Ibid., March 17, 1908, pp. 75–76.

³⁹³ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1864–1990, “Graham, April 13, 1908.”

³⁹⁴ *The Progress* 17, no. 4, April 1908.

³⁹⁵ PCCA, Minutes of FMC Executive, April 7, 1908, p. 80.

³⁹⁶ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1864–1990, pp. 410–12, “Heron, April 15, 1908.”

operation and care of the steam engine have received provincial engineer's papers. Dr. Thompson operates on several students bearing scrofula lumps with "marked success." Rooms occupied by sick students are disinfected and outdoor exercise for all pupils is "insisted on daily." New water closets, baths, and pneumatic water tanks were installed last summer. Heron expresses appreciation for the work of staff members and for the courtesy and interest shown him by Indian agents, missionaries, and principals of day and boarding schools with whom he meets on various reserves.

Heron succeeds in recruiting 13–14 new pupils causing the Synod's Indian Mission Committee to believe it would be "a great mistake to abandon the work" at the RIIS.³⁹⁷ He reports a \$2,166 deficit as of April 1 and asks the Committee to pay it off before he vacates his position.³⁹⁸

The FMC says it is ready to accept the RIIS's closure on condition the per-capita grant for the church's boarding schools be increased, acknowledging these schools are "more likely to yield valuable results" than schools of the industrial type.³⁹⁹

Heron pleads for \$2,000 to "meet accounts." The amount is forwarded by the FMC.⁴⁰⁰

FMC Secretary MacKay is invited by Indian Affairs to join the next inspection of the RIIS with Agent Graham, who tells him that while Presbyterian-run boarding schools are the best in the West he doubts if Heron is capable of bringing the Regina school "up to its former standard."⁴⁰¹

Ex-pupil Willie Kasto (Turtle Mountain) is at Oak River Reserve serving as an interpreter. The school's threshing crew includes students Sam Black (Mistawasis), Charles Shingoose (Waywayseekappo), Willie Nokohoot (White Bear), and Frank and Henry Dreaver (Mistawasis).⁴⁰²

The secretary of Synod's Indian Mission Committee, the Reverend Farquharson, tours the RIIS, the Mistawasis day school and Crowstand Boarding School, observing that the main school building at Regina is less dilapidated-

³⁹⁷ UCCA, box 6, file 109, "Farquharson to Armstrong, May 5, 1908."

³⁹⁸ Ibid., "Heron to Armstrong, May 25, 1908."

³⁹⁹ PCCA, Minutes of FMC, May 29, 1908, p. 98.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., June 30, 1908, p. 5.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., June 10, 1908. Ibid., pp. 33–34.

⁴⁰² *The Progress* 17, no. 9, October 1908.

looking than he had expected. He attends two lessons in reading taught by a new teacher at the school, finding the students to be subdued, but attributes this to “the Indian’s fear of being laughed at” rather than to ignorance. Seventy pupils are in attendance the day of his visit. Heron returns from Mistawasis with 8 children (6 are new recruits) and a promise of 3 more which, Farquharson notes, would boost overall attendance to 81. He expects Heron to recruit just as successfully among reserves in the Qu’Appelle Valley and Hurricane Hills, though he wonders what would become of the RIIS students were the school to close, given that “all our [other] schools with perhaps the exception of Round Lake are already full or almost full.”⁴⁰³

Commenting on Inspector Graham’s attitude towards Heron, Farquharson admits his “own mind as to whether Mr. Heron should be retained as Principal or not” remains open, adding he was “favourably impressed” on his recent visit by “what he saw in and around the school,” concluding there is a “good deal to be said” on Heron’s behalf.⁴⁰⁴

Heron’s article in *The Progress*, entitled “The School and Its Aim,” argues that the church “still expects the school to make Christian work the centre and soul of every department.” To do otherwise is to “fail” to do “any real good work.” While he thinks it is a “splendid thing” to be able to speak well it is better to be able to “live right,” noting that school life “gives us a chance to put the Christian religion to practical use.”⁴⁰⁵

According to the school’s newspaper, the girls are dotting over the Heron’s new infant son. On the occasion of his baptism children are given a half-day off. A Christmas Eve party is held with several students singing solos, giving recitations and making speeches. Ex-pupil Caroline Friday (Cote) age 20, dies at Brandon, Manitoba, where she had gone for treatment, and Jemima Baptiste (Mistawasis) age 9, dies of consumption at the school in December.⁴⁰⁶

1909

Evangelistic services organized by Heron are held at the school over several

⁴⁰³ UCCA, box 6, file 114, “Farquharson to The Synodical Indian Mission Committee, October 1908.”

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., box 6, file 116, “Farquharson to MacKay, December 3. 1908.”

⁴⁰⁵ *The Progress* 17, no. 11, December 1908.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

days consisting of daily noon prayers, evening Gospel addresses and personal talks with students. The result: 31 boys and girls “voluntarily” come forth to say they “wished to follow Christ.”⁴⁰⁷

Despite promises of several new recruits Heron cannot guarantee the school will “at any time be self-supporting” given the imminent discharge of 12 students due to age. The best one can do, he confesses, is to “keep at our work with energy and economy until such time as a more satisfactory educational system be evolved.”⁴⁰⁸

David Meesqwapamayo, a 1908 graduate, dies of consumption at his brother-in-law’s home, Big River.⁴⁰⁹

Parents at Pipestone Reserve (Manitoba) refuse to let Heron take any of their children to the RIIS.⁴¹⁰

Pedley suggests that by closing the RIIS, its \$14,000 per-capita grant could be used to increase the annual grants for the church’s continuing boarding schools. The FMC favours this proposal.⁴¹¹

Heron’s annual report⁴¹² reflects a modest increase in attendance from 66 to 76 distributed across Standards I to VI. All boys are taught to feed and drive horses and care for cattle and hogs. Two more boys instructed in operating the steam engine have received qualified engineer’s papers. Ex-pupils who had learned typesetting are “earning good wages in newspaper offices.” Some girls receive instruction in care of the sick. An outbreak of whooping cough earlier in the year “passes off with no ill effects.” Several more students with scrofulous lumps were operated on by Dr. Thompson with “good results.”

The graduating class consists of Josiah Matoney (Pasqua), Victorine Wilburne, Lulu McKay (Kahkewistahaw), Charles Shingoosh (Wayway-seecappo), Joseph Dreaver (Mistawasis), Sam Black (Mistawasis), and Allie Nokohoot.⁴¹³

⁴⁰⁷ UCCA, box 7, file 117, “Heron to MacKay, January 19, 1909.”

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., “Heron to MacKay, February 18, 1909.”

⁴⁰⁹ *The Progress* 18, no. 2, 1908.

⁴¹⁰ UCCA, box 7, file 117, “Farquharson to MacKay, February 29, 1909.”

⁴¹¹ PCCA, FMC minutes, March 30, 1909, p. 85.

⁴¹² LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1864–1990, pp. 384–86, “Heron, April 1909.”

⁴¹³ *The Progress* 18, no. 4 April 1909.

Provided the RIIS students could be accommodated by the church's existing boarding schools, the Reverend Dr. Farquharson, Presbyterian Church offices, Winnipeg, no longer sees any reason to keep the school open, though he admits that "all our boarding schools are full" with the exception of the one at Round Lake and even it could take only half of the current RIIS enrollment of 75–80. Heron, he believes, would like to see all RIIS students sent home to their parents in the event the school is closed.⁴¹⁴

Four students—Fred Peters (Swan Lake), Angus Hyrimpah, Maggie Calavan, and Emma Swift Bear (Sturgeon Lake)—are baptized at the school. A communion service follows during which 21 students⁴¹⁵ (including those just baptized) join the church on profession of faith.⁴¹⁶

Superintendent of Indian Education Duncan C. Scott suggests that were the FMC's western branch "unanimous" in asking the Department to close the RIIS and to provide a new boarding school "in place of it," using whatever funds that might be left over for improvement of "our other schools," then Indian Affairs would "probably accede" to such a request.⁴¹⁷ Pedley hints that a new boarding school on or near the Pasquah Reserve could be operated by the Presbyterian Church.⁴¹⁸

Heron estimates it will take \$2,625 in repairs to put some of the school's buildings in suitable condition for next winter.⁴¹⁹ Indian Affairs is reluctant to cover these costs given the school's uncertain future.⁴²⁰

An issue of *The Progress* includes: an editorial by Heron, "The Education of Our Indians," in which he writes "we would like to see some of our pupils take a college course and enter the ministry with the object of preaching to their own people"; a report of the school's picnic at Whitmore's Grove in early August; and the names of students who won prizes at the Regina Fair for their homemaking skills—Florence Cote (Cote), Nancy Johnstone (Mistawasis), Jean Bone (Keeseekoowenin) and Victorine Wilburne.⁴²¹

⁴¹⁴ UCCA, box 7, file 121, "Farquharson to MacKay, May 19, 1909."

⁴¹⁵ For names of all 21 students see *The Progress* 18, no. 5, May 1909.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

⁴¹⁷ UCCA, box 7, file 122, "Scott to MacKay, June 21, 1909."

⁴¹⁸ PCCA, Minutes of FMC Executive, July 20, 1909, p. 15.

⁴¹⁹ UCCA, box 7, file 123, "Heron to DIA Secretary McLean, July 23, 1909."

⁴²⁰ Ibid., "McLean to MacKay, July 29, 1909."

⁴²¹ *The Progress* 18, no. 9, August 1909.

In light of the department's suggestion of a new boarding school at a location convenient to the Qu'Appelle reserves (Pasqua, Muscowpetung, and Piapot) and of improvements to the Church's day schools at Hurricane Hills, Moose Mountain, and Mistawasis, the FMC's western branch declares its willingness to have the RIIS closed.⁴²²

D.C. Scott no longer supports the idea of a new Presbyterian-run boarding school on or near the Qu'Appelle reserves, arguing that the number of students from Pasqua, Piapot and Muscowpetung currently attending the RIIS is far too small (only 12) to warrant such an undertaking. Instead, he advocates enlarging the File Hills School to accommodate these students.⁴²³

MacKay informs Pedley it will be necessary to operate the Regina school for "one more winter at least," and for that reason some repairs will be needed. He thinks \$300–\$400 would suffice.⁴²⁴

Chief Johnstone of Mistawasis visits the RIIS, addresses students in Cree and joins with all the "north children" for a group photo.⁴²⁵

D.C. Scott writes that "we are endeavoring to get the question of closing the Regina School before the Minister [Indian Affairs] and have the matter decided."⁴²⁶

DIA Secretary McLean announces the department's proposal to close the RIIS as of April 1, 1910, and to redistribute RIIS's per-capita grant of \$14,000 mainly to the Church's boarding schools as follows: \$540 to Cecilia Jeffrey School, \$1,400 to Birtle School, \$700 to Portage la Prairie School, \$1,400 to Crowstand School, \$1,120 to Round Lake School, \$700 to File Hills School, and \$3,000 to cover increases in student numbers at Cecilia Jeffrey, File Hills and Portage la Prairie. The remaining \$4,840 would go towards improvements in the church's day schools. McLean thinks that in lieu of building a new Presbyterian-run boarding school on or near the Pasqua Reserve it would be "better to enlarge and strengthen the File Hills

⁴²² UCCA, box 7, file 124, "Farquharson to MacKay, August 14, 1909."

⁴²³ LAC, Headquarters–General Education Policy–Presbyterian Church, 1888–1889, 1894–1927, RG10, vol. 6040, file 160-4 part 1, pp. 713–14, "Scott to Deputy Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, November 26, 1909."

⁴²⁴ UCCA, box 7, file 124, "MacKay to Pedley, August 24, 1909."

⁴²⁵ *The Progress* 18, no. 10, October–November 1909.

⁴²⁶ UCCA, box 7, file 126, "Scott to MacKay, November 26, 1909."

School and provide for housing whatever pupils may be drafted from the vicinity of Pasqua for this school.”⁴²⁷

MacKay says he will seek the “co-operation” of the FMC’s western branch regarding McLean’s proposal for an enlarged File Hills School, saying he is “personally gratified with this action of the Department.”⁴²⁸

The FMC’s western branch appears to favour enlarging the File Hills Boarding School and warns of the “dangerous effects of delay in settling the Regina School problem.” Heron, meanwhile, secures another \$1,000 from the FMC for school maintenance.⁴²⁹

MacKay expresses reservations concerning the proposed RIIS closing date of April 1, asking what is to be done about its 80 students while the church’s boarding schools are being enlarged and readied to take them in. He suggests the Regina school’s closing be delayed or be made “indefinite” until provisions at these other schools are complete, citing fears that RIIS students otherwise “risk” ending up in schools operated by other denominations with a resultant decrease in the number of students cared for by Presbyterian-run schools.⁴³⁰

The executive of the western FMC approves of the April 1 closing date for the RIIS provided the per-capita grant is “increased and ample provisions made for all pupils on the Reserves in which our missionaries are labouring.” The Committee, however, is not ready to say whether the File Hills School should be enlarged or whether a new boarding school should be built on the “Qu’Appelle Reserves,” promising an answer in 4 to 6 weeks.⁴³¹

All students plus several graduates spend a happy Christmas Eve around the Yule tree. A wedding service for Florence Cote (Cote) and John Lecaine is conducted by Heron at the school, December 27, with Lulu McKay (Kahkewistahaw) as bridesmaid and Joseph Dreaver (Mistawasis) as best man. Three new students from Mistawasis are admitted—Mary Duncan, Mary Jane Frazer and Joseph Johnstone. The school has a new senior teacher, Mr. Spicer, and a new matron, Mrs. Wellwood.⁴³²

⁴²⁷ UCCA, box 7, file 128, “McLean (DIA Secretary) to MacKay, December 7, 1909.”

⁴²⁸ Ibid., “MacKay to D.C. Scott, December 10, 1909.”

⁴²⁹ PCCA, Minutes of FMC Executive, December 7, 1909.

⁴³⁰ UCCA, box 7, file 128, “MacKay to Scott, December 14, 1909.”

⁴³¹ Ibid., “Farquharson to MacKay, December 16, 1909.”

⁴³² *The Progress* 18, no. 12, December 1909.

1910–1911

The Progress announces the marriages of ex-pupils Josiah Matoney (Pasqua) to Christina McKay at Fort Qu'Appelle and Annie Seeseequasis (Beardy's) to Thomas Spence at Duck Lake.⁴³³

Both the FMC and its western branch concur with the DIA's plan to close the school effective April 1, and to apply the funds earmarked for its upkeep to the improvement and extension of the church's boarding and day schools. In echoing MacKay's fears, however, both committees express concern lest the Regina closure is implemented before accommodation can be found in these other schools for its students.⁴³⁴

Heron reports a deficit of \$1,300 to February 28 and asks the FMC for a \$1,000 grant. He is informed he should consult Agent Graham and arrange with the DIA how to square financial accounts when the school is closed.⁴³⁵

Three RIIS students—Alex Flett (Keeseekoowinin), Mamie (Mary) Johnstone (Mistawasis), Lulu McKay (Kakewistahaw)—and one ex-student, Charles Rider (Carry-the-Kettle) are recommended by Heron, with MacKay's support, for scholarships from the Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, Edinburgh.⁴³⁶ Flett and Johnstone want to be teachers and McKay, a nurse. Heron rates both girls as “above average intelligence.”⁴³⁷

MacKay updates the Reverend E.A. Henry, Knox Church, Regina on the “general scheme developed between us and Ottawa” regarding the RIIS: the school will be closed June 30; File Hills is to be enlarged to help accommodate some RIIS students, making File Hills the “the best and most improved boarding school in the West”; the church's other boarding schools will be updated and their per-capita grants increased from \$72 to \$100, with the intention they introduce farming as a teachable industry; and that in the meantime the RIIS students will be considered on “leave of absence” so that “no other church can tamper with them.” MacKay also notes that the DIA officials are “exceedingly sympathetic and desirous of putting our work

⁴³³ *The Progress* 19, no. 2, February 1910.

⁴³⁴ PCCA, FMC minutes, January 17, 1910, pp. 92–93.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid*, April 8, 1910, pp. 142–43.

⁴³⁶ Valued at \$200 each.

⁴³⁷ UCCA, box 7, file 129, “MacKay to C.C. Nisbet, Edinburgh, March 9, 1910.”

in the best possible condition,” while boasting “we have the best boarding schools in the West.”⁴³⁸

The Scottish Society seeks assurances the names submitted for scholarship consideration meet the Fund’s requirements: that candidates are “full-blooded Indians of good moral character,” have a desire if assisted by this Society “to devote many years of their lives to Missionary work either religious or secular among their own people,” and promise to do so.⁴³⁹

The last issue of *The Progress* reports that John James Chicken (Ahtahkakoop), Berrell Gray (Carry the Kettle), John Snake (Ahtahkakoop) and Francis Matheson (Mistawasis) were all treated by Dr. Thompson for swollen glands. The school’s main building was given a thorough scrubbing and cleaning with the assistance of the older girls.⁴⁴⁰

In light of the RIIS’s imminent closing, the Superintendent of Methodist Indian Schools and Hospitals in Canada asks if the Presbyterian Church in Canada might allow his church to recruit students on “Presbyterian reserves” east of Regina for its industrial school at Brandon, Manitoba.⁴⁴¹ MacKay responds that entering into any such negotiations with Methodists “would excite apprehension and misapprehension.”⁴⁴²

Final attendance at the school, according to Heron’s last annual report, is 65.⁴⁴³ He claims there is now a “deeper interest in education among Indians on ... reserves” from which students were recruited, and that many parents formerly indifferent are now “eager to have their children educated.” During the past year the Governor General of Canada, Earl Grey, visited the school.

Per-capita grants for the RIIS end March 31. Incidental expenses and transportation of children to their homes will be covered by the DIA.⁴⁴⁴

A WFMS report states “[a]bout a year ago the school had an epidemic of measles which left some of the pupils in a very weak condition for some time” but that the past winter “has been free from any serious outbreak of

⁴³⁸ Ibid., “MacKay to Rev. Henry, March 10, 1910.”

⁴³⁹ Ibid., “Nisbet to MacKay, March 28, 1910.”

⁴⁴⁰ *The Progress* 19, no. 4, April 1910.

⁴⁴¹ UCCA, box 7, file 129, “Rev. T. Ferrier to MacKay, April 23, 1910.”

⁴⁴² Ibid., “MacKay to Ferrier, April 27, 1910.”

⁴⁴³ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, pp. 485–87, “Heron, March 31, 1910.”

⁴⁴⁴ PCCA, FMC minutes, May 18, 1910, pp. 178–79.

illness and the state of health of the pupils is exceptionally good.” Due to the “uncertainty” surrounding the school, several staff members have found positions elsewhere, yet even in the face of “increased difficulty” the school “never did better work than at present.” Heron is quoted as thanking the WFMS for the “kindness, generosity and loving interest that has always been shown by the society in the welfare of the school.”⁴⁴⁵

Heron inquires of the price and terms of sale for the school property and expresses an interest in buying it, saying he would like to retain the principal’s residence as his home and farm the land. If not for sale, he asks permission to “lease the property for a period of years or until the final disposal of it is determined.”⁴⁴⁶

The FMC expresses disappointment that the stock at the Regina school was sold rather than distributed among the church’s boarding schools. The remaining 62 pupils are relocated. Heron asks whether he and his family may continue living in the principal’s residence where he might teach a few “especially hopeful Indian children.” The FMC expresses “satisfaction” with Heron’s actions in closing the school.⁴⁴⁷

By Order-in-Council (June 29) the school’s buildings and land are transferred from the DIA to the Department of the Interior. The main building is to be converted into a temporary jail for Regina while a new jail in the town is under construction.

Heron opposes using the school for “jail purposes,” noting that graduates and ex-pupils have a “deep affection for the place,” and that turning the building “even into a temporary jail would be to strike a blow at the self-respect of these ex-pupils and in no small measure help to undo much of the work that has been done for them.” Buildings which for years were devoted to a “noble purpose should surely not be turned to ignoble use, at least while those we wished to uplift are still living and trying to follow out the instructions received [here].”⁴⁴⁸ The Assistant Deputy of Indian Affairs

⁴⁴⁵ PCCA, WFMS Annual Report, 1909–1910, pp. 48–49.

⁴⁴⁶ LAC, Correspondence Relating to Leases and Disposal of Land at the Regina Industrial School, 1905–1910, RG 10, vol. 3927, file 116,836-22, item 55, “Heron to McLean, April 7, 1910.”

⁴⁴⁷ PCCA, FMC minutes, June 30, 1910, pp. 3–7.

⁴⁴⁸ LAC, General Correspondence Relating to the Regina Industrial School, 1910–

dismisses Heron's reasoning, saying "I cannot see the force of your objections to the temporary use [of these buildings] for jail purposes."⁴⁴⁹

Heron asks⁴⁵⁰ the DIA for a grant to allow a promising RIIS student, Mary Johnstone (Mistawasis), age 14, to continue her education in a Regina public school while she lives with his family.⁴⁵¹ His request is denied on grounds she is not a full-blooded Indian.⁴⁵²

The DIA discovers Heron has become acting principal at Round Lake School and asks by "whose authority" was he put in charge, and when his term will expire.⁴⁵³ The FMC's MacKay admits his ignorance of the matter, adding he is certain that Heron's appointment would be as *locum tennens* and not permanent. Further clarification indicates the principal of Round Lake School, the Reverend McKay, negotiated the arrangement with Heron when McKay sought leave because of his wife's poor health, and that Heron's temporary appointment had been approved by the FMC's western division.⁴⁵⁴

With the expenses of closing the RIIS less than anticipated, the DIA agrees to increase the per-capita grants to the Church's File Hills, Cecilia Jeffrey and Portage la Prairie boarding schools once pupils from the RIIS are in residence at these institutions.⁴⁵⁵

Reflecting on events around the RIIS's demise, the FMC's General Secretary, MacKay, explains why he supported its closure—even though the Western branch of the FMC did not, fearing the Church would as a result be giving "our work to other industrial schools"—by saying he believed that Presbyterian boarding schools will be strengthened by the Regina school closure and reach a "larger number of children." But he begrudges

1939, RG 10, vol. 3927, file 116,836-1C, items 8–9, "Heron to McLean, Assistant Deputy and Secretary, October 2, 1910."

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., item 10, "McLean to Heron, November 4, 1910."

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., item 16, "McLean to Heron, November 30, 1910."

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., items 17–19, "Heron to McLean, December 12, 1910."

⁴⁵² Ibid., "McLean to Heron, December 30, 1910."

⁴⁵³ UCCA, box 7, file 129, "McLean to MacKay, December 30, 1910."

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., "Farquharson to MacKay, January 9, 1911."

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., file 130. "Minutes of the Executive of the FMC, Synod of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, January 21, 1911."

the fact that under the DIA's "new regulations," other denominational-run boarding schools will also benefit, all the while their industrial schools remain open.⁴⁵⁶

Heron accepts an appointment as missionary to the Qu'Appelle reserves at a salary of \$900 per year on condition he repay (without interest) a loan of \$2,500 from the western FMC to build a new home on land he owns.⁴⁵⁷

1916

A Mrs. E. Mackenzie, Sintaluta, Saskatchewan, inquires if the Scottish Fund is still available to assist an RIIS graduate of "fine character," Scott Cherdree (Carry-the-Kettle), who is to take a course in Bible Study at the Santee Normal School in Nebraska.⁴⁵⁸ She subsequently reports that the scholarship is a "certainty" and that Cherdree, with \$30 she loaned him for travel costs, left for the Santee School in October to enter the first year of the program.⁴⁵⁹

1919

Male youths from the detention centre in Wolseley, Saskatchewan, are transferred to the main building of the former RIIS, now known as "The Boys' Detention Home."⁴⁶⁰

1921–1922

Mrs. McAra, Provincial Secretary of the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Society (Saskatchewan Branch), forwards a motion passed by its provincial executive to Indian Commissioner W.M. Graham (Regina), asking him to "petition the Federal Government to put the cemetery of the old Regina Indian Industrial School in good order that it may be kept sacred to the memory of the Indians and a lasting memorial to the memory of our beloved Missionary, Rev. A.J. McLeod ... whose children lie in this little plot side

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid., "MacKay to D.C. Scott, February 24, 1911."

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., file 141, "MacKay to H. Cassels, CA, Winnipeg, December 20, 1911."

⁴⁵⁸ UCCA, box 8, file 157, "Mrs. Mackenzie to C.C. Nisbet, Edinburgh, March 31, 1916"; and *ibid.*, "J.P. Williamson, Santee Normal School to Mrs. MacKenzie."

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., "Mackenzie to A.E. Armstrong, FMC, Toronto, November 27, 1916."

⁴⁶⁰ Greg Goulden and Danen Connell, "Paul Dojack Youth Centre: Historical Essay," Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, 1985, RE1982, p. 14. Today the Paul Dojack Centre is located in much newer facilities on or very close to the site where the main building of the former RIIS once stood.

by side with the Indian children.” She describes the “desecration and neglect” that had befallen the cemetery since the school’s closure: a prairie fire had destroyed the fence enclosing the plot and the wooden crosses marking the last resting place of “some thirty-five to forty of our little Indian children,” while cattle had “trampled all over the little mounds, flattening them out.” She expressed appreciation for the “great deal ... of pride” principal Sinclair and his wife took “in teaching and assisting the children to care for and hold sacred the graves of their little playmates.” Her letter ends on a note of confidence that “our wish will be granted,” and that a deed of this “small portion of land” will be given to the Presbyterian Church in Canada.⁴⁶¹

Graham says he is “heartily in sympathy” with the request, adding he could have the plot surveyed and enclosed with a “neat and strong picket fence” for an estimated cost of \$150–\$200, which would be “greatly appreciated” by the “Presbyterian Church and others who are interested in the matter.”⁴⁶² Authority is given Graham to proceed with the survey and new fence.⁴⁶³ Vouchers totalling \$111.42 for materials and services are received the following year from the T. Eaton Co., Glasgow Lumber Co., and Wood, Vallances Ltd.⁴⁶⁴

1923

Heron presents a paper⁴⁶⁵ to the Regina Presbytery criticizing the quality of Indian education at the church’s boarding schools (the paper is subsequently published in the Church’s national magazine, *Presbyterian Witness*). In it he states that Indian parents are “anxious to have their children educated,” but complain they spend so much time out of the classroom working on school farms and gardens, helping to produce “revenues” for these institutions, that by the time their children leave they can scarcely pass exams higher than fourth or fifth grade. Indians have, he says, “shown over and over they are

⁴⁶¹ LAC, General Correspondence Relating to the Regina Industrial School, 1910–1939, item 27, “McAra to Graham, November 14, 1921.”

⁴⁶² Ibid., item 28, “Graham to D.C. Scott, November 16, 1921.”

⁴⁶³ Ibid., item 29, “Scott to Graham, November 21, 1921.”

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., item 30, “Graham to Secretary McLean, November 3, 1922.”

⁴⁶⁵ LAC, Headquarters–General Education Policy–Presbyterian Church, 1888–1889, 1894–1927, RG10, Vol. 6040, file 160-4 part 1, pp. 784–85.

capable of holding their own in classroom and College halls, and in literary work of very great value” (citing an example to support his claim⁴⁶⁶). But one need only attempt conversation with ex-pupils, he adds, to see how “very meagre” their English is, how “painfully limited” their knowledge and how lacking they are in “self-reliance.” Heron concludes that The Presbyterian Church in Canada must make “every possible effort” to see that children in its boarding schools are “given the training that will best equip them for a place in the citizenship of the country.”

The Executive of the Board of Home Missions discusses Heron’s paper and the responses of several of the church’s boarding school principals who accuse Heron of exaggeration and half-truths, while expressing regret that the paper was published without the Board’s knowledge. The Executive endorses the “practice now being followed by the Indian Department of dividing the children’s time between study and practical training as that which long experience has found to be most effective,” and it expresses confidence in “the wisdom and devotion of the Principals of our Indian Boarding Schools and of [their] associates engaged in this exacting and sometimes discouraging work.”⁴⁶⁷

1948

The main building of the former RIIS is destroyed by fire in January.

⁴⁶⁶ That of a Cree man and gold medalist at the University of Manitoba who translated the Gospel of Luke from Greek to Cree.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 786–87, “The Reverend J.H. Edmison, General Secretary, to D.C. Scott, Indian Affairs, October 17, 1923.”

APPENDIX I

RIIS STUDENTS/EX-STUDENTS WHO DIED, 1892–1897⁴⁶⁸

Muscowpetung

Alexander Aukusk (enrolled at age 14, May 14, 1891)

Alice Aukusk (enrolled at age 7, June 1892)⁴⁶⁹

George Cappo (enrolled at age 15, April 1891)

Laura Anakwad (enrolled at age 13, May 1891)

John Stone

Piapot

Ellen Ball (enrolled at age 10, January 1892)

Jesse Fox (enrolled at age 10, May 1891)

Albert Maple Thunder (enrolled at age 12, May 1891)

Frank Nacot (enrolled at age 11, May 1891)

⁴⁶⁸ McLeod did not specify who on the list died while a student at the school and who died shortly after being discharged from the school. LAC, Post Office Savings Bank Deposits of Annuity Money for Students, RG 10, vol. 3886, file 95,833-5A, items 427–29, “The Reverend A.J. McLeod, 1897: List of Pupils and Ex-Pupils Who Have Died During the Past Five Years.”

⁴⁶⁹ Ages of students at their dates of enrolments were not part of McLeod’s original report. These data, taken from the RIIS Admissions Register, have been added so as to enable approximations of the ages at which the children and youth named on this list died.

Pasqua

Margaret La Mack (enrolled at age 16, May 1891)
Fanny Matoney (enrolled at age 9, May 1891)
Henry Matony (enrolled at age 12, May 1891)
Joseph Pasquah (enrolled at age 15, May 1891)
William Pasquah (enrolled at age 12, June 1891)

Cote

John Cook (enrolled at age 16, April 1891)
Johnston Cote⁴⁷⁰ (enrolled at age 14, December 1891)
Kitty (Kate) Cote (enrolled at age 6, July 1892)
Gilbert Crow (enrolled at age 3, August 1894)
Jane Fiddler (enrolled at age 12, December 1891)
Maggie Frazier (enrolled at age 12, April 1892)
Jacob McLeod (enrolled at age 15, 1892)
Maggie Torrange⁴⁷¹
Allan Severight (enrolled at age 6, April 1892)
Elizabeth Severight (enrolled at age 8, April 1892)
Alex Shinguish (enrolled at age 14, June 1892)
Samuel Wilson

Carry-the-Kettle

Neil Aneunk (enrolled at age 3, December 1895)

⁴⁷⁰ Discharged from RIIS, dying of consumption and being nursed by Miss Gillespie and others at Crowstand Boarding school. LAC, Manitoba and NWT–Post Office Savings Bank Deposits of Annuity Money for Students, RG 10, vol. 3886, file 95,835-5A, item 352, “W.E. Jones, Indian Agent, Cote’s, to Indian Commissioner, Regina, March 15, 1897.” In a handwritten note of his own, March 12, 1897, Johnston had asked that his annuity money in the Post Office Savings Bank account (from his RIIS days) be paid to his heirs upon his death. Ibid., items 353–54. The amount is \$10.59. Ibid., item 373, “J.D. McLean, Acting Secretary, DIA, to Indian Commissioner, Regina, April 13, 1897.”

⁴⁷¹ Died at home, February 20, 1896, after being discharged. Death date furnished in a memo (December 31, 1896) from her two brothers, witnessed by an interpreter and certified as “correct” by Agent W.E. Jones. Ibid, item 288. Jones claims that Maggie’s brothers who took care of her during her last days have a legitimate claim “to her property,” i.e., to monies deposited in a Post Office Savings Bank account in her name while an RIIS student. Ibid., item 384, “Jones to Indian Commissioner, Regina, March 1897.” Each brother receives a cheque for \$11.00 via Agent Jones. Ibid., item 401, “DIA Acting Secretary, J.D. McLean, to Indian Commissioner, Regina, May 28, 1897.”

Sadie Jack (enrolled at age 8, April 1891)
Norman Jackson (enrolled at age 7, May 1892)
Charles Mountain (enrolled at age 5, April 1892)
Herbert Mountain (enrolled at age 3, April 1892)
Andrew Williams (enrolled at age 5, May 1892)

Cowessess (or Little Child's)

Benjamin Striped Back (enrolled at age 17, April 1891)
Flora Petwawenin (enrolled at age 14, May 1891)
Mark Wahpekahmewaup (enrolled at age 16, May 1892)

Medicine Hat

Harry Gordon

Mistawasis

James Johnstone (enrolled at age 10, June 1893)

Turtle Mountain

Sarah Marswa-isk-at (enrolled at age 11, April 1893)

Okemassis

Lucy Saw-phaw-pah-kayo (enrolled at age 13, November 1893)⁴⁷²

Ebb and Flow

Harry Mentuck Mancheese⁴⁷³ (enrolled at age 8, November 1895)

Waywayseecappo

Tina Seaton⁴⁷⁴ (enrolled at age 18, October 1895)

Bird Tail Sioux

Esau Thunder (enrolled at age 13, August 1892)
Martha Thunder (enrolled at age 9, July 1894)

⁴⁷² Died at home, January 20, 1896. LAC, Post Office Savings Bank Deposits of Annuity Money for Students, RG 10, vol. 3884, file 95,833-1A, item 317, "Memo of Agent R.S. McKenzie, Duck Lake."

⁴⁷³ Died January 1896. LAC, Manitoba and NWT-Post Office Savings Bank Deposits of Annuity Money for Students, RG 10, Vo. 3886, file 95,835-5A, item 503, "Undated memo, at Birtle, Manitoba."

⁴⁷⁴ Died January 1896. Ibid., item 503.

Many Dusts

Thomas Three Bulls (enrolled at age 13, September 1894)

Moosins

Alex Bone (enrolled at age 17, November 1893)

Rolling River

Graham Hunting Hawk (enrolled at age 13, January 1896)

James Smith

Richard Smith (enrolled at age 10, November 1893)

Sandy Bay

Henry Spence (enrolled at age 4, May 1895)

Beardy's

Bessie Wahpahhoo (enrolled at age 7, January 1896)

Keeseekoowenin

Donald Flett (enrolled at age 7, January 1897)

RIIS EX-STUDENT DEATHS, 1892–97, NOT INCLUDED IN MCLEOD'S REPORT (ABOVE)

Maggie Baldhead⁴⁷⁵

Lucy Cote (Cote)⁴⁷⁶

Jim Crow (Cote) (enrolled at age 8, April 1892, died at home, August 1, 1892)⁴⁷⁷

Sam Ka-ke-we-ass⁴⁷⁸

OTHER KNOWN RIIS-RELATED DEATHS

Elizabeth Ellice (Mistawasis), enrolled at age 12, September 1899, died at home, 1903.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁵ LAC, Recommendations that Principals of Industrial Schools be Requested to Furnish a Statement on the Status of Discharged Pupils, 1891–1933, RG 10, vol. 3861, file 82,390, item 44, W.E. Jones, February 6, 1896, "Report on the Status of Industrial School Children Who Have Been Discharged."

⁴⁷⁶ Forget gives a death date of January 20, 1896. LAC, Post Office Savings Bank Deposits of Annuity Money for Students, RG 10, vol. 3884, file 95,833-1A, item 291, "A.E. Forget, Indian Commissioner, Regina to Deputy Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, February 20, 1896."

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., RIIS Admissions Register (PAS).

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁹ UCCA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Board of Home Missions and Social

- Alfred Ermine (Ahtahkakoop), enrolled at age 11, August 1901, died at home, December 1905.⁴⁸⁰
- Ellen Dreaver (Mistawasis), died at home, 1903.⁴⁸¹
- Caroline Friday (Cote), enrolled at age 16, October 1904, died at Brandon, MB, 1908.⁴⁸²
- Bessie Fox (Piapot), enrolled at age 5, April 1893, died following abdominal surgery for cancer in Winnipeg Hospital, 1904.⁴⁸³
- John Kasto (Turtle Mountain), enrolled at age 12, April 1894, died 1903, age 21.⁴⁸⁴
- Mary Waphahoo (Beardy's), enrolled at age 11, January 1896, died at home, 1904.⁴⁸⁵
- David Musqwapamayo (Big River), enrolled at age 12, August 1901, died of consumption at the home of his brother-in-law, Big River, 1908.⁴⁸⁶

Services, "Missions to the Indians in Manitoba and the North-West Territories," Accession No. 79,199C, box 4, file 45, "W.S. Moore, Missionary, to the Convenor of the Presbyterian Foreign Missions Committee, 1903."

⁴⁸⁰ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1864–1990, pp. 416–18, "R.B. Heron, Annual Report, June 30, 1906."

⁴⁸¹ UCCA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Board of Home Missions and Social Services, "Missions to the Indians in Manitoba and the North-West Territories," Accession No. 79,199C, box 4, file 45, "W.S. Moore to Foreign Missions Committee, 1903."

⁴⁸² *The Progress* 17, no. 11, December 1908.

⁴⁸³ LAC, General Correspondence Relating to the Regina Industrial School, 1903–1905, RG 10, Vol. 3927, file 116,836-1A, item 236, "Dr. Graham to Sinclair, May 4, 1904"; *ibid.*, item 235, "Assistant Indian Commissioner to Sinclair, May 28, 1904."

⁴⁸⁴ UCCA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Board of Home Missions and Social Services to the Indians in Manitoba and the North West, Accession No. 79,199C, box 4, file 52.

⁴⁸⁵ LAC, Duck Lake Agency–Post Office Savings Bank Deposits of Annuity Money for Students, RG 10, vol. 3887, file 95833-9A, items 18 and 19, "Indian Agent, Duck Lake to Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, November 29, 1904."

⁴⁸⁶ *The Progress* 18, no. 2, 1908.

APPENDIX II

STUDENT DEATHS AND BURIALS AT THE RIIS

The following students are known to have died at the school and are likely buried in the school's cemetery.

Neil Aneunt (Carry-the-Kettle): enrolled December 24, 1895, age 3; died March 1897 of scrofula.⁴⁸⁷

Jemima Baptiste (Mistawasis): enrolled October 2, 1906, age 7; died December 1908 of consumption.⁴⁸⁸

John Burns (Keeseekoowenin): enrolled September 13, 1901, age 10.⁴⁸⁹

Basil Contois (Portage la Prairie): enrolled June 16, 1898, age 8; died summer 1906 of consumption.⁴⁹⁰

Susan (?) Dreaver (Mistawasis): enrolled October 8, 1906, age 9.⁴⁹¹

John Ermine (Ahtahkakoop): enrolled August 17, 1901, age 9.⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁷ Death noted in *The Progress* 3, no. 74, March 15, 1897.

⁴⁸⁸ Death noted in *The Progress* 17, no. 11, December 1908.

⁴⁸⁹ Death noted in RIIS Admissions Register.

⁴⁹⁰ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1864–1990, p. 383, “Report of Principal R.B. Heron, March 31, 1907.”

⁴⁹¹ Memos from Anthony Johnston, Special Projects, Mistawasis First Nations, December 2, 2014 and September 24, 2015.

⁴⁹² Death noted in *The Progress* 18, no. 4., April 1909.

- Charlotte Head (Mistawasis): enrolled June 11, 1896 (age not recorded).⁴⁹³
- Arthur Johnstone (Waywayseecappo): enrolled October 23, 1895, age 14; died January 1904 of consumption.⁴⁹⁴
- Alfred Mossine (Portage la Prairie): enrolled June 16, 1898, age 6.⁴⁹⁵
- Edward Mountain (Muscowpetung): enrolled May 20, 1891, age 15; died May 2, 1892.⁴⁹⁶
- Lucy Pakakawewe (Rolling River): enrolled August 10, 1897, age 12; died 1899.⁴⁹⁷
- Hapi Paul (Turtle Mountain): enrolled February 3, 1899, at age 16; died ca. March 1900.⁴⁹⁸
- Thomas Three Bulls (Blood Reserve, Alberta): enrolled September 7, 1894, age 15, died July 17, 1896 of consumption.⁴⁹⁹
- Alex Thunder or Iron Eagle (Cowessess): enrolled March 30, 1892, age 11; died October 1897 of scrofula.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹³ Memo from Anthony Johnston, Special Projects, Mistawasis First Nations, December 2, 2014 and September 24, 2015.

⁴⁹⁴ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, p. 431, “Report of Principal J.A. Sinclair, September 15, 1904.”

⁴⁹⁵ Death noted in *The Progress* 18, no. 4, April 1909

⁴⁹⁶ Death noted in RIIS Admissions Register.

⁴⁹⁷ LAC, Birtle Boarding School–Post Office Savings Bank Deposits of Annuity Money for Students, RG 10, vol. 3887, file 95,833-6, item 72, “McLeod to Secretary, Indian Affairs, August 5, 1899.”

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, item 102, “McLeod to Secretary, Indian Affairs, April 3, 1900.”

⁴⁹⁹ LAC, Manitoba and NWT–Post Office Savings Bank Deposits of Annuity Money for Students, RG 10, vol. 3886, file 95,833-5A, item 175, “Memo of Dr. Willoughby, medical officer for the RIIS, December 16, 1896.” Indian Agent Jas. Wilson (Blood Agency) Alberta, confirms death of this student occurred at RIIS. *Ibid.*, item 176. Also confirmed by Indian Commissioner A.E. Forget in memo to Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, December 19, 1896. *Ibid.*, item 177.

⁵⁰⁰ Death noted in *The Progress* 3, no. 4, April 1909.

APPENDIX III

PARTIAL LIST OF RIIS GRADUATES, 1897–1910

Nellie Achaza (Jack's)
Ben Assineawasis (Okanese)
Jacob Badger (Mistawasis)
Harry Ball (Piapot)
Andrew Ben
Eliza Bear (Cowessess)
George Bear (Bird Tail Sioux)
Sarah Bear (Cowessess)
Flora Bird (Waywayseecappo)
Willie Bird (Peepeekeesis)
Sam Black (Mistawasis)
Angus Bone (Keeseekoowenin)
Antoine Burns (Keeseekoowenin)
Scott Cherdree (Carry-the-Kettle)
Donald Cote (Cote)
Ellen Cote (Cote)
Henrietta Cote (Cote)
Maggie Cote (Cote)
Marybelle Cote (Cote)
Fred Dieter (Okanese)
Joseph Dreaver (Mistawasis)
James Friday (Cote)

THE REGINA INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL (1891–1910)

Albert Fiddler (Cote)
Alex Flett (Keeseekoowenin)
Jessie Fox (Piapot)
Alex Gaddie (Cowessess)
Isabelle Gaddie (Cowessess)
Mary Ellen Gaddie (Cowessess)
Edwin Gardipi (Beardy's)
William Genaille (Cote)
Ernest Goforth (Peepeekeesis)
Willie Grant (Jack's)
Malcolm Grey (Carry-the-Kettle)
Olga Hughes (Carry-the-Kettle)
George Hunter (Oak Lake Sioux)
John Hunter (Oak Lake Sioux)
Philip Ironstar (Carry-the-Kettle)
Joseph Jack
Mary Johnstone (Mistawasis)
John Kasto (Turtle Mountain)
Walter Little-Pine (Beardy's)
John Matheson (Mistawasis)
James Matheson (Mistawasis)
Flossie Matoney (Pasqua)
Joseph Matoney (Pasqua)
Hugh McKay (Waywayseecappo)
Lulu McKay (Kahkawistahaw)
David Meesqwapamayo
Alex Munroe (Enoch)
Donald Nepapeness (Cowessess)
Frank Netawionis (Portage la Prairie)
Allie Nokohoot (White Bear)
Herman Nowekeeswape (Sakimay)
Andrew Okemahsis (Beardy's)
Herb Oliver (Portage la Prairie)
Joseph Paul (Turtle Mountain)
Fred Peters (Swan Lake)
Robert Petwawenin (Kahkewistahaw)
George Raymond (Carry-the-Kettle)

Howard Russell (Moose Jaw Sioux)
Frank Seaton (Waywayseecappo)
James Seeseequasis (Beardy's)
Jean Seeseequasis (Beardy's)
Joseph Seeseequasis (Beardy's)
Maggie Seeseequasis (Beardy's)
Annie Severight (Cote)
Miranda Severight (Cote)
Charles Shingoose (Waywayseecapp)
Joe Shingoosh (Cote)
Fanny Shingoosh (Waywayseecappo)
Sawin Snow (Jack's)
Ben Stonechild
Napolean Sutherland (Beardy's)
Agnes Thompson (Carry-the-Kettle)
Archie Thompson (Carry-the-Kettle)
Jimmie Thompson (Carry-the-Kettle)
Victorine Villiburn
Herman Wonkawanis
Fred Waywinchecappo (White Bear)
Clara Williams (Carry-the-Kettle)
Robbie Young (Portage la Prairie)

APPENDIX IV

FIRST NATIONS FROM WHICH STUDENTS WERE SENT TO, OR RECRUITED FOR, THE RIIS⁵⁰¹ (LISTED BY TREATY NUMBER)

Treaty 1

Long Plain (MB)
Sandy Bay Ojibway (MB)
Swan Lake (MB)

Treaty 2

Ebb and Flow (MB)
Keeseekoowenin (Riding Mountain Band, MB)

Treaty 4

Carry the Kettle (SK)
Cote (SK)
Cowessess (SK)
George Gordon (SK)
Indian Head area (SK)
Jack's Band (variant of Carry the Kettle) (SK)
Kahkewistahaw (SK)
Keeseekoose (SK)

⁵⁰¹ Information adapted from the RIIS Admissions Register and similar lists constructed, respectively, by Paula Acoose, Sakimay First Nation, and by Lisa Hein, Project Archaeologist.

THE REGINA INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL (1891–1910)

Muscowpetung (SK)
Nekaneet Cree (Maple Creek area, SK)
Okanese (SK)
Pasqua (SK)
Peepeekisis (SK)
Pheasant Rump (SK)
Piapot (SK)
Rolling River (MB)
Sakimay (Zagime) (SK)
Striped Blanket (amalgamated with White Bear, 1901) (SK)
Valley River (Tootinaowaziibeeng) (MB)
Waywayseecappo (MB)
White Bear (SK)

Treaty 5

Bunibonibee Cree (Oxford House) (MB)
Cumberland House Cree (SK)

Treaty 6

Ahtahkakoop Cree (SK)
Beardy's and Okemasais Cree (SK)
Big River (SK)
Enoch Cree (AB)
James Smith Cree (SK)
Mistawasis (SK)
Moose Woods Sioux (now Whitecap Dakota) (SK)
Sturgeon Lake (SK)

Treaty 7

Running Wolf's Band (Blackfoot Confederacy) (AB)

Non-Treaty

Birdtail Sioux (MB)
Medicine Hat area (AB)
Moose Jaw Sioux (SK)
Moose Woods Sioux (now Whitecap Dakota Reserve) (SK)
Oak Lake Sioux (now Canupawakpa) (MB)
Pipestone (now Canupawakpa) (MB)

Portage la Prairie area (MB)
Prince Albert area Dakota communities (SK)
Turtle Mountain Indian Reserve, North Dakota. Relocated (1910), joined
Oak Lake Sioux (MB)
Wahpeton Dakota Nation (SK)

Other First Nations' Communities

Blackbears
Kaniswetang
Many Dusts
Moosin's Band

APPENDIX V

NAMES OF RIIS STUDENTS NOT INCLUDED IN THE SCHOOL'S ADMISSIONS REGISTER

Found in Issues of the School's Newspaper, *The Progress*⁵⁰²

Angus Artist
Laura Artist
Jacob Bear (Mistawasis)
George Ball (or Bell)
Andrew Ben
George Bone
Barbara Bone
Jessie Bone
Olive Bone
Patrick Bone
Victorine Bone
Benny Campbell (Mistawasis)
Francis Campbell (Mistawasis)
Maggie Calavan
Evelyn Cardinal (Mistawasis)

⁵⁰² Found in issues from 3 (70), June 16, 1897 to 19 (4), April 1910 (PAS). Names found under headings such as "School Matters," "School News," "Our Graduates," "Pupils' Column," "Classroom Notes," and "Kitchen Notes." Students' First Nations identities, where known, are shown in parentheses.

THE REGINA INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL (1891–1910)

Francis Cote
Herman Cote
Mary Duncan (Mistawasis)
Maggie Fiddler
Chester Fraser
Mary-Jane Frazer (Mistawasis)
Mary French
William Gibson
Percy Gordon
Francis Henry
Robert Henry
Hugh Hiwahay
Frank Hunter
Angus Hyanpah (or Hyrimpah)
Charlotte Jack
Gray Jack
Nelly Jack
Nancy Johnson
Joseph Johnstone (Mistawasis)
John Lecaine
Herman Le Grace (Misatawasis)
Mary Maymenayas
Christine McKay
Eunice McKay
Johnny McKnife
David Meesqwapamayo
Jessie Metaway (or Matoway)
Nancy Metaway (or Matoway)
Jessie Nannay
Herb Netawaninis
Oliver Netawaninis
Joseph Nucos
Edith Ogle
John O’Kute
Barbara Olive
Jesse Olive
Mary Jane Olive

Herb Oliver (possibly Portage la Prairie)
Joseph Oliver
Jenine Pratt
Hugh Ryder
Birrell Saulteaux (Carry-the-Kettle)
Robert Seaton
Hattie Shingoosh
Jim Tanner
James Tatiyasamani
Mary Rock Thunder
Mary Tote
Wilfred Tripp
Helen Tripp
Victorine Vilburne
John Wapegan
Jeannie Watson

Other RIIS Students Not Included in the Admissions Register:

Paul Accouse⁵⁰³
John Assinicappo (Mistawsis)⁵⁰⁴
Maggie Baldhead⁵⁰⁵
Bliss Bear⁵⁰⁶
Andrew Ben⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰³ Information from Paula Accouse (Sakimay First Nation), a granddaughter, June 24, 2015.

⁵⁰⁴ LAC, Manitoba and North West Territories–Post Office Savings Bank Deposits of Annuity Money for Students, RG 10, vol. 3886, file 95,833-5A, item 251. “Statement of Annuity Money to be funded for the Undermentioned Indian Children.”

⁵⁰⁵ LAC, “North West Territories–Recommendations that Principals of Industrial Schools be Requested to Furnish a Statement on the Status of Discharged Pupils,” RG 10, vol. 3861, file 82,390, item 44, “Report as to the Status of Children sent to Industrial Schools, and who are not there now,” Agent W.E. Jones, February 6, 1896.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, item 27.

⁵⁰⁷ LAC, Birtle Agency–Post Office Savings Bank Deposits of Annuity Money for Students, RG 10, V. 3887, file 95, 833-6, items 48-49; Andrew Ben to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, December 10, 1898; and J.A. Markle, Indian Agent, Birtle, Manitoba to the General Secretary, Indian Affairs, December 10, 1898.

Victoria Brandon (Waywayseecappo)⁵⁰⁸

Felix Brown⁵⁰⁹

Dick Cardinal (Mistawasis)⁵¹⁰

Evelyn Cardinal⁵¹¹

Shannon Coo-pa-pay⁵¹²

Lucy Cote⁵¹³

Ellen Dreaver⁵¹⁴

Herman Friday⁵¹⁵

Alex Gaddie (Cowessess)⁵¹⁶

Harry Gordon (Medicine Hat)⁵¹⁷

John Haywahi⁵¹⁸

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid., item 192. Agent G. Wheatley, Birtle, Manitoba to the General Secretary, Indian Affairs, April 7, 1902.

⁵⁰⁹ April Rosenau, “Victorian Ideologies of Gender and the Curriculum of the Regina Indian Industrial School, 1891–1910” (MEd thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2002), 126.

⁵¹⁰ Lynne Johnston (Mistawasis). RIIS Commemorative Association Inc. meeting of Directors, Regina, March 25, 2015.

⁵¹¹ Lynne Johnston (Mistawasis), Regina, June 24, 2015.

⁵¹² “Recommendations that Principals of Industrial Schools be Requested to Furnish a Statement on the Status of Discharged Pupils, 1891–1933: Black Series R216-245-8-E, item 44. “Status of Discharged Regina Industrial School Pupils,” a Table submitted by Indian Agent, W.E. Jones, February 6, 1896.

⁵¹³ LAC, Post Office Savings Bank Deposits of Annuity Money for Students, RG 10 vol. 3884, file 95,833-1A, item 291. “A.E. Forget, Indian Commissioner, Regina, to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 20, 1896.

⁵¹⁴ UCCA, “Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1903, Missions to the Indians of Manitoba and the NWT,” Accession # 79,199C, box 4, file 45. W.L. Moore to Rev. R.P. MacKay, Secretary, FMC.

⁵¹⁵ PCCA, WFMS, Annual Report, 1897–98, p. 50.

⁵¹⁶ Isobel McFadden (n.d.), “Regina Industrial School, 1890–1910.” Forwarded by Don Black, past member of the Municipal Heritage Advisory Committee, Regina, July 19, 2015.

⁵¹⁷ LAC, Post Office Savings Bank Deposits of Annuity Money for Students, RG 10, vol. 3886, file 95,833-5A, item 428. “List of Pupils and Ex-Pupils who have died during the past five years” (ie., from 1892–97), submitted by RIIS Principal, Rev. A.J. McLeod.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

Joseph Jack⁵¹⁹
 Thomas William Johnson
 Sam Ka-ke-we-ass⁵²⁰
 Jimmie Keepness⁵²¹
 Margaret Lamack⁵²²
 Peter LooksveryDark⁵²³ (Running Wolf)
 James Matheson⁵²⁴
 Willie Oliver Mentinch (Mentuck?)⁵²⁵
 Pius Natakas⁵²⁶
 Herman Nonekenape or Nowekeeswape⁵²⁷
 Gladys Nowekeeswape
 Andrie Okemasis (Okemasis)⁵²⁸
 Tom Peters⁵²⁹

⁵¹⁹ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1864–1990, p. 423. “Report of Principal, J.A. Sinclair, September 16, 1902.”

⁵²⁰ “Report as to the Status of Children sent to Industrial Schools, and who are not there now,” Agent W.E. Jones, February 6, 1896.

⁵²¹ Rosenau, “Victorian Ideologies of Gender and the Curriculum of the Regina Indian Industrial School,” 103.

⁵²² UCCA, box 4, file 47. Moore to Rev. MacKay, FMC Secretary, March 11, 1903.

⁵²³ LAC, Post Office Savings Bank Deposits of Annuity Money for Students, RG 10, Vol. 3883, file 95,833-1, item 255.

⁵²⁴ UCCA, box 4, file 45, Moore to MacKay, 1903.

⁵²⁵ UCCA, box 4, file 45, “Sinclair to MacKay, January 26, 1903.”

⁵²⁶ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1864–1990, pp. 434–37. “Report of A.J. Sinclair, September 24, 1903.”

⁵²⁷ LAC, “Correspondence Relating to Land for the Regina Industrial School,” RG 10, vol. 3926, file 116,836-1, item 408. “Memo of Principal A.J. McLeod to Indian Commissioner David Laird, August 4, 1900.” The second spelling of this ex-student’s name (he joined the RIIS staff as a carpenter) is found in PCCA, WFMS Annual Report, 1901–02, p.39.

⁵²⁸ LAC, North West Territories–Post Office Savings Bank Deposits of Annuity Money for Students, RG 10, vol. 3886, file 95,833-54, item 408, “Statement of Annuity Money Funded by the Indian Department for the Undermentioned Indian Children, October 1896.”

⁵²⁹ Tom Peters, a student who became ill with small pox, is mentioned in correspondence between Dr. Graham, the school’s physician, and Principal J.A. Sinclair, January 6, 1904. LAC, RG 10, Vol. 3927, File 116,836-1A, item 155. “General Correspondence Relating to the Regina Industrial School, 1905–1905.”

Yellow Shield⁵³⁰ (see Figure 18)
John Shingoose⁵³¹
Ben Stonechild⁵³²
Lizzie Tanner⁵³³
Thomas Three Bulls (Many Dusts)⁵³⁴
Maggie Torrange (Cote)⁵³⁵
Samuel Wilson (Cote)⁵³⁶
John Wright⁵³⁷



FIGURE 18. Yellow Shield, a student at the RIIS. (PAS R-A2691)

⁵³⁰ PAS, Ref. Code R-2691. Photo of Yellow Shield with the caption, “A small boy at the Regina Indian Industrial School circa 1905.”

⁵³¹ LAC, DIA Annual Reports, 1864–1990, p. 440. “Report of Alex McGibbon, Inspector of Indian Agencies, May 1899.”

⁵³² Brass, *I Walk in Two Worlds*, 10.

⁵³³ LAC, “Status of Discharged Pupils, 1891–1933,” item 29. “Letter of Indian Agent, J.A. Markle, February 17, 1896.” He reports that Lizzie Tanner had been at the Qu’Appelle Industrial School and then the Birtle Boarding School before coming to the RIIS.

⁵³⁴ LAC, Manitoba and NWT–Post Office Savings Bank Deposits of Annuity Money for Students, RG 10, vol. 3886, file 95,833-5A, items 175–76.

⁵³⁵ “Report as to the Status of Children sent to Industrial Schools, and who are not there now,” Agent W.E. Jones, February 6, 1896. Jones noted this student had been sent home dying of consumption.

⁵³⁶ LAC, Manitoba and North West Territories–Post Office Savings Bank Deposits of Annuity Money for Students, item 427.

⁵³⁷ LAC: DIA Annual Reports, 1864–1999. p. 25. “Report of Hayter Reed, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 1894.”

PROPER NAME INDEX

Achaza, Nellie, 76,
Anakwad, Lucy, 59
Aneunt, Neil, 61
Anger, Bob, vii
Aspdin, Katie, 106
Aspen, Alice, 34
Aspen, Katy, 34
Assineawasis, Ben, 76
Assinicappo, James, 63
Atchison, John, 49

Badger, Robert, 61
Baird, Andrew, 41, 42, 100, 101
Baldhead, Maggie, 59
Baptiste, Jemima, 116
Bayne, Mr., 76, 84
Bear, Elize, 58
Bear, George, 114
Bear, Sarah, 58
Ben, Andrew, 63, 114
Benson, Martin, 26, 75, 77, 88, 90, 95,
96
Bethune, Mrs., 48, 62
Bird, Willie, 74, 76
Black, Sam, 115, 117
Bone, Jean, 106, 118
Bone, Jerry, 67

Bone, Patrick, 114
Boswell, E.J., 38
Brass, Eleanor, 9, 34
Browne, Martha, 61
Bruneau, Sandra, viii
Bryce, P.H., 13, 111, 112, 113
Burns, Antoine, 84

Calavan, Maggie, 106, 118
Campbell, J.J., 59
Cappo, George, 58
Cappo, Maggie, 58
Carmichael, Rev., 91
Cherdree, Scott, 125
Chicken, John James, 122
Cochrane, Don, viii
Contois, Basil, 85, 106, 111
Contois, Peter, 64
Cook, John, 59
Cornelius, Miss, 17, 76, 84, 89
Cote, Donald, 105, 110
Cote, Florence, 118, 120
Cote, George Bell, 63
Cote, Joseph, 59
Cote, Kate, 59
Cote, Maggie, 92, 106
Cote, Marybelle, 34, 84

THE REGINA INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL (1891–1910)

- Cote, Robert, 63
Craig, Margaret, 108
Crow, Jim, 59
Cumming, Miss, 49
- Darke, Mr., 25, 63
Davin, Nicholas Flood, 5, 22, 63
Densmore, J., 49
Dewdney, Edgar, 37, 38
Dieter, Fred, 34, 76, 84
Dorrance, Miss, 107
Dreaver, Frank, 109, 115
Dreaver, Henry, 109, 110, 112, 115
Dreaver, Joseph, 117, 120
Duncan, Mary, 120
- Edwards, Dr. O.C., 61, 69
Ermine, Alfred, 108
- Farquharson, Rev. James, 112, 115, 118
Favel, Francis, 63
Fiddler, Albert, 92, 94
Fiddler, Jane, 59
Flett, Alex, 109, 110, 121
Flett, McKay, 106
Flett, Solomon, 110, 112
Forget, A.E., 44, 52, 53, 65
Fox, Bessie (1), 89
Fox, Bessie (2), 106
Fox, Jessie, 92, 94
Frazer, Mary Jane, 120
Friday, Caroline, 116
Friday, Herman, 64
Friday, James, 63, 64, 92, 94
Friday, Solomon, 61
- Gardippi, Ed, 78
Genaille, William, 57, 62
Gillespie, Miss, 79
- Gilmour, John, 49
Gilmour, Neil, 44, 49, 80
Gordon, Percy, 63
Graham, Dr., 81, 85, 86, 89, 92, 101, 104
Graham, W.M., 100, 110, 113, 114, 115, 116, 121, 125, 126
Grant, Willie, 76
Grey, Berrell, 106, 122
- Harris, Mr., 78, 83
Hart, Professor, 42, 71, 72, 99
Hein, Lisa, viii, 33 (Fig. 13)
Hendry, Mr., 109
Henry, Rev., E.A., 31, 110, 111, 113, 121
Henry, Louis, 58
Henry, Robert, 63
Henry, William, 63
Heron, R.B., 9, 12, 13, 14, 30, 31, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127
Hugonnard, Father, 44
Hunter, George, 62, 84, 114
Hunter, John, 63, 74, 76, 78, 84
Hyrimpah, Angus, 118
- Ironstar, Philip, 76, 106
- Jack, Joseph, 76
Jesse, Mary, vii
Johnston, Anthony, vii, x
Johnstone, Arthur, 93
Johnstone, Chief, 119
Johnstone, Joseph, 120
Johnstone, Mamie (Mary), 121, 124
Johnstone, Nancy, 118
Jones, W.E., 59
Jordan, E.C., 106

- Kahputwetang, 59
 Ka-ke-we-ass, Sam, 59
 Kanawas, Colin, 92
 Kasapet, Hugh, 109
 Kasto, John, 74, 76, 77
 Kasto, Tommy, 106, 109, 110
 Kasto, Willie, 115
 Keepness, Bella, 78
 Keepness, James, 78
 Keesick, Thomas Moore, 18
 Knox, John, 61
- Laird, David, 66, 67, 70, 74, 93, 95
 Lash, J.B., 43, 59
 Lecaine, John, 120
 Leckie, Mrs., 46, 49
 LeJeune, Mr., 40
 Lindsay, Anne, vii
- Macdonald, John A., 5
 MacKay, Rev. R.P., 80, 82, 83, 85, 88,
 91, 114, 115, 119, 120, 121, 124
 Mackenzie, Mrs. E., 125
 Mackey, Mr., 84
 Markle, J.A., 71
 Marsh, Mr., 40
 Matheson, Francis, 122
 Matheson, John, 106
 Mathew, Elizabeth, vii
 Matoney, Joseph, 59
 Matoney, Josiah, 109, 117, 121
 McAra, Mrs., 32, 125
 McDonald, A., 59
 McGee, J.J., 52
 McGibbon, Alex, 32, 44, 49, 50, 63, 67,
 78
 McIlwain, Miss, 110, 113
 McKay, Christina, 121
 McKay, Eunice, 114
- McKay, Hugh, 65, 71, 114
 McKay, Isabella, 71
 McKay, Lulu, 117, 120, 121
 McKay, Rev., 98, 124
 McKenna, J.A., 82
 McKenzie, C.D., 43, 44
 McKittrick, Rev., 74
 McKnife, Elisa, 106
 McLean, J.D., 85, 119, 120
 McLeod, Rev. A.J., 9, 10, 15, 24, 26, 30,
 32, 34, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50,
 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 60, 61, 63, 64,
 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 79, 81,
 90, 125
 McLeod, Lillie, 32, 43
 McQueen, D.G., 91
 McWhinney, Rev., 82, 94, 95, 109
 Meesqwapamayo, David, 109, 117
 Menzies, Robert, 92, 95, 102
 Miller, A.J., 109
 Milne, James, 49
 Moffet, Mrs., 68
 Moore, Rev. W.S., 79, 80
 Moosine, Alfred, 109
 Mooso, Daisy, 61
 Munroe, D.C., 49, 53, 62
 Musquahkaweensapit, 59
- Natakas, Pius, 84
 Nepahpeness, Jennie, 58
 Netawaminis, Frank, 105
 Nicol, Miss, 72
 Nicoll, Maggie, 55, 61, 67
 Nokohoot, Allie, 117
 Nokohoot, Willie, 115
 Nowekeseswape, Herman, 63, 65, 74
 Nucos, Joseph, 114
- Ogle, Jimmie, 106

THE REGINA INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL (1891–1910)

- Okemassis, Andris, 63, 65
 Oliver, Herb, 105
 Oliver, Willie, 83
- Paul, Joseph, 114
 Pedley, Frank, 77, 81, 82, 83, 88, 91, 95,
 104, 111, 117, 118, 119
 Peters, Fred, 106, 118
 Peters, Tom, 86
 Pollard, Dr., 26, 96
 Portman, Mrs., 49
- Quigley, James, 99, 101, 106
- Raymond, George, 105
 Reed, Hayter, 38, 42, 52, 54, 56, 57, 58
 Reed, J.R., 49
 Reed, S., 49
 Rider, Charles, 121
 Robertson, James, 37
 Russell, Miss, 49
- Scott, Duncan Campbell, 31, 118, 119
 Scott, Walter, 95
 Seaton, Frank, 63, 114
 Seesequasis, Annie, 76, 106, 121
 Severight, John, 59
 Severight, Lizzie, 59
 Shingoosh, Charles, 115, 117
 Shingoosh, Charles, 117
 Shingoosh, Young, 114
 Shinguish, Alex, 58
 Sifton, Clifford, 90, 95
 Sinclair, Rev. J.A., 9, 10, 11, 12, 26, 35,
 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83,
 84, 85, 86, 87 (Fig. 16), 89, 90, 91,
 92, 93, 94, 95, 99, 102, 105
 Sinclair, Laura, 87 (Fig. 16)
 Skene, Alex, 72, 75
- Smart, J.A., 66, 72
 Smith, Mrs., 49
 Snake, John, 122
 Snow, Sady, 34
 Snow, Sawin, 70
 Spence, Thomas, 121
 Spicer, Mr., 120
 Stewart, Douglas, iii, ix
 Stewart, Mr., 67
 Striped Back, Benjamin, 58, 59
 Strong, Percy, 61
 Sutherland, Napoleon, 74
 Swift Bear, Emma, 118
- Tanner, Basil, 58
 Tanner, Jim, 114
 Tatiyasamani, James, 61
 Thompson, Agnes, 34, 106
 Thompson, Archie, 61, 106
 Thompson, Dr., 110, 113, 114, 115, 122
 Thompson, James, 61
 Thunder, Alex, 61
 Tickell, Jenna, viii
 Torrango, Maggie, 59
 Turner, Basil, 114
 Two Horns, 47 (Fig. 14)
- Vankoughnet, L., 38, 41, 42, 44
- Wahpahoo, Mary, 98
 Wahpahoo, Thomas, 100
 Wall, Bill, viii
 Warden, Rev., 83
 Waywinichakappo, Miriam, 59
 Wellwood, Mrs., 120
 White, Mr., 61
 White, William, 6, 40
 Wilburne, Victorine, 106, 117, 118
 Williams, Clara, 74

STEWART

Wonkawanis, Ben, 74

Wonkawanis, Herman, 70

Yellow Shield, 150 (Fig. 18)

Young, Robbie, 106



This work draws on a wide expanse of archival material to present a history of a relatively large but little-known residential school that operated just outside Regina at the end of the 19th and into the early 20th Century. The first part of the book locates the Regina Indian Industrial School within the wider context of residential schooling in Canada. The second part depicts the manner in which this institution was operated including the interplay among school, government, and church officials, the conditions under which 500 children and youth recruited for the school from Indigenous communities across the prairies were required to live, the impact on students of their experiences at the school, and factors that led to the school's closure in 1910.

BIO: Douglas Stewart is a Professor of Education (emeritus), University of Regina, where he taught undergraduate and graduate courses in philosophy of education. He is a past-president of the Canadian Philosophy of Education Society and a 2012 recipient of the Society's Distinguished Service Award.

\$20.00 CAN

