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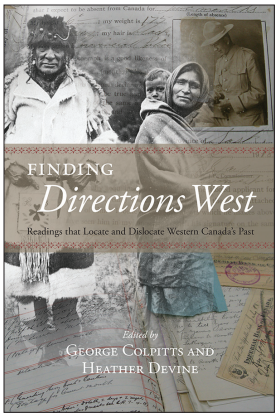

FINDING DIRECTIONS WEST: READINGS THAT LOCATE AND DISLOCATE WESTERN CANADA'S PAST

Edited by George Colpitts and Heather Devine

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Colonizer or Compatriot?: A Reassessment of the Reverend John McDougall

Will Pratt

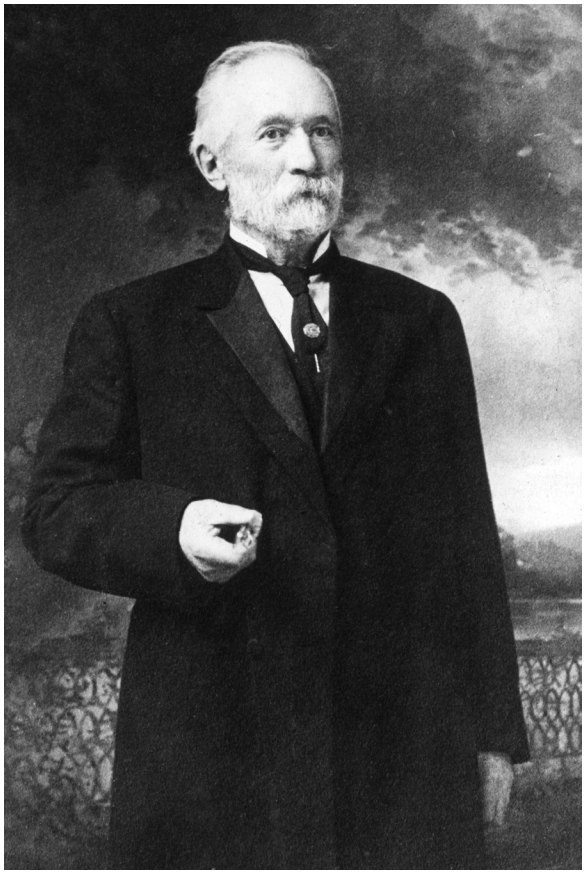
The Reverend John McDougall's historical reputation budded in the somewhat hagiographic and self-justifying histories of fellow Methodists and pioneers in the early twentieth century. It grew to maturity in the popular histories of the Canadian West. And it suffered great damage by the frosts of the 1980s with the incorporation of First Nations testimony and criticism of post-colonial theory.[1] From a historiographical perspective, McDougall, the once stalwart pioneer-missionary, friend, and compatriot to the Cree and Stoney Nakoda tribes, has been transformed into the image of self-interested colonizer and harbinger of the Canadian Dominion's imperial death-march across the West.

However, the analysis and collapse of these historiographical "binaries" allows for a more complex reconstruction of the historical Native–Newcomer relationship. As Keith Smith suggests, "Not everyone in settler society acted simply as local agents of colonialism, either consciously or unconsciously. [...] Colonialism in Western Canada was far more complicated than a simple Manichean duality despite the forces that harmonized to make it appear to be an uncomplicated binary."[2] A nuanced and dynamic perspective of John McDougall moves beyond post-colonial caricature and suggests a well-intentioned missionary whose worldview is, nevertheless, best situated in the colonial context. While McDougall may not have

been the selfless "friend of the Indian" that early church history and autobiographical works promoted, his lobbying against Indian Department parsimony and for fair dealings with First Nations suggests that there is a grain of truth in earlier hagiographic harvests. As the twentieth century dawned on Canada's Prairie West, McDougall's "oldtimer" pioneer identity saw him increasingly emphasize his allegiances and sympathies with the Stoney Nakoda people, and question emerging Dominion government Indigenous policies.

"Dynamic paradox" may be the best way to sum up the Reverend John McDougall's attitudes toward First Nations assimilation and government policy. In the 1870s, when he arrived in what was to become the hamlet of Morleyville on the Bow River, he wrote in the binaries of the colonial gaze, contrasting Native "savages" with civilized Christianity. Yet, shortly after the 1877 creation of the Stoney Indian Reserve astride the Bow River in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, McDougall's attitude towards the Stoney Nakoda, who were increasingly subject to Indian Department and North West Mounted Police surveillance, was clearly one of sympathy.[3] McDougall's goals of religious and cultural assimilation, in the face of his paradoxical accommodation for the seasonal round of Stoney hunting patterns, is observed in everything from treaty payments to visitation rights at the residential school. As historian Courtney Mason has recently observed, the McDougalls "did express a genuine concern for the welfare of the Nakoda communities within which they worked and lived," yet they also pushed for a civilizing and assimilative mission with all its accompanying pressures and problems.[4] While reinforcing the binaries of colonial discourse in his writings, McDougall navigated what Myra Rutherdale called the "contested terrain of shifting identities" by accommodating traditional Stoney cultural patterns.[5] Indian reserve economics and First Nations culture are recurrent themes in an examination of the Reverend's role in establishing the Stoney reserve around the Morleyville mission, his advocacy for government resources, and his increased protest of Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) laws and policies.

John McDougall was raised in the mission schools surrounding his father's Methodist postings on the Upper Canadian frontier. He briefly studied at Victoria College, Cobourg, Canada West, but left there in 1860 to join his father George McDougall at the Rossville mission near Norway House, Rupert's Land.[6] By 1862, when the family moved farther



4.1 The Reverend John McDougall. Glenbow Archives, S-222-24.

west to what would become the Victoria Settlement, John spoke Ojibwa and Cree. As a young missionary's son in the 1860s, he worked as an interpreter and teacher; he was officially received on a trial basis by the church and sent to Pigeon Lake along with his First Nations wife Abigail Steinhauer. Ordained in 1872 at the first missionary conference held in the West, McDougall briefly returned to Ontario where he married Elizabeth Boyd (Abigail having passed away in 1871 after bearing three daughters during the marriage). In 1873, the mission at Morleyville was established and John was selected as its minister. This would be the family's base for a generation, and upon the death of George McDougall on a buffalo hunt in 1876, John would take over the commissioner role of the Methodists' Saskatchewan District. Upon his 1906 retirement, McDougall would take

government commissions to investigate both Doukhobor and First Nations grievances regarding land claims in British Columbia.

Treaty signatory: Gathering disciples in the Bow River watershed

McDougall's role at the signing of Treaties 6 and 7 was once portrayed as that of intermediary between Indigenous people and newcomers. This interpretation has not survived the incorporation of First Nations voices into the historical record. Former Stoney Nakoda Chief John Snow's history of the Stoney tribe, and more directly the edited volume featuring Indigenous elders, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7* (1996), question both McDougall's motivation and skill as translator. The details of why the Stoneys signed to Treaty 7, despite the traditional hunting grounds of at least one of the bands being located north of the Red Deer River, are unclear, but McDougall's wish to consolidate them at Morleyville must have played a role.[7] The primary function of the 1877 treaty from the perspective of federal authority is evident in the text of the document itself:

> The Blackfeet, Blood, Piegan, Sarcee, Stony [*sic*] and other Indians inhabiting the District hereinafter more fully described and defined, do hereby cede, release, surrender, and yield up to the Government of Canada for her Majesty the Queen and her successors forever, all their rights, titles, and privileges whatsoever to the lands included with the following limits.[8]

Yet oral tradition maintains that the Stoneys were unaware of the land surrender and felt they were entering into a traditional alliance with the government. John McDougall's questionable ability as translator, his own self-interest in gathering the Stoneys around his new mission, and Stoney misunderstanding of what was being agreed upon are central to new perspectives on Treaty 7 which have incorporated the voices of First Nations elders.[9]

The placement of the reserve astride an Indigenous communications hub, where montane trails crossed the route westward into what would soon be called the Kicking Horse Pass, meant that several options

were available to the Stoneys for their hunting expeditions. Late nineteenth-century Morleyville was situated at the convergence of a number of Indigenous trail systems at the site of a shallow ford across the Bow River. David Thompson reported using what he called the "Wolf Trail" (which would become the route from Fort Edmonton to Morleyville) in his earlier travels.[10] The ability to hunt the game of the Rocky Mountains meant that the extinction of the buffalo was not as catastrophic for the Stoneys as for other plains tribes.[11] Hugh Dempsey notes that the foothills bands adopted plains customs but hunted elk, deer, and moose. The ability of the Stoneys to hunt, and the bio-region's unsuitability for agriculture, frustrated the Indian Department's hope for their transition to sedentary agriculture, a cornerstone of the project of assimilation in the prairie West.[12] In the early years of the reserve, the district superintendent wrote, "from its proximity to the mountains, and from the character of the soil, I have grave doubts regarding the general success of agriculture here, the soil being light, sandy loam, on a bed of gravel (the knolls being entirely gravel)."[13] These environmental realities resulted in a compromise surrounding treaty payments in the early years of the reserve, as the annual payment was postponed until the Stoneys returned from the hunt.[14] John McDougall's pragmatic approach recognized the need to accept Stoney cultural and subsistence patterns for the success of the colonial project of assimilation. He realized that pushing too hard to deny the hunt to Stoneys would cause them to resist his evangelizing mission.[15]

Government agent or Indigenous advocate: Navigating the reserve economy

An alternate title for this paper, in keeping with the spirit of false dichotomy, might have been "Government Agent or Indigenous Advocate." At several points during his life, McDougall acted as an emissary for the government. He announced the arrival of the North West Mounted Police in the Treaty 7 area, and his role in treaty negotiations has already been examined. During the 1885 Riel resistance he was asked to visit First Nations camps to reassure them. Yet Reverend McDougall also lobbied the government for more resources and fair treatment of the Stoneys. The more cynical might claim that such advocacy was the result of a small-time

chieftain defending powers over his own fiefdom, but McDougall's motivations in these cases are worthy of greater examination.[16]

In the early 1880s, the first indications of conflict between the Indian Department and the Methodist mission arose in a dispute over contract labour relating to the market for railway lumber. Indian Agent Cecil Denny ordered the Stoneys to stop cutting and selling lumber on the reserve. McDougall had employed them to cut railroad ties for Denny, reportedly paying them only "a little grub" for their work.[17] The Stoneys also complained that they were obliged to trade with McDougall what little money they had. It would not be the last time that the missionary would be accused of profiting from his authoritative position.[18] In 1887, Reverend John Shaw, assistant secretary to the Methodist Church Missionary Department, warned McDougall that the Indian Department had complained of missionaries trading with Indigenous people, and that "there may be cases in which, for the sake of the Indians, the missionary may consider it his duty to put employment in their way, but unless the reasons for this be very strong and very clear, it is not desirable that either missionaries or teachers should engage in trade.[19]

From the 1870s, a series of debates in the Dominion House of Commons led to restrictions on First Nations integration into the economy.[20] In 1885, these efforts culminated in the permit system, which required approval from the Indian Department agent or farm instructor before selling any goods off the reserve. While McDougall profited from his position as local authority, he could also act as a lobbyist for Indigenous expansion beyond constricted reserve economies. In 1886, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs Lawrence Vankoughnet wrote McDougall to chastise him for writing criticisms against the department in the Toronto *Globe*.[21] Vankoughnet reminded McDougall of the work-for-rations policy and that the Stoneys were not to market their lumber, as the timber should be maintained for future generations. McDougall had claimed in the *Globe* that certain government employees were of immoral character. Vankoughnet's letter apparently made little difference, as he had to write McDougall again at the end of the year to note his disapproval of a critical pamphlet the Reverend had published.[22]

Another instance of McDougall chiding the government came in the late 1890s concerning Stoney anxieties over the issuing of government cattle brands. He reported that the Stoneys had already developed personal

brands, and that despite this, the government branded their cattle with the government "ID" (for Indian Department) while they were away on the hunt. In McDougall's words, "they were righteously incensed, and as many of these cattle were not from the Government, the Indians began to kill and eat their cattle, and this accounts for the smallness of the number of cattle when [the farming instructor, P.L.] Grasse came to Morley."[23]

The Indian Act's revision in 1876 stifled First Nations' abilities to shape the economic realities on the reserves. In 1894, on McDougall's instigation, the Stoneys from the Morley, Peace Hills, Saddle Lake, and Stoney Plain reserves signed a petition for more control of their agriculture and ranching assets.[24] The Indian Department reply to the petition reflected its resistance to conceiving Indigenous people as anything but wards of the state. The department stated that it did not believe that the Stoneys were ready to deal yet with the "white men," and that they lacked "business acumen."[25] The Stoneys asked for partial handling of their cattle, more say on how they were sold, and a third of the profits from their sale. The department conceded to their request to charge money for grinding flour at their mills, but not to distributing the money to band members at the time of the annuity payment, claiming that such dispersal of the profits would mean they would be "frittered away."[26] Such attitudes show that the system designed to assimilate Indigenous peoples into Euro-Canadian society was seriously flawed. Since they had no say in the use of the profits of their labour, there was little motivation to adopt the agricultural methods the department pressed for.

With the appointment of Farming Instructor P.L. Grasse in 1891, tensions between the Indian Department and the McDougall Mission flared once again. There was a pronounced personality conflict between Reverend John McDougall and Farming Instructor Grasse, the latter being described by investigators of later Stoney grievances as "wanting in tact."[27] Grasse claimed that the clash began with McDougall asking the department to issue the McDougall Orphanage's beef ration to merchants to pay that institution's debts. The result was the cancellation of the beef ration to the orphanage, as the grant that it had received was supposed to include all operating costs. Grasse accused McDougall of not operating the orphanage on some days, paying his land lease from the bands in "lump jawed beef," and preaching against Grasse and the department. Grasse claimed that McDougall "[could] not get over the days when he was sole ruler in the

camp."[28] McDougall fought back with a list of accusations which claimed that Grasse neglected the sick, withdrew rations for two months and gave them unfairly, did not sympathize with the Stoneys, swore, and drank. As late as 1896 the feud continued over the poor quality of beef fed at the McDougall Orphanage.[29] McDougall defended himself in a letter to his ecclesiastical superior, Reverend Sutherland of Toronto, claiming Grasse had denied the individuality central to the work of the missionary, and encouraged Nakoda dependency.[30] McDougall's animosity toward the government did not end at letters to his superiors. He published articles in eastern newspapers and distributed his own pamphlets condemning the administration of the Indian Department.[31]

With the expansion of Rocky Mountains National Park in 1887, and more restrictive game laws of 1895, McDougall again became involved in government controversy.[32] Complaints had been lodged specifically against the Stoneys for trespassing and shooting prairie chicken and partridge. McDougall allegedly called a meeting and told the Stoneys to hunt when they pleased, as the game laws made exception for those who were in "actual" or "immediate want."[33] McDougall's compromise with the Stoney Nakoda, recognizing the hunt central to their well-being and accepting their absence from the reserve and neglect of agriculture to pursue it, came to characterize his mode of operations at Morley.

Compromise, coercion, and education

Despite today's condemnation of the form and method of government- and church-administered Indigenous education, in the late nineteenth century some Western Canadian First Nations felt that schools would allow their children to survive under the rapidly changing conditions they were experiencing.[34] Education promised in Treaty 7 set the precedent for the establishment of the McDougall Orphanage (which was a part-residential and part-seasonal boarding school) as well as a day school on the reserve. By January 1877, the Morley mission had both day and Sabbath schools, the former boasting thirty pupils.[35] Reverend McDougall reported that the day school was doing well and noted the need to "get the natives [to] break off from their wanderings and live more at the mission."[36] By 1880, the day school held twenty-three boys and twenty-two girls. Attendance was said

to increase in winter, when parents left for the hunt.[37] The district superintendent for Treaty 7 noted that children only attended school when their parents were out hunting. The acceptance of the Stoney hunt would long dictate the rhythms and possibilities of education in Morley.

There may have been a role for the orphanage on the reserve caused by high parental mortality, but it seems that motivations related to education and child care were factors for placing children at the McDougall Orphanage. The ease with which children were recruited in the early years of the institution suggests that this was the case.[38] Colonial powers of coercion were weak in the days when Indigenous peoples far outnumbered Euro-Canadians.[39] This situation suggests that Morley was different than elsewhere in Western Canada, where "from the beginning, school officials complained about the problems involved in recruiting students."[40] Why children would not be placed with extended family is unclear.[41] The degree of demographic disruption in the mid-nineteenth century may have meant that some children had little in the way of family networks left intact. Whether or not the orphanage served a community purpose does not, however, erase its intended role of assimilation. A report for the year of 1882 noted that school progress on the reserve was slow and "the only way to really teach the Indian children is to separate them altogether from their parents, as these will never force the children to attend school if they wish to shirk."[42]

The increasing conflict at the McDougall Orphanage in the years surrounding Reverend John McDougall's retirement in 1906 suggests that the cultural compromise forged in the late nineteenth century was destroyed. With a change in principals from John Niddrie (a close colleague of McDougall's) to C.B. Oakley in 1903, ideas of accommodation were abandoned. The Indian agent and Royal North West Mounted Police increasingly used coercion to return truants to the school.[43] In 1905, Superintendent David Laird wrote to Oakley that the difficulty in managing the many requests for time off stemmed from Niddrie's previous lenience. Laird stated that "if an Indian takes away his child without leave, you can go to a magistrate ... and get a warrant to bring the pupil back."[44] Evidence exists of increasing use of school corporal punishment and harsh treatment coinciding with Principal Niddrie's departure and McDougall's own frequent absence from the reserve.

Vanishing "Indians" and oldtimers: McDougall's changing attitude toward assimilation

While Reverend John McDougall's legacy focuses on his promotion of Indigenous culture as a "friend of the Indian," in reality, this role was adopted later in life. The Reverend's speeches in the 1880s reveal more racial discourse castigating Indigenous culture as savage, base, ignorant, superstitious, blind, and helpless.[45] They mirrored the common colonial discourse of the time, which created a dichotomy between civilized and savage that justified evangelizing and assimilating efforts.[46] Historian Ernest Nix, writing for the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, expressed McDougall's attitude toward Indigenous peoples in what was then Rupert's Land:

> Well aware of the destruction which advancing settlement had inflicted on the native people of Upper Canada, they hoped that the Indians of the region would gather around the mission and enjoy some measure of isolation from white society for a generation in which they could adjust to the coming changes. Their only chance in the new west seemed to lie in their conversion to Christianity and eventual adoption of European cultural values. It was the solution favoured by social activists generally, who believed it would enable native people to participate in the future as full citizens.[47]

In a speech given in 1886, McDougall attacked the "tomtom," body paint, feathers, incantations, and the Sun Dance as pagan worship.[48] A reporter noted that McDougall "condemned most strongly the pow wow, and urged, on all people, to discourage this among the Indians, as it served to keep alive and bring up their heathen worship and idolatrous practices." McDougall had claimed that under his guidance, the Stoneys had turned from making drums, and that these were not to be allowed on the reserve. In the late 1870s and 1880s, then, John accepted the notion of the "vanishing Indian." He wrote in his 1878–79 annual report to the Missionary Society:

> There are about twenty-five thousand Indians in the North-West; the greater part, as yet, untouched by either Christianity or civilization. Shall they remain so? They *cannot.* They will either be saved by the action of the Church of God or ruined by the advance of frontier civilization.[49]

McDougall saw the orphanage working for the eternal salvation for his pupils: "What we want is to civilize and Christianize a people who have all the native material for progress. Left to themselves, or to indifferent Government management, they will retrograde – they will perish."[50] Nix notes that McDougall "refused to believe that the role of Indians was to die out. He considered himself their friend and worked to prepare them, in the way he thought best, for the inevitable changes he saw coming."[51] Taking three Indigenous representatives to Ontario in 1886, McDougall noted that "the degradation of the past was melting away, giving place to those Christian characteristics which go to make a strong national and social manhood."[52] The display of converted Indigenous peoples was common to a colonial discourse which sought to reinforce the dichotomy of civilized and savage.[53] That Chiefs Pakan, Samson, and Bigstoney, who travelled with McDougall to Ontario, spoke in both Cree and English and wore a mixture of Euro-Canadian and traditional attire suggested that their lived realities were more ambiguous. As far back as 1887, Stoney pupils at the McDougall Orphanage displayed their knitting and sewing at an exhibition in Calgary.[54] Such displays were likely to show the effects of assimilation, in this case, with girls showing off a Euro-Canadian seamstress custom they were able to learn.

McDougall's earlier attitudes toward the suppression of Indigenous culture and religion began to fade in the 1890s and became nearly reversed by the twentieth century. After 1885 the Indian Act was amended to prevent First Nations from travelling to other reserves and to practise the Sun Dance.[55] Together with the pass system, which required that First Nations be given permission from an Indian agent before leaving the reserve, government policy sought to suppress First Nations culture and mobility.[56] McDougall "annoyed" the Indian Department by writing to the *Winnipeg Free Press* in support of government tolerance toward the Sun Dance, expressly contradicting this assimilation policy.[57] The church was also

4.2 John McDougall and Indigenous participants at the Calgary Fairgrounds. Glenbow Archives, NA-5329-14,

perturbed by his continued support of the display of traditional clothes and dance at various exhibitions. In 1895, the *Christian Guardian* carried a bitter exchange between McDougall and Egerton Ryerson Young where the former defended the subtleties of Indigenous culture from its dismissal as mere savagery. McDougall also reinforced his own status as a true westerner against the accusations of the mere "tenderfoot" Young.[58]

The display of Stoney culture at Banff Indian Days and the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede was also a contentious point advanced by McDougall.[59] In 1908 he was the secretary for the Committee of the Dominion Exhibition, writing to Indian agents in hopes of encouraging First Nations participation in the parade. These were to represent the old West, along with their use of dog travois, and hunting and war costumes. At the first Calgary Stampede in 1912, the *Calgary Eye Opener* wrote, "The famous missionary John McDougall will, of course, handle the Indians for the occasion."[60] Now McDougall was encouraging Indigenous culture and associating himself with a bygone and imagined West. In the year before his death in 1917, he wrote in the *Christian Guardian* to defend First Nations against accusations of savagery and vengefulness while criticising the greed of Canadian society. He wrote, "A material civilization will produce

more unforgiveness, and desire for revenge, and cultivate a grosser savagery than was ever to be found among a purely aboriginal people."[61]

John Chantler McDougall was neither a caricature of an evil colonialist nor a selfless champion of Indigenous rights. In her master's thesis, Sarah Carter noted the complexity of the Reverend's publications:

> An ambivalence of thought is most conspicuous in John McDougall's books. A sense of uncertainty and unease about the superiority of the civilization that he urged the Indians to adopt is clearly detectable in McDougall's writing. [...] It is perhaps in this ambivalence of thought that the root of a natural need for a quiet conscience may be found; McDougall felt a need to appease his doubts and anxieties and did this through his writing.[62]

He was also not a static character. His early efforts to repress Stoney culture were reversed in later years with his support for the continuation of the Sun Dance. As a member of a select group of pioneers in the Calgary area, McDougall saw his own way of life being eroded by the rapid changes in Canadian society. McDougall had long associated himself in writings as part of the dying West, even adopting a pseudo-Indigenous identity at times.[63] In 1873, when McDougall arrived in Morleyville, his source of imported material supplies was over three hundred miles away on an ox and cart trail to Fort Benton, Montana. In the early twentieth century, at the time of his retirement, McDougall could take the CPR to Calgary, ride a streetcar across town, and drive Stephen Avenue in an automobile. McDougall's friction against the government could be interpreted as simply the pragmatic protest of a local authority who knew that federal policy would not work. Yet McDougall expressed a genuine desire to ameliorate the Stoneys' quality of life during the rising tide of settlement and government intrusion. McDougall's worldview shifted away from his early acceptance of the strict colonial dichotomy of savagery and civilization, toward a more celebratory understanding of First Nations culture.

Notes

1 Early writings include John Maclean, *McDougall of Alberta: A Life of Rev. John McDougall, D.D., Pathfinder of Empire and Prophet of the Plains* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1927); a writer in one church publication claimed, "John McDougall, who labours to-day in Morley, is one of the grandest, most self-sacrificing heroes the world has ever seen": M.W.E., "The Heroine of Morleyville: A True Story of North-West Missions," *The Methodist Magazine*, January 1890. The beginning of the post-colonial critique can be traced to Sarah Carter, "Man's Mission of Subjugation: The Publications of John Maclean, John McDougall and Egerton R. Young, Nineteenth-Century Methodist Missionaries in Western Canada" (master's thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1980); it is explicitly expressed in Sarah Carter, Walter Hildebrandt, and Dorothy First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996).

2 Keith Smith, *Liberalism, Surveillance, and Resistance: Indigenous Communities in Western Canada, 1877–1927* (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2009), 20–21.

3 Ibid., 234.

4 Courtney Mason, *Spirits of the Rockies: Reasserting an Indigenous Presence in Banff National Park* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 26.

5 Myra Rutherdale, *Women and the White Man's God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002), 152.

6 Ernest Nix, "McDougall, John Chantler," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 14, University of Toronto/Université Laval. 2003–,http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/mcdougall_john_chantler_14E.html.

7 Hugh Dempsey, *Indian Tribes of Alberta*, repr. and rev. ed. (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, [1979] 1988), 44; the most recent treatments are offered by Dempsey, *The Great Blackfoot Treaties* (Calgary: Heritage House, 2015), 87–88; and Carter, Hildebrandt, and First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7,* 22, 140.

8 Sessional Paper No. 10, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada* (Ottawa: 1878), p. xliv, available at Early Canadiana Online (hereafter ECO), http://eco.canadiana.ca (accessed 20 February 2011).

9 Carter, Hildebrandt, and First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7.*

10 Jean L. Johnson, ed., *Big Hill Country* (Cochrane, AB: Cochrane and Area Historical Society, 1977), 73; the route would later be called the McDougall Trail. The Indigenous trail has also been referred to as the "Old North Trail." MacLean, *McDougall of Alberta,* 76; Dempsey, *Indian Tribes of Alberta,* 44.

11 All Treaty 7 tribal populations declined from 1871 to 1917, except the Stoney-Nakodas': Smith, *Liberalism, Surveillance, and Resistance*, 42.

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

13 The report offers one of the few criticisms of the land as good cattle country. Norman Macleod suggested that the land was poor winter pasture due to the effect of brush and timber drawing cattle in during the winter where there is no grass. Macleod to Dewdney, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended 31st December, 1881," Sessional Paper No. 6, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*: 5, Fourth session of the Fourth Parliament, 1882 (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger, 1882), xxviii, ECO, http://eco.canadiana.ca (accessed 20 February 2011).

14 Ibid.; in 1887, a survey of the reserve was postponed until the three chiefs returned from the hunt. Sessional Paper No. 14, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*: 12, Second Session of the Sixth Parliament, Session 1888 (Ottawa: A. Senecal, 1888), ECO, http://eco.canadiana.ca (accessed 18 February 2011).

15 Hugh Dempsey, "One Hundred Years of Treaty Seven," in *One Century Later: Western Canadian Reserve Indians Since Treaty 7*, ed. Ian Getty and Donald B. Smith (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978), 26.

16 John Larner described the McDougall influence on the Treaty 7 process as satisfying McDougall's wish to create "a duchy on the upper Bow." As cited in Smith, *Liberalism, Surveillance, and Resistance*, 155.

17 The position of the reserve on the Canadian Pacific Railway, as it approached the Kicking Horse Pass, gave the reserve a market for lumber, although the Indian Department's desire to conserve the timber lands of the reserve meant that access to such income would be regulated. Assistant Indian Commissioner Hayter Reed in June 1884 allowed the sale of deadwood but prohibited the cutting the new growth. Hayter Reed, "Report of Inspector T.P. Wadsworth on the Stony Reserve at Morley," 17 June 1884, Department of Indian Affairs, RG 10, Black Series, vol. 3680, file 12,349, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC).

18 On 21 January 1884, Dewdney advised Ottawa, "I would not advise that any supplies be left in charge of the Rev. Mr McDougall at Morleyville": "Correspondence Stemming from Inspector Wadsworth's Annual Report On the Stony Indians at Morleyville," 1883, Stony Agency, Department of Indian Affairs, RG 10, vol. 3637, file 6882, reel C10112, LAC; in 1891 McDougall's request for a grazing lease on the reserve was denied by the department due to conflict of interest. Carter, Hildebrandt, and First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7,* 268.

19 Shaw to McDougall, "Correspondence. – January 4–December 21, 1887," McDougall Family Fonds (hereafter MFF), M729-44, 11 October 1887, Glenbow Archives (hereafter GA).

20 Smith, *Liberalism, Surveillance, and Resistance*, 99.

21 Vankoughnet–McDougall Correspondence, 5 July 1886, M-729-41, Series 2c, MFF, GA.

22 Vankoughnet–McDougall Correspondence, 27 Dec 1886, M-729-43, Series 2c, MFF, GA.

23 "Correspondence regarding charges brought against Rev. John McDougall by farmer, Mr. P.L. Grasse," 1896–97, p. 168, Department of Indian Affairs, RG 10, vol. 3966, file 151,384, reel 10, LAC.

24 "Petition from the Indians that they should be allowed full control of their own grain, cattle and timber and to charge settlers a toll for gristing at their mills," 1894, Department of Indian Affairs, RG 10, vol. 3917, file 116,493, LAC.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

27 "Report of Unpleasantness Between Farmer Grasse and the Authorities of the Methodist Church," 1892, Department of Indian Affairs, RG 10, vol. 3881, file 94,262, reel C10156, LAC.

28 Ibid., P.L. Grasse to Hayter Reed, 31 May 1892; Lump Jaw, or Lumpy Jaw, is a bacterial infection caused by lacerations in the mouths of cattle.

29 "Correspondence regarding charges brought against Rev. John McDougall by farmer, Mr. P.L. Grasse," 1896-97, Department of Indian Affairs, RG 10, vol. 3966, file 151,384, reel 10168, LAC.

30 John McDougall, *Pathfinding on Plain and Prairie* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1895), 70, as cited in Sarah Carter, "The Missionaries' Indian: Publications of John McDougall, John Mclean, and Egerton Ryerson Young." *Prairie Forum*, 9, no. 1 (1984): 33.

31 Vankoughnet–McDougall Correspondence, 1886, M-729-43, Series 2c, MFF, GA. In the 30 June 1886 Toronto *Globe*, McDougall claimed "the Indian is being defrauded by the government": Vankoughnet–McDougall Correspondence, 1886, M-729-41, Series 2c, MFF, GA.

32 As of 1 January 1895, Canadian game laws would apply to the Stoney bands on the reserve, restricting their hunting during certain times of the year. "Correspondence regarding the application of the Game Laws to Stony [sic] Indians forbidding them to hunt or trap within the limits of the Rocky Mountain Park," 1893–95, Department of Indian Affairs, RG 10, vol. 3796, file 47,441-2, LAC; as early as 1884, on Ontario reserves, similar restrictions by game wardens were being implemented: Robin Brownlie, *A Fatherly Eye: Indian Agents, Government Power, and Aboriginal Resistance in Ontario, 1918–1939* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2003), 87–88; Theodore Binnema and Melanie Niemi, "'Let the Line Be Drawn Now': Wilderness, Conservation, and the Exclusion of Aboriginal People from Banff National Park in Canada," *Environmental History* 11, no. 4 (2006): 724–50.

33 The game laws ultimately succeeded in keeping the Stoneys on their reserves for the greater period of the year. McDougall to Sutherland, 28 January 1897, "Correspondence regarding charges brought against Rev. John McDougall by farmer, Mr. P.L. Grasse," 1896–97, Department of Indian Affairs, RG 10, vol. 3966, file 151,384, reel 10168, LAC.

34 Jennifer Lorretta Jane Pettit, "'To Christianize and Civilize': Native Industrial Schools in Canada" (PhD diss., University of Calgary, 1998), 91; Carter, Hildebrandt, and First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7,* 122.

35 McDougall to Dr. Wood, "John C. McDougall's Letterbook, 1876–1877," early 1877, M-729-37, MFF, GA.

36 Ibid.

37 "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended 31st December, 1881," Sessional Paper No. 6, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*: 5, Fourth Session of the Fourth Parliament, Session 1882 (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger, 1882), xxix and 42, ECO, http://eco.canadiana.ca (accessed 20 February 2011).

38 In 1886, Inspector McGibbon noted that "the parents on this reserve are most anxious to have their children educated." McGibbon Report, 23 August 1886, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended 31st December, 1886." Sessional Paper No. 6, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*: 5, First Session of the Sixth Parliament, Session 1887 (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger, 1887), 149, ECO, http://eco.canadiana.ca (accessed 20 February 2010).

39 Carter notes that refusal of baptism and excommunication were weak measures of coercion against polygamy. Sarah A. Carter, "Creating 'Semi-Widows' and 'Supernumerary Wives': Prohibiting Polygamy in Prairie Canada's Aboriginal Communities to 1900," in *Contact Zones: Aboriginal and Settler Women in Canada's Colonial Past*, ed. Katie Pickles and Myra Rutherdale (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2005), 137.

40 Pettit, "To Christianize and Civilize," 144.

41 Chief John Snow argues that records indicate that children in the institution were not orphans and that extended family support made orphanages unnecessary. Chief John Snow, *These Mountains Are our Sacred Places: The Story of the Stoney People* (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 2005), 27.

42 "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended 31st December, 1882," Sessional Paper No. 5, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*: 4, First Session of the Fifth Parliament, Session 1883 (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger, 1883), 176, ECO, http://eco.canadiana.ca (accessed 18 February 2011).

43 The Department of Indian Affairs' regulations of 1894, which fell short of requiring compulsory attendance, appear to have become more interventionist by the end of the decade. John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), 70; in 1894, under Deputy Superintendent Hayter Reed, the Indian Act was modified to regulate Indigenous school attendance. Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 15; in 1894, fines of $2 were intended to make parents compel attendance. Snow, *These Mountains Are our Sacred Spaces,* 249. Commissioner Edgar Dewdney's reforms in 1883 hoped to provide for future compulsory attendance. Brian Titley, *The Frontier World of Edgar Dewdney* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999), 56.

44 Laird to Principal, 16 November 1905, Incoming Correspondence, McDougall Orphanage and Home Fonds, M-1380, Folder 3, GA.

45 McDougall was said to admire the "frontier skills" of the Plains tribes, though he thought of them as beneath him. Carter, Hildebrandt, and First Rider, *True Spirit and Intent of Treaty 7,* 52.

46 Rutherdale, *Women and the White Man's God*, 34–35; the opposite ideal in this dichotomy hoped Aboriginals would became more practical, industrious, useful, intelligent, and self-supporting. John Milloy, *A National Crime*, 25; post-colonial studies suggest that a "cultural schizophrenia" may have resulted from those caught in the middle of this racially constructed duality. Bill Ashcroft, *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 24; Cree elder John Tootoosis noted that the graduate of the residential school "is hanging in the middle of two cultures." Katherine Pettipas, *Severing the Ties that Bind: Government Repression of Indigenous Religious Cultures on the Prairies* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1994), 81–82.

47 Nix, "McDougall, John Chantler."

48 Possibly published in the *Calgary Herald*. "The Western Indians: What the Gospel and the Missionaries Have Done," 1886, M-729-66, MFF, GA; missionary "fundraising lecture tours and published reports" contributed to the public discourse of Indians as savages: Pettipas, *Severing the Ties that Bind*, 101; Carter, Hildebrandt, and First Rider, *True Spirit and Intent of Treaty* 7, 157.

49 "Fifty-first annual report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada from June 1878 to June 1879," Toronto, Methodist Conference Printing Office, 1879, CIHM no. 00934-1874-75, p. xv.

50 "The Western Indians: What the Gospel and the Missionaries Have Done," 1886, M-729-66, MFF, GA.

51 Nix, "McDougall, John Chantler."

52 MacLean, *McDougall of Alberta,* 161–62.

53 Rutherdale, *Women and the White Man's God*, 120.

54 "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended 31st December 1887," Sessional Paper No. 15, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*: 13, Second Session of the Sixth Parliament, Session 1888 (Ottawa: Maclean, 1888), ECO, lvii , http://eco.canadiana.ca (accessed February 2011).

55 James R Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 192–93.

56 Smith notes that the pass system had no basis in law and was feebly enforced: *Liberalism, Surveillance, and Resistance*, 60–71.

57 Nix, "McDougall, John Chantler."

58 Carter, "Man's Mission of Subjugation," 26.

59 See Jonathan Clapperton, "Naturalizing Race Relations: Conservation, Colonialism, and Spectacle at the Banff Indian Days," *Canadian Historical Review* 94, no. 3 (2013): 349–79; Mason, *Spirits of the Rockies*; Laurie Meijer Drees, "'Indians' Bygone Past': The Banff Indian Days, 1902–1945," *Past Imperfect* 2 (1993): 7–28.

60 *Calgary Eye Opener,* 7 September 1912, as cited in Carter, "Man's Mission of Subjugation," 155.

61 John McDougall, "The Aborigine Not So Bad," *Christian Guardian*, 27 September 1916. Thanks to Don Smith for sharing this article.

62 Carter, "Man's Mission of Subjugation," 9.

63 McDougall referred to himself in 1898 as "Nine-tenths Indian": *Pathfinding on Plain and Prairie*, 61.