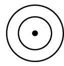

The influence of betterment discourses on Canadian Aboriginal peoples in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

C DREW BEDNASEK
Department of Geography, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada K7L 3N6 (e-mail: 4cdb@queensu.ca)

ANNE M. C. GODLEWSKA
Department of Geography, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada K7L 3N6 (e-mail: anne.godlewska@queensu.ca)

Based on government archival sources, fieldwork and the historical perspectives, experiences and oral histories of Aboriginal peoples, this paper argues that late nineteenth and early twentieth century Indian policy, and more specifically the File Hills farm colony, was deeply influenced by betterment discourses. The presumption of this discourse was that Aboriginal peoples, who clearly were not vanishing as promised, could be transformed into something approaching white settlers by reshaping, controlling, and managing their environments, both private and public, and by altering their genetics and morals. While the betterment discourse and the File Hills colony have each been the focus of research, no one to our knowledge has focused on the importance of betterment thought in the establishment and application of Indian policy and its significance for the File Hills colony.

Key words: first nations, Indian policy, betterment, eugenics, euthenics

L'influence des discours d'amélioration sur les peuples autochtones canadiens à la fin du dix-neuvième et au début du vingtième siècle

Prenant appui sur des documents d'archives gouvernementales, des résultats d'enquêtes menées sur le terrain ainsi que les points de vue historiques, les expériences vécues et les histoires orales des peuples autochtones, cet article défend l'idée selon laquelle les discours d'amélioration constituent la base de la politique indienne à la fin du dix-neuvième et au début du vingtième siècle, en particulier en ce qui concerne la colonie agraire de File Hills. L'idée sous-entendue au centre de ce discours était que, puisque l'élimination complète des peuples autochtones n'allait pas se réaliser, loin de là, ceux-ci pouvaient alors être transformés en les concevant comme des colons blancs en modifiant, contrôlant et en prenant en charge leurs milieux privés et publics et, en outre, en dénaturalisant autant leur bagage génétique que leur morale. À notre connaissance, s'il est vrai que les discours d'amélioration et la colonie de File Hills ont déjà fait l'objet d'études poussées, celles-ci n'ont pas encore soulevé la question de l'importance de la notion d'amélioration dans la

The Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe canadien 53, no 4 (2009) 444–461
DOI: 10.1111/j.1541-0064.2009.00281.x
© / Canadian Association of Geographers / L'Association canadienne des géographes

création et la mise en place de la politique indienne et de ses répercussions sur la colonie de File Hills.

Mots clés: premières nations, politique indienne, amélioration, eugénique, euthénique

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, debates in Canada concerning colonialism, science, race and morality engaged the biological sciences, environmental sciences and social purity movements in a manner that generated much public interest within Canadian society. A 'betterment' discourse ensued, promulgating scientific and moral intervention in people's lives to save the country's moral character by protecting the Euro-American 'race' from degeneration. The conflation of these concerns regarding social purity, biological/heredity sciences and environment sciences gave rise to eugenics- or euthenics-like thinking under the umbrella term 'betterment'.

Betterment discourses significantly shaped Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) policy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although scholars have examined the eugenics movement in Canada (McLaren 1990; Radford 1994; Radford and Park 1995; Courtney 2001; Grekul *et al.* 2004), scholarship dedicated to its impact on Aboriginal peoples is sparse. Similarly, modern scholars have almost ignored euthenics, whilst discussing social purity movements primarily in the context of Europeans and Euro-Americans (Weigley 1974; Cook 1985; Valverde 1991). Matthew Hannah (1993) and Cole Harris (2002) considered how the introduction of reserves and reservations sought to instil ideologies of private property, and promote discipline while exerting control, but geographers have yet to examine how discourse on heredity and environment-influenced DIA policies. In other disciplines, some scholars (Barman 1997; Francis 1998; Stoler 2001, 2006; Raibmon 2003) have examined the implications, largely ignored by geographers, of domestic space dedicated to the re-education and re-socialization of Aboriginal peoples in North America (de Leeuw 2007 is an exception). Geographers are well positioned to expand this discourse, exploring the links between the biological, environmental and social realms.

The prevalence of assimilationist thought and policy in nineteenth century Canada that sought to eliminate Aboriginal identities and stewardship of the land permitted a further discourse of 'vanishing'. The terms 'social genocide' and 'apartheid' have entered recent scholarship to highlight the brutality of these colonial strategies. When the DIA realized in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that total assimilation or extermination of Aboriginal peoples was neither realistic nor achievable, subtle changes in policy language and colonial strategies refocused on improving genetics, environments and morals through re-education and re-socialization. Betterment, an extension of assimilationist thinking dating back to the 1830s, adopted, consciously or not, the scientific discourse of eugenics and euthenics.

The construction of the File Hills farm colony on the Peepeekisis Reserve in south eastern Saskatchewan in 1898 illustrates the influence of betterment discourses on Indian Affairs policy. The colony's founder, Indian agent William Morris Graham, attempted to substantiate DIA policy by monitoring closely the lives of Aboriginal peoples as they moved from residential schools to reserve agriculture. Graham's experiment selected students for their intelligence from surrounding residential schools, favouring those of mixed white and Aboriginal blood, to settle in Euro-American-style houses, cultivate crops, attend church and live a 'civilized' life, well removed from reserve influences. Graham kept the colony under constant surveillance: Indian agents frequently visited homes, and residents had a list of rules forbidding many Aboriginal cultural expressions. Intervention was the key to colony betterment. The intimate lives of colonists were manipulated to control and shape gender, sexuality, health, family structure and

colonists' interaction with public and private spaces.

Betterment Discourses and Spatial Colonial Strategies

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed significant changes in Canada's social and cultural fabric. During this transitional age, dramatic growth in population, finance, industry and urban centres challenged the ideas behind civilization, colonialism, race and morality (Valverde 1991, 15). A new aggressive phase of imperialism during the Victorian era left many Europeans struggling with their own 'civilized' identity and ill-equipped to appreciate other peoples' cultural values (Francis 1998, 55). Concerns over antisocial behaviour and the dangers of cross-cultural contact ignited fears of racial 'suicide' and 'degeneration'. Many educated Canadians, including teachers, doctors and clergy, instigated projects designed to raise standards of morality throughout Canadian society, whilst scientists, social commentators and government officials sought new methods to improve human biology and environmental conditions to benefit all (Valverde 1991, 17).

From the late nineteenth century until the mid-twentieth century, the pseudo-science of eugenics was influential in Europe and North America. Francis Galton's work in eugenics called for more direct intervention in human breeding (Radford and Park 1995, 74–77). Galton hoped science would give 'the more suitable races or strains of blood a better chance of prevailing speedily over the less suitable' (Galton 1883, 24–25). Breeding was about 'quality' and should not be left to individuals or chance. 'The question', to quote Angus McLaren, 'was not if some survived, but who survived; the process of selection, not elimination, had to be controlled' (McLaren 1990, 18). Social observers argued that racial characteristics could and should be improved (McLaren 1990, 7).

Euthenics in the early twentieth century represented a modern and material development of environmental science. Neo-Lamarckian theory held that environmental factors altered behavioural and cultural patterns, which would then shape characteristics passed to offspring (Peet 1985, 318; Livingstone 1992, 188). For Ellen Richards, who first used the term in 1910, euthenics was the 'betterment of living conditions, through conscious endeavour, for the purpose of securing efficient human beings' (Richards 1977; also see Ward 1913; Johnson 1914). Whilst eugenics promoted race improvement through breeding, euthenics attempted to improve racial character through environment. Euthenics, Richards argued, unlike eugenics, required no further scientific investigation: it could provide environmental change and hygiene immediately (Richards 1977, viii). The disciplinary foundations of euthenics were sanitary science, home economics and education, directed to increasing human efficiency through relating education and science to life, ultimately achieving long-term genetic improvement (Richards 1977, ix).

Within Canada, Aboriginal peoples became the target of betterment discourses. The myth of the dying Indian (both physically and culturally) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries ignited interest in the betterment discourses that were shaping colonial interventionist strategies to improve Aboriginal peoples' blood (through marriage), educational status, homes, health and use of spaces.

Recent scholarship has shown how betterment discourses helped shape and control colonized peoples' use of public and private spaces. For Ann Laura Stoler and Jean Barman, colonial power sought to control Aboriginal women's agency in areas such as sex, sentiment, domestic arrangement, child rearing and through the imposition of Victorian/Christian gender roles (Barman 1997, 251 and 258–259; Stoler 2001, 2006). According to Paige Raibmon, colonial authorities used space to effect social transformation: a 'civilized' domestic arrangement would alter Aboriginal peoples' interaction within their homes and 'civilize' their public behaviour, thus equating 'civilized' space with being 'civilized' (Raibmon 2003, 71).

There is a decided focus on the body in colonial and postcolonial literature: training, sculpting, disciplining and monitoring the body. Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* is frequently cited for his ideas on the more subtle mechanisms of monitoring and disciplining the body to behave in particular ways in specific spaces (Foucault 1977; also see Mitchell 1988).

Foucault's work on the Mettray colony in France shows how networked systems, which included medicine, education, psychology and public assistance, permitted both supervision and assessment (Foucault 1977, 306). The actual condition (mental and physical) of the body was central to these systems aimed at normalizing bodies to make them useful and docile. According to Mary Ellen Kelm, the Aboriginal body was an object of scientific inquiry open to inspection, diagnosis and treatment that promised both the advancement of science and social improvement (Kelm 2005, 373). Modernity and the primitive were set in opposition on the templates of Aboriginal peoples' bodies, health, interactions and racial characteristics. Medical narratives, Kelm argues, linked social medicine with the 'Indian problem' (Kelm 2005, 372). The involvement of medical professionals was not a benevolent or humanitarian respite from imperialist ideology: 'In the colonies, the doctor is an integral part of colonization, of domination, of exploitation . . . we must not be surprised to find that doctors and professors of medicine are leaders of colonialist movements' (Fanon 1965, 134). Medical colonialism acted on the scale of the body through examination, interpolation of information, improving health and standardizing relationships. (Fanon 1965, 121–122, 126–128).

Betterment discourses demonstrate how colonialism worked on as well as in colonized people (Anderson 2008). Normalizing the body through systems concentrated on the family, sexuality, domestic and public spaces, health, religion, training, disciplining and surveillance, involved making the colonized body, its surface and interior, an object of science (Foucault 1977, 296). Betterment discourses underpinned the development and colonization of Canada's prairie west. Betterment thinking had significant impact on non-Aboriginals, but the discourses most profoundly affected government policies aimed at Aboriginal peoples through the Department of Indian Affairs.

Colonizing Canada's Prairie West

After an initially open-door approach to populating western Canada with European immigrants, immigration policy became more selective, labelling certain races and ethnicities as 'preferred' and 'non-preferred'. Concern over immigrants had arisen as early as the 1880s in Alberta (Palmer 1984, 310–311). James S. Woodsworth's *Strangers Within Our Gates* created an elaborate ranked classification of national and ethnic groups based on a combination of geographical, physiological and moral criteria (Woodsworth 1972; Valverde 1991, 110; Osborne and Wurtele 1995, 236). Under the Laurier government, the immigration of three million people between 1896 and 1914, gave rise to nativism and a desire for greater control over who should be admitted to Canada. As Minister of the Interior, Clifford Sifton was extremely successful in securing large numbers of immigrants, but his successor, Frank Oliver, chose to select for 'quality' in immigrants (McLaren 1990, 48). Immigrants were constructed as 'strangers' creating their own Canada—not necessarily the Canada that less recent arrivals wanted. Some ethnic groups (especially in the Qu'Appelle Valley of Saskatchewan) created utopian communities that advocated alcohol temperance and social harmony, but importantly did not adhere to Euro-American notions of individualistic homesteading (Rasporich 1984; MacDonald 2007).

Betterment sciences had already begun to inform the policies by which the government proposed to populate and develop the *terra incognita* of western Canada. Canadian government legislation, such as the Gradual Civilizing Act of 1857 and the Indian Act of 1876, provided frameworks for betterment, but also sought to exterminate Aboriginal status through legislation. The Gradual Civilizing Act, although largely unsuccessful in destroying Indian identity through property ownership and enfranchisement, nevertheless laid the foundation for the Indian Act's definition of who is and who is not Indian (Surtees 1982, 44; Miller 1991, 325; Dickason 2002, 264), which would cause great friction later. For Aboriginal peoples of the prairie west, colonial strategies were particularly oppressive. The signing of numbered treaties (1871–1877), which were intended to be a working relationship in which Aboriginal peoples would share their land in exchange for reserves, education, annual payments and hunting and fishing rights, soon resulted in exploitation. Starvation occurred in the prairie west as early as the mid-1870s

because the government did not fulfil its treaty obligations, deliberately targeting the Aboriginal body through control of food rations. Peoples of Treaty 4, who signed partly because of their disappearing food source, the bison, had not received the promised farm equipment six years after signing; they were starving, sick and ill-dressed for a tough winter (Lux 2001, 36; Wilson 2007, 380–381). Blackfoot Chief Old Sun and Sarcee Chief Bull Head reported that their people sold their rifles and horses and resorted to eating dogs, gophers and mice (Lux 2001, 35). Some rations that were delivered may have been spoiled: Piapot claimed that the food was causing dysentery and killing his people (Lux 2001, 39). When rations were not spoiled, the government distributed an inadequate calorific quantity (Lux 2001, 38). Peoples who did not sign treaties, received no rations (Wilson 2007, 383). Some bands, like Little Pine's, eventually had to agree to sign because their people were dying. Maureen Lux has argued that the government allowed starvation to occur at Fort Walsh as a 'cynical and deliberate plan' to pressure the Cree to leave the area so it could be developed (Lux 2001, 38). Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney targeted the Cree leadership: 'I know they are not getting enough flour but I like to punish them a little. I will have to increase their rations, but not much' (Lux 2001, 40). Dewdney combined biological and moral strategies. He was appointed Indian Commissioner in 1879 with responsibility to initiate the Indian farm program. His assistant, Hayter Reed, had farm instructors and agents implement a 'work for rations' policy. Reed believed this program was fundamental to shaping moral and productive citizens (Lux 2001, 35 and 42). Starvation, sickness and inadequate distribution of food rations continued into the 1890s. In 1894, T.P. Wadsworth investigated a rash of cattle killing in the Treaty 4 region. Indians repeatedly told him that they were not getting enough food. Chief Peepeekisis's widow admitted: 'Yes I killed three of the cattle with an axe. Every time that I went over to the Agent to ask for grub he didn't give me any, then I killed the cattle' (Wadsworth 1894, 11). Moostoosahpe claimed the 'Government does not do the right thing with us. The Agent don't get enough food to give. He only gets a little. We kill our cattle when we are starving' (Wadsworth 1894, 12). Yellow Bird killed a cow when his wife was vomiting blood and the Indian agent had refused his request for food (Wadsworth 1894, 14). Vic Satzewich (1996, 10–11) argues that cattle killing by First Nations in Alberta was a common reaction to severe starvation, demonstrating resistance to the government's coercive Indian policy.

After the Northwest Rebellion of 1885, Aboriginal peoples again experienced intense colonial strategies of surveillance, discipline and cultural destruction. The government punished Aboriginal peoples of the prairie west for their role in the uprising. The Cree suffered most, as their horses, guns, rations and carts were impounded and annuity payments suspended (Stonechild and Waiser 1997, 213–216). Prairie west First Nations were subjected to a pass system proposed by Hayter Reed in 1885 to curb Indian movement after the Rebellion (Dickason 2002, 293). Passes were intended to prevent further uprisings, keep Aboriginal peoples out of towns and villages and prevent them from attending Sun Dances (Miller 1991, 326). In 1886, books of passes were sent out to Indian agencies and distributed to farm instructors. Initially, Aboriginal individuals obtained a pass by presenting a recommendation letter from a prospective white employer to an Indian agent. As the system progressed, First Nations were required to carry passes for all off-reserve activities such as fishing, hunting, shopping and visiting another reserve or a child in school (Carter 1985, 8). Pass violations usually resulted in withheld food rations or privileges. Because it interfered with some treaty rights, and therefore rested on weak legal ground, North West Mounted Police eventually refused to enforce the pass system, as they feared it would destroy their credibility in Aboriginal communities. The system evolved into a scheme to give the appearance of control by monitoring movement rather than curbing mobility (Barron 1988, 37). Arthur Ray argued that the Canadian government intensified its assimilation strategies immediately after the Rebellion by targeting Aboriginal cultural institutions and reinforcing attempts to 're-educate' Aboriginal children (Ray 1996, 222).

The government's most important betterment strategy was the education of the prairie west's Aboriginal peoples. Before Confederation, the Bagot Commission (1842) established a policy aimed at teaching agricultural skills and

individual land ownership by placing young Aboriginal children in boarding schools (Milloy 1999, 12–13 and 17). After Confederation, Sir John A. Macdonald's government commissioned Nicholas Flood Davin to tour American Indian schools. The US experience profoundly influenced Davin's thinking: his 1879 official government report initiated a larger scale systematic strategy for 'bettering' Aboriginals through industrial schools (Milloy 1999, 23).

Davin's report paid keen attention to the application of betterment sciences in the schools, introducing an early infusion of biological racism (Francis 1998, 76–77). Davin, influenced by the ideas of popular eugenics, held that 'hybrid' races (especially mixtures of American Indians with Anglo-Saxons and Celts) would produce more intelligent people. He warned, however, that hybrid people in the early stages of development, not necessarily civilizable for several generations, might prove incapable of grasping nationalism (Francis 1998, 76–77; also see Davin 1879). In 1906, P.H. Bryce, then chief medical officer, who also considered hybrid races beneficial, wrote that the introduction of white blood would suppress nomadic habits and increase intelligence in Aboriginal peoples (Bryce 1906, 312).

Davin's report also emphasized the importance of environmental or spatial aspects in the construction of residential schools. In the United States, the Carlisle Industrial School in Pennsylvania was housed in a former military fort. Its external appearance symbolized military might while its internal spatial design coerced students into regimentation and discipline (Churchill 2004, 14 and 24). Carlisle was not the only school to use former military facilities, nor was it the only school to use spatial design to achieve cultural transformation. The Phoenix Industrial School was built 'geometrically . . . incorporating such features as parade grounds . . . unabashedly designed to convey a sense closer to regimentation than to mere "orderliness"' (Churchill 2004, 24). Although Canadian schools used military-style organization less frequently, some designed dormitories as barracks bays, the main building was generally impressive looking, and the property was usually fenced (Grant 1996, 41; Milloy 1999, 128–129). Typically, schools confined children in small, cramped rooms where they could be observed by a single staff member. The schools' spatial layouts forced alien Euro-American constructions of discipline, morality, time, space regimentation, gender divisions, language and work ethics upon the children.

Having captured and displaced the body from the familiar places of family, home and culture, betterment strategy in residential schools targeted Aboriginal children's embodied expressions of culture. In the name of 'cleanliness, sameness, regularity and order', physical appearance and personal identity were denied as staff bathed children, cut their hair, dressed them in Euro-American uniforms and gave them English names (Kelm 1996, 59–63; Churchill 2004, 19). Dressing and grooming, judged as visible indicators of integration, were used by colonial agents to demonstrate success to their superiors. Canada's extensive collection of before and after photographs of Aboriginal children illustrates the transformation and break with the past, showing images of traditionally dressed Indian parents standing by or behind their newly groomed, 'well attired, healthy-looking' children (Miller 1996, 196–197).

Many Canadian residential schools in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries segregated boys and girls, further isolating the children from their familial environments and undermining their social identities. Boys, 'innately attuned to vigorous, strenuous and perhaps even dangerous activities' were taught labourers' skills, while girls, with their 'inherently delicate nature', learned vocational skills, deemed subordinate to those of the boys, that placed their duties in the home (Miller 1996, 222).

Directly related to Aboriginal education, the government's nineteenth and twentieth century betterment strategy instigated policies designed to encourage Aboriginal peoples to adopt agriculture, especially in the prairie west (Miller 2000, 269). In the late nineteenth century, the Canadian government's plan to populate the prairies with white settlers centred socially, culturally and economically on the family farm as the ideal social unit (Danysk 1996, 156–157). Aboriginal peoples were subjected to this family ordering. Many schools tried to arrange marriages between students before they left school (Miller 1996, 230; Carter 2005, 156). Sarah Carter argued that the institutions of monogamous marriage and patriarchal nuclear family were used

to reshape concepts of gender. The government wanted wives to be obedient and submissive and to place them under the power and leadership of men. Indian agents interfered in Aboriginal peoples' personal lives by arranging marriages, denying permission for marriages, dispensing advice on marriage, preventing couples from separating, returning runaway wives and attempting to break up marriages regarded as illegitimate (Carter 2005, 156). In 1890, Father Hugonard, head of the Qu'Appelle industrial school, was reprimanded by Indian commissioner Hayter Reed for allowing the marriage of a female student to a 'not-so-educated' male without permission from the DIA (Carter 2005, 166). Alongside policies regarding marriage, ongoing betterment aimed at fully integrating Aboriginal peoples as sedentary farmers through settlement on reserve land restructured according to Western thinking.

On reserve, the condition of Aboriginal peoples' homes became a means of measuring betterment. Geographers such as Cole Harris and Matthew Hannah have noted how reservations and reserves, by destroying nomadic culture and spatially restricting First Nations, contributed to Indian Affairs policy. Hannah argued that the US government established the reservation system 'not only [as] an *attractive* ideology of individualism based on private property, but also as a *coercive* system of behavioural restriction, a system of social control' (Hannah 1993, 414). Cole Harris's *Making Native Space* argued that reserves functioned to distinguish First Nations from settler society (Harris 2002, 271). As these authors point out, the reserves were integral to a larger socio-spatial imposition, including mapping, naming and numbering, that profoundly undermined Aboriginal society. On the File Hills agency, this socio-spatial policy invaded the most intimate place, the home. The 1890 Annual Report for the File Hills emphasized separate sleeping rooms, the development of a second storey, and flooring (Canada. Indian Department 1890, 14; also see Erdrich 2004). A year later, the Annual Report was considerably augmented to include grain yields, number of cattle, births, deaths, how many children attended school and a census (which was broken down into numbers of men, women, boys and girls, as well as how many men were 'strong enough to do farm work'). This Annual Report's account of the material dimensions of the residents' intimate lives shows how, for the Peepeekisis band, material elements were clearly linked to activities in the home:

> Nah-tah-toose—In his house he has a table, bedstead & chairs, owns 1 set bobsleighs.
>
> Kee-wish—cookstove, bedstead, table, lamp.
>
> Os-ky sis—set of bobsleighs of his own make, new stable, corral, mower.
>
> Ah-toose—comfortable house, stove, table, bedstead, dishes, addition to stable, new corral, bobsleighs.
>
> The Soney—new stable.
>
> Red Bird—Has repaired his house.
>
> Mrs. Buffalo Bow—makes butter and knits.
>
> Widow Peepeekisis [sic]—cookstove, bedstead, table. House small but good (Canada. Indian Department 1891, 15).

The Annual Report also detailed homes and activities for the other File Hills reserves—Okanese, Star Blanket and Little Black Bear (Canada. Indian Department 1891, 16–17).

The government's agricultural plan was largely unsuccessful. Most of the failures were the result of contradictions and incompetence in Indian Affairs' planning. Farm instructors were ignorant of the prairie west climate, and much of the promised farming equipment and seed never arrived (Miller 2000, 270). Hayter Reed contended that social evolution had to pass through many stages before First Nations could become 'civilized' and that the adoption of machinery might facilitate this 'unnatural' progression (Carter 1989, 34; Bateman 1996, 220; Dawson 2003, 105). When Aboriginal peoples excelled in farming, the DIA undermined these operations by banning the tribal and communist systems that some bands used, such as pooling their earnings with other farmers or with their band to buy machinery (Carter 1989, 30; Titley 1993, 123–124). Such activities did not conform to Hayter Reed's vision of ideal indigenous agriculture. Behind his antipathy lay the DIA's long-term goal of subdividing reserves into individual farming plots to create 'surplus' land for more western development. Moreover, the point of

individual ownership was to produce law-abiding citizens in civilized homes who would run their farms competitively (Carter 1989, 30). Late nineteenth century thinking on race and social evolution influenced Reed's preference for the competitive individual family. Agricultural fairs and exhibits were held to encourage competition and convince sceptics that Aboriginal farming could produce nondependent individuals (cf. Dewdney 1888, 14, and Smart 1901, 22). Settlers' concerns about competition from Aboriginal farmers imposed rigidly controlled conditions under which Aboriginal farmers were allowed to compete.

Anchored in betterment discourses, government strategies promoting betterment through education in residential schools and agricultural programs constituted part of an intended integrated system of intervention at every stage of Aboriginal peoples' lives. Schools disciplined and trained Aboriginal bodies by using space, punishment, surveillance and Euro-American ideologies of morality, whilst the curriculum and spatial environment reflected the application of environmental discourses. Before leaving school, many pupils were subjected to the application of hereditary sciences as Indian agents and school principals tried to arrange marriages between intelligent and 'civilized' pupils. On reserve, betterment discourses focused largely on the home and human efficiency. The influence of euthenics sought to shape gender, health and family structures. As First Nations were simply not going to vanish, bettering their genes, environments and morals became the department's goal.

The File Hills Farm Colony

Over the past 20 years, a few historians have sifted through the primary literature and written about the File Hills farm colony (Gresko 1975; Carter 1989, 1990, and 1991; Miller 1996; Milloy 1999). Sarah Carter sees the colony as a 'showpiece' for the Canadian government and for the reputation and career advancement of Graham. Carter argued that although from its founding the colony was described as a solution to the 'Indian problem', it neither represented Indian life in Canada nor completely suppressed the colonists' Aboriginal cultural expressions (Carter 1991). Jacqueline Gresko argued that the colony fulfilled the agenda of government and religious leaders seeking to extend industrial school teachings to reserves (Gresko 1975). John Milloy and James Miller briefly discussed the colony's selection of ex-residential school pupils to prevent 'retrogression' (Miller 1996; Milloy 1999). These arguments are compelling, but the colony was more than a showpiece or paternal extension of residential schools. Heavily influenced by betterment discourses, the colony may have consolidated the government's visions for education and agriculture, but its greater significance lies in the spatial colonial strategy of working on and in Aboriginal bodies.[1]

Constructing the colony

Nearby residential schools provided the colony with Aboriginal students educated according to the dictates of betterment thinking. Principals Father Joseph Hugonard at the Qu'Appelle industrial school, the best known of the 'modern' residential schools, and Kate Gillespie at the File Hills Presbyterian boarding school were important participants in Graham's scheme. A product of Davin's report, Qu'Appelle, funded by the Canadian government and run by the Catholic Oblates, resembled many American industrial schools. Built on 509 acres, the Qu'Appelle school, which maintained a farm, occupied three brick buildings housing student residences, classrooms, shops, hospital, staff quarters and a chapel. Similar to that of other Canadian residential schools, Qu'Appelle's curriculum emphasized the three R's for all pupils, with some

[1] The idea of a colony scheme, as Dickason (2002, 299) pointed out, was not unique to the File Hills. Throughout the nineteenth century, religious organizations had used model, utopian or Christian communities to establish Euro-American values in First Nations people. In Ontario, Methodist missionaries started a First Nations mission village on Grape Island. The village (1826 to 1836) attempted first to convert individuals and then to settle them on the island for agricultural training. Village founders established strict forms of discipline that attempted to change the Mississaugas' understanding of landscape, gender roles and domestic spaces (Ripmeester 1995, 157 and 161–163). In Alaska, Christian organizations funded the model communities at Sitka and Metlakatla. Similar to Grape Island, the Sitka and Metlakatla employed Christianity and domestic spatial arrangement to 'civilize' First Nations (Usher 1974; also see Christophers 1998 for more on missionaries work with Aboriginal peoples).

attention to geography and history. Both curriculum and leisure times were heavily gendered: the boys' curriculum stressing vocational training in agriculture and machinery; the girls' curriculum taught them how to garden, sew, do laundry, cook, milk cows and feed chickens (Gresko 1986, 92).

Labour dominated the school's curriculum. Under the government granting formula, the economic viability of the institution necessitated severe erosion of its academic mission (Titley 1986b, 139; Gresko 1992, 72). The government provided $100 grants for each student, but costs actually ranged from $134.67 per student at Qu'Appelle to $185.55 at High River (Titley 1986b, 139). As the operating budgets of industrial schools were higher than the grants provided by the government, schools were forced to manufacture marketable products, using Aboriginal children as labourers. In 1916, Graham himself reported to Duncan Campbell Scott that children at Qu'Appelle, having spent only nine days of a 42-day stint in the classroom, were spending too little time in education. He argued that the objectives of Indian education were being neglected, and the institution was becoming a 'workhouse' (Milloy 1999, 170–171).

Rigid discipline was central to Qu'Appelle's betterment program. Almost every minute of pupils' weekday activities between waking and sleeping was supervised. After awakening at 5:30 a.m., children were regimented through a day of chapel, inspections, eating, chores, school work, recreation and prayer (Gresko 1986, 92–93), rarely escaping surveillance by staff, even as they sat at long tables for meals, three times a day (Miller 1996, 193).

The File Hills boarding school also applied betterment principles aggressively. Opened in 1886, the Presbyterian school, like Qu'Appelle, emphasized physical appearance and gender roles. T.P. Wadsworth, Inspector of Indian Agencies, reported in 1893 that the children were 'all washed and dressed in clean and suitable clothes' (Canada. Indian Department 1893, 19). Christianizing was a large part of the curriculum (cf. Women's Missionary Society 1902, 1903, 1904 and 1906). The Annual Reports clearly indicate that moral and religious training received unparalleled attention. Wadsworth's report is significant for tracking the progress and intelligence of outstanding pupils:

Fred Deiter	St.[andard]/[Grade]	Four	received	935	marks	out of	1,100
Willie Yellowbird	'	'		880	'	'	'
Ben Assinawasis	'	'		860	'	'	'
Ernest Gopher	'	'		855	'	'	1,000
Winnie Okapew	'	'		730	'	'	900

Fred Deiter, Ben Assinawasis (Stonechild) and Ernest Gopher (Goforth) later became significant members of the colony and the Peepeekisis Reserve (Canada. Indian Department 1893, 19).

Gillespie's appointment to the File Hills board school in 1901 intensified betterment efforts. In 1904, Gillespie called the colony an 'excellent plan', as it gave boys 'something definite' to aim for after graduation: the possibility that they might ultimately 'work on their own farms'. Similarly, girls learned a 'definite' occupation: that of homemakers (Canada. Indian Department 1904, 32).

'Superior' ex-pupils from neighbouring residential schools and arranged marriages formed the core population of Graham's colony. Although other schools, such as Regina Industrial School and Brandon, Manitoba, contributed ex-pupils to the scheme, Hugonard and Gillespie worked most closely with Graham to settle their graduates on the colony, moving beyond education to take an active role in structuring their personal lives through marriage. Gillespie was so keen on the marriages that she frequently helped select the dress, veil and cake (Miller 1996, 230). Although it was common for schools to attempt arranged marriages amongst ex-pupils, Graham, Gillespie and Hugonard sometimes forced marriages. According to Don Koochicum of the Peepeekisis First Nation, some people were forcefully settled on the colony, and in a number of cases, he added, 'marriages were arranged for them'. Daniel Nokusis wanted to go home (Sakimay Reserve) after residential school, but Graham prevented him, declaring 'I got a woman for you to go and start farming in Peepeekisis' (Indian Claims Commission 2004, 166).

Selection of students was aimed at the destruction of Aboriginal culture. Ex-pupils were picked from diverse Indian Nations to undermine use of Aboriginal languages, forcing them to resort to the lingua franca of English. American

anthropologist David Mandelbaum (1934), who completed an extensive ethnographic study of the Plains Cree and bison hunting between 1934 and 1935, found that lighter-skinned students received preferential treatment on the colony. Although Mandelbaum's main research focus was not on reserve life, he was clearly intrigued with Graham's selection of boys of mixed blood from residential schools to form the colony (Mandelbaum 1934). Colony clerk White told Mandelbaum that skin colour and genetic makeup played a significant role in the marriage of Aboriginal peoples on the Peepeekisis Reserve:

> Among the most interesting to me was the statement that there is a definite color preference in marriage among the Indians of this reserve. Those who are lighter in color are prized as good catches in direct proportion to the percentage of white blood in their veins, those of pure Indian stock are shelved or married at a later age, with a consequence of fewer progeny. This statement, of course, needs statistical verification, but it seems very plausible (Mandelbaum 1934, 1).

White declared that the birth rate among pure blood Indians on the agency was very low, whilst people with more white blood had higher fertility rates (Mandelbaum 1934, 1).

Managing the colony

Public and private spaces were carefully planned on the colony. The Peepeekisis Reserve was subdivided to subordinate Cree understandings of the inviolability of reserve land and communal land use to Euro-American ideals of private property. The construction of the colony also created a geographic distinction in drawing a line between 'civilized' and 'non-civilized'. Colonists were physically separated from original Peepeekisis band members and other Indians in the File Hills agency, a strategy that reduced cultural exchange between the groups and, by effectively confining colonists, allowed Graham and other Indian agents to monitor their daily activities (See Figure 1).

Graham attributed the colony's success to constant supervision and surveillance. His betterment strategies differed little from the paternalism of residential schools. Indian agents made frequent visits to band members' homes, passes were required to leave the colony, permits were needed to slaughter cattle or sell goods, and Graham strictly enforced the Indian Act's banning of traditional cultural expressions, such as dancing, pow-wows and tribal ceremonies (Indian Claims Commission 2004, 14).[2]

The DIA was able to gauge betterment through Graham's reporting of intimate activities and material items in the private spaces of colonists' homes. He explained that most young men married graduates, most of whom made good housewives, though a few required constant supervision. 'In nearly every house', Graham wrote, 'you will find in the sitting-room, clocks, sewing-machines, chairs, tables with covers on mats on the floor, and often lace curtains on the windows and pictures on the walls. The kitchens are all as well furnished as the average white farmer's kitchen' (Graham 1910, 451). Agents reported in general on the population, characteristics and progression, education, temperance, morality, health and sanitation, occupations, buildings, farm stock and implements for the entire reserve, but the colony Annual Reports singled out specific individuals. Colonists Fred Deiter, Frank Dumont, John Bellegarde, Ben Stonechild and Joe Ironquil were repeatedly cited for their agricultural success and exemplary intimate lives. Deiter, who was half white and reported by Graham to be the colony's first settler, was agriculturally productive with a full line of farm equipment, a nice house and barn, and 'a good wife [who] keeps a very clean house, and looks after a fine vegetable and flower garden'. Dumont had a nice whitewashed house, did not owe money in loans or take financial assistance from the DIA. Bellegarde had a full line of farm equipment, never took financial assistance from the DIA, and his farm was 'a model of neatness' (Graham 1910, 450–451). Graham claimed he could cite another half dozen cases.

Public spaces were also important in promoting betterment. Graham's 1910 colony Annual Report demonstrates how public space conformed to Euro-American spatial logic. The

[2] As the imperial logic of the Indian agent would have been obscure to the Saskatchewan Cree, they may have seen the stern opposition of Graham, whom they referred to as Kes-Ke-Kat ("the man with the cut-off leg"), to dancing as due to his own gracelessness (Titley 1986a, 185).

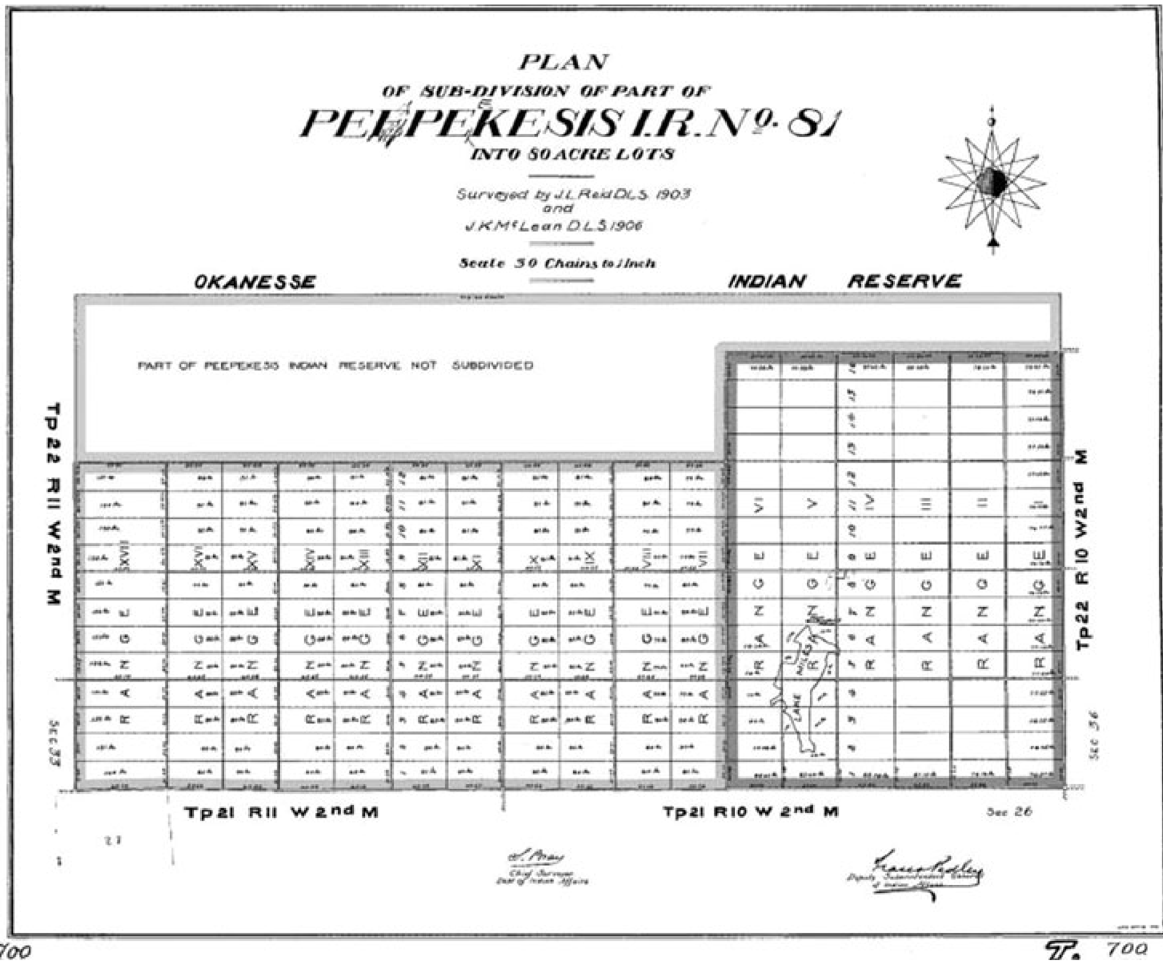

Figure 1
Subdivisions of Peepeekisis. The box in the eastern part of the reserve outlines the 1902 subdivision, the box in the south west corner outlines the 1906 subdivision, and the box extending across the top of the reserve was the land left over for original members. The construction of the colony divided colonists and original members (Indian Claims Commission 2004, 32–33)

colony was a ‘thrifty settlement, with . . . straight roads, whitewashed houses and painted roofs’ (Graham 1910, 451). The buildings were ‘placed with care’ facing surveyed roads that ran north and south every half mile and east and west every mile. Colony homes were frequently uniform in style, built with hewn logs, approximately 18 × 24 feet with one and a half storeys, kitchen, shingled roof and whitewashed walls. As time passed, successful farmers moved from log to wood frame homes. The colony had many barns (some painted) and over 40 wood-frame granaries which held 1,500 to 3,000 bushels (Graham 1910, 450). Colonists dug 19 water wells and planted three miles of trees (Graham 1910, 451).

Spaces, both public and private, were used to influence colonists’ behaviour. Leisure time, structured to forestall participation in traditional cultural activities, involved sewing circles, church attendance and lecture groups. Presbyterian and Catholic Churches delivered sermons reinforcing

the Euro-American values and morals taught in the schools (Carter 1990, 239). Colonists themselves participated in the process. According to former resident of the colony, Eleanor Brass, colonists passed a bylaw prohibiting cohabitation without marriage under the laws of Canada and its churches (Brass 1987, 13). Around 1910, colonists also created a brass band, of which every member, Graham told the Regina *Leader*, was a farmer. He insisted the colonists had organized the band for their own pleasure (Regina *Leader* 1911).

Graham's memoirs provide insight into his views on race and betterment. He did not believe in a vanishing Indian. He noted the rapid decrease in bison numbers but attributed this to a substantial increase of population on western reserves around 1900. He was sure that this increase was due to the improved cleanliness, proper food preparation and home ventilation that Indian women had learned in residential schools. Aspects of Aboriginal character, such as 'lack of initiative' and poor 'organizing ability', were inherently negative (Graham 1991, 7). Any vanishing of Indian status and identity would take place only with planning and encouragement. Like Davin, Graham embraced the intent of the Indian Act: advocating mixed marriage to create a hybrid people to replace status Indians. Aboriginal women marrying white men would cease to be wards of state, but would 'exercise their franchise and take on the battle of life the same as do the white people' (Graham 1991, 31). Men's education in agriculture would teach them not to rely on bison; growing crops and raising livestock would show them a path to efficiency and success, and a lifestyle compatible with customs and habits of surrounding settler communities. 'The time will come when there will be little distinction between the races' (Graham 1991, 123). Graham was convinced that the colony was already producing a different kind of Indian. Adopting Euro-American life practices would bring better health and, at least in the next generation, higher intellect. He wrote in 1914:

> It is claimed by those who should know that the children of ex-pupils show more intelligence than do the children of parents who have never received any educational training. Another interesting fact is that the Indian graduates, not only here but throughout the district, are raising larger and healthier families than do the parents who have not been at school (Graham 1914, 454).

Visitors, such as Canadian Governor General, Earl Grey, the Duke of Connaught and the Secretary of the American Board of Indian Commissioners, Frederick Abbott, praised the colony. Grey was so impressed with Graham's experiment that he donated a shield to be hung in the home of the colonist who grew the most crops. Abbott returned to the US arguing that the Americans needed a colony like Graham's (Scott 1915, 19–22). Articles also appeared in Canadian newspapers praising Graham. In 1921, the *Free Press Prairie Farmer* claimed that Graham was famous continent-wide and had taught visitors from Washington 'how it is done'. Whenever Indians under his guidance participated in agriculture exhibits, developed a brass band, or took a visible step towards 'civilization', the achievements were heralded to Ottawa and the press.

The controlled landscape of the colony did receive criticism. Graham's long-time friend, Chief Buffalo Child Long Lance, a writer, actor and entertainer who was later attacked as a fraudulent Indian, questioned the scheme. The Chief visited the colony in 1922, uncovered the exaggerated nature of Graham's claims and argued that Graham had scandalously 'pulled the wool over' the eyes of the superintendent general of Indian Affairs (Smith 1999, 139). The anthropologist, Mandelbaum, was also unimpressed: the colony looked good on paper, but it was a money sink: there were only three or four good farmers amongst all the graduates of the schools (Mandelbaum 1934). Edward Ahenakew, a widely known Cree Anglican clergyman and writer, said that while he had boasted of the colonists' success, their achievement was not a 'natural development'. Their success was the result of intense control, which might be used as fruitfully with any Indian, whether an expupil of residential school or not (Ahenakew 1995, 90).

Texts and oral history show that some colonists challenged the colony's betterment agenda and Graham's power. Many did not entirely abandon their cultural practices, nor did they simply accept oppression. Brass wrote about going to 'secret fiddle dances held in private homes' as a child. Although alcohol-free, the

dances were a source of pleasure in part because they were forbidden (Brass 1987, 13). Joseph Ironquil, a highly successful colony farmer, regularly lauded in reports to Ottawa, was nevertheless a constant 'nuisance' to Graham as he started a movement to bring dance to the colony. While Graham was away, residents tried to hold a dance that was stopped by the clerk and farm instructor (Carter 1991, 169). According to Graham, Ironquil headed opposition to a 1911 agreement that would allow him to bring an additional fifty residential students onto the colony by making 'false statements' to Elders. Graham stated that Ironquil's admission to the colony had been a 'serious mistake' and he wished him removed (Graham 1911a, 1).

Power on the colony was not unilateral and there are signs that colonists were aware of their own power. Some scholars have noted how colonized peoples adopt and turn colonial strategies to fight those who have oppressed them (e.g., Fanon 1963; Scott 1985, 1990). Fanon persuasively argued that colonial violence reinforces aggressiveness, and when colonized peoples are organized, violence can become an expression of power (Fanon 1963, 70–71). Resistance by the Aboriginal peoples of Canada is well documented and, as Michael Ripmeester argues, accounts of such resistance in official documents 'point to a remarkable account of survival' (Ripmeester 2003, 107). Brian Osborne noted how the Kingston/Bay of Quinte Mississauga resisted assimilation and conversion to Christianity between 1783 and 1837 by moving into areas of their homeland where they could not be counted or monitored (Osborne 2003). On the colony, Eleanor Brass described an encounter between her father, Fred Deiter and Graham. Graham had criticized Deiter, who retaliated by threatening to abandon the farm. Graham immediately placated Deiter and promised to leave him alone (Deiter 1988). Similarly, Ironquil probably knew that his successful farm would allow him a measure of independence. In this bilateral power game, Graham's reputation was at the mercy of the colonists, who recognized that their resistance could be used strategically to undermine the machinery of the colony.

In Ottawa, the mixed messages from the colony created ambivalence. In 1917, the Deputy Superintendent General wrote that Graham was 'labouring under the delusion that he is indispensable'. His resignation would not have a 'disastrous effect on the Indians', and it might in fact benefit the DIA (Scott 1917, 2; also see Titley 1983). Others, such as Sifton, would have disagreed. In 1918, Sifton stated 'Graham has been given the widest authority of any man in the Government Service, either inside or out, and in my opinion, he is the only man in any of the services that I would consent to give the powers to, and if anybody can make the plan a success, Graham is the man' (McDougall 1918). An unparalleled reputation for his work with Aboriginal peoples being one of his primary objectives, the contradictory messages from Ottawa worried Graham, who contemplated resigning his post on numerous occasions (Graham 1911b).

Graham's reputation amongst Aboriginal people was less mixed (Graham 1991, xi). John Tootoosis considered Graham 'hard' on Indians in eastern Saskatchewan, claiming that many were 'afraid' of him. Colonists were at best ambivalent. According to Graham's memoirs, an obviously slanted source, many soldiers wrote to him about their experiences and feelings, demonstrating a 'very friendly, albeit respectful, relationship' (Graham 1991, xi). Brass described Graham as 'quite strict at times' but also as a man who let colonists conduct their own affairs. In a later interview, she added that many people thought he was a 'dictator' and 'cruel' to younger people (Deiter 1988). Mildred Pugh credits Graham with saving lives by building a hospital and showing colonists how to work hard and keep house (Pugh n.d.). Some residents of the reserve were much more negative. According to Stewart Koochicum 'Graham was the judge. He was everything. He could send them to jail without even going to court'. 'To oppose Graham', said Alex Nokusis 'meant a jail sentence for thirty days, starvation or whatever he had in mind for you... Graham was a dictator of the worst kind' (Indian Claims Commission 2004, 16). Regardless of whether Graham was respected or not by colonists and reserve residents, not a single Aboriginal person attended his funeral, no one defended him when his job was terminated by the DIA, and a memorial erected for him on the reserve was later demolished by

Figure 2
'Unveiling of Memorial to Commissioner and Mrs. Graham, File Hills Agency, Saskatchewan'. The plaque reads: 'In memory of Commissioner W.M. Graham & Mrs. Graham who gave a lifelong service to the Indians of the Plains. Erected by the Indians of File Hills Agency'. Joe Iron Quill standing left foreground, W.M. Graham standing right foreground (Glenbow Archives 1932).

First Nations (Deiter 1988; Poitras 2001).[3] See figure 2.

The colony had its positive aspects. As Carter pointed out, many colonists had a higher standard of living than people on most other reserves and opportunities—access to farm equipment, land, loans, etc.—unavailable to other Aboriginal peoples. There was a strong sense of community on the colony. During World War I, although First Nations were exempt from service under the Military Service Act, many young men volunteered. Sadly, many died or were injured (Graham 1991, 98–99). The File Hills reserves were also very active in raising funds for the Red Cross. Many colony descendants also went on to assume leadership positions in their own communities: Walter Deiter, the son of Fred Deiter, served as Chief of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians and was the founding president of the National Indian Brotherhood (Deiter 1997; Deiter 2004b, 51–55). Eleanor Brass, the daughter of Fred Deiter, was an accomplished writer who helped establish and run the Indian Friendship Centre (Deiter 2004a, 34–35). Ernest Goforth was elected the second Vice-President of the North American Indian Brotherhood (Barron 1997, 77). Oliver Brass was the first-status Indian in Saskatchewan to obtain a doctoral degree (Selinger 2004, 35–36). As recently as 1988, the Peepeekisis Reserve had a higher than average rate of high school graduates entering university (Deiter 1988).

Aboriginal resistance may have brought about the end of the colony. By the 1930s, Annual Reports had stopped giving exclusive attention

[3] There is now little memory of the memorial amongst residents of the area. There is no record of when it was demolished, or by whom, but Eleanor Brass recounted its demolition by First Nations in an interview (Deiter 1988). Also see Poitras (2001) *To Colonize a People: The File Hills Farm Colony*.

to the colony although references in government documents did not disappear until the late 1940s or early 1950s (Carter 1991, 176). After Graham's forced retirement in 1942, there was no one tirelessly promoting the colony. Eventually, its legitimacy was challenged in 1952 when ten original Peepeekisis members, led by Ernest Goforth, filed a petition against the band membership of 25 colonists. In the first stages of the colony's existence, original Peepeekisis band members had voted colonists onto the Peepeekisis Reserve as band members. After the vote, colonists were settled on the sub-divided section of the reserve, away from original members. According to Goforth's petition, over time original band members took less interest in meetings and the later colonists took over the reserve's affairs (including the vote on new band members). Many of the colonists who came after 1911 were part of a problematic agreement between Ottawa and the Peepeekisis community, which stated that the government could bring 50 residential students onto the colony without band consent. Originally rejected by the band, a second vote secured the agreement only after band members were given twenty dollars each (Deiter 1955, 6). In 1954, the Trelenberg Commission held a four-day hearing to consider the appeal initiated by Goforth against colonists brought in both before and after 1911. Evidence presented at the Commission was deferred until 1956, when Judge J.H. McFadden held an eight-day hearing, with the result that the colonists kept Peepeekisis band membership. The colony, from beginning to end, created great divisions between band members, colonists originally drawn from the band, and later colonists. Internal strife over questions of identity, community membership, Indian status and the nature of the community still shape relationships within the Peepeekisis community (see Indian Claims Commission 2004). Although the colony is gone, it still exists in the minds, lives and stories of the Peepeekisis people.

Conclusion

To date there has been inadequate exploration of the link between betterment discourses and Indian Affairs policy. Yet there is little doubt that late nineteenth and early twentieth century Indian Affairs policy in Canada was shaped by a complex web of betterment discourses. Scholars have identified how betterment ideas influenced the populating of western Canada by Old World immigrants, but Aboriginal peoples were subjected to an even more rigorous application of the betterment-influenced agenda.

The government's policies for improving the genetics, environments and morals of Aboriginal peoples in the prairie west were applied through residential schools and the imposition of agricultural lifestyles. Residential schools sought to re-socialize Aboriginal children by instilling Euro-American concepts of gender, sexuality, appropriate behaviour in particular places, discipline and morality through curriculum and spatial arrangement. After schooling, the managed marriages of educated Aboriginals and settlement in a sedentary agricultural lifestyle, allowed Indian agents to monitor the progress of betterment strategies. The government had decided that as Aboriginals were not going to 'vanish' conveniently, they had to be made more like the white settlers of the prairie west through manipulation of their genetics, their material goods, their health, their homes and their use of space. The key concepts of the pseudo-sciences of eugenics and euthenics, and the social purity movement, although not always directly employed, underpinned Indian seri Affairs policy. Residential schools and agricultural programs demonstrate the weight of influence of the betterment discourses on the DIA.

The File Hills colony, more than any other colonial strategy, demonstrates how significantly betterment discourses influenced the thinking of key individuals and Indian Affairs policy. Graham, Hugonard and Gillespie created a networked system that re-educated Aboriginal peoples and moved them to a sedentary agricultural lifestyle. Oral histories of Peepeekisis community members and Mandelbaum's fieldwork show that marriages were arranged (sometimes forced) according to conceptions of race and intellect. Betterment shaped spaces of domesticity, leisure and social interaction on the colony. Homes were for nuclear families, leisure time was confined to civilized activities and churches were moral regulators. Graham's colony was intended as an exemplar demonstrating the possibility of assimilating Aboriginal peoples into Euro-American

society in Canada. However, the controlled settlement of the colony as the key to Aboriginal social transformation never spread beyond its bounds. As an experiment in betterment, it had proved too divisive and too expensive.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the anonymous reviewers, Roger Hayter, Ian MacLachlan, Patricia Deiter, Dwight Pinay and Freida Koochicum for their insight and support and Madeleine de Quay for her excellent editorial skills.

References

AHENAKEW, E. 1995 *Voices of the Plains Cree* (Regina, SK: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina)

ANDERSON, K. 2008 '"Race" in the post-universalist perspective' 4 February, Public lecture at Queen's University, Kingston, ON

BARMAN, J. 1997 'Taming Aboriginal sexuality: gender, power, and race in British Columbia, 1850–1900' *BC Studies* 115/116, Autumn/Winter, 237–266

BARRON, F. L. 1988 'The Indian pass system in the Canadian west, 1882–1935' *Prairie Forum* 13(1), 25–42

—. 1997 *Walking in Indian Moccasins: The Native Policies of Tommy Douglas and the CCF* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press)

BATEMAN, R. 1996 'Talking with the plow: agricultural policy and Indian farming in the Canadian and U.S. prairies' *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 16(2), 219–225

BRASS, E. 1987 *I Walk in Two Worlds* (Calgary, AB: Glenbow Museum)

BRYCE, P. H. 1906 *Report of Chief Medical Officer* (Ottawa, ON) (Available at: http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/indianaffairs/index-e.html/, accessed 10 March 2008)

CANADA. INDIAN DEPARTMENT. 'History of File Hills Indian Reserve from Annual Reports of Indian Department, 1879–1940', R834-32c (3 of 3), Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, SK

CARTER, S. A. 1985 'Controlling Indian movement: the pass system' *NeWest Review* May, 8–9

—. 1989 'Two acres and a cow: "peasant" farming for the Indians of the Northwest, 1889–1897' *Canadian Historical Review* 60(1), 27–52

—. 1990 *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy* (Montréal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press)

—. 1991 'Demonstrating success: the File Hills farm colony' *Prairie Forum* 16(2), 157–183

—. 2005 '"Complicated and clouded": the federal administration of marriage and divorce among the First Nations of western Canada, 1887–1906' in *Unsettled Pasts: Reconceiving the West Through Women's History*, eds. S. Carter, L. Erickson and C. Smith (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press), 151–178

CHRISTOPHERS, B. 1998 *Positioning the Missionary: John Booth Good and the Confluence of Cultures in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press)

CHURCHILL, W. 2004 *Kill the Indian, Save the Man: The Genocidal Impact of American Indian Residential Schools* (San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books)

COOK, R. 1985 *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press)

COURTNEY, R. 2001 'Was there a eugenic movement in Saskatchewan?' in *Proceedings of the 10th Annual History of Medicine Days*, ed. W. A. Whitelaw (Calgary, AB: Health Sciences Centre), March 289–292

DANYSK, C. 1996 '"A bachelor's paradise": homesteaders, hired hands, and the construction of masculinity, 1880–1930' in *Making Western Canada: Essays on European Colonization and Settlement*, eds. C. Cavanaugh and J. Mouat (Toronto, ON: Garamond Press), 154–185

DAVIN, N. F. 1879 *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds* 14 March (Ottawa, ON) (Available at: http://www.canadiana.org/en/, accessed 29 March 2007)

DAWSON, B. 2003 'The roots of agriculture: a historiographical review of First Nations agriculture and government Indian policy' *Prairie Forum* 28(1), 99–116

DEITER, P. A. 1955 '*Brief for members whose status has been protested*' (private collection: Regina, SK)

—. 1988 *Interview of Eleanor Brass*. VHS (private collection: Regina, SK)

—. 1997 'A biography of Chief Walter P. Deiter' Unpublished M.A. Thesis: University of Regina

—. 2004a 'Eleanor Brass' in *Saskatchewan First Nations: Lives Past and Present*, ed. C. Thompson (Regina, SK: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina), 34–35.

—. 2004b 'Walter Perry Deiter' in *Saskatchewan First Nations: Lives Past and Present*, ed. C. Thompson (Regina, SK: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina), 51–55.

DE LEEUW, S. 2007 'Intimate colonialisms: the material and experienced places of British Columbia's residential schools' *The Canadian Geographer* 51(3), 339–359

DEWDNEY, E. 1888 *Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (Ottawa, ON) (Available at: http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/indianaffairs/index-e.html/, accessed 15 June 2009)

DICKASON, O. P. 2002 *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University)

ERDRICH, L. 2004 *Four Souls* (New York: Harper Collins)

FANON, F. 1963 *The Wretched of the Earth* Translated by C. Farrington (New York: Grove Press)

—. 1965 *A Dying Colonialism* Translated by H. Chevalier (New York: Grove Press)

FOUCAULT, M. 1977 *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books)

FRANCIS, M. 1998 'The "civilizing" of Indigenous people in nineteenth-century Canada' *Journal of World History* 9(1), 51–87

FREE PRESS PRAIRIE FARMER. 1921 'A man and his work' 5 January

GALTON, F. 1883 *Inquiries into the Human Faculty and its Development* (London, UK: Macmillan), 24–25, quoted in D. J. KEVLES *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity* (New York: Knopf, 1985), viiii.

GLENBOW ARCHIVES. 1932 'Unveiling of Memorial to Commissioner and Mrs. Graham, File Hills Agency, Saskatchewan', NA-3454–49, Glenbow Museum, Calgary, AB

GRAHAM, W. M. 1910 *The Report of Inspector W. M. Graham on the Ex-Pupil Colony at File Hills* (Ottawa, ON) (Available at: http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/indianaffairs/index-e.html/, accessed 15 March 2006)

—. 1911a 'Correspondence to the Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs', 24 July, RG 10, volume 7768, file 27111-2, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, ON

—. 1911b 'Correspondence to Earl Grey', 27 September, M8097, file 1, box 1, Glenbow Museum Archives, Calgary, AB

—. 1914 *The Report of Inspector W. M. Graham on the Ex-Pupil Colony at File Hills* (Ottawa, ON) (Available at: http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/indianaffairs/index-e.html/, accessed 15 June 2009)

—. 1991 *Treaty Days: Reflections of an Indian Commissioner* (Calgary, AB: Glenbow Museum)

GRANT, A. 1996 *No End of Grief: Indian Residential Schools in Canada* (Winnipeg, MB: Pemmican Publications.)

GREKUL, J. K., KRAHN, H., and ODYNAK, D. 2004 'Sterilizing the "febbleminded": eugenics in Alberta, Canada, 1929–1972' *Journal of Historical Sociology* 17(4), 358–384

GRESKO, J. 1975 'White "rites" and Indian "rites": Indian education and native responses in the west, 1870–1910' in *Western Canada Past and Present*, ed. A. W. Rasporich (Calgary, AB: The Department of History, University of Calgary), 163–181

—. 1986 'Creating little dominions within the dominion: early catholic Indian schools in Saskatchewan and British Columbia' in *Indian Education in Canada: Volume 1: The Legacy*, eds. J. Y. Hebert and D. McCaskill Barman (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press), 88–109

—. 1992 'Everyday life at Qu'Appelle industrial school' in *Western Oblate Studies 2*, ed. R. Huel (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press), 71–94

HANNAH, M. G. 1993 'Space and social control in the administration of the Oglala Lakota ("Sioux"), 1871–1879' *Journal of Historical Geography* 19(4), 412–432

HARRIS, C. 2002 *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press)

INDIAN CLAIMS COMMISSION. 2004 *Peepeekisis First Nation Inquiry: File Hills Colony Claim* March (Ottawa, ON) (Available at: http://www.indianclaims.ca/pdf/Peepeekisis_English.pdf, accessed 10 October 2006)

JOHNSON, R. H. 1914 'Eugenics and so-called eugenics' *The American Journal of Sociology* 20(1), 98–103

KELM, M. E. 1996 '"A scandalous procession": residential schooling and the re/formation of Aboriginal bodies, 1900–1950' *Native Studies Review* 11(2), 51–88

—. 2005 'Diagnosing the discursive Indian: medicine, gender, and the "dying race"' *Ethnohistory* 52(2), 371–406

LIVINGSTONE, D. N. 1992 *The Geographical Tradition: Episodes in the History of a Contested Enterprise* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell)

LUX, M. 2001 *Medicine That Walks: Disease, Medicine, and Canadian Plains Native People, 1880–1940* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto)

MACDONALD, A. 2007 *Cloud-Capped Towers: The Utopian Theme in Saskatchewan History and Culture* (Regina, SK: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina)

MANDELBAUM, D. 1934 Field notes transcription, 30 June, File Hills Agency, Saskatchewan, tape number IH-DM.08, transcript disc 133, Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, Regina, SK

MCDOUGALL, S. 1918 'Correspondence to William Morris Graham', 4 May, M8097, file 1, box 1, Glenbow Museum Archives, Calgary, AB

MCLAREN, A. 1990 *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885–1945* (Toronto, ON: McClelland & Stewart.)

MILLER, J. R. 1991 'Owen Glendower, Hotspur, and Canadian Indian policy' in *Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada*, ed. J. R. Miller (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press)

—. 1996 *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press)

—. 2000 *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens.* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press)

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

MITCHELL, T. 1988 *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press)

OSBORNE, B. S. 2003 'Barter, bible, bush: strategies of survival and resistance among the Kingston/Bay of Quinte Mississauga, 1783–1836' in *Blockades and Resistance: Studies in Actions of Peace and the Temagami Blockades of 1988–1989*, ed. B. W. Hodgins (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press), 85–104

OSBORNE, B. S., and WURTELE, S. E. 1995 'The other railway: Canadian National's Department of Colonization and Agriculture' *Prairie Forum* 20(2), 231–253

PALMER, H. 1984 'Strangers and stereotypes: the rise of nativism, 1880–1920' in *The Prairie West: Historical Readings*, eds. R. D. Francis and H. Palmer (Edmonton, AB: Pica Pica Press), 309–333

PEET, R. 1985 'The social origins of environmental determinism' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 75, 309–333

POITRAS, E. 2001 *To Colonize a People: the File Hills Farm Colony*. VHS (Regina, SK: Blue Thunderbird Productions, Telefilm Canada)

PUGH, M. n.d. 'The history of File Hills colony', R834-32c-(1 of 3), Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, SK

RADFORD, J. P. 1994 'Response and rejoinder: eugenics and the asylum' *Journal of Historical Sociology* 7(4), 462–473

RADFORD, J. P., and PARK, D. C. 1995 'The eugenics legacy' *Journal of Developmental Disabilities* 4(1), 73–84

RASPORICH, A. W. 1984 'Utopian ideals and community settlements in western Canada, 1880–1914' in *The Prairie West: Historical Readings*, eds. R. D. Francis and H. Palmer (Edmonton, AB: Pica Pica Press), 338–361

RAIBMON, P. 2003 'Living on display: colonial visions of Aboriginal domestic spaces' *BC Studies* 140, Winter, 69–89

RAY, A. J. 1996 *I Have Lived Here Since the World Began: An Illustrated History of Canada's Native People* (Toronto, ON: Lester Publishing and Key Porter Books)

REGINA *LEADER*. 1911 'Indian band is here for the fair: File Hills' brass band will be one of the attractions of the Exhibition' 1 August

RICHARDS, E. H. 1977 *Euthenics, the Science of Controllable Environment* (New York, NY: Arno Press)

RIPMEESTER, M. 1995 '"It is scarcely to be believed...": the Mississauga Indians and the Grape Island Mission, 1826–1836' *The Canadian Geographer* 39(2), 157–168

—. 2003 'Intentional resistance or just "bad behaviour": reading for everyday resistance at the Alderville First Nation, 1837–76' in *Blockades and Resistance: Studies in Actions of Peace and the Temagami Blockades of 1988–1989*, ed. B. W. Hodgins (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press), 105–126

SATZEWICH, V. 1996 '"Where's the beef?": cattle killing, rations policy and First Nations "criminality" in southern Alberta, 1892–1895' *Journal of Historical Sociology* 9(2), 188–212

SCOTT, D. C. 1915 *Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (Ottawa, ON) (Available at: http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/indianaffairs/index-e.html/, accessed 15 June 2009)

—. 1917 'Correspondence to Dr. Roche', 4 September, RG10, volume 4070, file 427,063-A, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, ON

SCOTT, J. C. 1985 *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press)

—. 1990 *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press)

SELINGER, B. 2004 'Oliver Johnston Brass' in *Saskatchewan First Nations: Lives Past and Present*, ed. C. Thompson (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina), 35–36

SMART, J. A. 1901 *Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (Ottawa, ON) (Available at: http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/indianaffairs/index-e.html/, accessed 15 June 2009)

SMITH, D. B. 1999 *Chief Buffalo Child Long Lance: The Glorious Impostor* (Red Deer: Red Deer Press)

STOLER, A. L. 2001 'Tense and tender ties: the politics of comparison in North American history and (post) colonial studies' *The Journal of American History* 88(3), December, 829–865

—. 2006 'Intimidations of empire: predicaments of the tactile and unseen' in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, ed. A. L. Stoler (Durham: Duke University Press), 1–22

STONECHILD, B., and WAISER, B. 1997 *Loyal till Death: Indians and the North-West Rebellion* (Calgary, AB: Fifth House)

SURTEES, R. J. 1982 *Canadian Indian Policy: A Critical Bibliography* (Bloomington, MN: Indiana University Press)

TITLEY, E. B. 1983 'W. M. Graham: Indian agent extraordinaire' *Prairie Forum* 8(1), 25–41

—. 1986a *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press)

—. 1986b 'Indian industrial schools in western Canada' in *Schools in the West: Essays in Canadian Educational History*, eds. N. M. Sheehan, J. D. Wilson, and D. C. Jones (Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises), 133–153

—. 1993 'Hayter Reed and Indian administration in the west' in *Swords and Ploughshares: War and Agriculture in Western Canada*, ed. R. C. Macleod (Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta Press), 109–147

USHER, J. 1974 *William Duncan of Metlakatla: A Victorian Missionary in British Columbia* (Ottawa, ON: National Museum of Man)

VALVERDE, M. 1991 *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885–1925* (Toronto, ON: McClelland & Stewart)

WADSWORTH, T. P. 1894 'Correspondence to Indian Commissioner', 5 May RG 10, volume 3906, file 105722, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, ON

WARD, L. F. 1913 'Eugenics, euthenics, and eudemics' *The American Journal of Sociology* 18(6), 737–754

WEIGLEY, E. S. 1974 'It might have been euthenics: the Lake Placid conference and the home economics movement' *American Quarterly* 26(1), 79–96

WILSON, G. 2007 *Frontier Farewell: The 1870s and the End of the Old West* (Regina, SK: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina)

WOMEN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETY. 'History of File Hills Indian Reserve from Annual Reports of W. M. S. of Presbyterian and United Churches, 1887–1956', Saskatchewan Archives Board, R834-32c (3 of 3), Regina, SK

WOODSWORTH, J. S. 1972 *Strangers within Our Gates; or, Coming Canadians* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto)