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Books and Broomsticks: Prairie Indigenous Female Domestic Workers and
the Canadian Outing System, 1888-1901

by

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A THESIS

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Abstract

This thesis discusses the Canadian outing system, a direct feature of industrial schools in the prairie west prominent in the late nineteenth century. Seen as an extension of the school's vocational training, the outing system became an outlet with which the Canadian federal government's Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) could integrate into the lower ranks of Euro-Canadian society young Indigenous girls in a hierarchical system of labour.

By examining the roles and education of Indigenous female youth in the industrial school system in the Canadian prairies, this study illuminates how, in the name of assimilation, the DIA implemented the outing system. This thesis highlights how young Indigenous women were compelled to work in homes that exemplified settler values, taking on strenuous labour in environments where attitudes of race and class dimensions were prominent. By drawing from 1901 census data and looking at the settler homes, farms, and establishments in which they worked, this thesis provides an important glimpse into the early history of domestic work for Indigenous women and girls in western Canada and offers insights into the very nature of settler colonialism in early Canadian national history.

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Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements.....	ii
Introduction	1
Chapter One – Industrial Schools in the West and the Origins of the Outing System	20
Chapter Two – Assimilation, Demand, and Labour within the Schools.....	30
Chapter Three – Experiences and Resistance.....	47
Chapter Four – Indigenous Domestic Workers in the 1901 Census.....	56
Conclusion.....	72
Bibliography.....	77
Appendix	81

Introduction

“I think nothing better can be done for them.” Father Joseph Hugonnard,¹ principal of Qu’Appelle Industrial School, wrote this in response to the idea of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Hayter Reed, to remove Indigenous students from the school and place them in settler communities to work. “We have now several girls, who could be and would be good servants if their parents were willing and if they could talk enough.”² Two years later, Qu’Appelle Industrial School had hired out as many as twenty female students in a program referred to as the “outing system.”³

The Canadian outing system, devised in the 1880s, was a direct feature of industrial schools in the prairie west. Seen as an extension of the school’s vocational training, the outing system became an outlet with which the Canadian federal government’s Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) could assimilate into the lower ranks of Euro-Canadian society young Indigenous girls in a hierarchical system of labour. Thus, the outing system was a continuation of the federal government’s colonial goal of Indigenous subservience during an important era of western development and settlement. Despite the apparent ambitions of colonial officials to implement the program and the high number of settlers who embraced it, gender and labour historians have often overlooked the involvement of Indigenous girls in the outing system.

By examining the roles and education of Indigenous female youth in the industrial school system in the Canadian prairies, this study will illuminate how the DIA implemented the outing

¹ Joseph Hugonnard, principal of Qu’Appelle Industrial School, signed his name “Hugonnard”

² Library and Archives Canada [hereafter LAC], “Father Hugonnard to Hayter Reed,” 20 Dec. 1889, Hayter Reed Papers, MG 29 E 106, Volume [hereafter Vol.] 18, File Qu’Appelle Industrial School 1889-1993.

³ *Annual Report of the Department of Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada*, [hereafter *Annual Report*], Canada Sessional Papers, 1891, 110.

system and how the program, in turn, led many Indigenous women and girls into a role of servitude even after graduation. And then, by looking at the settler homes, farms, and establishments in which they worked, this thesis provides an important glimpse into the early history of domestic work for Indigenous women and girls in western Canada and offers insights into the very nature of settler colonialism in early Canadian national history. In the name of assimilation, Indigenous girls were compelled to work in homes that exemplified settler values, taking on strenuous labour in an environment where attitudes of race and class dimensions were prominent. To this end, Indigenous women and girls supported settlers and new town economies through their work, as well in the very heart of households headed by farmers, business owners, colonial leaders, government administrators, and police officers.

This draws from my previous study on industrial schools that explored only some dimensions of the outing system. In that work I argued that while government and church administrators believed that the schools would teach female Indigenous students how to conform to ideals of white, Victorian womanhood and would help advance the cause of “civilizing” male students, in the end, female students faced many difficult conditions in the schools and ultimately found ways to resist. These students also had other goals in mind such as utilizing the skills they learned to find employment outside the home, the opposite of what administrators initially envisioned.⁴ The present thesis builds upon this work. By looking directly at the experiences of girls in the outing system, it draws a conclusion about the element of labour in the industrial school system as it related to female students.

⁴ Sarah Nason, ““As much importance as a factor in the civilization and advancement of the Indian race”: First Nations Women and Canada’s Industrial School System, 1883-1923,” (B.A. Thesis, Mount Royal University, 2014).

The first chapter of this thesis will provide a background on the creation and purpose of industrial schools in Canadian Prairies. It will also expand on the origins of the outing system and how it applies to the ambitions of Hayter Reed, the Indian Commissioner who put it in place. The second chapter will discuss what the outing system looked like for young Indigenous women and how the industrial school vocational training prepared them for it. The history of domestic work in Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries will also be discussed as it pertains to the demands of hiring young Indigenous women. The third chapter identifies the various experiences of girls in the outing system, its official functioning and the possible reasons for why the parents of students were often reluctant to allow their children to participate. The fourth and final chapter will discuss findings from the 1901 Canadian census in the Northwest Territories to identify Indigenous workers and their employers, as well as illuminate characteristics of the occupation. Census information, though sparse, provides telling clues as to the real lived and working experiences of female Indigenous students who, by 1901, were still moving into domestic service assignments, or, having officially graduated from industrial schooling, were still employed in this work. The outing system did not uniformly “assimilate” girls into a single occupation or way of life. It likely veered from the intended outcome of the program of assimilation which was vaguely defined. In the end, the system sent girls into a myriad of different experiences in town and rural settings and, in terms of employment, moved individuals into service both among settlers and within Indigenous households themselves. In this way, the program’s outcomes even in 1901, as schooling changed, were likely difficult to fully control and its assimilative goals undermined by the real experience of students involved with it.

This thesis looks at the experiences of Indigenous women and girls from the Canadian prairies. More particularly, it looks at the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, which until 1905 were considered part of the North West Territories. Present day Alberta and Saskatchewan was home to many Plains Indigenous peoples. Plains Indigenous peoples include several distinctive groups such as the Blackfoot, Cree, Ojibwe, Assiniboine, Nakota, and Dakota. These areas fall under Numbered Treaties Four, Six, Seven, and Ten.

This thesis uses the lenses of gender, colonialism, and labour history to examine the goals and actual outcomes of industrial schools in the Territories and specifically the outing system for female students from 1889-1901. This thesis goes beyond the fur trade era to discuss Indigenous labour history and how the Canadian government had a role to play in placing Indigenous women and girls in marginalized positions of employment through education. In her recently published book, *Indigenous Women, Work, and History, 1940-1980*, Mary Jane Logan McCallum points out that historical studies about Indigenous peoples and wage labour are not closely connected to historical work on education. Instead, Indigenous labour history tends to focus on resource-based labour in general and the rise and collapse of fur trade economics.⁵ Indigenous labour history in the settlement era also tends to focus on the work of men. McCallum asserts, “The scarcity of histories of Indigenous women’s work, particularly in the post-fur trade era has resulted in part from the erroneous middle-class assumption that Aboriginal men were the main or sole family breadwinners and that their work counted for more than that of women.”⁶ This thesis sets out to address the shortcomings in the literature by linking history on education with labour history of Indigenous women in the earlier economy in Canada.

⁵ Mary Jane Logan McCallum, *Indigenous Women, Work, and History 1940 – 1980* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2014), 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

As April Rosenau Chiefcalf has emphasized in her study of the Regina Industrial School, gender analysis is useful as it demonstrates not only that “notions and ideals of gender are not static, but rather they are constantly changing, constructed relative to time and place.”⁷ In this case, Victorian ideals for women permeated and shaped activities of young women who attended the schools. Likewise, these schools must be viewed as the mainstay of the government and churches’ colonialist program for Indigenous peoples in which all groups were seen as subordinate and in need of “civilization.” As a result, administrators tended to view young female students as little more than bodies to be shaped and constructed as they saw fit, and used the industrial school system as a means through which they could reinforce the dominance of settler society.⁸

This study focuses on the period between 1888-1901 for an important reason. In 1888, Battleford Industrial School graduate, Annie McKay, became the first Indigenous girl to enter domestic service in the home of Hayter Reed, when he began developing the outing system officially in Canada.⁹ The year 1901 was when the DIA annual reports made their last mention of sending female school graduates from industrial schools in the North-West Territories to service after the outing system began dying out in 1897.¹⁰ The years 1888-1901 also fall within a significant era, when the first western industrial school was constructed in 1883 until 1923 when the last industrial school was closed. Industrial schools then merged with boarding schools

⁷ April Rosenau Chiefcalf, “Victorian Ideologies of Gender and the Curriculum of Regina Indian Industrial School, 1891-1910,” M.A Diss., University of Saskatchewan, 2002, 7.

⁸ See Mary-Ellen Kelm, *Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia 1900-50* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998) and Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

⁹ Annual Reports, 1892, 213.

¹⁰ Annual Reports, 1901, 371.

into a newly designed “residential school” system.¹¹ Further, the era between 1880-1920 was a transitional time in which the demand for domestic workers in Canada was at its greatest to when industrial and technological developments changed this demand. Domestic work, once an occupation performed by outsiders in the home, later became labour performed by women, often wives, already living within the home.¹²

The primary methodology used in this work is textual analysis of documentary sources used by church and government officials. I draw on *Annual Reports* of what is now known as Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, and Record Group 10 (Indian Affairs) located in Library and Archives Canada. These documents allow me to discern both church and government goals for the female students in the industrial schools. I also draw on the Canadian census of 1901 to determine how many women and girls, identified as Indigenous, laboured in households, farms, and establishments in the Northwest Territories at the end of the outing system period. Through the census I am also able to gather clues as to where women worked and for whom. Where possible, I have consulted student-generated sources such as previously recorded and published oral interviews. In addition, photographs are utilized.¹³

There are drawbacks concerning the sources used in this thesis. Regrettably, my research does not involve the collection of testimony and oral history through interviews or stories of those whose ancestors were students of the industrial schools, who were affiliated with the

¹¹ John S. Milloy, “*A National Crime*”: *The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986* (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1999), 52.

¹² Genevieve, Leslie, “Domestic Service in Canada, 1880-1920,” in *Women at Work: Ontario, 1850-1930*, eds. Janice Acton, Penny Goldsmith and Bonnie Shepard (Toronto: Canadian Women’s Educational Press, 1974), 71.

¹³ These photographs should be viewed as propaganda rather than a realistic portrayal of life in the school as they were typically generated for public consumption. See J.R. Miller, “Reading Photographs, Reading Voices: Documenting the History of Native Residential Schools,” in *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*, ed. Jennifer Brown and Elizabeth Vibert (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1996.)

outing system, or laboured as domestic workers at the end of the nineteenth century. Further, the documents consulted were written by white settler men of the late nineteenth century and only provide a glimpse into the experiences and realities of the Indigenous women and girls of whom this research is based. Using the Canadian census from 1901 also presents challenges. For one, enumerators might have improperly recorded or missed Indigenous domestic workers all together. Furthermore, the enumerators were expected to record anyone with any Indigenous heritage as “red” regardless of how they identified themselves.¹⁴ By labelling those of mixed ancestry as “Indigenous” in my thesis, I am possibly making the same mistake as the enumerators of the 1901 census. In order to combat some of these shortfalls I attempt to use the clues presented to me in the sources to present scenarios on the possible experiences and individuality of these women and girls.

Despite their importance and relevance to Canadian residential schools, industrial schools and labour have been a topic generally understudied and overlooked within the vast topic of residential schools. Studied even less have been the experiences of female students in the industrial school system as the topic of Indigenous industrial schools and girls are discussed only in passing within the best-known existing studies. One of the most-cited books on the topic of residential schools remains *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986*, which provides a history of the entire residential school system from

¹⁴ See “Instructions to Officers,” in Eric W. Sager, Douglas K. Thompson, and Marc Trottier, *The National Sample of the 1901 Census of Canada: User’s Guide* (Victoria: Canadian Families Project), 187; See also LAC, *Census of Canada [hereafter Census]*, Sarah Goodlad, 1901, The Territories, Saskatchewan no. 205, La Corne no. E1, page 1. and LAC, and *Census*, Sarah Goodlad, 1901, The Territories, Saskatchewan no. 205, Prince Albert East no. S1, page 26. Sarah Goodlad is listed in the census twice, once by her mother in La Corne and once by her employer in Prince Albert East. Sarah’s mother identified her as “white”, whereas her employer identified her as “red”.

its start until its closure.¹⁵ The author, John S. Milloy, highlights the vision behind these schools, the reality of the system at work and the struggle for their closure. Because industrial schools were an important part of the creation of residential schools, Milloy discusses them in detail.¹⁶ However, he rarely considers female students. He chooses instead to focus on the schools and their management; the problem of disease and death; teaching and learning; food and clothing; as well as the neglect and abuse suffered by students.

J.R. Miller's *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools*, like *A National Crime*, covers the entire residential school era, focusing on the initial establishment of the schools to the phasing out of the residential school system, as well as the experiences of all who were involved.¹⁷ Miller includes a brief chapter focusing on gender, describing gender segregation and gender relations between both the students and the staff throughout the entire residential school era. He found that gender was an important factor in the lives of those who studied, worked and lived in residential schools.¹⁸ Miller also provides valuable information about the outing system in the chapter "Work and Play." This chapter exposes the heavy workload and unpaid labour the students of the residential schools had to endure in order for the schools to sustain themselves. Miller regards the extraction of labour, particularly through the outing system (as had very little to do with vocational training), "[A] pernicious form of this involuntary servitude."¹⁹

¹⁵ Milloy, *A National Crime*.

¹⁶ Ibid., 52-75.

¹⁷ J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.

¹⁸ Ibid., 217-250.

¹⁹ Ibid., 253-257.

There are a number of studies that discuss industrial schools in Canada. Brian Titley wrote specifically about industrial schools in the prairies.²⁰ All of his articles argue that industrial schools were modeled on reformatory institutions, which implies that church and government officials believed that Indigenous students needed to be “corrected” in some way. A dissertation by Jennifer Pettit, “To Christianize and Civilize: Native Industrial Schools in Canada,” provides another overview of the industrial school system.²¹ Like Miller, Pettit offers a section on gender. Pettit examines the function of gender in day-to-day school administration, the reasoning behind segregation, and the type and amount of work performed by male and female students. She argues that government policy makers were unsuccessful with the goals they had set out with creation of the schools. Instead they were an “expensive failure” that damaged Indigenous culture and way of life.²²

There is, however, one source that analyzes female students specifically in the industrial school system. April ChiefCalf’s MA thesis, “Victorian Ideologies of Gender and the Curriculum of the Regina Indian Industrial School 1891-1910,” explores the social construction of gender in the industrial school system through a case study of the Regina Industrial School and examines

²⁰ Brian Titley, “Dunbow Indian Industrial School: An Oblate Experiment in Education,” *Western Oblate Studies* 2, (1992): 95-113; Brian Titley, “Indian Industrial Schools in Western Canada,” in *Schools in the West: Essays in Canadian Education*, eds. Nancy Sheehan, Donald Wilson and David Jones (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1986), 133-53; Brian Titley, “Red Deer Indian Industrial School: A Case Study in the History of Native Education,” in *Exploring our Educational Past: Schooling in the North-West Territories and Alberta*, eds. Nich Kach and Kas Mazurek (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited., 1992), 55-72. The Red Deer school is also the focus of Uta Hildamarie Fox, “The Failure of the Red Deer Industrial School,” (M.A. thesis, University of Calgary, 1993).

²¹ Jennifer Pettit ““To Christianize and Civilize’: Native Industrial Schools in Canada,” Pd.D. diss., University of Calgary, 1997.

²² Ibid., 279-380.

how Victorian ideologies of gender shaped the curriculum.²³ While ChiefCalf discusses Victorian attitudes towards domestic work, there is no mention of the outing system in the Regina Industrial School.²⁴

Joan Sangster provides an important approach to consider the outing system in “Domesticating Girls: The Sexual Regulation of Aboriginal and Working-Class Girls in Twentieth Century Canada.”²⁵ Sangster discusses the reform agenda in Canada through an Ontario training school that was committed to changing the “visible behaviour and interior sensibilities” of both Indigenous and working-class girls in the twentieth century. Sangster’s work interrogates colonial and class dimensions of sexual regulation forcing young women to attend these schools and focusing their training in what she calls her three “key words”: domesticity, femininity/purity, and honest labour.²⁶

Although the topic of Indigenous women in Canadian industrial schools is a subject that has been understudied, there are some sources that have been written based on the Indigenous industrial school system in the United States. Two articles are relevant in this study: “Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: the Power of Authority over Mind and Body,” published in the *American Ethnologist* in 1993 by Tsianina Lomawaima,²⁷ and “Learning Gender: Female Students at the Sherman Institute, 1907-1925,” by Katrina Paxton, published in *Boarding School Blues*:

²³ ChiefCalf, “Victorian Ideologies of Gender and the Curriculum of the Regina Indian Industrial School, 1891-1910,” 7.

²⁴ Ibid., 26-27.

²⁵ Joan Sangster, “Domesticating Girls: The Sexual Regulation of Aboriginal and Working – Class Girls in Twentieth-Century Canada,” in *Contact Zones: Aboriginal and Settler Women in Canada’s Colonial Past*, eds. Katie Pickles and Myra Rutherdale (Vancouver: UBC Press, 200), 179-201.

²⁶ Ibid., 179-180.

²⁷ Tsianina Lomawaima, “Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: The Power of Authority over Mind and Body,” *American Ethnologist* 20, no.2 (May 1993): 227-240.

Revisiting American Indian Education Experiences in 2006.²⁸ While the industrial schools in the prairies were modeled in part after their American counterparts,²⁹ the lack of studies on gender remains.

Indigenous labour history beyond the fur-trade has had a multitude of historical studies that exist through several different themes and methodological lenses. The most important source for understanding the historiographical context for labour history in Canada is, “Native Wage Labour and Independent Production during the ‘Era of Irrelevance’” by Steven High.³⁰ High’s work challenges the current historiographical literature that ignores Indigenous wage earners since the decline of the fur trade. He calls wage-earning history the “era of irrelevance,” because of its lack of attention by historians. High argues that Indigenous peoples participated in the capitalist economy during this “era of irrelevance” and consciously made decisions that strengthened their way of life. He asserts, “Native efforts to incorporate aspects of the capitalist economy into their seasonal round and their resistance to the government’s assimilation policy laid the foundation for the future construction of the non-proletarian Amerindian worker.”³¹ High’s work is important for understanding how other disciplines have researched Indigenous involvement in the capitalist economy. However, High ultimately calls for a revision to our conception of labour history. Its narrow definition on wage earning obscures a true understanding of Indigenous peoples within the working-class experience.

²⁸ Katrina Paxon, “Learning Gender: Female Students at the Sherman Institute, 1907-1925,” in *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Education Experiences*, eds. Clifford E Trafzer, Jean Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 174-186.

²⁹ As discussed in Nicholas Flood Davin, *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half Breeds*, 14 March 1879 [hereafter Davin Report], LAC, Record Group 10 [hereafter RG], Vol. 6001, File 1-1-1.

³⁰ Steven High, “Native Wage Labour and Independent Production during the ‘Era of Irrelevance’.” *Labour* 37 (Spring 1996): 243-264.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 244.

High attributes much of his perspective to that of historian Rolf Knight. The largest and most influential work on Canadian Indigenous labour history, Knight's *Indians at Work: An Informal History of Native Labour in British Columbia 1848-1930* argues that in British Columbia, Indigenous peoples have been active in many different forms of wage industries from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.³² Whether these jobs were good or bad, they had become an important part of the lives of Indigenous peoples for five and more generations. Knight recognises Indigenous workers and producers who have participated in British Columbia's economy for over a century. These included loggers, longshoremen, teamsters, cowboys, minor, fishermen and cannery workers.³³

Like Knight, historian John Lutz also focuses on Indigenous labour history of British Columbia. One of his works in particular, "After the Fur Trade: the Aboriginal Labouring Class of British Columbia 1849-1890," focuses on how First Nations peoples encompassed the majority of the work force in the primarily industries of agriculture, fishing, and trapping.³⁴ With this argument Lutz challenges the perspective that Indigenous peoples were bystanders to the economic development and industrialization of the economy in Western Canada and used the capitalistic economy for their own cultural purposes. Similarly, *Neighbours and Networks: The Blood Tribe in the Southern Alberta Economy, 1884-1930*, by Keith Regular, explores labour in respect to the larger economy of Kainai First Nation.³⁵ Regular discusses the working relationships between Kainai First Nation and non-Indigenous peoples in the surrounding area of

³² Rolf Knight, *Indians at Work: An Informal History of Native Indian Labour in British Columbia, 1853-1930* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978).

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ John Lutz, "After the Fur-Trade: Aboriginal Labouring Class of British Columbia 1849-1890," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 3 (1992): 69-93.

³⁵ Keith Regular, *Neighbours and Networks: The Blood Tribe in the Southern Alberta Economy, 1884-1930* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009).

Southern Alberta. Regular argues that the Kainai First Nation and their reserve played a pivotal role in the regional economic development to which they have not been fully recognized.³⁶

There are several important sources for understanding the history of domestic work in Canada during the turn of the century.³⁷ One important source is, “Domestic Service in Canada 1880-1920,” by Genevieve Leslie, published as a chapter in *Women at Work: Ontario, 1850-1930*.³⁸ In this chapter Leslie provides a general overview of domestic work at the turn of the century but more specifically, demand and decline, common opinion and social status, and the industrialization of housework. She explains that the modern housewife has only just inherited many of these disadvantages of domestic work.³⁹ In addition, Helen Lenskyj’s article “A ‘Servant Problem’ or a ‘Servant-Mistress Problem’?: Domestic Service in Canada, 1890-1930,” provides important insight to the history of domestic work in Canada.⁴⁰ In her article, Lenskyj addresses the widespread shortage in available domestic workers at the turn of the century often referred to as the “servant problem.” She argues that social class differences between the domestic worker and the mistress and the demands placed upon the domestic worker exacerbated the “problem” and asserts that new professions for women in industry and commerce eventually became a more appealing form of employment for women in Canada.⁴¹ Finally, Eric W. Sager provides analysis

³⁶ Ibid., xv.

³⁷ In addition to those discussed here, see David John Pedler, “A Study of Domestic Service in Canada,” (MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 1982). In this thesis, Pedlar provides a detailed overview of the literature on domestic service and housework. He describes the decline of domestic work relative to immigration, the availability of other forms of employment attracting women, as well as the experiences for domestic workers from 1891-1971.

³⁸ Genevieve Leslie, “Domestic Service in Canada, 1880-1920,” 71-125.

³⁹ Ibid., 71-125.

⁴⁰ Helen Lenskyj, “A ‘Servant Problem’ or a ‘Servant-Mistress Problem’? Domestic Service in Canada, 1890-1930,” *Atlantis* 7, no. 1, (1981): 3-11.

⁴¹ Ibid.

in “The Transformation of the Canadian Domestic Servant, 1871-1931.”⁴² Like this thesis, Sager used the 1901 Canadian census to examine ethnic and religious backgrounds and earnings of female domestic workers. As a result of his research, Sager rejects existing assumptions that domestic workers came from particular ethnoreligious backgrounds and that domestic work presented material advantages. He argues that female wage earners chose better paying, less exploitative employment which led to the shortage and eventual decline of live-in domestic workers. He concludes that domestic work in Canada did not simply deteriorate but rather the job itself changed especially with a change in technology and demographics.⁴³ Sager, Lenskyj, and Leslie, however, do not specifically address the employment of Indigenous domestic workers. In fact, the topic of domestic service and colonization in various countries worldwide has only just recently been addressed thoroughly.⁴⁴

An essential reference for this thesis that discusses Indigenous women and wage labour is Mary Jane Logan McCallum’s book, *Indigenous Women, Work, and History 1940-1980*. In her book, McCallum highlights how state power shaped the labour of Indigenous women in the second half on the twentieth century, especially in the areas of health, education, and labour. By

⁴² Eric Sager, “The Transformation of the Canadian Domestic Servant, 1871-1931,” *Social Science History* 31, no. 4 (Winter 2007): 509-537.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 510.

⁴⁴ See Victoria Haskins, and Claire Lowrie, eds., *Colonization and Domestic Service: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2015). In addition to researching and writing about Native American domestic workers in the United States, Haskins, as also done research and writing on Indigenous domestic workers in Australia. See articles, Victoria Haskins, “Domestic Service and Frontier Feminism: The Call for a Woman Visitor to “Half-Caste” Girls and Women in Domestic Service, Adelaide, 1925-1928,” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 28, no. 1 and 2, (2007), 124-164 and Victoria Haskins, “On the Doorstep: Aboriginal Domestic Service as a ‘Contact Zone’,” *Australian Feminist Studies* 16, no. 34 (2001), 13-25. For additional research on domestic workers in the United States, see Margaret D. Jacobs, “Working on the Domestic Frontier: American Indian Domestic Servants in White Women’s Households in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1920-1940,” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 28, No. 1 and 2 (2007), 165-199.

examining domestic workers, hairdressers, community health representatives, and nurses, McCallum challenges common narratives of displacement and argues the Indigenous women's wage-labour was shaped by "politics of modernity" and the state.⁴⁵ McCallum dedicates an entire chapter, "Sweeping the Nation: Indigenous Women and Domestic Labour in Mid-Twentieth Century Canada," to argue that the DIA guaranteed that one of the only jobs available for Indigenous women was domestic labour. This was a result of the domestic training young Indigenous women received in residential schools, as well as a domestics placement program in Ottawa that existed in the early mid-1940s.⁴⁶ Although she touches on the evolution of Canadian Indigenous women working in domestic service, she mainly focuses on the history of Indigenous women's wage labour in the later half of the twentieth century. McCallum's work on Indigenous women's labour history is a valuable resource for labour historians and has been a large asset to the information gathered in this thesis.

Another source that identifies Indigenous women as domestic workers in Canada is the MA thesis by Lorraine Cecilia Brown entitled, "Domestic service in British Columbia, 1850-1914."⁴⁷ This thesis describes the middle and upper class settlers of British Columbia and their struggle to find desirable domestic workers during the era of the "servant problem." Along with discussing white female domestic workers, Brown also identifies Chinese and Indigenous domestic workers. She discusses how class, race, and gender issues continued to aggravate the "servant problem," as Indigenous and Chinese workers were reluctant to destabilize their own cultures by performing this work.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ McCallum, *Indigenous Women, Work, and History 1940-1980*, 5.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 21-65.

⁴⁷ Lorraine Cecilia Brown, "Domestic Service in British Columbia, 1850-1914," (MA Thesis., University of Victoria), 1995.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

While there is no literature that specifically discusses the outing system in Canada in detail, there are existing sources that either discuss vocational training in residential schools or directly discuss the outing system in other countries, such as the United States. Mary Jane Logan McCallum, in her chapter, “‘I Would Like the Girls at Home’: Domestic Labor and the Age of Discharge at Canadian Indian Residential Schools,” provides crucial material on Indigenous women and girls, and their involvement with domestic work as a result of colonial education.⁴⁹ McCallum examines a period outside my thesis (1920 to 1940) to discuss the struggle over the age of release from residential schools in Canada. By examining correspondence between agents of the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) and parents or relatives of the students, McCallum determines that the staff of the schools would keep the female students longer in order to broaden their domestic training and prepare them for roles as domestic workers. McCallum’s chapter explains how young Indigenous women were important to both the colonial economic community and the Indigenous community.⁵⁰ Her insights can help inform possible similarities in school practice occurring earlier in the record.

The *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, published in 2015, provides a general overview of vocational training both in and outside of residential schools. Volume one of the commission has an important chapter that discusses “The student as labourer: 1867-1939.”⁵¹ The chapter outlines how labour had become a key component in the history of residential schools and how its purpose is still up for debate. This chapter provides descriptions of school

⁴⁹ Mary Jane Logan McCallum, “‘I would Like the Girls at Home’: Domestic Labor and the Age of Discharge at Canadian Indian Residential Schools,” in *Colonization and Domestic Service: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Victoria K Haskins and Claire Lowrie (New York: Routledge, 2015), 191-209.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 191.

⁵¹ Truth and Reconciliation Canada. *Canada’s Residential Schools: The History, Part 1 Origins to 1939*. Winnipeg: Truth and Reconciliation Canada, 2015.

construction and maintenance on behalf of students, the student's responsibility to clothe and feed the students and staff, school farm operations, school-run businesses, specific training for employment in trades, the risk of injury, employment (or lack thereof) after graduation, and the outing system. While the commission provides a detailed report of the outing system for both genders Canada wide, it does not provide the details on program inception, student experience, and how the outing system fits into the general history of domestic work in Canada.⁵²

The history of vocational education and domestic work has been sufficiently investigated in Australia. Shirleene Robinson in, “‘Always a Good Demand’: Aboriginal Child Domestic Servants Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Australia” probes the significance of Indigenous child domestic work in settler homes during the turn of the century in Australia.⁵³ Robinson argues that the employment of young Indigenous workers was not just practiced as a means to serve an economic purpose, but also to reform the Indigenous population to the colonial order. This all stemmed from a notion prevalent in nineteenth century Britain that stressed the reformatory potential of labour.⁵⁴ Robinson's work, though in the Australian context, suggests a similar colonial agenda for hiring out Indigenous students to work in settler homes in Canada. Similarly, Joanne Scott and Raymond Evan's article, “The Moulding of Menials: the Making of Aboriginal Female Domestic Servant in Early Twentieth Century Queensland,” focuses on a state sponsored educational agenda in 1920s Australia which prepared and limited young Indigenous

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Shirleene Robinson, “‘Always a Good Demand’: Aboriginal Child Domestic Servants in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Australia” in *Colonization and Domestic Service: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, eds. Victoria K Haskins and Claire Lowrie (New York: Routledge, 2015), 97-112.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 97.

women to domestic work.⁵⁵ Scott and Evan argue that domestic work was the worst employment option available to women in general but was especially worse for those of Aboriginal and Melanesian decent due to inequality and racism. European schooling in Queensland was an institutional factor that shaped the minds of Aboriginal children having them believe that exploitative labour was the only option available.⁵⁶

In regards to the outing system in the United States, there are three important studies. Victoria K. Haskins in *Matrons and Maids: Regulating Indian Domestic Service in Tucson, 1914-1934*, examines matrons of Tucson's outing system who were employed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to supervise young Tohono O'odham women "working out" in settler homes.⁵⁷ The matron's job assisted in the "civilization process" by overseeing the Indigenous girls directly in their place of work in urban settings ensuring they were "monitored" and "contained". Haskin's research highlights the impact of the outing system in the United States in the twentieth century as well as the position of white women in Indigenous cross-cultural histories.⁵⁸ Robert A. Trennert's article, "From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and fall of the Indian Outing System, 1878-1930," and Alexandria L. Gough's master's thesis, "A Way Out: The History of the outing Program from the Haskell Institute to the Phoenix Indian School," both provide a thorough introduction and overview of the outing system in the United States.⁵⁹ They argue that while the outing system was

⁵⁵ Joanne Scott and Raymond Evans, "The Moulding of Menials: The Making of the Aboriginal Female Domestic Servant in Early Twentieth Century Queensland," *Hecate* 22, No. 1 (1996): 139-157.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Victoria Haskins, *Matrons and Maids: Regulating Indian Domestic Service in Tucson, 1914-1934* (Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 2012).

⁵⁸ Ibid., 3-4.

⁵⁹ Robert A. Trennert, "From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System 1878-1930," *Pacific Historical Review* no. 52 (Jan 1983): 267-291; Alexandria Gough, "A Way Out: The History of the Outing Program from the Haskell Institute to the Phoenix Indian School," (MA thesis. University of Arkansas, 2010).

initially created to reform Native American youth through assimilation, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and school administrators eventually lost sight of their original goal and used the outing system to fill demands for inexpensive employment and trapped students in an endless state of wage labour.⁶⁰

This thesis builds on existing studies on Indigenous labour and colonial education to include vital information about Indigenous women as labourers in the late 19th century. There is an extensive amount of sources that discuss either residential schools or Indigenous labour in Canada. However, none specifically discuss the outing system, its origins, and its connection with industrial schools in great detail. While it is difficult to determine the thoughts and feelings of the Indigenous women and girls who were domestic workers as a result of DIA ambitions in the late nineteenth century, this thesis endeavours to explore this area of untold history as it pertains to Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

Chapter One – Industrial Schools in the West and the Origins of the Outing System

A number of the older girls are out at service as what is called “Out Pupils,” and according to the written reports received from their employers, they are giving good satisfaction. – *The Guide*, Battleford Industrial School, Saskatchewan, July 1895.¹

By 1895, the student run newspaper, *The Guide*, reported on the apparent success of the outing system, now operational for at least five years in the prairie’s first industrial schools at High River, Battleford, and Qu’Appelle. Many young Indigenous men were hired out to work as farm labourers while young Indigenous women were hired out as domestic workers. The establishment of the outing system, encouraged by a singular and determined Department of Indian Affairs official, was quickly implemented and popular among industrial school administrators who believed that the system would expedite the school’s objectives. This chapter explains the creation and purpose of the both the industrial schools and the outing system as they pertain to the idea that vocational training was key to “civilization” of Indigenous peoples.

The introduction of industrial schools for Indigenous children was an important component in the history of westward expansion and colonization by Euro-Canadians. In his National Policy, Prime Minister John A. Macdonald envisioned a country from “sea to sea.” The west in this vision would be populated by immigrants and would serve as a source of

¹ “The School,” *The Guide*, July 1895. *The Guide* was a school newspaper printed at Battleford Industrial School that reported on school news. The first issue was published on July 25th, 1891 and the last issue was on June 25th 1899. Cited in Walter Julian Wasylyow, “History of Battleford Industrial School for Indians,” (MA Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1972), 101-104 and appendix G, 346.

resources for central Canada, which would be the hub of industry.² This desire to populate the west with non-Indigenous settlers, along with the declining health and well being of Indigenous peoples, resulted in significant changes. One of these changes was government intervention in the form of schools. No longer needed as military and economic allies, the “Indian Problem” could be solved through industrial school training. This, according to government and church officials would transform Indigenous youth into self-sufficient manual workers.³ At the time, industrial schools in Canada were created specifically to “teach” young Indigenous peoples various forms of trade but in practice, this schooling placed pupils into specific ranks of settler society and created a subservient lower class.

Before the creation of schools in the west, similar vocational or “industrial” institutions already existed in central Canada in the 1830s and 1840s. These schools were founded by various churches whose main purpose was to convert Indigenous children to Christianity and train them to adopt strategies of manual labour in order to become self-sufficient. In these early years, the schools were modelled in part by those in the United States, primarily funded by charities such as the New England Company⁴ and managed by missionaries. Male students learned farming, blacksmithing, tailoring and carpentry, while female students learned skills such as spinning, knitting, sewing, and housekeeping.⁵

² See Robert Craig Brown, *Canada's National Policy, 1883-1900: A Study in Canadian-American Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964).

³ See Noel Dyck, *What is the Indian “Problem”: Tutelage and Resistance in Canadian Indian Administration* (St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1991).

⁴ The New England Company, also known as the “Society for the Propagation of the Gospel” was a Puritan missionary society developed in 1649 for the purpose of converting Indigenous peoples in New England. The organization is still active today. See <http://www.newenglandcompany.org>.

⁵ Pettit, “To Christianize and Civilize,” 22-25.

The first of these schools was the Anglican Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario which opened in the 1830s. Soon others were established such as the Methodist Mount Elgin Institute in Muncey Town, Ontario and the Methodist Alnwick School in Alderville, Ontario. Following these schools were E.F. Wilson's Shingwauk Home located in Sault Ste. Marie and the Wikwemikong School, a Catholic institution located on Manitoulin Island.⁶ Government involvement in these schools was far less significant than it would be when the industrial schools were established in the west beginning in the 1880s.⁷

Industrial schools were created to augment and/or replace the already existing day schools, which administrators disliked because they did not prevent students from being exposed to their families and communities whose Indigenous culture eroded the government's "civilization" program.⁸ Senior cabinet minister Hector Langevin, in an 1883 session in Parliament, stated that "[t]he fact is, that if you wish to educate these children you must separate them from their parents during the time they are being educated. If you leave them in the family they may know how to read or write, but they still remain savages, whereby separating them in the way proposed, they acquire the habits and tastes... of civilized people."⁹ Likewise, boarding schools were not seen as particularly useful because students were not learning sufficient skills to support themselves.¹⁰ Industrial schools, then, became the centerpiece of Canada's assimilation policy.

While schools in central Canada provided an industrial school model, so too did the Indigenous boarding schools in the United States. In 1879, a conservative government

⁶ Titley, "Indian Industrial Schools in Western Canada," 137.

⁷ Pettit, "'To Christianize and Civilize'," 22.

⁸ Pettit, "'To Christianize and Civilize'," 16.

⁹ Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, *Debates*, 5th Parliament, 1st session, vol. 14 (1883), 22 May 1883: 1376.

¹⁰ Pettit, "'To Christianize and Civilize'," 16.

commissioner, lawyer, and western newspaper editor, Nicolas Flood Davin, visited a number of schools in the United States prior to his recommendation that the school system in Ontario be expanded west.¹¹ The American off-reservation boarding school system began in 1877 with the opening of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School by a former captain of the American Civil war, Richard Henry Pratt. Pratt saw inferiority in Native American ways and felt that, eventually, education could rapidly assimilate Indigenous people into American society.¹²

Indeed, First Nations negotiations and signing of the western treaties called for schools. However, they did not perceive that the schools would work as agents of assimilation.¹³ Missionaries who encouraged the signing of the treaties also influenced demand for school. Aware that the buffalo were almost gone, Indigenous peoples of the prairies began to look to alternative ways of life, such as the practice of Euro-Canadian agriculture, which was becoming the new norm on their traditional lands.¹⁴ With this knowledge, Indigenous groups agreed to promises from the Crown that included the use and sharing of their lands in exchange for items and rights such as money, medical assistance, unrestricted hunting rights, and education. Indigenous leaders believed these requests, especially education, would provide means of support, but would not prevent them from maintaining their sovereignty and traditions.¹⁵ For instance, Ahtakakoop, a Cree Chief from Treaty 6 who shared the same views as many other plains Indigenous peoples said, “I have seen this calamity coming upon us for years past, but some will not believe it even now, and I

¹¹ *Davin Report*.

¹² David W. Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding-School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 31.

¹³ Treaty Seven Elders and Tribal Council et al, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1996), 119-120.

¹⁴ Sarah Carter, *Lost Harvests: Prairies Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1990), 51-52.

¹⁵ Treaty Seven Elders, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 120.

have had a longing desire to settle down and get my living like the white man, but I have has no one to teach me.”¹⁶ Some portions of Indigenous populations believed that missionaries and the Bible could provide useful lessons and prepare their people for the change that was coming. In regards to missionaries, Ahtakakoop said, “[The missionary] could have school and teach the children to read and understand the white man’s language, and so prepare them for the change that was coming; and he could also teach the old people about “Keche Munnato” (the great god) from his own great Book.”¹⁷

As a result, the seven numbered treaties in western Canada in the 1870s included an education clause. At negotiations, both the Crown and Indigenous peoples indicated that the education provided would ensure the future success of Indigenous peoples.¹⁸ However, the education provided after the signing of the treaties was slow in being delivered and not on the terms of Indigenous peoples. Indigenous people signing treaty certainly had not anticipated the schooling envisioned in Nicolas Flood Davin’s 1879 report recommending industrial schools in western Canada that would promote assimilation and the subjugation of its pupils.¹⁹

The Canadian federal government came close to meeting all of Davin’s thirteen recommendations when it completed the industrial school system in the west. Davin’s first six recommendations included using missionaries as teachers, and establishing no more than four industrial schools in the beginning, one in Saskatchewan near Prince Albert, another near Old Bow Fort west of Calgary, a third near Qu’Appelle; and a fourth near Riding Mountain in

¹⁶ Ahtakakoop, as cited in J.R. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant: Aboriginal Treaty-Making in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 152.

¹⁷ Ahtakakoop, as cited in, Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant*, 152.

¹⁸ See Sheila Carr-Stewart, “A Treaty Right to Education,” *Canadian Journal of Education* 26, no. 2 (2001): 129.

¹⁹ *Davin Report*, 1-2.

what is now Manitoba.²⁰ Accordingly, the first three schools were the High River Industrial School (otherwise known as St. Joseph's or Dunbow Industrial School), the Qu'Appelle Industrial School, and the Battleford Industrial School. These schools, unlike their predecessors in the east, would be funded primarily by the government, but managed by the various churches as per Davin's other recommendations.²¹ Industrial Schools in British Columbia were also developed in the 1890s and early 1900s. In that province, officials believed that the Indigenous peoples there were more "industrious" than those in the rest of Canada and that these schools would be more successful. Like other industrial schools in Canada, the British Columbia schools would eventually be deemed "unsuccessful" as a result of financial problems and Indigenous resistance.²²

It should be noted that industrial schools were not originally designed for Indigenous children and that these schools were institutions originally designed in the second half of the nineteenth century to vocationally educate delinquent, impoverished, or neglected children in Ontario. The purpose of industrial schools for delinquent children and Indigenous children was ultimately the same: to remove the child from their parent's care and influence and train them to be menial labourers. Brian Titley observes, "That an institution ostensibly designed to reform those with a predilection for crime should be chosen as the premier form of schooling for Indian children is, of course, curious."²³

²⁰ Ibid., 13-15. The rest of Davin's recommendations are not discussed in detail as they were not as important for the implementation of the schools.

²¹ Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, *Debates*, 5th Parliament, 1st session, vol. 14 (1883), 22 May 1883: 1376.

²² Pettit, "To Christianize and Civilize," 169-170.

²³ Titley, "Indian Industrial Schools in Western Canada," 133; Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 252-253.

By the 1890s many industrial schools in Canada had begun implementing the outing system.²⁴ The outing system, deeply entrenched in industrial schools in the United States by the 1880s, originated with an idea of Pratt, Carlisle Indian School's principal. In the summer of 1878, Richard Pratt, mentioned above, directed his first outings, hiring out Indigenous youth to New England farms. There, they lived in Euro-American settler households learning English and earning their own wages. Since the outings were seen as a success, Pratt soon opened his school at the Carlisle Barracks where he hired out five girls and sixteen boys. By the summer of 1881, Carlisle school had one hundred and nine students working and living in Euro-American settler homes. By 1885, Carlisle had two hundred and fifty students in service, with over one hundred staying for the entire year. By this time the program had expanded to other schools, such as the Hampton Industrial School located in Virginia.²⁵

Similar to the schools south of the Canadian border, domestic work within settler homes was built into Canadian industrial school's educational objectives, providing "hands on" experience while affirming roles among students which schools were trying to instil.²⁶ Furthermore, with students working for a wage outside in non-Indigenous farms and households, schools also saved money. While students were away, schools did not have to feed or clothe them.

The main driver for establishing the outing system in western Canada was DIA official Hayter Reed. Reed was born in 1849 in the town of L'Original, Ontario. As a youth, he attended Royal Military School and graduated in 1865 with a certificate before entering a

²⁴ "Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future," *Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. 2015, 338-339.

²⁵ Trennert, "From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System 1878-1930," 267-274.

²⁶ McCallum, *Women, Work, and History*, 24.

career in the Canadian military where he served as Lieutenant, Captain, and then eventually Major. In 1881, he retired from the military and was hired as an Indian Agent for the Battleford district. In 1884, Reed was appointed as Assistant Indian Commissioner for Manitoba and the Territories and then eventually Commissioner in 1888. His final station with the federal government ended with his position as Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in 1893, retiring from service in 1897.²⁷

Hayter Reed had very little direct experience working with Indigenous peoples when he was appointed to his position with the DIA and likely had little attraction to the posting. Sarah Carter maintains that he was “responding to a call like a soldier being asked to dispose of an unpleasant situation.”²⁸ Coming from a military background, Reed likely managed his positions with the DIA as he would as an officer, with strict rules and demanding obedience. Thus, he rarely consulted with Indigenous peoples in western Canada and usually made decisions without their input. According to Reed, “As well might the Christian or civilized parent allow his children to follow uncurbed the dictates of the blind promptings of their own unregenerate human nature and grow up the outcasts of society, as leave an ignorant savage to determine his own course for himself.”²⁹ Although Reed was described as “honourable” in newspapers after his death in 1936, he earned a reputation as a strict and obstinate government administrator. For his unyielding and harsh measures, the Plains Cree peoples called him “Iron Heart.”³⁰

²⁷ LAC, “The Late Mr. Hayter Reed,” December 24 (year unknown), Indian Affairs, RG10, Vol. 3733, File 26, 743.

²⁸ Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 143.

²⁹ Hayter Reed as cited in, Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 143.

³⁰ LAC, “The Late Mr. Hayter Reed,” 24 December (year unknown), Indian Affairs, RG10, Vol. 3733, File 26, 743; Brian Titley, *The Indian Commissioners: Agents of the State and Indian Policy in Canada’s Prairie West, 1873-1932* (Edmonton : University of Alberta Press, 2009), vii.

In May of 1889, Commissioner Reed toured Mount Elgin Industrial Institute in Ontario, the Muncy Institution in the United States, and Pratt's Carlisle Industrial School in the United States. He shared his observations in a report to the current Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Lawrence Vankoughnet. After viewing the outing system in full operation at Carlisle Industrial School, Reed said that, "I believe most thoroughly in the practice of hiring children, after a longer or shorter term within the walls of the institutions, out with settlers."³¹ Later that year Reed wrote to Father Hugonnard of Qu'Appelle Industrial School, encouraging him to apply an outing system. He wrote, "I have for some time past been thinking over the matter of sending out some of the older pupils to service among the settlers. I am sure that no better method can be found for thoroughly civilizing them and [illegible] on them the feelings and customs of the white population. Can this be done.[sic] It will not only profit the pupils concerned, but make room for the reception of others."³² He continued, "I feel sure that the more you think over this, the more the scheme will commend itself to you; and I hope to hear from you in the matter and later on that you have seen your way to a trial of the scheme [being applied] in the States."³³ Father Hugonnard in a letter of response said he "should be glad to do it whenever it will be possible."³⁴ Qu'Appelle Industrial School would later become the institution most applying the outing system.

Hayter Reed promoted the outing system heavily in his DIA annual reports. In 1889, he conveyed his sentiments on the introduction of the system:

³¹ LAC, "Hayter Reed to Lawrence Vankoughnet," 14 May 1889, Indian Affairs, RG10, Vol. 3818, File 57, 799.

³² LAC, "Hayter Reed to Father Hugonnard," Dec 1889, Hayter Reed Papers, MG29 E 106, Vol. 18, File Qu'Appelle Industrial School 1889-1993.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ LAC, "Father Hugonnard to Hayter Reed," 20 Dec 1889, Hayter Reed Papers, MG29, E 106, Vol. 18, File Qu'Appelle Industrial School 1889-1993.

I believe most thoroughly in the practice of hiring children out with settlers after a longer or shorter term within the walls of the institutions. Of course the greatest care must be exercised with regard to the choice of such homes only for them as will afford the best kind of influences; but if such homes, can be found it seems difficult to imagine any other possible method by which Indians can more thoroughly and readily be civilized. In the present condition of the Territories there undoubtedly exist difficulties in the way of any general adoption of this method, but month by month the number of the desirable class of settlers is increasing, and before many years the difficulty will have disappeared. While the powerful influence of this systems as a means of assimilating Indians to whites, forms its chief attraction, it offers the contingent advantages of materially reducing the cost of the institution; it removes the possibly demoralizing feeling of dependence, and without putting children beyond the guardianship of the institution, it makes room for the admission of more.³⁵

As the outing system in Canada progressed and took shape, Reed continued to push and endorse his “scheme” and campaigned for the program in all prairie industrial schools until his retirement in 1897.

Thus, Canadian government and industrial school administrators adopted the outing system to refine the civilizing mandate of the industrial schools copying the model from the United States. Hayter Reed championed outing as a key step to assimilating students into Euro-Canadian society. The outing system used as a form of assimilation will be discussed in the following chapter along with how the schools prepared young Indigenous women domestic labour both while they were in school and upon graduation.

³⁵ *Annual Report*, 1889, 169.

Chapter Two – Assimilation, Demand, and Labour within the Schools

“[T]hey learn to sew and knit by hand, as well as to work the machines, and do all repairs necessary to clothing. They also wash all dishes and take the places of housemaid, [and] second seamstress...” - Principal Thomas Clarke, Battleford Industrial School, 1889¹

The belief of “civilization” through labour was prevalent in the minds of colonizers during the same era when there was a “shortage” in domestic workers. As a result, Indigenous girls who were students of the industrial schools toiled at their numerous assigned duties disguised as domestic training. Therefore, industrial schools served as a means in which colonizers could meet demand for domestic workers both in and outside the schools, while at the same time, assimilating them. This chapter will discuss the goal of the DIA and school administrators to use the outing system as a means of assimilation. It will also discuss the reasons behind the shortage of European domestic workers in more detail and explain how the schools prepared young Indigenous women to assume positions in what was already understood at the time to be menial labour in settler society.

The late nineteenth century was opportune time for Euro-Canadian settlers to capitalize on Indigenous labour. Before the land rush in the late 1890s, settlers needed reserve labourers and they paid wages in cash or in kind to Indigenous workers. In general, the DIA looked optimistically at the outcomes offered Indigenous people in this employment. In 1892, Deputy of the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, Lawrence Vankoughnet recognized the “benefit” to having Indigenous peoples live and work close to white settlements. In regards to the Territories he explained:

¹ *Annual Report*, 1889, 89.

The opportunity afforded the Indians of this district whose reserves are situated near white settlements, of engaging as labourers or herders of cattle with the settlers, and thus earning wages, is taken advantage of by many of them. Apart from the monetary profit thus reaped, there is the equal, if not greater gain derived from such employment of the experience acquired in such industries, which must be of inestimable advantage to them, in connection with the working of their own farms and raising cattle. There are numerous other industries in which the Indians of this district engage outside of and on these reserves, from which they derive revenue. And there seems to be no reason why in the course of a few years as the country becomes more thickly settled with farmers and other employers of labour of white origin the Indians of Assiniboia or those at least whose reserves are in the vicinity of the settlements should not, by the greater opportunities which will, by the new fields for engaging in profitable labour, be afforded them of obtaining an increased revenue.²

Others also shared the same sentiment. Indian Agent, S. Swinford of the Touchwood Agency, commented in his annual report that, “there are many ways of making progress that do not show to the ordinary onlooker, such as manners, methods, customs, and ideas of earning a living in a civilized way, instilled in the Indians by working for the white settlers.”³ However, most settlers were only comfortable with Indigenous peoples working for them and assimilating into their society as long as they remained subordinate to them. As seen with the industrial school system, colonial officials believed that Euro-Canadian ideals, culture, and institutions were superior to those of Indigenous peoples. In their eyes, Indigenous peoples needed to be “saved” from their traditional ways of living and learn to be Christian, capitalistic, individualistic, and English-speaking. Much of this, they believed, could be achieved by working for settlers. Thus, assimilation through work was the main point and original goal of the outing system.

² *Annual Report*, 1892, xvii.

³ *Annual Report*, 1902, 92.

Like Canada, other colonial countries that hired out children to work in settler homes believed that assimilation was possible through labour. Historians Trennert and Gough, researching the outing system in the United States, both noted that school and government administrators held this ideology. Trennert explains that “Americanization” was the basic objective of Native American industrial education. Program developers believed that education for Indigenous youth must be centered on Christian moral principles, English language, citizenship responsibilities, and inculcating a good work ethic.⁴ In her thesis, Gough explains that Native American schools campaigned to provide non-Indigenous settlers with both skilled and unskilled labour in the form of vocational programs and the outing system. These programs were a means of assimilation into menial labourers.⁵ As Pratt, the pioneer for the outing system in the United States, had said himself:

Those who claim to be friends to the Indians and yet seek to limit their range of opportunities for association with the whites... are not less real enemies than those who destroy them with powder and sword. An Indian can do no better thing for himself than to spend years among the best whites, gaining their language, intelligence, industry and skill in the fullest and quickest way... why forbid or limit his possibility, his rights as a man, or his liberty, under any pretense whatever?⁶

Shirleene Robinson also recognizes similar attitudes among school and government administrators in Australia. In her chapter “Always in good Demand,” Robinson discusses how ideas about childhood and the potential to reform was prevalent in Australia in the nineteenth century.⁷ While pointing out that this ideology stemmed from eighteenth century Britain, Robinson asserts that the perceived increase in crime from “problem populations”

⁴ Trennert, “From Carlisle to Pheonix,” 270.

⁵ Gough, “A Way Out,” 5.

⁶ Richard Henry Pratt, as cited in Elaine Goodale Eastman, *Pratt: A Red Man's Moses* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), 221-222.

⁷ Robinson, “Always a Good Demand”, 98-99.

raised a fear of social collapse. From this, it was believed that the children of “problem populations” should be engaged in manual labour and provided with religious education. Robinson emphasized, “The concept of ‘reforming’ problem populations was one that reached beyond Britain’s national boundaries and became enmeshed with broader colonial anxieties about race and class in sites of colonization.”⁸ By placing Indigenous children in industrial schools and then later in settler homes for what amounted to exploitative labour, the outing system was a means with which the colonial government in Canada could assert this ideology.

There are several examples of DIA officials and school administrators promoting this belief. In his 1895 annual report, Hayter Reed explained:

The system of sending the more advanced pupils out to service among the settlers is working admirably. The advantages are obvious, for of course when comparatively isolated from their own people and in close daily association with the settlers, they not only acquire increased proficiency in the English language, but also in the habits and ways of thought pertaining to the whites. A contingent advantage is, that room is thus made for the reception into the schools of more children from the reserves; and, of course, care is exercised in the selection of suitable families where the children will be well treated and subjected to proper influences.⁹

Three years later, in 1898, James Smart, the newly appointed Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, explained in his own annual report:

Should the pupils prior to returning to the reserves, go out to service, or follow any trade occupation in a white community, the danger of their retrogression should be proportionality less, and if they have been successful and provident they will be in a better position to make a start for themselves on the reserves. As a matter of fact many of the pupils go out to service and conduct themselves in a manner credible to themselves and their training – while others return at once to their reserves, and on the whole may be said to exert an influence for good.¹⁰

⁸ Ibid., 99.

⁹ *Annual Report*, 1895, xxiv.

¹⁰ *Annual Report*, 1898, xxiii.

Principal Joseph Hugonnard of Qu'Appelle Industrial School reported in 1892, "The fact that we have more demands for girls as servants than we can fill, is a conclusive proof that the school has a beneficial effect on them. It proves that during two or three years in this school, an Indian girl can be taught sufficient English, cleanliness, manners and housework, to make her useful as a servant."¹¹ And then years later in 1906, Indian Agent Matthew Miller from the Crooked Lake Agency reported of industrial school graduates, "Most of the Indians here are more advanced than on the other reserves, and here as well as elsewhere when the woman is an ex-school graduate, and has been out to domestic service, the surroundings of the house present a more tidy appearance."¹² Assimilation was the driving force between the implementation and the continuation of the outing system.

The agenda of reform through labour coincided with the rising demand for domestic workers. In the 1891, domestic labourers made up 6.1 percent of the labour force, in 1901 they made up 5.5 percent, and in 1921, 3.6 percent.¹³ Additional statistics demonstrating the height and then subsequent decline in female domestic workers is the percentage of women working in the labour force: 41 percent of women in 1891 were domestic workers, 34 percent in 1901, and 18 percent in 1921.¹⁴ There was an even more desperate need for farm workers, especially in the prairies.¹⁵ The decline of available domestic workers resulted in a shortage, thus increasing demand. This was often referred to as the "Servant Girl Problem." Several factors contributed to the decline. Sager attributes some of the decline to agricultural expansion and the need for

¹¹ *Annual Report*, 1892, 205.

¹² *Annual Report*, 1906, 127.

¹³ Sager, *The Transformation of the Canadian Domestic Servant*, 513.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 513.

¹⁵ Leslie, "Domestic Service in Canada," 76.

descendants to work at home.¹⁶ Sager also attributes the decline of available domestic labourers to “changing relations” between bourgeoisie and middle-class professional employers and a fresh cohort of servants who rejected low wages and “specific conditions of exploitation” that came with the position.¹⁷ Domestic work, in other words, was deemed more demeaning than the other wage earning jobs. Similarly, Helen Lenskyj argues that middle-class Canadian women, presumably settler women, with “characteristic nostalgia of the servant-keeping class... viewed with alarm the tendency for working class women to prefer factory work to domestic service.”¹⁸ Lenskyj attributes poor working conditions and the servant lifestyle, along with the changing image of the “working girl” to the distaste among Canadian-born females for this type of occupation. In 1915, Mary Pattison, an expert on domestic engineering wrote, “The very class who are involved in the heart of the situation, who come closer to one’s real and intimate standards of life than many a friend, or relative... who administer to our first and really intimate needs and come into contact with us at every stage of life, is the class that Society has regulated to the lowest plane of human beings claiming respectability. Housework and house-workers are classified at the very bottom of industrial occupations.”¹⁹ It is evident from those who studied it, that domestic labour was unpopular due to the subservient status workers attached to it.

Lenskyj also asserts that middle-class women were also looking at household duties differently, no longer seeing home and family as the “woman’s sphere,” and taking up roles outside the home that involved social reform and participating in charitable bodies that

¹⁶ Sager, *The Transformation of the Canadian Domestic Servant*,” 529.

¹⁷ Sager, “*The Transformation of the Canadian Domestic Servant*,” 531.

¹⁸ Lenskyj, “A ‘Servant Problem’ or a ‘Servant-Mistress Problem’,” 3.

¹⁹ Mary Pattison, as cited in, Leslie, “*Domestic Service in Canada*,” 86.

focused their attention on Canada's "growing ranks of urban poor."²⁰ This, in turn, created even more demand for domestic workers.

The Canadian Government, the church, and volunteer associations of upper and middle-class women, whom Leslie referred to as "Agents of Recruitment," actively worked to address the "servant girl problem." The Canadian government, for one, encouraged immigration of domestic workers through a selective immigration policy and provided financial enticements to aid agencies in placing immigrant workers. Religious organizations provided immigrant domestic workers with handbooks, transportation, and advance money for passage upon arrival from Europe and women's groups such as the YWCA played a large part in housing.²¹

Efforts to recruit domestic workers from Europe were often thwarted when offers of marriage would follow shortly after their arrival. Personal testimony from British settler women given in response to a questionnaire that was later published in a pamphlet used as emigration propaganda by the Canadian Pacific Railway demonstrates this. This pamphlet titled, *What Women Say of the Canadian North-West*, includes advice to newcomers in regards to domestic work in the late nineteenth century. While almost all of them remarked that situations were available with good wages, many of them also mentioned that these positions could lead to marriage. Mrs. A.B. Harris from Beulah in present day Edmonton said, "As the country is largely settled with bachelors, good girls do not require to be long at service as they can soon get homes of their own."²² Mrs. I. Sutherland from Kildonan in present day Winnipeg reported,

²⁰ Lenskyj, "A 'Servant Problem' or a 'Servant-Mistress Problem'," 4.

²¹ Leslie, "Domestic Service in Canada," 98-101.

²² A.B. Harris cited in, Susan Jackel, *A Flannel Shirt & Liberty: British Emigrant Gentlewomen in the Canadian West, 1880-1914* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1982), 55.

“Honest working girls are in great demand, not only as help, but the country being overrun with bachelors no one can hope to keep a girl more than a few months.”²³

The increasing demand was also seen in advertisements in the prairies in the early twentieth century. In 1911, the Western Canadian newspaper, the *Grain Grower's Guide*, for farmers posted an advertisement, “Domestic Servant Problem Solved.”²⁴ The advertisement, in response to the “great many letters” received during the recent year from middle-class women asking for assistance to find domestic servants, offered to arrange employment for twenty-five domestic workers. If a household wanted employment from one of the workers, they would have to pay fifty dollars to cover their transportation from Europe, with funds deducted from the wage of the worker.²⁵ This advertisement, appearing in a prominent farm production, indicates just how great was the demand for domestic workers in the prairies.

Sager declares that, since the demand was so high for domestic workers in Canada, employers were “forced” to hire immigrants from Eastern Europe, not the British women they preferred.²⁶ However, Sager fails to notice or mention that Indigenous women were among the undesirables that middle-class families were “forced” to hire. Lorraine Cecilia Brown identifies this as it pertains to British Columbia. She explains, “Given the dearth of ‘appropriate’ white domestics in the colonies, the early settlers looked toward the First Nations people as an alternative source of such labour.”²⁷ Thus, government officials and school administrators hired

²³ I. Sutherland, cited in, Jackel, *A Flannel Shirt & Liberty*, 57.

²⁴ “Domestic Servant Problem Solved,” *Grain Grower's Guide*, August 9, 1911, *Peels Prairie Provinces*, University of Alberta.

²⁵ “Domestic Servant Problem Solved,” *Grain Grower's Guide*, August 9, 1911, *Peels Prairie Provinces*, University of Alberta.

²⁶ Sager, “The Transformation of the Canadian Domestic Servant,” 510.

²⁷ Brown, “Domestic Service in British Columbia,” 47.

out a high number of Indigenous female students to settler homes in order to, “solve the servant girl problem in the west until such time as they were married to young men graduates.”²⁸

DIA Annual Reports emphasize the demand. Joseph Hugonnard, in 1891, mentioned that, “I have a few more demands for them. If placed in a good family and properly overseen, their stay in service is very useful to them, as they have every facility for learning English and housework.”²⁹ The same year Hayter Reed boasted about the need for girls from Qu’Appelle School. He reported, “From the Qu’Appelle School there are now fourteen girls out at service in neighbouring settlements, and they are all doing well. Battleford has made a start in the same direction having sent out three girls to service, and this is the beginning of a movement which, in the near future, will be much extended. Comparatively few boys have gone out to service or to work at trades.”³⁰ Also that same year Thomas Clarke, principal of Battleford Industrial School reported, “those [female pupils] in service are doing remarkably well and are highly spoken of by their guardians. With increased accommodation, a greater number of girls could be advantageously trained, as there would be no difficulty in procuring them from the Duck Lake and Carlton agencies, and a great many more could be found in this district.”³¹ In 1892 Qu’Appelle had eighteen girls working in neighbouring settlements, with ten applications for more girls, the demand clearly outnumbering that for boys.³² The same year agency inspector T.P. Wadsworth reported that thirty-one girls had been hired out since the commencement of the program from various schools under his authority.³³ In 1895, Hugonnard again explained, “As a proof that the training the girls receive here is appreciated

²⁸ Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision*, 255.

²⁹ *Annual Report*, 1891, 110.

³⁰ *Annual Report*, 1891, 200.

³¹ *Annual Report*, 1891, 168.

³² *Annual Report*, 1892, 53 and 205.

³³ *Annual Report*, 1892, 87-88.

by the surrounding white population, we have constantly on file many more applications for domestic servants than we can fill.”³⁴ A report from 1894 reiterated Hugonnard’s approval with the system. He wrote, “[t]he girls hired out continue to give good satisfaction and I have more demands than I can fill.”³⁵ Once again, in 1896, Reed explained, “[M]any more girls could be placed as servants if the numbers and work at the institutions permitted. Owing to the sparsity of the population in the North-west, the time for being able to procure work for the boys is limited, being confined, in the main, to that of harvesting.”³⁶ In 1897 Principal J.H. Fairlie of Ruperts’ Land Industrial School explained, “I can readily find places for the girls when they are fitted for servants, but it is difficult to place any boys except those who have been trained as farmers.”³⁷ In 1901, Sister Mary Amy, Superior and Principal of All Hallows School, a girl’s school in British Columbia operating similarly to the industrial schools in the prairies, reported:

Marked success has been attained in this department, and there are very many more applications for Indian girls from All Hallows’ boarding school to fill places as domestic servants than can possibly be considered. Last year seven ladies [mistresses], unable to obtain permanent domestic help from us, applied for girls to take ‘holiday places’ with them. Three were able to avail themselves of this opportunity of having a pleasant healthful change, and of gaining a little insight into the life and manners of a large town.³⁸

To meet the demand for domestic workers, the schools needed to build the curriculum to ensure that the female students were ready to go to service.

As discussed in my honours thesis, labour within the school was segregated based on gender. While male students had their specific labour roles within the schools, female

³⁴ *Annual Report*, 1895, 133.

³⁵ *Annual Report*, 1894, 195.

³⁶ *Annual Report*, 1896, xxxix.

³⁷ *Annual Report*, 1897, 242.

³⁸ *Annual Report*, 1901, 414.

students had theirs. This “education” was meant to influence the girls for their future roles as wives and mothers and for roles as domestic workers.³⁹ The perception that the domestic skills within the European home were superior to those of Indigenous homes dominated and shaped the goals of the Canadian federal government and churches resulting in a “curriculum” and policies in the industrial schools focused on reconfiguring the make up of the Indigenous family.⁴⁰ The program for the girls therefore was designed to achieve this ideal.

In the industrial schools, every day for female students was virtually the same. This focus on routine was seen as important not only to instill European concepts of time, but also to prepare students for the often monotonous work that was part of the newly emerging industrial economy. Mary John described her average day in Lejac Industrial School, a school similar to those developed in the west:

[e]xcept for Sunday, our routine was always the same. I would tumble out of bed early in the morning and wash in a hurry. When my bed was made, I ran to chapel and attended Mass. It seemed to go on forever, but when it was done, it was time to go the girls’ side of the dining room for a plate of porridge... After breakfast there were chores – sometimes it was clearing the table or sweeping or dusting. When our chores were done, it was time for class. The afternoon was just like the morning. Lunch was a plate of boiled barley or beans and a thick slice of bread spread with lard. The only time we had butter on our bread was on a feast day. After lunch we had chores and class again. The afternoon finished with a swing or singing lesson. At seven-thirty in the evening, there was Benediction in the chapel, and at eight-thirty, in total silence, the students went to their dormitories, said their prayers and fell into bed.⁴¹

Much of a female student’s day, then, would have been taken up with training and chores focusing on teaching skills that the federal government and churches believed would be

³⁹ Nason, “‘As much importance as a factor in the civilization and advancement of the Indian race’: First Nations Women and Canada’s Industrial School System, 1883-1923.”

⁴⁰ McCallum, *Women, Work, and History*, 23.

⁴¹ Mary John as cited in, Pettit, “‘To Christianize and Civilize’, 235-236.

required of a wife and mother and/or domestic worker. As Miller states, “[t]he gender difference in assignment of labour was itself grounded in different perceptions and experiences of male and female behaviour and attitude.”⁴² Hence, male and female students had different experiences in the schools when it came to training and chores. Likewise, female students had far fewer recreational activities available to them. While boys engaged in activities such as various sports and military training, girls were relegated to activities such as sewing and embroidery, and other domestic pursuits in keeping with notions of gender ideals.⁴³

Since the initial goal of the schools was to create self-reliant manual labourers, the administrators of industrial schools created what would be called the “half-day system.” With the half-day system students would spend half their day in the classroom and the other half learning a trade through instructive work that they would use in the new Euro-Canadian economy. According to McCallum, the half-day system was needed for three reasons. The first was the result of ideologies in Canadian society that assigned labour according to one’s gender. This is why female students were strictly taught “women’s” labour skills such as sewing, mending, food preparation, washing, ironing, and housework. The second reason was to prepare young Indigenous women for a specific role in the broader socio-economic order. The third reason is that schools were dependant on the labour of the students to sustain themselves.⁴⁴ There would be no need to hire outside labourers for the school if the students could complete the tasks on their own. However, as the funding for the schools decreased the requirement for student labour increased.

⁴² Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision*, 223.

⁴³ See Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision*, Chapter 9.

⁴⁴ McCallum, “I Would Like the Girls at Home”, 193.

For both groups, however, educational training and chores were often considered to be the same thing and both male and female students spent the vast majority of their time working rather than taking part in classroom activities. For example, at the High River School in 1887 the girls would spend the entire morning sewing, which involved mending, repairing or making the clothing for the students of the school, as well as a wide range of other items. In 1891 alone, the girls at St. Joseph's Industrial School were responsible for making "ninety-one pairs of trousers [sic], eighty-four coats, fifty-one aprons, thirty-seven dresses, ninety-six shirts, eleven chemises, sixty night dresses, thirty-six pairs mitts, sixty pairs socks, fifty-eight pairs stockings, forty-eight towels, twenty-five garters, thirteen mattresses, eleven pillows, sixteen pairs of drawers, fourteen petticoats, two blouses and two cassocks."⁴⁵ At the Battleford Industrial School, girl students were responsible for making "Aprons 21; bonnets, 12; coats, 61; drawers, 33; dresses, 22; mattresses, 16; mitts, 9; pillow-cases, 116, shirts, 18; towels, 12; trousers, 46; socks, 74; stockings, 12," under the charge of the seamstress the previous year.⁴⁶ Afternoons at the High River School were taken up with cooking. Similarly, at the Qu'Appelle School girls were in charge of poultry and dairy, whereas at Battleford female students were in charge of baking.⁴⁷ Inspector T.P. Wadsworth commented with pride that the Catholic sisters at Qu'Appelle could be absent from the school for the entire day, leaving the girls to take care of the school's household duties as well as prepare all the meals for the staff and students.⁴⁸ The girls often produced the clothing worn by all the students in the school. Such was the case at Qu'Appelle Industrial School where "a considerable part of the clothing needed in the institution [was] made and the mending of the

⁴⁵ *Annual Report*, 1891, 112.

⁴⁶ *Annual Report*, 1891, 109.

⁴⁷ *Annual Report*, 1894, 150.

⁴⁸ *Annual Report*, 1893, 177.

same [was] done at the school.”⁴⁹ Given the sheer size of the schools and the number of students in attendance, this was no small task.⁵⁰ Government officials, though, were very pleased with the work and images of female students engaged in domestic pursuits could often be found in annual reports of the DIA (see figures one and two).



Figure One⁵¹
“Girls Sewing Room” at St. Joseph’s Industrial School, 1891

⁴⁹ *Annual Report*, 1890, 71.

⁵⁰ In 1889 Battleford had 17 girls in attendance (*Annual Report*, 1889, 88.) and High River had 15 girls in attendance (*Annual Report*, 1889, 89.)

⁵¹ Photograph of female students in “sewing room” at the High River Industrial School. All appear to be to be operating diligently in their small workspace. Source: *Glenbow Archives*, NA-2459-3.



Figure Two⁵²
 “Sewing Room” Qu’Appelle Industrial School, 1895

Figure One, taken by photographer S. A. Smith of Calgary, displays female students meticulously applying themselves to their work. Figure Two, photographer unknown, displays seventeen female students also diligently working. In photographs, the girls and young women are looking down while performing their work and pretending to not notice the camera. The students appear tidy in appearance with their uniforms clean, pressed, buttoned, and their hair tied back. Figure Two was included as part of *Annual Report* from Assistant Indian Commissioner Amédée Forget to Hayter Reed, whose position at the time was Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. The photo was included between the headlines, “Moral and Social

⁵² *Annual Report*, 1895, 201.

Status” where the comments about labour and the “moulding of character” were discussed and “Education” where summaries of the apparent “success” of the various prairie industrial schools were listed.⁵³ While these seemingly “candid” photos were taken to demonstrate a school’s progress and effectiveness, the cramped rooms, laid out workstations, and lack of visible instructors reveal an environment of strictly enforced labour and production of that of the students.

School administrators, however, argued that female chores sustaining the school were all part of the domestic training required to transform girls into efficient and “proper” housewives. Yet, as Jennifer Pettit points out, “[h]uge industrial schools had little in common with the typical Native household. Cooking for 200 was of course very different than preparing meals for one’s own family.”⁵⁴ Indeed, at Qu’Appelle a visitor in 1893 reported that students made hundreds of meals: “[t]he meals upon this day were served with their usual promptness, and were as well cooked as usual, while the housework went on without any apparent break. This was no small feat for Indian girls to accomplish, considering that some six hundred meals were provided during that one day.”⁵⁵

It is clear from these numbers that while the schools claimed to want to produce wives for male graduates, the interior and exterior of the buildings and workspaces bore little resemblance to the typical Indigenous household on the reserves. Gough’s observations of American training would hold true in Western Canada: “where girls cooked meals and sewed clothing for hundreds, [this] did not give the students a sense of what would be like to manage

⁵³ *Annual Report*, 1895, 200-204.

⁵⁴ Pettit, ““To Christianize and Civilize”, 246.

⁵⁵ *Annual Report*, 1893, 177.

their own household.”⁵⁶ In some cases, girls were held back from entering service because of the labour demands placed on them at the schools.⁵⁷

As the requirement for domestic workers grew in western Canada, so did the demand for Indigenous girls who were students of the industrial schools. The need for domestic workers became an ideal situation for government officials and school administrators who believed the ideology at the time that young people from “problem populations” could be reformed through appropriate education and labour. The schools, then, became an environment which girls worked as labourers in the school, thus preparing them to be domestic workers as part of the outing system. What began as an effort to assimilate youth into Euro-Canadian society eventually became a form of exploitation.

⁵⁶ Gough, “A Way Out,” 36.

⁵⁷ *Annual Report*, 1895, 202.

Chapter Three – Experiences and Resistance

Eighteen girls are at present hired out, and many applications for servant girls have had to be refused owing to the repugnance of some of the parents and girls to service.

–Father Joseph Hugonnard, Qu’Appelle Industrial School, 1893¹

The DIA saw several benefits in the outing system: the schools could save money, students could be assimilated more quickly, and settlers and middle-class townspeople could profit from inexpensive labour in their farms and homes. Without written accounts or informants it is hard to know if there were any benefits for the students themselves. However, evidence suggests that the conditions for girls in the outing system were far from ideal and the students had very little control over the money they earned. This chapter will explain the problems of domestic work and illuminate why many of the girls and their parents refused to participate.

Both Leslie and Sager point out how undesirable it was to be a domestic worker in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and how many women were reluctant to enter service. Domestic workers laboured as much as sixteen or eighteen hours a day undertaking strenuous physical work and roomed in unhealthy attics or basements. Domestic workers also had an absence of freedom and privacy and often experienced loneliness and were often victims of sexual abuse by their employers.² “Whether immigrant or Canadian-born, young women found themselves in an occupation that entailed long hours, lack of freedom, loneliness, and vulnerability to exploitation and abuse. Ethnic and religious prejudices exacerbated tensions

¹ *Annual Reports*, 1893, 89.

² Leslie, “Domestic Service in Canada,” 85-86

between bourgeois employers and the working class stranger in their homes.”³ In this case, racism along with class tensions exacerbated the difficulty faced by students sent to work as domestic labourers.

As reported by many school principals, loneliness was a common hardship for girls in the outing system. Principal John Semmens of Brandon Industrial School stated, “Some of the girls have gone out to service during the year and have given fair satisfaction, though it is found that they long for speedy return for the social advantages of the school.”⁴ Another principal, Father A. Naessens of St. Josephs Industrial School reported, “The reports received of their conduct and work were good indeed. If left too long in one place they get homesick and want to return to the school.”⁵ In a letter to Hayter Reed, principal Hugonnard of Qu’Appelle stated, “The insufficient knowledge of English makes me fear that being able to converse with their employers, they would soon feel lonesome and go unless someone has enough authority to make them stay.”⁶ A few years later, in another letter to Reed, Hugonnard wrote, “I find that our girls cannot persevere where they have not the company of a lady or girls, otherwise they feel so lonesome that they cannot stand it.”⁷

In other cases, students experienced illness while they were away working. In one instance, student Philomena from Qu’Appelle Industrial School was brought home after contracting tuberculosis.⁸ Hugonnard wrote, “I am taking home the girl, Philomena, who was

³ Sager, *The Transformation of the Canadian Domestic Servant*,” 510.

⁴ *Annual Report*, 1897, 234.

⁵ *Annual Report*, 1898, 298.

⁶ LAC, Father Hugonnard to Hayter Reed, 20 Dec 1889, Hayter Reed Fonds, MG29 E 106 Vol. 13, File Hugonnard, Father Joseph, 1887-1893.

⁷ LAC, Father Hugonnard to Hayter Reed, 21 Jan 1892, Hayter Reed Fonds, MG29 E 106 Vol. 13, File Hugonnard, Father Joseph, 1887-1893.

⁸ LAC, Father Hugonnard to Hayter Reed, 21 Feb 1892, Hayter Reed Fonds, MG29 E 106 Vol. 13, File Hugonnard, Father Joseph, 1887-1893.

at the Gov't house. I am afraid she is getting into consumption. It seems to be a hereditary disease in the family.”⁹ Although Hugonnard blamed the contraction of the disease on the student's family genes, it is more likely that Philomena got sick as a result of poor conditions while working and sleeping at her place of employment.

Little regard was given to the safety and well being of the students while they were away. Since assimilation was the goal of the school administrators, it was important that the settler host families met certain standards. Although not stated explicitly, as Chapter 4 suggests, students were placed in Christian, English speaking homes often matching the denomination of the school itself. But, other than ensuring students were placed in a home ideal for assimilation, there is very little evidence that the school closely supervised students while working inside a home.

Isolated and without supervision, girls were vulnerable to exploitation and abuse in the outing system. The circumstances in the household of Hayter Reed in 1892 and 1893 is an example of the environment in which these girls worked. Given Reed's enthusiasm for the outing system, it is likely that he continued to employ students of the industrial schools since having student, Annie McKay, “a little girl” from Battleford Industrial School in 1888.¹⁰ Four years later, Reed's domestic worker gave birth in his home and then another had severe injury the following year. Letters from Colonel James McLeod of the NWMP to his wife Mary Drever explain:

⁹ LAC, Father Hugonnard to Hayter Reed, 21 Feb 1892, Hayter Reed Fonds, MG29 E 106 Vol. 13, File Hugonnard, Father Joseph, 1887-1893.

¹⁰ Hayter Reed employed, “a little girl,” from Battleford Industrial School in December 1889. See LAC, “Hayter Reed to Father Hugonnard”, Dec 1889, Hayter Reed Papers, MG29 E 106 Vol. 18, File Qu'Appelle Industrial School 1889-1993. The worker is likely Annie McKay who was discharged from Battleford in 1888, “to go as servant to Indian Commissioner.” See *Annual Reports*, 1894.

I was met at the station here by Rouleau and others who had gone down to meet Reed and me, to tell us what had transpired the day before at Reed's house: no less an event than his housekeeper having fallen to pieces and the result – a baby girl. Of course there was a great deal of chaff indulged in about town with reference to that. I am awfully glad that I knew about it and did not go to Reed's house. I believe she had the baby with no one else in the house and it was only when Williams came in the morning that she sent for the doctor and a woman. There are various surmises as to who the father is. A carpenter here is supposed to be the culprit. It is too hard upon Reed to have such a thing happen.¹¹

And then a year later, "I am staying at the Hotel [in Regina] as Reed's housekeeper has had her arm broken."¹² Whoever the "culprit" might have been or whether or not Reed's domestic worker broke her arm by accident, it is possible that these workers were victims of abuse. The workers would have been labouring in a household without a mistress and for a man, Reed, who had been accused in 1886 as, "a libertine and has no respect for the virtue of women."¹³

In the case of the outing system in the United States, agents dedicated to the outing system screened potential patrons who would apply for the program. These agents also made visits to the homes in which the students worked. They would look for patrons who abused the system and the students, making sure that living conditions were up to standard and that

¹¹ Letter from Regina sent to Fort Macleod, 7 June 1892, The Macleod Letters, James Farquharson Macleod Family Fonds, Glenbow Archives, M-776-14a.

¹² Letter from Regina sent to Fort Macleod, 6 June 1893, The Macleod Letters, James Farquharson Macleod Family Fonds, Glenbow Archives, M-776-14a.

¹³ Hayter Reed's character in regards to Indigenous women has been called into question before. See LAC, "William Donovan to Lawrence Vankougnet", October 30th, 1886, William Donovan of Prince Albert Complaining of Immorality on the Part of Assistant Commissioner Hayter Reed, RG10 Vol. 3772, File 34938. A portion of the two page letter reads: "Assistant Indian Commissioner Hayter Reed is putting an ordinance through the North-West Council to compel men to support their illegitimate offspring and the ordinance is not retroactive or it would effect himself. The girl Pratt is a squaw from Touchwood hills; she was his mistress at Regina, and has a child she says is his. She followed him from there to Battleford last year and he induced her to go away again... It is well known in Battleford that he debauched Mrs. Quinn another squaw and if Quinn had lived there would have been lots of trouble over it. He is a libertine and has no respect for the virtue of women."

the proper treatment was given to the employed children. The Haskell Institute in the United States even kept a “Black List” instructing the agents, “Do not send girls to these homes under any circumstances.”¹⁴

As for the Canadian outing system, however, there are only a few accounts of supervision. In the case of the Birtle Boarding School in Manitoba, teacher Susette McLaren,¹⁵ herself of Indigenous descent, monitored the students by inquiring how the students “were getting on.”¹⁶ There is also evidence that Joseph Hugonnard of Qu’Appelle Industrial School visited the pupils from time to time and supplied clothing to the students from the school.¹⁷ However, this amount of supervision did not ensure the safety and wellbeing of the girls who were essentially on their own and in an environment in which they were unfamiliar. This work provided seemingly low wages and had very little control over their earnings.

Girls in the outing system were under the control and guidance of an institution’s principal, and it was his responsibility to arrange the wages and terms of the service of the students. Although school administrators considered the payment for Indigenous females to work as domestic servants “high,” male students still earned more when compared to females. At the Qu’Appelle Industrial School male students earned wages ranging from \$5 to \$25 and board per month, whereas girls who were hired out strictly for domestic purpose earned \$4 to \$10 per month.¹⁸ The male students earned more even though settlers tended to prefer hiring girls.

¹⁴ Gough, “A Way Out”, 63-64.

¹⁵ For more information on Susette Blackbird McLaren see Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision*, 213-215.

¹⁶ *Annual Report*, 1899, 370.

¹⁷ *Annual Report*, 1892, 87-88.

¹⁸ *Annual Report*, 1897, 267.

The principal also managed the money earned by the students. The earnings, if not given to the parents, or spent on clothing or other articles for the students, were deposited by their employers in savings bank accounts that were opened by the schools.¹⁹ An *Annual Report* by Indian Commissioner Amédée Forget in 1896 explains:

The wages thus earned are funded for them in the savings bank, to the credit of individual accounts, for the use of the depositors when they leave the schools. The same plan is pursued in connection with the wages of the girl pupils, of whom there are now twenty-four out in domestic service of varying terms of duration, and whose wages range from \$4 to \$10 per month.²⁰

Yet, student spending was discouraged, as the administrators wanted the students to use the money to build a life upon graduation.²¹ In the case of St. Josephs Industrial School, Principal Naessens explained, “Great difficulty was experienced in getting the pupils’ consent to banking their earnings. Their parents wanted some, or they would ask to buy a shirt, a hat, a handkerchief, & c., for themselves, and if refused, would become discouraged, and lose any ambition to work for outsiders.”²² At All Hallows School in British Columbia the girls were encouraged to earn small sums of money and taught how to spend it. Amy Sister Superior, Principal of the school reported, “One of the elder girls has just bought and paid for a very handsome hand Singer sewing machine, with all the latest improvements, as the result of some careful work while at the school.”²³ This also shows that the out-students were aware of their earnings and had their own ideas of how spend it, as long as the spending was approved, in this case according to the girl’s employability as a seamstress.

¹⁹ *Annual Report*, 1895, 201.

²⁰ *Annual Report*, 1896, 294.

²¹ *Annual Report*, 1898, xxx.

²² *Annual Report*, 1897, 260.

²³ *Annual Report*, 1903, 422.

More often than not, a student's earnings went to her parents in order to compel them to allow a child to participate in the outing system. All applications to hire Indigenous girls to work in domestic service went through the principal and the parents of the students.²⁴ According Hugonnard of the Qu'Appelle School, "of these earnings, as much as possible is kept for the pupils, but some of it has to be given to the parents, otherwise they would not consent to their children being hired out."²⁵ Four years later, colonial officials were still feeling the need to give the student's earnings to the parents. In 1896, Hayter Reed expressed, "Various wages are received; much of these has to be paid to the parents – otherwise they would not consent to their children going out to work in this manner."²⁶ Money earned by the students therefore was not always controlled by the students but was given to the parents in an effort to motivate them into allowing their students to take part in the outing system. Yet, many parents, regardless of money, refused to allow their children to participate.

There are several examples of parental non-compliance. One instance was noted at the Regina Industrial School where the principal, C.E. Somerset, reported that, "After great difficulty and many objections on the part of parents, I have arranged for a few girls, when they receive their discharge to take situations as domestic servants..."²⁷ Another instance took place in Saskatchewan at Duck Lake Boarding School where the principal complained, "Last year an attempt was made to put the girls out at service in good families for awhile before discharging them. Five girls were doing remarkably well, but the parents interfered with the plan and got them back on the reserves."²⁸ Further, a letter from Reed to Hugonnard

²⁴ *Annual Report*, 1892, 87-88, 205.

²⁵ *Annual Report*, 1892, 205

²⁶ *Annual Report*, 1896, xxxvx.

²⁷ *Annual Report*, 1901, 371.

²⁸ *Annual Report*, 1911, 546.

described, “I regret to say that I have been unable to find anyone willing to go, and even if they are willing I feel almost sure that the parents would object.”²⁹

Whether young Indigenous women in the outing system themselves had any choice in their placement or participation of the program is unclear. Further unclear is whether participating in the program and its labour was something they embraced or loathed. In some cases it could be argued that the system was employed by them as a way to develop independence from the school and the pressures of marriage upon graduation. In one apparent instance, three female graduates of Qu’Appelle utilized their resources to alter their living situation. As Hugonnard expressed in an *Annual Report*:

The two married together were pupils Nos. 34 and 0125, the former was an excellent carpenter and was supplied with a set of tools; he is a full-blooded Indian, is a good worker, is adhering to the habits of civilization taught him here; and since leaving the school, except when doing his spring work and during haying, has been working at his trade and earning one dollar and twenty-five cents a day. He has a house of his own. His wife is a first-class needlewoman and house-keeper, has been in service for some time and bears an excellent character. The three other girls were all good housekeepers, had all been in service for over a year, and have good characters. Each has a house of her own.³⁰

However, reports of students not being “ready” for the program, returning to the challenging environment of the schools after they have been placed in a home, and not adhering to their duties while away, suggest that the outing system was something the girls hated and utilized techniques to resist, avoid, and oppose the system.³¹

²⁹ LAC, “Father Hugonnard to Hayter Reed”, 21 January, 1892, Hayter Reed Fonds, MG 29 E 106 13, File Hugonnard, Father Joseph, 1887-1893.

³⁰ *Annual Report*, 1894, 193-194.

³¹ Joseph Hugonnard’s letters to Hayter Reed often mention instances where students do not speak English or cook, are not strong enough or ready for service, do not want to go far from the church, and want to return to the school while in service. See LAC, “Father Hugonnard to Hayter Reed,” 20 Dec. 1889, Hayter Reed Papers, MG 29 E 106, Vol. 18, File Qu’Appelle Industrial School 1889-1893; LAC, “Father Hugonnard to Hayter Reed,” 31 Dec. 1890, Hayter

Parents had reason to be reluctant about their children participating in the program. By entering service, a girl's separation from a family was further extended and parents questioned their daughters' wellbeing. Young domestic workers likely experienced intense loneliness and isolation in an English speaking, Christian, middle-class environment where they had no friends or family. Further, Indigenous girls in the outing system likely found themselves in highly vulnerable positions from which they could not remove themselves owing to the lack of supervision once they were placed in settler homes. It is probable that they worked long hours, were housed in unhealthy environments, experienced discrimination based on class and race, and rarely saw wages for their hard work. The next chapter will provide more insight into the types of home that Indigenous domestic workers lived in by examining the 1901 census. By examining the households in which Indigenous women and girls worked, more of the lived experience and working conditions can be perceived.

Reed Papers, MG 29 E 106, Vol. 18, File Qu'Appelle Industrial School 1889-1993; LAC, "Father Hugonnard to Hayter Reed," 21 Jan. 1892, Hayter Reed Papers, MG 29 E 106, Vol. 18, File Qu'Appelle Industrial School 1889-1993.

Chapter Four – Indigenous Domestic Workers in the 1901 Census

I shouldn't be leaving the school until I was 18, I used to go and ask Mr. Cook and Mr. Matheson to let me go. I wanted to go since I stayed long enough. He said I should learn more. I asked him if I could leave and he asked me what I was going to do. I told him I would work out and earn my own living. That's what I told him. I used to work for Bob Spears, the milkman in South Battleford. I did housework. I worked for Mrs. Storey who lived behind the Hudson Bay Store and for an old man, Mr. Dunbar. He was an old timer. I was about 17 when I started to work.

– Mary Angus, interview on her time as a student at Battleford Industrial School, 1969¹

Evidence in the *Annual Reports* indicates that Indigenous women all over Canada entered into domestic work between the years 1896-1912.² Many of them, like Mary Angus, transitioned into the work directly from the industrial schools, whether it was before the completion of school or immediately upon graduation. The *Annual Reports*, however, do not provide evidence to how many women and girls actually were employed in domestic work in the prairies, as well as their ages, wages, tribal affiliation, religion, and whom they worked for and where. The 1901 Canadian census recorded the gender, marital status, date and location of birth, religion, year of immigration, occupation, length of employment and earnings, literacy, language, and mother tongue of all household members. What is unique about this census when compared to the 1891

¹ Mary Angus was a student of Battleford Industrial School for nine years until 1902. Her interview with Walter Wasylow is transcribed in his Master of Education thesis. See the appendix of Walter Wasylow, "History of Battelford Industrial School for Indians," MEd Thesis, University of Saskatchewan 1972, 450.

² For examples in the *Annual Reports* see *Annual Report*, 1896, 156; *Annual Report* 1896, 180; *Annual Report*, 1897, 136; *Annual Report*, 1898, 17; *Annual Report*, 1898, 230; *Annual Report*, 1898, 245; *Annual Report*, 1899, 30; *Annual Report*, 1899, 253; *Annual Report*, 1899, 281; *Annual Report*, 1900, 272; *Annual Report*, 1900, 288; *Annual Report*, 1900, 295; *Annual Report*, 1901, 260; *Annual Report*, 1902, 250; *Annual Report*, 1903, 286; *Annual Report*, 1903, 317; *Annual Report*, 1904, 394; *Annual Report*, 1905, 137; *Annual Report*, 1905, 147; *Annual Report*, 1907, 72; *Annual Report*, 1907, 158; *Annual Report*, 1908, 77; *Annual Report*, 1909, 2; *Annual Report*, 1909, 83; *Annual Report*, 1910, 2; *Annual Report*, 1911, 83; *Annual Report*, 1912, 81.

census, which would have been more useful for identifying outing students, is the way in which it identified race, ethnic origin, mother tongue, wage, and whether or not they were attending school. In column five of the 1901 census, enumerators were expected to record an individual's "colour". Indigenous peoples were identified by the letter "R" for red, whereas people of European descent had "W" for white. This identification, although problematic,³ was helpful in distinguishing the women and girls of Indigenous decent. Along with race, enumerators were responsible for recording "racial or tribal origin." Generally an individual recorded in the census was traced through their father. Indigenous peoples, however, were traced through their mother and labelled with an abbreviation to indicate their mixed ancestry if they had parents of European and Indigenous decent.⁴ Along with using statistics and particulars from existing research on domestic work performed by women in general, this chapter uses the 1901 Canadian census to inquire into who the Indigenous women and girls were in the North-West Territories. From this, estimates can be made that the *Annual Reports* do not provide. Though sparse in detail, census data provides glimpses of Indigenous domestic workers as individuals and, together, how the industrial school system fed labour into settler colonialism.

In the nineteenth century, domestic labour was one of the few wage-earning occupations available to women in Canada. Statistics drawn from research of Sager and Leslie demonstrate that in 1891, domestic workers made up forty-one percent of the female labour force in Canada and then thirty-eight percent in 1901.⁵ In present-day Alberta and Saskatchewan, in 1901, still

³ People of African descent were designated "B," for black, and those of Japanese or Chinese descent were "Y," for yellow. Indigenous peoples with mixed Indigenous and European ancestry were labeled "R" despite their mixed heritage.

⁴ FB for "French Breed," EB for "English Breed," SB for "Scottish Breed," IB for "Irish Breed," and OB for "Other Breed."

⁵ Leslie, "Domestic Service in Canada," 71 and Sager, "The Transformation of the Canadian Domestic Servant," 510-511, 521.

part of the North-West Territories, there were about three thousand individuals, male and female, labelled “domestic”.⁶ Out of the three thousand, forty-three, including those who worked on farms, are recorded as Indigenous females.⁷

The majority of the Indigenous female domestic workers in the Territories were between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five, which coincides with Sager’s observation that two-thirds of female domestic workers in Canada were under the age of twenty-five.⁸ However, it should be noted that for Indigenous female domestic workers in the Territories, the most common age was sixteen, the age of discharge for Indigenous youth in the industrial school system.⁹ The youngest of the domestic workers, Harriet Cardinal, was eight, while the eldest, Jane LaCree was fifty.¹⁰ Just over half of the workers were twenty years of age or older, and just under half were under the age of nineteen (see appendix).

According to Sager, by 1901, Canadian domestic workers were likely to be Canadian born from English or French decent, despite the campaigns to bring in servants from other countries.¹¹ In respect to female Indigenous domestic workers, the majority of names were born in the North-West Territories, while others were more specific and listed as being born in

⁶ Three thousand was the number of hits provided when “domestic” was entered into the search engine for the “The Territories.”

⁷ My original number was forty-five, but after a thorough examination of each individual it appears that two may have been recorded incorrectly. See *Census* 1901, “Aldena,” The Territories, Saskatchewan no. 205, Devil Lake no. Q, page 2; *Census* 1901 and “Adelide Hape,” Alberta no. 202, Lac La Biche no. E2, page 5. As of 25 April 2019.

⁸ Sager, “The Transformation of the Canadian Domestic Servant,” 510-511, 521.

⁹ Indigenous children were sent to industrial schools (and compelled to stay) until the age sixteen. However, schools could keep Indigenous youth in the school until the age of eighteen. See discussion of discharge rules from 1886 Indian Act in McCallum, “I would Like the Girls at Home,” 195.

¹⁰ *Census* 1901, “Harriet Cardinal,” The Territories, Alberta no. 202, Lac La Biche no. E2, page 4; *Census* 1901, “Jane LaCree,” The Territories, Saskatchewan no. 205, Prince Albert West no. U1, page 3.

¹¹ Sager, “The Transformation of the Canadian Domestic Servant,” 521-522, 525.

places such as Saskatchewan, Assiniboia, Alberta, and Manitoba. Very few names were distinctly attached specifically to home territories or reserves. Only two were listed as being born in Lac La Biche and Buck Lake in the Alberta district (see appendix).¹²

Unlike Britain, where a number of specialized domestic workers were needed for sizeable homes of aristocracy and wealthy middle-class families, multi-servant households were not common in Canada and domestic workers often laboured alone.¹³ In Canada, some of the multi-servant houses had different classifications of servants such as cooks, housekeepers, nursemaids, table maids, governesses, wet nurses, needle-women, and “general servants.”¹⁴ However, out of the forty-three Indigenous domestic workers found in the 1901 census of the Territories, fourteen of them worked in multi-servant households. Four of the fourteen worked on farms or ranches with other labourers and three of them in hotels. One of the hotel workers was Sarah Fell, aged twenty, of Indigenous and French mixed ancestry. Sara worked as a chambermaid in a hotel in Strathcona West, in the historical district of Alberta alongside four other hotel employees. One of the four other employees was Ida Giles, age twenty-one, Indigenous and Irish mixed ancestry, from the United States who worked as a “waitress.” Sarah and Ida worked with two other domestic workers from Russia, Rosie Boochzi, age seventeen, whose role at the hotel is unclear and Annie Meriatmishi, age seventeen, who worked as a Scullery Maid. The hotel hosted thirty boarders and was managed or owned by Fidet and Fred Cancadden and their two young sons.¹⁵ Similarly, Ana

¹² For example see, *Census* 1901, “Millane Ladoucer,” The Territories, Alberta no. 202, Lac La Biche no. E2, page 4; *Census* 1901, “Tergine Cardinal,” The Territories, Alberta no. 202, Lac La Biche no. E2, page 2;

¹³ Sager, “The Transformation of the Canadian Domestic Servant,” 518, 524. Leslie, 74.

¹⁴ Leslie, “Domestic Service in Canada,” 82.

¹⁵ *Census* 1901, “Sarah Fell,” “Ida Giles,” “Rosie Boochzi,” “Annie Meriatmishi,” “Fred Cancadden,” and “Fidet Cancadden,” The Territories, Alberta no. 202, Strathcona West no. P4.

Belanger, age sixteen, ancestral affiliation indecipherable, worked as a “servant” at a hotel in Fort Qu’ Appelle in the historical district of Assiniboia East. Ana worked alongside two other non-Indigenous servants, Effie Payne, age nineteen, and Bella Robur, age unknown. The hotel, that accommodated six boarders, was owned or managed by Elizabeth and John Boyles and their six children ages three to fifteen.¹⁶

There were other multi-servant households that employed Indigenous domestic workers. Mary Moreaux, twenty-four years old, of Cree and French mixed ancestry and Sarah Goodlad, twenty-four, of Cree and English ancestry, worked for Mary and William Cowen in Prince Albert located in the historical district of Saskatchewan. Mary and William were of Scottish decent and William worked as a lumberman.¹⁷ Likewise, Mary Mcleod, age seventeen, of Indigenous and English mixed ancestry worked with Agnews Whitford, age twenty-two, of Indigenous and English mixed ancestry in the household of Kate and F.C. Baker, also in Prince Albert. F.C. was employed as a merchant. He and Kate were of English and Scottish ancestry, and had five children from one to ten years of age.¹⁸

A “General Servant” was the most common classification of domestic worker. A General Servant was expected to take care of all the responsibilities that other workers in multi-servant households had.¹⁹ While this was likely the case of Indigenous servants found in the 1901 census of the Territories, only six were specifically labelled “General Servant”²⁰ by the enumerators (see appendix). One of these individuals was Eliz Drever, aged twenty-

¹⁶ *Census* 1901, “Ana Belanger”, “Effie Payne”, “Bellas Robur”, Elizabeth Boyles”, and “John Boyles”, The Territories, Assiniboia East no. 203, La Corne no. N1, page 11.

¹⁷ *Census* 1901, “Sarah Goodlad”, “Mary Moreaux”, “Mary Cowen”, and “William Cowen”, The Territories, Saskatchewan no. 205, Prince Albert East no. S1, page 26.

¹⁸ *Census* 1901, “Mary Mcleod”, “Agnews Whitford”, “Kate Baker”, and “F.C. Baker”, The Territories, Saskatchewan no. 205, Prince Alberta West no. U1, page 5.

¹⁹ Leslie, “Domestic Service in Canada,” 82.

²⁰ Other labels include: “Dom”, “Domestic S”, and “Servant”.

two, who worked in Regina, within the historical district of Assiniboia West. Eliz worked for Agnes and “solicitor” James Balfour, both from Ontario. Their household consisted of their four children and a boarder.²¹ Mary Lepiere, age twenty-four, of Indigenous and French mixed ancestry, was also labelled “General Servant”. Mary worked for Nine and “ID Agent”²² Norman (no surnames), of French decent. Their household was home to three young children located in Touchwood, which now is home to the village Punnichy in the historical district of Assiniboia West.²³

Farm servants had a very different experience than urban servants. Leslie explains, “Along with the usual household work (probably unaided by new technological devices) she was expected to bake bread, milk the cows, make butter, assist at seasonal events such as harvesting, and care for the extra labourers needed at those times. She suffered from boredom and loneliness, although the farmer’s wife was more of a companion to her than the urban mistress was to her servant.”²⁴ Out of the forty-three Indigenous female domestic workers found in the 1901 census of the Territories, thirteen of them appeared to work on farms or ranches (see appendix). One of these Indigenous farm workers was Daisy Mosso, age eighteen, Saulteaux,²⁵ who worked in the sub district of Wide Awake, located in the historical district of Assiniboia East. Daisy worked for farmer Peter Donald of Scottish decent, his

²¹ *Census* 1901, “Eliz Drever”, “Eliz Balfour”, and “James Balfour”, The Territories, Assiniboia West no. 204, Regina (Centre) no. C2, page 7.

²² Norman’s surname in the census is illegible. A name starting with “M” and first name starting with “H” was originally recorded and then scratched out. The Indian Agent of Touchwood at the time was “H Martineau”. It is possible this is the same person

²³ *Census* 1901, “Mary Lepiere”, “Nine”, “Norman”, The Territories, Assiniboia West, no. 204, Touchwood, no. U2, page 2.

²⁴ Leslie, “Domestic Service in Canada,” 76.

²⁵ Daisy Mosso is recorded from being from the “Osoto Tribe”. This is likely due to French pronunciation. Daisy’s heritage is confirmed in H.A. Carruthers to unknown, November 5, 1903, Regina, Saskatchewan – General Correspondence Relating to the Regina Industrial School, 1903-1905, RG10, Volume 3927, File 116836-1A.

widowed mother Mary, and his adult brother and sister Daniel and Cassie, both unmarried. Working alongside Daisy was another labourer, Jacob Miller, eighteen, of German decent.²⁶ Daisy was a student of the Regina Industrial School and at this point was graduated or just recently graduated.²⁷ E. Dechaubeaut, age thirty-one, of Cree and English mixed ancestry, widowed, was employed by farmer Bryce Young, also widowed. Bryce, who was of Scottish decent, had five children aged eight to sixteen years, and farmed in Kinistino in the historical district of Saskatchewan.²⁸ Emma Demevais, age sixteen, of Indigenous and French mixed ancestry, worked on the farm of Annie and John Thompson of Scottish and English ancestry. The farm was located in the sub district of Flett's Springs in the historical district of Saskatchewan and was also home to Annie and John's four-year-old son.²⁹

Some of the Indigenous women found in the census worked for government officials, North-West Mounted Police, and Indian agents. Holy Bear Woman, age twenty-five, from Kainai First Nation, worked for the NWMP in the sub-district of MacLeod in present day Fort MacLeod, in the historical district of Alberta. While her actual employment details at the Fort are unclear, she was the only woman who worked there alongside an Indigenous scout named Black Eagle, thirty-six members of the NWMP, and eleven prisoners.³⁰ Mary Bellcouet, age

²⁶ *Census* 1901, "Daisy Mosso", "Peter Donald", "Mary Donald", "Daniel Donald", "Cassie Donald", and "Jacob Miller", The Territories, Assiniboia East, no. 203, Wide Awake, no. Z3, page 4.

²⁷ Further information about Daisy Mosso was found in, H.A. Carruthers to unknown, November 5, 1903, Regina, Saskatchewan – General Correspondence Relating to the Regina Industrial School, 1903-1905, RG10, Volume 3927, File 116836-1A.

²⁸ *Census* 1901, "E. Dechaubeaut" and "Bryce Young", The Territories, Saskatchewan, no. 205, Kinistino, no. C1, page 3.

²⁹ *Census* 1901, "Emma Demevais", "Annie Thompson", and "John Thompson", The Territories, Saskatchewan, no. 205, Fletts Springs, no. W, page 9.

³⁰ *Census* 1901, "Holy Bear Woman" and "Black Eagle", The Territories, Alberta, no. 202, Macleod, no. V2, page 15. Note: Holy Bear Woman and Black Eagle's names were

sixteen, whose Indigenous ancestry is unclear, worked in the home of E.R. Crosthwaite and husband, NWMP inspector, S. Crosthwaite,³¹ both of Irish decent in their home in Calgary, in the historical district of Alberta.³² Christina Russel, age twenty-one, of Indigenous and French mixed ancestry, worked in the household of Maggie Belcher and NWMP inspector Robert Belcher³³ in Regina located in the historical district of Assiniboia West. Also in the home were Maggie and Robert's six children ranging from ages six to sixteen and their niece.³⁴ Eliza Daniels, age sixteen, of Indigenous and English mixed ancestry worked in the home of Ella Ashdown and Indian Agent and farmer Richard Ashdown,³⁵ both recent immigrants from England. Also in the home, which was located at File Hills in the historical district of Assiniboia East, was their infant son Clarence.³⁶

In some cases, Indigenous women and girls worked in homes and farms with their own family members. Eliza Stdenis, age twenty-one, of Cree and French ancestry, worked on a farm with her husband John. The farm, which was located in Katepwa in the Qu' Appelle Valley, in the historical district of Assiniboia East, was owned by an unmarried farmer, James

electronically entered in reverse. When using the search engine exchange given name and surname (as of 27 April 2019).

³¹ The enumerator for this census did not list the first names of the Crosthwaite family. Verification of Crosthwaite's employment with the NWMP can be found in the Report of the North-West Mounted Police, 1902. Canada, *Report of the North-West Mounted Police 1902 (Sessional Paper No. 28)*, Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1903, section III, page 4.

³² *Census* 1901, "Mary Bellcouet," The Territories, Alberta, no. 202, Calgary East, no. S, page 14.

³³ For a detailed biography of Robert Belcher see "Insp. Robert Belcher," Royal Canadian Mounted Police Veterans' Association, January 19, 2012, <http://www.rcmpveteransvancouver.com/robert-belcher/>

³⁴ *Census* 1901, "Christina Russel", "Maggie Belcher", and "Robert Belcher", The Territories, Assiniboia West, no. 204, Regina North, no. E2, page 12.

³⁵ *Annual Reports*, 1904, 177.

³⁶ *Census* 1901, "Eliza Daniels", "Ella Ashdown", "Richard Ashdown", and "Clarence Ashdown", The Territories, Assiniboia East, no. 203, File Hills, no. H1, page 1.

Godan who was of Scottish decent.³⁷ Helen Fayant, age thirty-three, of Cree and French ancestry, worked on a ranch in the town of Dundurn in the historical district of Assiniboia West. Helen apparently worked alongside her brothers John, Joseph, and Daniel who were recorded as being labourers. Helen who was labelled as “General Servant,” made half the earnings than that of her brothers. Helen and her brothers worked for Joseph Procter a fifty year old, unmarried rancher from England.³⁸

In some cases, Indigenous domestic workers had their children with them where they were employed. One of these women was Sarah Hows, age twenty-three, of Cree and English mixed ancestry, single mother to one year old, Mary Jane. Sarah, with Mary Jane in tow, worked on a farm in the sub-district of Hayward in the historical district of Assiniboia East. Sarah worked for English immigrants Sarah and Charles Neil and their five children under the age of twelve, the youngest being Mary-Ellen, who was the same age as Mary Jane.³⁹ Similarly, Annie Finley, age twenty-six, Indigenous ancestry unclear,⁴⁰ worked with her two young children Frank, age six, and Elizabeth, age three. Annie worked for Mary and Peter Gun in Lac Ste. Anne County in the historical district of Alberta. Mary and Peter were Scottish immigrants and Peter was employed as a clerk. Also living in the home was Mary and Peter’s six children aged ten months to nine years.⁴¹ Mary Gaddy, age thirty-two, Indigenous and French or English mixed ancestry, worked for widowed liveryman James

³⁷ *Census* 1901, “Eliza Stdenis”, “John Stdenis”, and “James Godan”, The Territories, Assiniboia East, no. 203, Katepwa, no. D2, page 3.

³⁸ *Census* 1901, “Helen Fayant”, “John Fayant”, “Joseph Fayant”, “Daniel Fayant”, and “Joseph Procter”, The Territories, Assiniboia West, no. 204, Dundurn, no. Q, page 1.

³⁹ *Census* 1901, “Sarah Hows”, “Mary Jane Hows”, “Sarah Neil”, and “Charles Neil”, The Territories, Assiniboia East, no. 203, Hayward, no. U1, page 2.

⁴⁰ Annie Finley is recorded as “Noguon MF” in column 14 (Racial or Tribal Origin).

⁴¹ *Census* 1901, “Annie Finley”, “Frank Finley”, “Elizabeth Finley”, “Mary Gun”, and “Peter Gun”, The Territories, Alberta, no. 202, Lac Ste. Anne, no. G2, page 6.

Sanderson of Scottish decent in Medicine Hat, located in the historical district of Assiniboia West. Mary's daughter, Isabel Gaddy, aged three, also lived in the house along with James' daughter, Mary Sanderson, aged eighteen.⁴²

Kin relationships between master/mistress and domestic workers were also not known to be common in Canada.⁴³ However, for the Indigenous domestic workers in the Territories, there did appear to be situations where it was possible.⁴⁴ For one, Mary Ann Laundry, age nine, of Cree and French mixed ancestry, was employed by Ellen Laundry and labourer, Alex Laundry, of the same last name in Prince Albert, located in the historical district of Saskatchewan. Although Mary Ann shares the same last name as her employers and was only eight years old, she was indeed recorded as being employed as a servant.⁴⁵

It was more common, however, that employers and servants would share the same religion or ethnicity than last names.⁴⁶ Out of the forty-three Indigenous female domestic workers found in the census, eighteen of them were recorded as having the same religion of their employers. For example, Jean Blane, age eighteen, of Cree and French mixed ancestry, worked in the home of Elizabeth Larne and merchant Stanislaus Larne of French and Irish ancestry in Edmonton, located in present day Alberta. Jean and her employers were Roman

⁴² *Census* 1901, "Mary Gaddy", "James Sanderson", "Isabel Gaddy", and "Mary Sanderson", The Territories, Assiniboia West, no. 204, Medicine Hat North, no. N1, page 3.

⁴³ Sager, "The Transformation of the Canadian Domestic Servant," 525.

⁴⁴ In addition to Mary Ann Laundry see *Census* 1901, "Adlid Bird," The Territories, Saskatchewan, no. 205, Birch Hills, no. G, page 2. Adlid Bird, age sixteen, of Cree and Scottish mixed ancestry worked on a farm in the village of Birch Hills in present day Saskatchewan. Birch Hills was home to many Anglo-Metis peoples (also known as "Countryborn"). The farm that Adlid worked at was owned by a Cree and Scottish mixed ancestry family by the last name Cromartie. Neighbouring the Comartie farm were other farms owned by "Birds" and other "Cromarties".

⁴⁵ *Census* 1901, "Mary Ann Laundry", "Ellen Laundry", and "Alex Laundry", The Territories, Saskatchewan, no. 205, Prince Albert North, no. T1, page 1.

⁴⁶ Sager, "The Transformation of the Canadian Domestic Servant," 525.

Catholic.⁴⁷ Maggie Cunnigam, age twenty, of Indigenous and English mixed ancestry, worked as a servant on the farm of James Steavinson, of Scottish mixed ancestry in Prince Albert in the historical district of Saskatchewan. Both Maggie and James were from the Church of England.⁴⁸

Further complicating the experience of Indigenous domestic workers, out of the forty-three Indigenous female domestic workers found in the census, nineteen worked for families where either the mistress or master, or both, were classified as Indigenous themselves. Marie Racette, age fifteen, of Cree and French mixed ancestry,⁴⁹ worked as a general servant for Eliza Fisher and “Le Marquis” Charles Fisher,⁵⁰ also believed to be Cree and French mixed ancestry in the Metis settlement of Duck Lake located in the historical district of Saskatchewan. Charles and Eliza had six children in the home ranging from infant to sixteen years old.⁵¹ Virginia Cardinal, age thirty, of Cree and French mixed ancestry worked for Jane Henderson, of Cree and Scottish mixed ancestry in Battleford located in the historical district of Saskatchewan. Both women were employed as, “washerwoman.”⁵² Ellen McKay, age thirty, of Cree and Scottish mixed ancestry, worked as a “general servant” in the large household of Florinall Bain, of Indigenous and Irish

⁴⁷ *Census* 1901, “Jean Blane”, “Elizabeth Larne”, and “Stanislaus Larne”, The Territories, Alberta, no. 202, Edmonton East, no. M1, page 9.

⁴⁸ *Census* 1901, “Maggie Cunnigam” and “Jas Steavinson”, The Territories, Saskatchewan, no. 205, Prince Albert West, no. U1, page 14.

⁴⁹ Marie Racette is listed in two different households. In the one she is employed, her Indigenous ancestry is unclear. In her family home she is listed as Cree. See *Census* 1901, “Marie Racette”, “Eliza Fisher”, and “Charles Fisher”, The Territories, Saskatchewan, no. 205, Batoche, no. C, page 3.

⁵⁰ Charles Fisher was member for Duck Lake, Territorial and Saskatchewan legislature from 1898-1905. See Diane P. Payment, *The Free People – Li Gens Libres: A History of the Metis Community of Batoche, Saskatchewan* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009), 159-160.

⁵¹ *Census* 1901, “Marie Racette”, The Territories, Saskatchewan, no. 205, Duck Lake, no. S, page 6.

⁵² *Census* 1901, “Virginia Cardinal”, and “Jane Henderson”, The Territories, Saskatchewan, no. 205, Battleford North, no. D, page 6.

mixed ancestry, and Scottish doctor Hugh Bain⁵³ in Prince Albert located in the historical district of Saskatchewan. Florinall and Hugh had seven young children ranging from newborn to age ten. Ellen worked with two other Indigenous workers. Kate Cook, age twenty, of Cree and English mixed ancestry, who was listed as a nurse⁵⁴ for the family and John Spencer, age fifty-one, of Cree and English mixed ancestry, listed as a labourer for the household.⁵⁵

The enumerators of the census recorded the wages of twenty-one of the forty-three Indigenous domestic workers (see appendix). The mean earnings of these domestic workers were \$115/year (\$7.60 dollars/ month). Given that Sager calculated the average wage generally for live-in domestic workers in 1901 at \$129/year, it would seem that Indigenous women and girls were making fourteen dollars less a year.⁵⁶ It is difficult to draw generalizations from such a small sampling. However, six years earlier, Hugonnard reported that his students working out were receiving “from five to ten dollars per month. Lately one had her wages increased from six dollars to ten dollars a month, without having made any application for the increase. The other pupils had ten dollars per month each, which is as much as the best white servant girls receive.”⁵⁷ The twenty-one workers whose mean annual earnings were \$115 is consistent with Hugonnard’s report that the student’s earned from \$60-\$120 annually. However, this average is thrown off by outliers: Jean Blane, “servant” earning \$180/year, Mary Moreaux “Domestic S” earning \$200/year, Sarah Goodlad, “Domestic S” earning \$200/year, and Virgina Cardinal, “washerwoman” earning \$200/year. If these are removed from the sampling, the average wage

⁵³ See Maureen K. Lux, *Medicine that Walks: Disease, Medicine, and the Canadian Great Plains Native People, 1880-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 154.

⁵⁴ Probably “wet-nurse” as the Bain family had an infant in the home.

⁵⁵ *Census* 1901, “Ellen McKay”, “Florinall Bain”, “Hugh Bain”, “Kate Cook”, and “John Spencer,” *The Territories, Saskatchewan*, no. 205, Prince Albert East, no. S1, page 20.

⁵⁶ Sager, “The Transformation of the Canadian Domestic Servant,” 514.

⁵⁷ *Annual Report*, 1894, 195.

recorded in 1901 is \$95/year, almost \$8/month. The observation that Hugonnard made in regards to Indigenous outing students making as much as white workers is thus incorrect in respect to the 1901 census.

Further complicating the question of general wage for domestic workers in the prairies was their employment location. According to remarks from the *What Women Say of the Canadian North-West* pamphlet, the going rate for domestic help in urban areas ranged from around \$120/year to \$240/year (£2-£4 per month) whereas domestic help in rural locations and farms was around \$60/year to \$120/year (£1-£2 per month).⁵⁸ Mrs. H.T. Taylor from Edmonton wrote on her questionnaire that, “No scale of wages, but £2 a month is generally paid to Native girls.”⁵⁹ It is noticed that census did not often record the farm worker’s wage. Out of the fourteen Indigenous domestic workers found in the census that worked on farms or ranches, only five of them have wages accounted for. Marie R. Majeau, “servant,” earned \$60/year, Helen Fayant, “Gen Servant,” \$100/year, Mary Henry, “Domestic,” \$70/year, and Maggie Cunnigam, “Servant,” \$100/year with a mean annual earnings of \$80.40 (see appendix). These numbers coincide with the statements from the British Gentlewomen that farm workers earn notably less.

While Sager suggests that the earnings of domestic workers increased with the age of the worker, there is no evidence of this in the wages of the twenty-one Indigenous workers.⁶⁰ Although the ages of the workers who were twenty years or older were similar with those nineteen years of age or under, the majority of the workers with wages actually listed in the census are twenty years of age or older, making it unclear as to the earnings of the workers nineteen or younger, if they were earning anything at all. Thirty-three year old Helen Fayant was still earning

⁵⁸ Jackel, *A Flannel Shirt & Liberty*, 54-62.

⁵⁹ H.T. Taylor, as cited in, Jackel, *A Flannel Shirt & Liberty*, 56. Taylor may have also been referring to non-Indigenous peoples born in Canada as “Native girls.”

⁶⁰ Sager, “The Transformation of the Canadian Domestic Servant,” 515.

only \$100/year. Personal circumstances, a poorly negotiated contract, or both might well have ensured that Fayant was earning half the wages of younger Indigenous servants aged twenty or twenty-two years. There is also no correlation with higher wages and the literacy of the Indigenous workers, or if they could speak both English and French (see appendix).

Generally, most domestic workers in 1901 were literate graduates of compulsory schooling of the late nineteenth century, which, similar to the industrial schools for Indigenous youth, encouraged gender specific roles and domesticity for girls.⁶¹ Twenty-eight of the forty-three workers were able to read and write (see appendix). The numbers suggest that many of these domestic workers were educated, most likely at nearby industrial or boarding schools. Interestingly, eleven of these workers could speak both English and French.

One domestic worker in particular, Bessie Folster, was a student. Bessie, age sixteen, of Indigenous and Scottish mixed ancestry worked as a general servant alongside Charles Brown, also a general servant of Indigenous and Scottish mixed ancestry. Bessie and Charles worked for Anne McKenzie and HMWJ McKenzie, a clerk at a general store. Both were of Scottish decent and were parent to two children, ages four and seven. According to the record of Bessie in the census, she had been attending school for ten months that year while simultaneously working in the home.⁶²

Given the census enumerators were taking a mere “snapshot” of individuals in the household there is no way to associate any of the forty-three female Indigenous domestic workers directly to an industrial school. However, it is possible to determine the

⁶¹ Ibid., 523.

⁶² *Census* 1901, “Bessie Folster”, “Charles Brown”, “Anne McKenzie”, and “HMWJ McKenzie”, The Territories, Assiniboia East, no. 205, Duck Lake, no. S3, page 1.

denomination of a nearby school and whether it matched that of workers labouring in households in its proximity. The Territories were made up of three districts: Alberta, Assiniboia, and Saskatchewan with an industrial school in each district. In Alberta, ninety-two percent of the female Indigenous domestic workers were Roman Catholic, in proximity to the Roman Catholic High River Industrial School. In Assiniboia, sixty-four percent of the female Indigenous domestic workers were Roman Catholic, in proximity to the Roman Catholic Qu'Appelle Industrial School. Serviced by the Anglican Battleford Industrial School, forty-four percent of the female Indigenous domestic workers in the district of Saskatchewan were from the Church of England.⁶³

While the 1901 Canadian census cannot identify the actual experiences of female Indigenous domestic workers in the prairies, it can still provide important clues. Through this examination we discover that the common age of these workers was sixteen and born in the region they worked. We learn that many worked alone but some worked together with other Indigenous or non-Indigenous servants. It was usual for many of them to work on farms or ranches in rural areas and besides town people and government workers who were employing them, that Indigenous peoples were also employed by Indigenous employers. We learn that the religion of the worker was important to their employer. We also learn that some of these women worked with family or with their children with them. Most importantly we discover that the majority of the women were literate with some being able to speak both English and French, demonstrating their levels education. The 1901 census as a snapshot is capturing both

⁶³ Alberta had thirteen female Indigenous domestic workers and twelve of them were Roman Catholic. Assiniboia had fourteen female Indigenous domestic workers and nine of them were Roman Catholic. Saskatchewan had eighteen female Indigenous domestic workers and eight of them were Anglican. Sixteen female Indigenous workers were either associated with a religion that was neither Roman Catholic nor Anglican or practiced a different religion to that of the industrial school in their district.

young Indigenous women and girls just beginning domestic work, as well as those who likely entered the outing system earlier and continued at least until that date in service after graduation. It is likely that many of these women were ex-pupils from the industrial schools. But it also likely that some were ex-pupils of boarding or day schools or did not attend school at all. Regardless, domestic work seems to have been one of the only professions available to Indigenous women

Conclusion

The momentum of the outing system expired after the retirement of Hayter Reed from the DIA in 1897. After this, reports on the success of the outing system ceased to exist and there appears to be no formal program immediately put in place to hire students out into settler homes. Despite this, sending students to work in white, non-Indigenous homes to prevent “retrogression” after graduation from school was prevalent in the strategies of colonial officials¹ and there are numerous examples of industrial school graduates entering into domestic service immediately upon graduation.²

Therefore, even though the outing system was formally phased out of school programming, Indigenous women and girls were still being prepared in school to work as domestic servants. Requests to the DIA from settlers continued past 1945 and into 1960, resulting in a variety of placement programs designed to employ Indigenous women in domestic work.³

¹ *Annual Reports*, 1898, xxii.

² Annual Report, 1905, 350; Annual Report 1905, 367; Annual Report, 1906, 269; Annual Report, 1906, 382; Annual Report, 1907, 346; Annual Report, 1908, 408; Annual Report 1908, 448; Annual Report, 1908, 460; Annual Report, 1910, 333; Annual Report, 1910, 435; Annual Report, 1910, 507; Annual Report, 1910, 517; Annual Report, 1912, 356; Annual Report, 1912, 376; Annual Report, 1912, 525; Annual Report, 1912, 530; Annual Report, 1912, 547; Annual Report, 1912, 566; Annual Report, 1913, 549; Annual Report, 1915, 41.

³ McCallum, *Indigenous Women, Work, and History 1940 – 1980*, 62.



Figure Three⁴
“Old Pupils... Now in Domestic Service” *All Hallows’ School*, 1902

⁴ *Annual Report*, 1902, Frontispiece. All Hallows’ School, a girls only school for Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth (mentioned previously in this thesis), trained Indigenous girls as domestic workers in the event that they did not marry after graduation. All Hallows’ School did not directly participate in the outing system but arranged work for girls even after the outing system ceased to exist in the industrial schools.

The observations made in this thesis suggest new questions to pose about the experience of Indigenous women and girls in this period and the nature of colonialism itself. Even as they were being prepared for the outing system, Indigenous girls acted as domestic workers within the schools, with their responsibilities including cooking and serving meals, sewing student uniforms and clothing, and maintaining the school's cleanliness. The outing system was a mere extension of the "vocational training" provided by the industrial schools in western Canada, with student labour continuing outside the walls of the institution.

Female students of the industrial schools were being placed into settler communities when the demand for domestic workers in Canada was at its peak. While middle-class households preferred to hire workers of English and French decent, shortage in domestic labour forced them to hire workers whose race and culture was different from their own.

Furthermore, these women and girls were being placed into communities when, after the Pass System was introduced, government policy was limiting Indigenous mobility off reserve and discouraging reserve production and labour from competing with settler economies. Reserve communities by the turn of the twentieth century were more distanced from the rapidly growing developments and the mass settlement accelerating homesteading after the mid-1890s in the heady years of the Laurier-era land boom era. By contrast, these domestic workers, hired in respect to a household's religious affiliation and often having language skills to help in child raising, were working closely in the heart of settler and townspeople experience.

The experience of these domestic workers was tremendously diverse. If school officials had originally conceived of a single program of assimilation, it had been poorly defined. The outing system took on a different life of its own, where girls were placed widely and throughout the settler community's businesses, farming, and professional ranks. Hayter Reed's vision of

assimilation was likely simplistic, perceiving Indigenous people being transformed in idealized farm labour, akin to what he saw occurring in comparable US programs. In Western Canada, there was no definite context for such assimilation for Indigenous women and girls taking up work as domestic servants. Moreover, as the 1901 census makes plain, most domestic work ended after a girl had reached her early twenties in age. Only three women in the census were over thirty years of age, and only one of them, Jean Lacree, was aged fifty years. Domestic Indigenous service, then, likely ended with a girl's marriage and/or return to a reserve.

Much can be drawn from the wide range of placements in the outing system. Girls entering service or continuing in domestic service until 1901, found themselves in rural and town households, serving alongside others in businesses and farms, or alone in middle-class town professional households. They were placed in close proximity to children of colonizers, and served barristers, government officials or police officers. In most narratives of settler colonialism, Indigenous people engaged mainly with DIA officials, missionaries and, occasionally police. There is also the unexpected observation in the record that domestic workers were hired within families designated Indigenous. Indigenous domestic workers undoubtedly engaged in and became intermediaries between reserves and settler communities.

Some students, like Mary Angus from Battleford Industrial School, embraced domestic work in settler homes. However, consent from the parents for their children to participate in the outing system was sometimes difficult for school administrators to obtain and the students themselves did not always embrace the system. The outing system placed young Indigenous women in situations where they were susceptible to isolation, racism and class prejudices, over exertion, and abuse of all forms.

In the meanwhile, more research can be devoted to the impact of these Indigenous girls and women who served colonists, and, intriguingly, within Indigenous households. Although isolated within their work, these domestic workers undoubtedly developed close relationships with the children within households, and in some cases, with the mistress she served. In the end, Indigenous domestic workers impacted the western experience broadening the history and legacies of settler colonialism.

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Appendix

Name	Age	Role	Wage	Ethnicity	Religion	Literate	Farm*	District	Sub-District
Holy Bear Woman	25	Dom		Blood Indian	Ind Goda			Alberta	Macleod
Mary Bellcouet	16	Dom	\$120	Indian	Roman Catholic	✓		Alberta	Calgary East
Twins	16			Cree				Assiniboia West	Medicine Hat North
Eliza Stdenis	21			Cree FB	Roman Catholic	✓	✓	Assiniboia East	Katepwa
Adlid Bird		F Lab		Cree SB	English	✓	✓	Saskatchewan	Birch Hills
Jean Blane	18	Servant	\$180	Cree FB	Roman Catholic			Alberta	Edmonton East
Sarah Hows	23	Farm Labourer		Cree EB	Church of England	✓	✓	Assiniboia East	Hayward
E Mary Guyer	15			Ind OB	Roman Catholic	✓	✓	Assiniboia East	Wide Awake
Marie R Majeau	17	Servant	\$60	Cree FB	Roman Catholic		✓	Alberta	St. Pierre
Daisy Mosso	18	Farm Servant		Osoto Tribe	Presbyterian	✓	✓	Assiniboia East	Wide Awake
Eliz Drever	22	Dom		Indian Bro	Church of England	✓		Assiniboia West	Regina Centre
Helen Fayant	33	Gen Servant	\$100	Cree FB	Roman Catholic		✓	Assiniboia West	Dundurn
Mary Moreaux	24	Domestic S	\$200	Cree FB	Roman Catholic			Saskatchewan	Prince Albert
Annie Finley	26	Servente Gen	\$100	Noguo MF	Roman Catholic			Alberta	Lac Ste Anne
Ellen McKay	30	General Servant	\$96	Scotch B Cree	Church of England	✓		Saskatchewan	Prince Albert
Sarah Goodlad	23	Domestic S	\$200	English B Cree	Church of England	✓		Saskatchewan	Prince Albert
Mary Henry	22	Domestic	\$70	French FB	Roman Catholic		✓	Assiniboia East	Estevan
Almire	17	Dom		FB	Roman Catholic		✓	Saskatchewan	Devil Lake
Marie Racette	15	Servante Gen	\$72	MF	Roman Catholic	✓	✓	Saskatchewan	Duck Lake
Eliza Daniels	16	Farmer		EB	Roman Catholic	✓	✓	Assiniboia East	File Hills
E Dechaubeaut	31			English OB	Church of England	✓	✓	Saskatchewan	Kinistino
Emma Demevais	16	Dom		French B	Presbyterian	✓	✓	Saskatchewan	Fletts Springs
Mary Mcleod	17			EB	Church of England	✓		Saskatchewan	Prince Albert West
Virginia Cardinal	30	Washerwoman	\$200	C French B	Roman Catholic			Saskatchewan	Battleford North
Mary Lepiere	24	Ge Servant	\$64	FB	Roman Catholic	✓		Assiniboia West	Touchwood
Sarah Fell	20	Chambermaid	\$120	French FB	Roman Catholic			Alberta	Strathcona West
Maggie Cunnigam	20	Servant	\$100	EB	Church of England	✓	✓	Saskatchewan	Prince Albert West
Jane Lacree	50	Dom		FB	Roman Catholic	✓		Saskatchewan	Prince Albert West
Rosay Demory	20	Servant		EB	S.A. Army	✓		Saskatchewan	Prince Albert West
Mary Ann Laundry	9	Dom		FB	Roman Catholic			Saskatchewan	Prince Albert North
Ida Giles	21	Waitress	\$160	Irish FB	Roman Catholic	✓		Alberta	Strathcona West

Name	Age	Role	Wage	Ethnicity	Religion	Literate	Farm*	District	Sub-District
Louisa Fidler	12	Dom	\$80	EB	Roman Catholic	✓		Saskatchewan	Prince Albert West
Mary Gaddy	32		\$105	French EB	Roman Catholic			Assiniboia West	Medicine Hat North
Millane Ladoucer	19			French FB	Roman Catholic	✓		Alberta	Lac La Biche
Agnes Desjarlais	19			French FB	Roman Catholic			Alberta	Lac La Biche
Harriet Cardinal	8			French FB	Roman Catholic	✓		Alberta	Lac La Biche
Christina M Russel	21	Dom	\$120	FB	Roman Catholic	✓		Assiniboia West	Regina North
Ana Belanger	16	Servant	\$100	F Bend	Roman Catholic			Assiniboia East	Fort Qu'Appelle
Bessie Folster	16	Gen Servant		Scotch B	Church of England	✓		Assiniboia East	Touchwood
Flora Gardner	42	Servant		Scotch B	Roman Catholic	✓		Alberta	Lac La Biche

Abbreviation	Meaning
FB	"French Breed"
EB	"English Breed"
SB	"Scottish Breed"
OB	"Other Breed"

* Farm or Ranch

For information regarding abbreviations used in the 1901 census see, "Census of Canada, 1901", <https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/census/1901> (July 4, 2019)