THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

THE INDIAN IN THE CANADIAN NOVEL IN ENGLISH IN THE PERIOD 1860-1918

by

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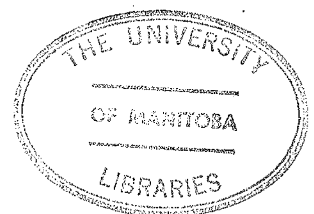

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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The object of a reading project which I began in 1972 was to discover to what extent the Canadian novelist had used the Indian as subject material.

When the amount of the material to be covered became clear, I chose to limit the time period for the purpose of this study. The novels used in the study are therefore all from the period 1860 to 1918, since it was during this period in the history of North America that the Europeans created the confederacy they called Canada, and consolidated their hold on the land. It was a time when the "Imperial" faith flourished in Canada.

The Canadians, as these Europeans could now be called, held the land with fortified garrisons which in time were linked by a railway that ran from sea to sea. While they held these garrisons, however, the Canadians were still for the most part surrounded by the virgin land and its inhabitants. The novels of the period often reflected the cultural conflict which occurred because of this historic situation.

In discussing author Charles William Gordon, who portrayed the cultural conflict between the native people

and the Canadians, critic Edward A. McCourt says that Gordon was "paradoxically ironic" in his approach. However, this paradoxical irony can be demonstrated to be the view from McCourt's time, and not an intention of the author. Indeed, irony was seldom the forté of the Canadians of the period.

Further, with regard to Ralph Connor, Edward McCourt says: "Ralph Connor was a humanitarian, a man who despised cruelty and oppression in every form. In an age when, as Lytton Strachey has it, imperialism was a faith as well as a business, his confidence in the generally beneficent nature of the white man's rule was no doubt reassuring to his readers in Eastern Canada and the old country."[1] It became clear to me in the reading for the thesis that Ralph Connor was not alone in this humanitarian-based approach to the conquering of a people; for it was a military age in Canada, particularly west of old Canada. On the plains of Western Canada, the garrison mind of the Canadian psyche was a physical as well as a mental phenomenon. It is Ralph Connor who provides the most vivid picture of that age with his portrayal of a North West Mounted Police post: " . . . at a little trail that led to the left he paused, noted its course toward the flaunting flag, turned into it, then struggled up the rocky hillside till he came to the wooden shack, with a deep porch running

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[1] Edward A. McCourt, The Canadian West in Fiction (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1970), p. 33.

round it, and surrounded by a rustic fence which enclosed a garden whose neatness illustrated a characteristic of the British soldier."[2]

How similar this description is to the description of the garden in Andrew Marvell's lines from Upon Appleton House to my Lord Fairfax:

> His warlike Studies could not cease;
> But laid these Gardens out in sport
> In the just figure of a Fort;
> And with five Bastions it did fence,
> As arming one for ev'ry Sense.
>
> . . . .
>
> When in the East the Morning Ray
> Hangs out the Colours of the Day,
> The Bee through these known Allies hums,
> Beating the Dian with its Drumms.
> Then Flow'rs their drowsie Eylids raise,
> Their Silken Ensigns each displayes,
> And dries its Pan yet dank with Dew,
> And fills its Flask with Odours new.
>
> . . . .
>
> These, as their Governour goes by,
> In fragrant Vollyes they let fly; [3]

This basic philosophy is elaborated:

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[2]Ralph Connor, The Patrol of the Sun Dance Trail (Toronto: The Westminster Co. Ltd., 1914), p. 9.

[3]Andrew Marvell, Upon Appleton House to my Lord Fairfax in The Poems of Andrew Marvell (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1952), pp. 89-90, ll. 284-298.

'Within this holy leisure we
'Live innocently as you see.
'These Walls restrain the World without,
'But hedge our Liberty about.
'These Bars enclose that wider Den
'Of those wild Creatures, called Men.
'The Cloyster outwards shut its Gates,
'And, from us, locks on them the Grates.

(p. 83, 11. 97-104)

In the novels of this later age, the Indian and half-breed are always outside those gates.

In Canada, as in America and Europe, the Indian was often viewed synonymously with nature. Lionel Stevenson provides the following consideration of the subject in 1889, in speaking of the English critic Theodore Watts-Dunton: "His argument was that Canada, lacking the old world's spirit of antiquity, cannot compete in the department of poetry which deals with the life of man, but that in the other department dealing with the life of nature, Canada is in a favoured position . . . . And he suggested that through the medium of the Indian this treatment of nature could be accomplished with particular effectiveness."[4] This was an excellent literary opportunity; but reality imposed itself on the novelist.

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[4]Lionel Stevenson, Appraisals of Canadian Literature (Toronto: Macmillan, 1926), pp. 171-172.

Douglas Leechman refers to the colonialists as a whole, including the Canadians, when he notes: "While the philosophers were insisting that the Indians must be Noble Savages, a very different idea of them was being formed in the minds of the settlers in the New World."[5] The differing view included nature, even without the Indian, for its brooding greenery could retake a homestead in a few seasons or its vast plains could swallow a man looking for a lost cow. Thus the novelists' creations were more often founded on the real fear produced by a garrison occupation of the wilderness than a poetic view of the subject.

There was another fear that manifested itself in the period, perhaps older and more profound. It was the fear of native women by the hearth-bound Canadian women. Synonymous with the Canadian heart were the prudish laws of conduct of the period--laws which did not appear to frustrate the Indian women. The Indian woman's freedom was at times condemned by male as well as female novelists with such ferocity that it is clear the fear was embodied in jealous hatred.

It can be said that the majority of the novels that use the Indian as subject matter deal with a conflict of some aspect of the natural wilderness with the forces of

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[5]Douglas Leechman, "The Indian in Literature," Queen's Quarterly, Vol. L. (1943), p. 159.

civilization. The outcome of the battle is presented in the novel as pre-destined, and the reader's interest relies upon the affirmation of his or her belief in Canada.

In the matter of criticism, I have avoided viewing any of the novels along aesthetic lines, for in order to get a representative sample, there is not space for proper critical comparison. This in no way means that there is not material for such criticism; for a single example, a comparison of the use of "heads" in The Chicamon Stone and The Isle of Massacre would readily develop into an interesting study of animism as part of a study in myth criticism.

CHAPTER I

THE MORAL LANDSCAPE

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One of the more dominant features of the novels of the period is the presence of the moral landscape at the core of many of them. In Canada's west, where the garrison rather than the natural frontier of the wilderness was the pattern of settlement, the image of the garden was strong. In western Canada, the settlement was completely surrounded by the wilderness and its inhabitants. This image created by the pattern of settlement in Canada recalls the "garden" used in English literature, by poets like Milton and Marvell, as an allegory for the human condition. Canadian authors saw these physical manifestations of those earlier poetic visions of the garden as affirmations of the reality of the moral landscape.[6]

The walls of the garden were the military forces of the crown and the social traditions of civilization. Within these protective walls, the garden flourished. The garden's

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[6]See Stanley Stewart's The Enclosed Garden (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), for an excellent study of this image's connection to the poetry of the seventeenth century.

main attributes were an ordered cultivation of the land and a devotion to the Canadian principles of imperialism. Beyond the walls there was a salient patrolled by the forces of the Empire. This buffer zone was inhabited by the "Tame Indians"--Indians who had become subservient to the inhabitants of the garden. Half-breeds were often trapped in this salient. Only when they chose to align themselves with the force of the wilderness did they move from this zone. Beyond this salient lay the wilderness, untamed and rebellious.

Through the principle of progress inherent in the concept of the moral landscape, it was believed that the garden must be expanded by the industry of the inhabitants who were committed to the spread of God's influence. Because Satan was in rebellion against God's--and the white man's--order, his agents, whose natural habitat was the wilderness, would do all in their power to impede the process. In the following discussion, the term "garden" will consequently refer to the manifestations of Canadian civilization, while "wilderness" will refer to the regime of Satan in the forests and on the plains.

The Canadians developed an artistic manner in which to describe the historical facts of their existence. As with all the peoples of the world, there grew up among them an origin myth to explain their history and to project future goals by way of prophecy. As migratory people with roots in

Europe, they fell back on ancestral images. An example of the emergence of an origin myth can be found in Margaret Brown's My Lady of the Snows:

> through break in foliage, the gleam of tomohawk, the fleet of moccasin, the white spirit of Manitou, the blackrobed priest and greyrobed nun fleeing before the coming of civilization, as Tannhauser, the doomed knight, had fled through the gloom and snow; and then back, further back, were the indefinite groups and forms of many banded [sic] bands, wild, indistinct, undisciplined as they had been before the coming of Arthur. . . .[7]

There have been comparisons of the Indian to the Trojans in European and colonial writings; for example Thomas Morton in his New English Canaan of 1637. Margaret Brown began her theory with the supposition that the Indian was literally a degenerate Greek. She then argued that the divine purpose of Canadian civilization was to re-create the glory of man on the North American continent. The cause of the degeneration of North American man was the presence of a malevolent force in the land. For the social Darwinists, this force had prevented the Indian from advancing himself. Brown, like other writers of the day, imaged this force in the

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[7] Margaret Adeline Brown, My Lady of the Snows (Toronto: William Briggs, 1908). pp. 150-151. All further references to this work will be made in parentheses in the text.

chaos of the wilderness. The reader recognized the force as an evil one, for in the moral landscape the wilderness and the garden cannot be allowed to mingle.

While the majority of Canadian readers agreed with this line of thought, there were apparently enough people questioning its values to enable co-authors C. Mercer Adam and Ethelwyn Wetherald to come to the defence of the concept of the moral landscape. In their defence, they chose to label this apparently Rousseauistic thinking, which questioned the morality of nature, with the epithet Byronic. In a propagandistic manner, it linked the philosophy of Rousseau with the popular image of the licentious Byron: "with our tame domestic lantern, let us endeavour to throw a little prosaic light over the details of a scene that has been irradiated by the imagination of a Byron."[8]

While Adam and Wetherald advocate marriage as the natural outcome of love, they carefully point out that marriage is viewed as part of the system of order in the garden. In combining love and social order in the state of matrimony, An Algonquin Maiden becomes an interesting combination of liberal thought and class stratification. The evidence is

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[8]G. Mercer Adam and Ethelwyn Wetherald, An Algonquin Maiden (Montreal: John Lovell & Son, 1887), p. 10. All further references to this work will be made in parentheses in the text.

weighted in favour of the garden, for it was never the intention of the Victorian novelist writing these affirmative novels to present unpopular views.

At the apex of the Canadian society portrayed in An Algonquin Maiden is Lady Maitland. Her husband is the Crown's representative in Canada. While she is personally the highest aristocrat in Canada, she has been forced to move down a level when she married for love, since her status previous to marriage was more aristocratic than her husband's. In the levels below Lady Maitland are found the military, e.g. the Commodore and the widow of General de Bercgy, and the farmers, e.g. the Dunlops. Various servants represent the lowest level of Canadian society. Within this last level the black cook[9] holds the lowest position. It becomes clear that while all the other characters of the novel have by birth or action taken a place in the Canadian social structure, the Indian has not. The Indian of the novel is not inferior to the "nigger". He simply does not exist within the walls of the garden.

The garden was often represented in physical terms in the novels being examined, usually as domesticated nature,

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[9]There is a comparison here to the crew of the Pequod in Herman Melville's Moby Dick. There, the negroes Pip and Fleece hold the lowest rank in the multi-national crew. They are the cook and the cabin boy.

a farm. One of the best portrayals is the following one from <u>An Algonquin Maiden</u>:

> Rose Macleod opened her casement window fronting the east, and looked out upon the myriad tender tints. . . . the gray walls of the Commodore's home on this side were hung with climbing plants, and as his pretty daughter leaned out of her chamber window, a dewy branch of roses, loosened from its fastening, struck her softly on the cheek. The touch gave her a thrill, delicate, keen--a pleasure, sharp as pain. . . . The morning glories were all awake. She could see their wealth of tender bloom outspread upon the rugged heap of rocks, warm with sunshine, that separated between a corner of the flower--smothered turf and the dark shadow of the almost impenetrable woods. (p. 66)

This piece contains the major physical elements of the moral landscape.

In it, nature has been domesticated by the military.[10] The setting faces the east, from whence the European civilizing force has come.[11] It also contains a virgin. However, the garden is in Canada, for the woods still remain a brooding ring just beyond the control of the garrison. This garden environment provides the majority of the readers of the day, who were female, an interesting possibility of achieving the thrill of a delicate orgasm without having to submit to the

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[10]See page 4 of this paper for Andrew Marvell's poetical description of such a state.

[11]The east is also where God planted his garden in Eden.

unbridled passion of a man, and especially of the wild man of the woods. Here within the protection of the garden, then, is the Christian alternative to nature, virginity.

In the beginning of An Algonquin Maiden, the hero, Edward Macleod, in his youthful blindness views the wilderness of this "brave new world" (p. 13) in a manner contrary to the accepted view of the moral landscape. There he views Hélène, his white fiancée, through prejudiced eyes: "The pure pure curves of the white camellias reminded him of Hélène. She herself was the rare product of choicest care and cultivation--the flower of an old and complex civilization. The fancy pleased him at first, and then woke in his mind a certain vague disdain. What place had hot house plants, either human or otherwise, in this wild new land . . . . " (p. 44)

The sharply-drawn distinction between the garden landscape and the natural wilderness is so ingrained in the minds of authors of the period that there are times in their novels when they may appear to contradict their belief in the rightness of their version of the landscape. Lieut.-Col. Butler, in Red Cloud, the Solitary Sioux, uses phraseology that could be called poetic in his description of the "vast unbroken dominion of nature"[12] which was the great plains

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[12] Lieut.-Col. William Butler, Red Cloud, the Solitary Sioux (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1887), p. 32.

before the plow. Although the wilderness was evil it had an attraction that drew the European to it,and in spite of himself his feelings were sympathetic toward it. However, Butler later calls that same dominion "a great waste". (p. 149) The author's common sense has overridden the poet in him, and he is of the same view as the authors of An Algonquin Maiden. While a romantic might glorify the wilderness in the futile attempt to persuade the dominant race to preserve it, Butler knows that the wilderness must pass. What he provides is a feeling of loss, a nostalgia which is one of the bases for the stereotype of the "vanishing Indian", the only Indian who can exist in the "garden". Butler's hero says of Red Cloud as they part:

> "Think of you!" I said, speaking half aloud my thoughts. "Yes, that I will. Whenever the wind stirs the tree-branch, or rustles the reeds and meadows--wherever the sun goes down over distance of sea or land--in the moonlight of nights, in the snow of long winters, you will be near me still."
>
> At a bend in the trail he turned to look back: it was but a moment, and then the mountain path was vacant, and I saw him no more. (p. 322)

Just as it is possible to portray the stereotype physical images of the moral landscape, so it is possible to stereotype the physical characteristics of the men and women who are part of that landscape. In many ways, the characteristics which emerge are reactions to the apparent characteristics

of the wilderness. These individuals, as they move into the wilderness, carry in their accoutrements and manners minor garrisons. Agnes Laut, in Lords of the North, provides one of the best portraits of such an individual in her hero, Rufus Gillespie. Gillespie takes pride in the fact that he has not taken up the native custom of wearing moccasins (as have all the other white men who of necessity must travel in the frail-walled birch-bark canoe). Gillespie's cleanliness is further evidence of his ability to retain the mores of civilization in spite of the atavistic pressures of the wilderness. Cleanliness is of course high on the list of ideal characteristics of the godly Canadian: "It was a tin basin with a large bar of soap--actual soap. There must still have been some vestige of civilization in my nature, for after a delightful half hour's intimate acquaintance with that soap, I came round to the groups of men rehabilitated in self-respect."[13]

Thus the reader, who is well aware of this requirement of cleanliness by the civilized inhabitant of the moral landscape, clearly knows the position of the Algonquin chief who sat "very grave, very dignified, very far from being immaculately clean." (An Algonquin Maiden, p. 47) The reader

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[13] Agnes A. Laut, Lords of the North (Toronto: William Briggs, n.d.), p. 102.

also understands the disgust of Edward Macleod at the Indian maiden Wanda's dirty shoulder and soiled fingers. At this point in the novel, Edward is at last seeing Wanda's reality clearly. She is not a beautiful wild flower, but "a coarse weed, whose vivid hues he might admire in passing, but which he would shrink from wearing on his person." (p. 198)

In this same book, because the chieftain has been placed in the outer ring of the moral landscape, his criticisms of the institutions of Canadian white civilization become affirmations of their positive nature. To the author of the period, there was a direct line between the manners and accoutrements of the individual and his moral condition; for all these were dictated by his position in the moral landscape. The chieftain verbally attacks the major institutions of the inner ring--capitalism, industry, agriculture, Christianity, and finally the seat of personal discipline, Victorian motherhood. In his attack on the Canadian mother, the Indian points out that: "'they are strange, unnatural creatures. In times of anger they attack their helpless little ones, talking in a harsh voice, pinching, beating, slapping them, doing everything but bite them!'" (p. 48)

The reader of the day knew, however, that from the values instilled by the loving hand of a Canadian mother,

there grew the leaders of the institutions which maintained the garden. This training produced a particular type of leader. Allan Dunlop is portrayed by Adam and Wetherald as the perfect Canadian politician. To the modern reader he is another contradiction of that age: he is "a radical, but of a moderate type; . . . too loyal a man to . . . overturn the constitution and make a republic out of a colony, . . . too judicious and right minded to affirm that the administration of the province was wholly evil and corrupt . . . ." (pp. 168-69)

All such leaders are portrayed as first, being loyal to the crown, and second, progressive in their views of the need to exploit the land. The most powerful affirmation of a Canadian leader's ability is often portrayed by contrasting his leadership to that of a leader of the wild men. In the novel, where this contrast is part of the plot construction, the leadership of the wild man is always in opposition to civilization.

Authors of the period frequently used the "Riel" figure in such displays of demonic leadership. For example, Hulbert Footner uses the same basic plot line of insurrection against Canada in both Jack Chanty and The Fur Bringers; and in both novels the villain leader is a "Riel" figure. The "Riel" figure is a half-breed whose rebellion against

Canadian civilization is first furtive, then open and violent. The half-breed because of his Indian blood can never exist within the walls of the garden. The best he can expect from total obedience to the ways of civilization is the role of servant in the salient. When in revolt the half-breed is always brought to defeat by the righteous violence of the Canadian chieftains. Usually the prime indication that any character has the characteristics of the "Riel" figure is his presumptuous claim to equality with Canadians. In The Fur Bringers, Footner describes such a character, Gordon Strange, in the following manner: "The better men among the natives, such as Tole Grampierre, have pride of their own, but they never presume to the same footing as the white men. Strange, however, talked as one gentleman to another."[14]

In Footner's Jack Chanty, Strange's literary twin Jean Paul Ascota adopts the same attitude: "Vassall was not a particularly sympathetic figure to Jack [Chanty], but the sight of the white man stewing while the Indian [Ascota] loafed was too much for his Anglo-Saxon sense of the fitness of things."[15]

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[14]Hulbert Footner, The Fur Bringers (Toronto: Hodder & Stoughton, n.d.), p. 66.

[15]Hulbert Footner, Jack Chanty (New York: Grosset & Dunlop, 1913), p. 54.

There exists the same presumptive arrogance in the Indian chiefs who are in conflict with Canadian expansion. Ralph Connor provides such a character in the Sioux chief in The Patrol of the Sun Dance Trail:

> "Halt there, chief! Don't move or you die!" The Indian turned to see Cameron covering him with two guns. At once he relaxed his tense attitude and, drawing himself up, he demanded in a voice of indignant scorn: "Why you touch me? Me Big Chief! You little dog!"
>
> As he stood, erect, tall, scornful, commanding, with his head thrown back and his arm outstretched, his eyes glittering and his face eloquent of haughty pride, he seemed the very incarnation of the wild unconquered spirit of that once proud race he represented.[16]

In this scene, Ralph Connor appears to be softening his condemnation of the chief. Connor is indicating that the chief does not have a grasp of the reality of the times. He is now in a submissive position in a European colony, a menial in the garden and no longer a being of the wilderness, and will not accept this reality. While Connor realizes that the chief must be defeated, he wishes the reader to pity the once-proud warrior in his inevitable doom.

In this novel, the righteous anger that defeats the enemy of the garden is in the hands of the Canadian military.

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[16] Ralph Connor, The Patrol of the Sun Dance Trail (Toronto: The Westminster Co. Ltd., 1914), p. 77.

In the west, it is the North West Mounted Police. Both W. A. Fraser and Ralph Connor grant the prerogative of righteous violence to this force; however, both authors have difficulty resolving the need to use violence with the morality of its actual use. This is a difficulty which arises when the sensitivity of the artist comes into conflict with the propaganda of affirmation that his society expects of him. It is not a new problem peculiar to Canada. For example, the English poet Marvell sets out to resolve it in his landscape poem "Upon Appleton House," dedicated to his benefactor General Fairfax.

In The Patrol of the Sun Dance Trail, Connor's hero Corporal Cameron is a fighting machine--two guns and two fists on the right side of Canadian justice. There is something less than civilized, however, in his character as presented in the following quotation: "Cameron's face was gray, with purple blotches, and distorted with passion, his eyes were blazing with fury, his manner one of reckless savage abandon." (p. 303) It is perhaps questionable that the reader saw this description as at all negative; rather he could see in this characterization the rage of the British lion. When taken in context with Connor's overall view toward the Sioux chief, however, it is apparent that Connor is troubled by the inevitable result of N.W.M.P. justice and the men who wield it.

While W. A. Fraser was a strong advocate of the force as a controlling factor in the west, he also appears to be troubled by the nature of the N.W.M.P., particularly in their relationship to the Indian. What he questioned was the superman myth which was becoming widely accepted among members of the force in the growing imperialistic atmosphere of late nineteenth-century Canada. In one scene in his novel, The Blood Lilies, Fraser places the "legendary" N.W.M.P. methods of approach to a situation involving Indians under the humanizing scrutiny of humour. Two members of the N.W.M.P. force are about to attack the Indian tipi where they are sure their quarry Wolf Runner is lurking. But he is not there; only Wolf Runner's squaw is in the tent: "As they stood shoulder to shoulder with only the flap of a lodge between them and their quarry, a dog gave a long dismal howl. The captain sprang for the opening with eager haste. In its doorway his charge carried him into the arms of Wolf Runner's ponderous squaw with such fierce impact that they were both sent sprawling backward in the recoil. The sergeant whipped out his gun, thinking the Indian was making an escape . . . ."[17]

Both Fraser and Connor accept the inevitable historic

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[17]W. A. Fraser, The Blood Lilies (Toronto: William Briggs, 1903), pp. 122-23.

fact that the Canadians will dominate the aboriginal people in that larger landscape which encompasses white men and red. Both believe in the moral correctness of this destiny, but both question some of the methods used by the institutions of the garden. Fraser advocates the isolated concentration camp system to save the Indian from himself and the exploitative methods of the Canadians. Fraser's and Connor's criticism of things Canadian, however slight it really is, does set them apart from authors like Adam and Wetherald and Butler; but they do not reach the objectivity of Clive Phillips-Wolley in The Chicamon Stone, to be discussed later.

At this point, we will turn from the relationship between the military arm of Canadian government and the Indian, to the relationship of that government itself to the Indian. Of all institutions in the Canadian garden, government is the most powerful advocate for its own existence. In The Blood Lilies, W. A. Fraser points out that the Indian struggles to exist; he also shows the two major reasons why the Indian cannot exist within the framework of Canadian society. The reasons are alcohol and government-sponsored acculturation, which is trying to make the wild man into a gardener.

Governor Hodge in The Blood Lilies represents the Great White Mother and her apparently benevolent attitude toward her native children. From his position of ascendancy, Hodge can clearly understand the limitations of the minds of

the wild men; due to these limitations, the Indians lack the ability to care properly for their offspring. When faced with the possibility of Wolf Runner's squaw loving her son: "It seemed [to Governor Hodge] an idea of extreme grotesqueness that an Indian, or even more so, a squaw, should have a troubled heart over anything but food or work or killing." (p. 203) Hodge chooses to send the son of Wolf Runner to a government residential school where he is to become an Indian missionary for the Canadians. However, once the boy is there, he sickens and ultimately dies from his illness (which is portrayed, if not named, as consumption.) In the novel, Fraser's premise is that contact of this kind with the government of the white endangers the survival of the Indian.[18]

In _My Lady of the Snows_, Brown's use of the Indian in relation to the Canadian moral landscape is similar in some ways to W. D. Lighthall's in _The Master of Life_. They both use the Indians primarily as an example to clarify their

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[18]It is interesting to compare W. A. Fraser's theory with that of Duncan Campbell Scott. Scott's contention was that the Canadian government, which "determined that the race should be saved", (Duncan Campbell Scott, _The Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada_, The Canadian Institute of International Affairs, August 1931, p. 1) found it necessary that "the Department of Indian Affairs . . . deal with the whole life of the people" (p. 4). There is a difference in the views of these Canadian writers. However, the result is the same. The Indian would no longer be a problem. Fraser would have isolated him and protected him like a wild animal, and Scott, the head of Indian Affairs, would have de-Indianized him.