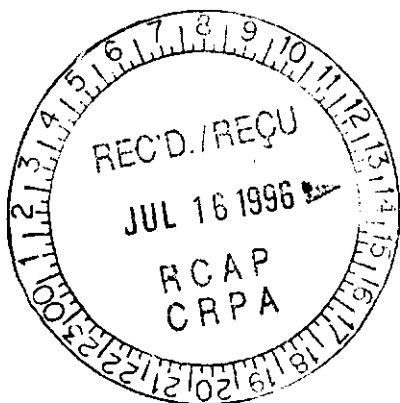


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"SUFFER THE LITTLE CHILDREN"

The Aboriginal Residential School System

1830 - 1992



Submitted to:
The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples
by J. S. Milloy

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INTRODUCTION

"I must tell of things as they were and really this is not my story but yours."

In 1939, the Anglican Church published and circulated to its parishioners a pamphlet celebrating its work in "Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools." The pamphlet traced the history of the church's involvement in Aboriginal education from "the origins of these Institutions in Western Canada" thanks to the efforts of the Reverend John West in the Red River settlement in 1820. From that "small beginning this system of Indian education, under Divine Guidance and help, has gradually developed until we have at the present time nineteen schools of the residential class...." Individual Anglicans, the text continued, as well as "Sunday Schools, Bible Classes, A.Y.P.A's [Anglican Young Peoples' Associations], etc.," could follow in West's footsteps; they, too, could "help" if they would "adopt" an Indian boy or girl in one of the Indian Boarding Schools." Only \$30 a child was required. Contributors would "be sent the name of the child, age, school and a photo."

As an inducement, no doubt, the pamphlet contained a variety of photographs of students and of the schools - each in its own way meant to be an illustration of the care given the children and the fine educational work being done. There were pictures of children dressed in neat, bright uniforms, smiling confidently at the camera, one of a "sewing class ... in which the girls are taught mending and plain sewing" and another of boys "sacking vegetables" in a field with the accompanying note: "meat, vegetables, butter and eggs are in most cases produced by the Schools for their own use" There were pictures of happy times - "A Christmas party in one of our Residential schools" and of healthful, carefree activities - a "physical education class" and "The Scout Troop ... Typical of Troops in many of the Schools."

There were, of course, pictures of the schools themselves described as "fine, new" and "modern" - impressive structures seemingly well-maintained. They were not only, the authors of the pamphlet claimed, "valuable ... as centres of education" but "for the help they give in saving the lives of children who would otherwise perish" if left in their communities marked by disease and poverty. The parents, the reader was

told, agreed. They had "already seen with ... [their] own eyes that many of the Whiteman's ways of life are superior to ... [their] own," and appreciated the care the children received; they were "glad to have a good home for their children."

And, finally, as these were educational institutions, there were photographs of successful graduates - of "Redfern Louttit ... who entered Wycliffe College [the University of Toronto] in 1935" and, at the other side of the employment spectrum, of boys "who are employed on a coasting schooner." These examples represented hundreds of graduates - who were employed, "a Dominion-wide investigation of the condition of... graduates" reported, in all walks of Canadian life and were, in almost all cases "making good progress." Only a "comparatively small number," it was explained, had "reverted to tribal standards." The "overwhelming" majority had "maintained the standards and traditions of their respective Schools" and were incontrovertible proof that "this system of education was conferring benefits of incalculable value on the Indian peoples of this country," and thus deserved "the fullest possible support from both Church and State."

In the church's estimation their residential school mission which purportedly transformed Aboriginal boys and girls into useful Christian Canadian men and women was a most sublime Christian act. That presumption was underlined by the pamphlet's subtitle: "Jesus said: Suffer the little children to come unto me ... and he took them up in his arms ... and blessed them." Symbolically, the first picture in the pamphlet was of one of Christ's representatives in this world - the Reverend T.B.R. Westgate D.D. - who had taken up in his arms an Aboriginal baby or as the caption said "a potential pupil."¹

In 1939, there were 9,027 such children in Canada's embrace; children, who were, that year, pupils in a nation-wide network of 79 residential schools conducted, under government auspices, by the Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian and United Churches. Though the history of each church's involvement in residential education was different, the Anglican pamphlet reflected fairly the sentiments of the other churches and of Indian Affairs officials, too - reflected their representation of the beneficent character and circumstances of the schools, of the "benefits of incalculable value" being bestowed on the Aboriginal "peoples of this country" by residential education.

That common representation has stood neither the test of time nor, in the pages that follow, of historical research. Indeed, it exists in sharp contrast to the historical record etched in the memories of students and set out in church and Indian

Affair's files. By 1939, thousands of children, Indian, Inuit and Metis, had come to the schools and thousands more would follow in the four and half decades after 1939 that the system continued to operate. They came, or, more accurately, they were taken from their parents and communities, and they suffered: the system did not provide without exception either the education or the care that was the promise of Christ's call "to come unto me" nor of Canada's self-imposed "responsibility" for Aboriginal people. Instead, the system's history is marked by the persistent neglect and abuse of children and through them of Aboriginal communities in general. Residential schools have been, arguably, the most damaging of the many elements of Canada's colonization of this land's original peoples and, as their consequences still echo through the lives of Aboriginal people today, they remain so.

How did this happen, how were responsibility and Christianity perverted? More than anything else this work is an attempt to answer that question, an attempt to trace and understand, by means of a reconstruction of the history of residential schools, the root, stem and dreadful blossoming of a system of persistent neglect and debilitating abuse coincident with the building of the schools and lasting beyond their closure in the 1980s. As that story unfolds, one conclusion becomes unavoidable: despite the discourse of civil and spiritual duty that framed the school system there never was invested in this project the financial or human resources required to ensure that the system achieved its "civilizing" ends or that children were cared for properly - nor was there ever brought to bear the moral resources necessary to respond to systemic neglect or to the many instances of stark abuse that were known to be occurring. Furthermore, it is clear that throughout the history of the system, the Church-State partners were aware of these sorrowful circumstances and, moreover, that by the 1960s they understood the detrimental repercussions for Aboriginal children of the residential school experience.

This reconstruction begins with the thought that became the deed - with an exploration both of Canada's mid-19th century assimilative ideology of civilization, official policy after 1830, and of the rationale for residential schools, the felt need to separate "savage" parent from child. Together, ideology and rationale, constituted the justification for the concerted attack by Church and State upon Aboriginal culture making the schools sites of ontological struggle seen most clearly in the curriculum's attack on Aboriginal languages. The thought even before the deed - before the system took full physical shape across the country - was violent in its intention to "kill the Indian in the child"² for the sake of Christian civilization. In that way, the system was, even as a concept, abusive.

Chapter 2 reviews the building and maintenance of the system in the Industrial School era, 1879-1923, and in that reveals the most persistent flaw in the system, chronic underfunding, which ensured that the quality of care and education remained constantly far below acceptable standards. The results of that troubling fiscal reality, recognized but never rectified by Indian Affairs or the churches, took the most horrifying form in those years. Underfunding, overcrowding in the schools, lax administration and poor hygiene and diet meant that children died in astonishing numbers, the victims of schools that hosted the white plague, tuberculosis. Over 50 per cent of pupils who passed through the schools in those days did not, Indian Affairs estimated, live to enjoy the "benefits of incalculable value"³ they had supposedly received in the schools.

Chapter 3, as well as tracing the persistence of many of these formative administrative and financial factors after 1923, undertakes a closer examination of the treatment of the children in the period 1879-1944 - of the failure to provide safe living conditions, adequate food and clothing and to employ "parents", teachers and other school staff, capable of operating the schools effectively and caring for the children. It reviews the relationship between discipline in the schools and abuse and charts Indian Affairs' inability to respond to the physical abuse of children it claimed were its wards. Finally, it outlines the failure of the schools to reach educational goals which were, in fact, unrealistic given the lack of trained teachers and the inappropriate nature of the curriculum.

By 1944, senior Indian Affairs officials reviewing the state and record of residential schools were convinced that they should be closed, that segregated Aboriginal education should be replaced by integration into Provincial school systems. With Parliament's backing in 1948 and the support of most, though not all, of its church partners, Indian Affairs undertook a process of closure which lasted some four decades. Chapter 4 sets out what became a long and complex process which changed the character of residential education making it a supplementary service to a growing day school emphasis. Old residential schools often became hostels with the children going out each day to a nearby Provincial school. More significantly, the schools, hostel/residences, took on a social service function. Increasingly, they became catchments for children who could not be returned to their families to attend day schools because it was determined by Indian Affairs and Children Aid Societies that they came from neglectful homes. For such children, and there were many, the residential schools in this period were way-stations on the road to foster care and adoptions into non-Aboriginal families.

Unfortunately, the formulation after the war of a new Aboriginal education strategy and initiatives by Indian Affairs to make the management of the system more professional and more responsive to the needs of the children did not bring improvement in the quality of care children received. The fifth and final chapter establishes that the dwindling system remained underfunded, despite new financial arrangements brought forward in 1957. Thus the condition of many of the buildings in which children were forced to live and work and the food and clothing provided remained in this period, too, below the standards that had been set by Indian Affairs, itself. It is tragically clear, as well, from the numerous incidents in Indian Affairs' files, that the pattern of abuse, formed before the war, was not disrupted by post-war regulations on punishment and continued on to the final closings in 1986.

This history of the residential school system is a history written by a non-Aboriginal person - one who never experienced a residential school nor lived in a community whose children had been removed to such an institution; one who never felt racism or suffered the purposeful denigration of identity. There is, of course, a story of these schools that can only be told by people who have had those experiences, by ex-students, their families and communities whose lives have been shaped by that painful reality. Many are now doing just that - retelling their experience in print and, most importantly, at school reunions and community circles revealing that pain in a traumatic process of healing.

This work does not presume to stand in the place of such vital histories, but only to supplement them, for, in important ways, this is a non-Aboriginal story, too. In 1965, Indian Affairs asked a number of residential school graduates to put in writing their memories of their school days. One, recalling his experiences at the Mohawk school, wrote: "When I was asked to do this paper I had some misgivings, for if I were to be honest, I must tell of things as they were and really this is not my story but yours."

I, too, began with misgivings, feelings of trespassing upon Aboriginal experience, but as I read through the documents in federal and church archives, it became obvious that the ex-student was profoundly correct. The residential system was conceived, designed and managed by non-Aboriginal people. It represents in bricks and lumber, classroom and curriculum, the intolerance, presumption and pride that lay at the heart of Victorian Christianity and democracy, passed as social policy in the guise of a civilizing policy and persisted in the twentieth century as thoughtless insensitivity. The system is not someone else's history nor is it just a footnote or a paragraph, a preface or chapter in Canadian history, it is

that history. It is US in our "New World"; it is our swallowing of the land and its First Peoples and spitting them out as cities and farms and hydro projects and as strangers in their own land and communities.

As such it is critical that non-Aboriginal people study and write about the schools, for not to do so on the premise that it is not our story, too, is to marginalize it as we did Aboriginal people themselves, to reserve it for them as a site of suffering and grievance and to refuse to make it a site of introspection, discovery and extirpation - a site of self-knowledge from which we can understand not only who we have been as Canadians but who we must become if we are to deal justly with the Aboriginal people of this land.

This then is just one of what is and, hopefully, will be the many attempts to tell this story. As a history, it is, itself, no more than a beginning for in answering the question - how did it happen?, this text only suggests the extent and context of neglect and abuse that were the indelible characteristics of the school system. It must fall to the reader, to all of us, to go further, to answer the question - why?

1. "Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools", Popular Information Series, No. 12, Missionary Society, Church of England in Canada, September, 1939.
2. D.A. Nock, A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy (Waterloo, Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1988), page 4.
3. D.C. Scott, "Indian Affairs 1867-1912" in A. Shortt ed., Canada and its Provinces (Toronto, University of Edinburgh Press, 1913), Vol. 7, page 615.
4. INAC File 1/25-20-1, Vol. 1, To Miss ... 16 February, 1966 and attached correspondence.

CHAPTER 1

SAVAGE TO CIVILIZED: THE TUITION OF THOMAS MOORE
1830 to 1920.



THOMAS MOORE, AS HE APPEARED WHEN ADMITTED TO THE
REGINA INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.



THOMAS MOORE. AFTER TUITION AT THE REGINA INDIAN
INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.

In its Annual Report of 1904, the Department of Indian Affairs published the pictures of the young Thomas Moore of the Regina Industrial School, "before and after tuition." The images are a cogent expression of what Federal policy had been since Confederation and what it would remain for many decades. It was a policy of assimilation, a policy designed to move Aboriginal communities from their "savage" state to that of "civilization" and thus to make in Canada but one community - a non-Aboriginal one.¹

At the core of the policy was education. It was, according to Duncan Campbell Scott "by far the most important of the many subdivisions of the most complicated Indian problem."² In the education of the young lay the most potent power to effect cultural change - a power to be channelled through schools and, in particular, through residential schools. It would, Frank Oliver, the Minister of Indian Affairs, declared in 1908 "elevate the Indian from his condition of savagery" and make "him a self-supporting member of the State, and eventually a citizen in good standing."³

The pictures are, then, both images of what became in this period the primary object of that policy, the Aboriginal child, and an analogy of the relationship between the two cultures - Aboriginal and White, as it had been in the past and as it was to be in the future. There, in the first picture, is the young Thomas posed against a fur robe, in his beaded dress, his hair in long braids, clutching a gun. Displayed for the viewer are the symbols of the past - of Aboriginal costume and culture, of hunting, of the wild disorder and violence of warfare and of the cross-cultural partnerships of the fur trade and military alliances that had dominated life in Canada since the late 16th century.

Those partnerships, anchored to Aboriginal knowledge and skills, had enabled the newcomers to find their way, to survive and to prosper. But they were now merely historic; they were not to be any part of the future as Canadians pictured it at the founding of their new nation in 1867. That future was one of settlement, agriculture, manufacturing, order, lawfulness and Christianity. In the view of politicians and civil servants in Ottawa whose gaze was fixed upon the horizon of national development, Aboriginal knowledge and skills were neither necessary or desirable in a land that was to be dominated by European industry and, therefore, by Europeans and their culture.

That future was inscribed in the second picture. Thomas with his hair carefully barbered in his plain, humble suit, stands confidently, hand on hip, in a new context. Here he is framed by the horizontal and vertical lines of wall and pedestal - the geometry of social and economic order: of place and class,

and of private property the foundation of industriousness, the cardinal virtue of late Victorian culture. But most telling of all, perhaps, is the potted plant. Elevated above him, it is the symbol of civilized life, agriculture. Like Thomas, the plant is cultivated nature no longer wild. Like it, Thomas has been, the Department suggests, reduced to civility in the confines of the Regina Industrial School.

The assumptions that underlay the pictures also informed the designs of social reformers in Canada and abroad, inside the Indian Department and out. By these, Thomas and his classmates were to be assimilated; they were to become functioning members of Canadian society. Marching out from schools, they would be the vanguard of a magnificent metamorphosis: the "savage" were to be made civilized. For Victorians, it was an empire-wide task of heroic proportions and divine ordination encompassing the Maori, the Aborigine, the Hotentot and many other indigenous peoples. For Canadians, it was, at the level of rhetoric at least, a national duty - a "sacred trust with which Providence has invested the country in the charge of and care for the aborigines committed to it."⁴ In 1880, Alexander Morris, one of the primary government negotiators of the recently concluded western treaties looked back upon those agreements and then forward praying:

Let us have Christianity and civilization among the Indian tribes; let us have a wise and paternal Government ... doing its utmost to help and elevate the Indian population, ... and Canada will be enabled to feel, that in a truly patriotic spirit our country has done its duty by the red men...."⁵

In Canada's first century that "truly patriotic spirit" would be evident in the many individuals, like Father Lacombe, who would be willing to devote their "human capabilities to the good of the Indians of this country." For Lacombe, the "poor redman's redemption physically and morally" was "the dream of my days and nights."⁶ According to Canada's first Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, the nation too had a dream in the discharge of a benevolent duty. It would be a national goal, he informed Parliament, "... to do away with the tribal system and assimilate the Indian people in all respects with the inhabitants of the Dominion, as speedily as they are fit to change."⁷ With the assistance of church and state, wandering hunters would take up a settled life, agriculture, useful trades and, of course, the Christian religion.

Assimilation became, during Macdonald's first term, official policy. It was Canada's response to its "sacred trust" made even more alluring by the fact that supposedly selfless duty

was to have its reward. The Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, L. Vankoughnet, assured Macdonald in 1887 that Indian expenditures "would be a good investment" for, in due course, Aboriginal people "instead of being supported from the revenue of the country ... would contribute largely to the same."

Education, as Scott indicated, was the most critical element of this assimilative strategy. Vankoughnet, in his memo of 1887 to the Prime Minister, was doing no more than reflecting the common wisdom of the day when he wrote,

Give me the children and you may have the parents, or words to that effect, were uttered by a zealous divine in his anxiety to add to the number of whom his Church called her children. And the principle laid down by that astute reasoner is an excellent one on which to act in working out that most difficult problem - the intellectual emancipation of the Indian, and its natural sequel, his elevation to a status equal to that of his white brother. This can only be done through education.... Only by a persistent continuance in a thoroughly systematic course of educating (using the word in its fullest and most practical sense) the children, will the final hoped and long striven for result be attained....⁸

"That most difficult problem" was to be solved not only through "persistent" tuition but, more specifically, by residential school education which would take two forms: "boarding" schools, which were on reserve or near reserve, were of moderate size, teaching reading, writing and arithmetic, agriculture and the simple manual skills required by farmers and their wives and "Industrial" schools such as Thomas's Regina Industrial School which were large, centrally located, urban associated trade schools which also provided a plain English education. "It would be highly desirable, if it were practicable," the Department wrote in its Annual Report of 1890 "... to obtain entire possession of all Indian children after they attain to the age of seven or eight years, and keep them at schools ... until they have had a thorough course of instruction." The Department was confident that if such a course was adopted "the solution of the problem designated 'the Indian question' would probably be effected sooner than it is under the present system" of day schools.⁹

By 1890, the government had been committed for just over a decade to the development of a system of residential schools of "the industrial type."¹⁰ That commitment had sprung from the

recommendations of the now famous Davin Report of 1879.

Nicholas Flood Davin, a journalist and a defeated Tory candidate, had been rewarded for his electoral effort by Macdonald with a commission to "report on the working of Industrial Schools ... in the United States and on the advisability of establishing similar institutions in the North-West Territories of the Dominion." Senior American officials who Davin visited, Carl Schurtz, the Secretary of the Interior and E.A Hayt, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, evinced the greatest confidence in the efficacy of the industrial school which was, Davin was informed, "the principal feature of the policy known as that of 'aggressive civilization'," their policy of assimilation. Day schools had proven a failure "because the influence of the wigwam was stronger than the influence of the school." Indeed, support for this thesis came, he claimed, from Cherokee leaders he met in Washington. They described the "happy results of Industrial Schools" and convinced him "... that the chief thing to attend to in dealing with the less civilized or wholly barbarous tribes, was to separate the children from the parents."

Next on Davin's agenda came a trip to the school at the White Earth Agency in Minnesota. He was obviously impressed. The school was "well attended and the answering of the children creditable...the dormitory was plainly but comfortably furnished, and the children ... were evidently well fed." The whole reserve had an air of progressive development traceable, in the opinion of the agent, to the school. Subsequent meetings in Winnipeg with "the leading men, clerical and lay, who could speak with authority on the subject" must have confirmed his American observations for Davin's report gave unqualified support to the "application of the principle of industrial boarding schools." He submitted, as well, a detailed plan for beginning an industrial school system in the west that he probably worked out with those authorities - Bishop Tache, Father Lacombe, the Hon. James McKay and others.¹¹

While the Davin report may properly be credited with moving the Macdonald government to inaugurate industrial schools in the 1880s, it is far from being, as it is often characterized,¹² the genesis of the residential school system in Canada. Indeed, when Davin submitted his report, there were already in existence in Ontario four residential schools or manual labour schools, the Mohawk Institute, Wikwemikong, Mount Elgin and Shingwauk and a number of boarding schools were being planned by missionaries in the west.

Furthermore, the report does not answer the most important questions about the beginning and intended character of the residential school system. Why did the Federal government

adopt a policy of assimilation, and what was the relationship

between that policy, its ideology and structures, and education, particularly residential schools? Not only are the answers to such central questions not in the Davin report, they are not to be found in any single report in the early years of Confederation. Indeed, to discover the roots of the Canadian residential school system, recourse must be made to history for the assimilative education policy did not spring full blown from the considerations of the Fathers of Confederation. Rather, it was worked out in the pre-Confederation period of Imperial control of Indian affairs. The policy first took shape with the design of programs for the "civilization" of the Indian population of Upper Canada and then was given a final and legislative form with the determination of the constitutional position of Indian First Nations expressed in the early Indian Acts of 1869 and 1876.

The Imperial policy heritage of the 1830s and 40s, supplemented by Federal legislation and programming in the first two decades of Confederation, was both the context and rationale for the development of the residential school system, that in its turn constituted part of a most extensive and persistent colonial system - a system that marginalized Aboriginal communities within its constitutional, legislative and regulatory structure, stripped them of the power of self-government and denied them any degree of self-determination. As a consequence, they became, in the course of Canada's first century, wards of the Indian Affairs Department and increasingly the objects of social welfare, police and justice agencies.

The result of this marginalization, of the Federal government's colonization of First Nations, was sorrowful, indeed. When, in 1946, a Joint Committee of the House of Commons and Senate met "to examine and consider the Indian Act ..."¹³ and the record of Federal administration of Indian affairs, the members found not only a policy that had remained largely unchanged since the Confederation era, "an unwritten heritage of the past,"¹⁴ but one that had clearly fallen far short of its goal and showed no sign of imminent success. By every indicator, health, employment, income, education, housing, Aboriginal people, far from being assimilated, were yet separate and second class citizens. What was unfolded before those parliamentarians by Departmental officials, churchmen and Aboriginal leaders who gave evidence to the committee, was, within the shadow of a failed policy, a complex social, economic and political tapestry with a single unifying thread - growing Aboriginal poverty.

One of the darkest hues in that tapestry came from the fact that the main thrust of the colonial system's assimilative strategy had concentrated on the young, on the thousands of Thomas Moores, boys and girls, Indian, Metis¹⁵ and Inuit,

across the land. They were the vulnerable future of communities and of Aboriginal culture and they had been removed from their homes and placed in the care of strangers who were hostile to their culture, beliefs and language. For the sake of civilization, in the discharge of a national duty, they were placed in the residential schools. For those children and their communities and, indeed, for all Canadians the consequence of those schools, of Thomas Moore's tuition, has been truly tragic.

POLICY DEVELOPMENT: THE IMPERIAL HERITAGE, 1830-1879.

As with the journey to many tragedies, this one, too, began with the single step of good intentions. In 1830, George Murray, the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the British Imperial government, announced a radical change in the long-standing policy pertaining to the First Nations of Upper and Lower Canada. That traditional policy, initiated by the Imperial government with the Proclamation of 1763, had, he commented,

reference to the advantage which might be derived from their [the tribes'] friendship in times of War rather than to any settled purpose of gradually reclaiming them from a state of barbarism and of introducing amongst them the industrious and peaceful habits of civilized life.

In view of the relative distress of Aboriginal communities in the southern part of the Upper Canadian colony caused by increasing settlement and the consequent decrease of game, Murray decided that it was a policy which in good conscience "ought not to be persisted in for the future." It would, therefore, be replaced by a "more enlightened course." To that end the Department of Indian Affairs was directed to the "settled purpose" of ameliorating the condition of Aboriginal communities "by encouraging in every possible manner the progress of religious knowledge and education generally amongst the Indian Tribes."¹⁶

Specifically this "policy of civilization,"¹⁷ a cooperative effort combining protestant mission societies, the Indian Department and band councils, called for the tribes to be located on serviced settlement sites on their reserves complete with houses, barns, churches and schools and provided with training in agriculture and all the arts and crafts of settler life. Through agriculture and other developments, commercial fishing, grist and saw milling, communities would

achieve self-sufficiency on the basis of a modern economy.

An important additional feature of the policy was that it was to be implemented within the constitutional framework that the British had adopted in the Proclamation of 1763. In the Proclamation, First Nations had been recognized as self-governing entities within the empire. They were to remain even so after 1830 despite the Imperial government's newly found dedication to social engineering. It did not presume to override the right of self-government even in the service of "civilization." The Department was to function, as it always had since its founding in 1754, as a foreign office unable to command, needing rather to "persuade the Chiefs to give their consent"¹⁸ to all aspects of development.

The continuation of this constitutional protocol meant that First Nations governments were more than equal partners in the implementation of the policy. They could and did control developments in their communities: whether there would be a reserve school, the type of resource development and the extent to which tribal funds would be employed for such purposes. "Civilization," for Imperial policy makers, was to result in the creation of both self-sufficient and yet self-governing Aboriginal nations seated securely on their land, guaranteed quiet possession of their reserve by the terms of their treaty.

Perhaps because of the constitutional character of the policy, as well as the enthusiasm of Departmental agents, missionaries and First Nations leaders, progress in the early years was rapid. Sir John Colborne, Upper Canadian governor, could report, on leaving the colony in 1836, on nearly a dozen settlements and had considerable confidence in their success. The Indian was, in the opinion of one of his senior Indian Department agents, on his way to acquiring "sufficient knowledge of the arts of Civilized Life to avail himself of [its] Advantages."¹⁹

Unfortunately, over the next two decades assessments of the policy were not so optimistic. The Bagot Commission, set up in 1842, asserted, after a two year review of reserve conditions, that communities were yet only in a "half-civilized state."²⁰ Similarly, the Head Commission of 1856 concluded that "any hope of raising the Indians as a body to the social and political level of their white neighbours, is yet a glimmering and distant spark."²¹ These conclusions were to have rather significant and negative consequences. They would be the basis for seemingly benign reformulations of the policy designed to improve its performance. However, those initiatives, particularly in the fields of education and landholding, would lead inexorably to the introduction, in 1857, of a new central dynamic for the policy - assimilation.

The recommendations of the Bagot Commission began the reformulations that brought forward the assimilative policy and eventually the residential school system. The central rationale of the commission's findings was that further progress by communities would only be realized if the civilizing system was amended to imbue Aboriginal people with the primary characteristics of civilization: industry and knowledge.

In the commissioners' view, education was of all the elements of the civilizing system the most important - by it "Your Commissioners look to the future elevation of the Indian race." They proposed therefore, as well as the continuation of on reserve Common schools, the beginning of "as many manual labour or Industrial schools" as possible. These schools, centralized off-reserve boarding institutions, would provide training for boys in husbandry, agriculture and mechanical trades; and for girls in domestic arts and science - dairying, needlework and cooking. It was by such instruction that "the material and extensive change among the Indians of the rising generation may be hoped for." In such schools under the supervision of non-Aboriginal teachers and isolated from "the influence of their parents" pupils would "imperceptibly acquire the manners, habits and customs of civilized life."²² It is not clear exactly what had brought the idea of "manual labour or Industrial schools" to the commissioners' attention. There is certainly no single root from which the Canadian residential school system can be seen to have grown. By the 1840s, such schools were not uncommon institutions in Europe, in various parts of the British Empire and in the United States where they were conducted for both non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal children. They may have been introduced originally amongst the Cherokee in 1804 by the Presbyterian missionary Gideon Blackburn.²³ One of them, the Carisle school in Pennsylvania, became a reference point for the Department with several senior members paying official visits in the 1880s. Carisle, however, was neither the inspiration or model for the Canadian schools. Founded in 1879 by Captain Richard Henry Pratt and General Samuel Armstrong with the backing of Davin's hosts Ezra Hayt and Carl Schurz,²⁴ it was as new as the Canadian schools and its more admirable and expensive features, while praised by such visitors as Hayter Reed, whose long career in the Department brought him to be Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, were never copied by the Department.

In Canada, both a "civilization" policy and residential schools were introduced, initially, in the French Regime. By royal edict at the beginning of the 17th century, the French were "to seek to lead the natives ... to the profession of the Christian faith, to civilization of manners, an ordered life" and, of course, to a "submission to the authority and

domination of the crown of France." "Frenchification," as it has been called, looked to the creation of one race, at first through what was envisioned would be an amalgam of French immigrants with an acculturated Aboriginal population living in integrated villages. Later, the strategy was changed to one of reservations, segregated settlements or "reducciones" which under missionary supervision would preserve Indians from the moral contagion that came from contact with French traders and soldiers. Common to both phases of French assimilative policy were seminaries introduced by the Recollets and then taken up by the Jesuits. Schools such as Notre Dames des Anges outside Quebec city, which may well have been the first residential school for Aboriginal children in Canada, taught religion, reading, writing and the French language by which the children would be made French in heart and mind. These educational experiments were far from successful. Problems such as parental unwillingness to give up their children, runaways and student deaths by European diseases, which fed Aboriginal resistances to the schools, foreshadowed what would be elements of the Canadian experience with schools of this type.²⁵

After 1760, when the British picked up the reins of empire dropped by the French on the Plains of Abraham, they were not quick to launch a missionary campaign among the First Nations. Rather their attention was directed, as George Murray indicated in 1830, to the question of military alliances. In that light primarily, the government saw a use for churchmen. Plans were made to give the Department of Indian Affairs the authority to determine the placement of missionaries among the tribes. The Superintendent of Indian Affairs, William Johnson, forecast in 1767 that along with diplomatic instruments "instruction in religion and learning would create such a change in their [the tribes'] manners and sentiments" as to "promote the safety, extend the settlements and increase the commerce of this country."²⁶ While such strategic appointments were made, particularly among the Six Nations²⁷, little attention was paid by church or state to education of any sort until the 1820s. In 1821 the Methodists under the leadership of the Rev. W. Case, moved enthusiastically into the Indian mission field opening not only churches but day schools.²⁸ The Anglican Church Missionary Society also became active in this decade primarily in the Grand River area and in the early 1840s the Roman Catholics began a school on Manitoulin Island at Wikwemikong.

The idea of residential schools was first brought forward in the British Imperial period by the Governor of Upper Canada, Sir Peregrine Maitland, within the context of a proposal he made in 1820 to the Colonial Office "for ameliorating the condition of the Indians in the neighbourhood of our settlements."²⁹ Maitland's proposal contained most of the

civilizing concepts and techniques that would be adopted in the next three decades. While he called for the conversion of wandering hunters into settled agriculturalists under the supervision of the Indian Affairs Department and missionaries, the focus of his civilizing plan was very much on the children. It was his opinion that in "prosecuting such a plan, little perhaps can be expected from the grown up Indians, its success therefore will chiefly depend upon the influence which it may acquire over the young."

In the Maitland proposal, it was "School Houses of instruction and industry" that would give the civilizers their "influence" over the young. The school was designed to prepare the child for life within an Aboriginal community which would itself be remodelled to approximate as nearly as possible a respectable, industrious settler community. All children would be boarders, divorced from the impediments of "savage" existence, plainly clothed and simply fed. They would be taught the precepts of religion, the social manners of a polite settler, and the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic. But more to the purpose, they would be instructed in the essential skills of settlement. The boys would be employed at "trades or on the farms and the girls in making clothes, taking care of Dairies etc...."³⁰ The graduates would be models of industry and correct deportment, enthusiastically and efficiently taking up their responsibilities in a new Aboriginal society they were helping to create.

Maitland's plan remained a paper construction only. He did, however, go on to cooperate with the Methodists in the founding of one settlement - the River Credit settlement of the Mississaugas. According to the Chief, Peter Jones, Maitland "opened the hand of liberality to us." Specifically, "He has offered to build nearly twenty dwelling houses, and a school for us ... which will not cost a little."³¹ This turned out to be a significant initiative as River Credit became the model upon which the Murray policy of civilization of 1830 was based.

When the Bagot commissioners published their recommendations there were two very influential supporters of residential education in the colony. Lord Elgin, the "Father of Responsible Government" had seen industrial schools in operation in the West Indies, had been most favourably impressed and pushed for their adoption in Upper Canada. The Rev. Egerton Ryerson, the Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada, seconded that sentiment:

I suggest that they be called industrial schools; thy are not then schools of manual labour; they are schools of learning and religion; and industry is the great element of efficiency in each of these

... as to the objectives of these establishments I understand them not to contemplate anything more in respect to intellectual training than to give a plain English education adapted to the working farmer and mechanic ... but, in addition to this, pupils of the industrial schools are to be taught agriculture, kitchen gardening and mechanics so far as mechanics is concerned with making and repairing the most useful agricultural equipment.³²

He was less enthusiastic than others about teaching trades believing Indians were best suited to being "working farmers and agricultural labourers."³³ In view of the support of the Methodists, the governor and the superintendent of education, the Bagot Commission's recommendation of manual labour schools was assured a warm reception.

In the opinion of the commission, the next most important element requiring attention, after education, was that most emblematic Victorian virtue - industry. Increased knowledge would be useless, the commissioners reasoned, unless it was harnessed to industriousness, the well-spring of progress, which in turn flowed from the individual ownership of land. The First Nations, the commission pointed out, continued "as in their uncivilized state" to hold their land in common and this retarded

any considerable advancement in industry and civilization; because no man will exert himself to improve his lands and procure their comforts of life unless his right to enjoy them is exclusive and secure.

The necessary security could be afforded the Aboriginal farmer, and a considerable boost to his industriousness promoted, through the allotment of an 100 acre sub-division of the reserve with a title deed "protecting him in his possession in the event of the surrender of the reserve by the rest."³⁴

In line with First Nations self-government, the Department took these recommendations to band councils for their approval. They achieved but limited success. Sub-division was rejected firmly in each community. Holding land in common was an ancient custom, an essential part of their culture, which they were unwilling to forego despite the Department's argument that it fostered "idleness ... particularly in the rising generation."³⁵

Whatever disappointment the Department may have felt from having to lay aside this technique to create industry, was more than offset by the success it had in education. Band

after band responded positively to the extent of setting aside one quarter of their annual treaty payments for an education fund. Between 1848 and 1851, with the assistance of the Governor, Lord Elgin, two schools under Methodist supervision, Alnwick at Alderville and Mount Elgin School at Muncey Town, were opened. As had been recommended, the schools were operated as a partnership. The government provided a yearly grant towards the lodging, clothing and education of the children. The church supplied the teachers, supervisors and necessary equipment.

Together these two initiatives and the success and failure the Department experienced in implementing them brought an additional and important reformulation of the policy's civilizing system. While it retained its initial goal and its characteristic apparatus - settlement, agriculture, education and Christianization, the civilizers, Departmental officials and their missionary partners, saw the question of development with a greater degree of sophistication than they had in the 1830s. Most significantly they became much more discriminating about the potential of Aboriginal people to achieve civilization.

From 1830, the Department had advanced along the widest front in providing the infrastructure of settlement and training to communities. All could be civilized, men, woman and children, and so all were to receive ameliorative attention. From the report of the Bagot Commission forward, however, Departmental officials took the position that adults could make only limited progress. Thus by the end of the 1840s, they narrowed their approach to the young and residential education. Returned to the reserve upon graduation, those children would be the civilized Aboriginal people of the future: they "would recommend themselves to the confidence of ... their White Friends, and at the same time be rendered to occupy places of trust and profit."³⁶ Moreover, they would be the leaven of civilization, moving their communities along to a fully civilized and self-sufficient state.

Unfortunately, when the Head Commission passed judgement, in 1856, on the reformulated system no doubt was left that even further amendment was required. The commissioners concluded "with great reluctance ... that this benevolent experiment has been to a great extent a failure." It was the Department's reaction to that statement in the form of another reformulation of the system that brought the crisis of assimilation in 1857.

What was no doubt most disturbing for the Department and the Churches was that the failure referred to by the commission was connected to the central developmental instrument - the manual labour school. There had been the expected difficulties

with enrolments and runaways. These had plagued the French schools of the 18th century and would remain difficulties throughout the history of the Canadian school system. Much more problematic, was the behaviour of the graduates. On returning to their communities, supposedly re-socialized as non-Aboriginal people, they became cultural backsliders. They were not infected with industriousness, which was most "discouraging in the extreme" and they did not take a leading role in community development. In short, they did not

seem to carry back with them to their homes any desire to spread among their people the instruction which they have received. They are content as before to live in the same slovenly manner, the girls make no effort to improve the condition of the houses nor do the boys attempt to assist their parents steadily on the farm.

It is true that improvement is perceptible in their own personal appearance but the amelioration extends no farther. The same apathy and indolence stamp all their actions as is apparent in the rest of the Indians.³⁷

"Apathy" and "indolence" were, indeed, the exact opposite of the sought after industriousness. The blame, however, did not rest, according to the civilizers, in the schools but in the conditions graduates returned to on the reserves. For a solution, therefore, they returned to an earlier logic - if graduates were to achieve their potential and become "useful members of their communities,"³⁸ developmental catalysts, it was imperative that they receive individual allotments of land. This would be "greatly promotive of their good" anchoring knowledge to the foundation of industry - private property - and would "complete the plan which originally led to this enterprise."³⁹

Unfortunately, this reasoning was, on the surface at least, problematic. Any attempt to realise reform in the reserve landholding system was bound to be frustrated by the refusal of First Nations in the colony to sub-divide. On this point, they remained intransigent. The Department, however, was determined and was committed to the indispensability of individual tenure. Having the will, it found a way by securing passage, in June of 1857, of an Act to Encourage the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes in the Province.

The act was a straightforward solution to the developmental problem facing the Department in the mid-1850s. It circumvented the tribal position on reserve land and reformulated the civilizing system by providing a place for

Aboriginal people within colonial society. Any male, judged to be "sufficiently advanced in the elementary branches of education," to be of good character and free from debt could, on application, be awarded fifty acres of land "and the rights accompanying it." He would be enfranchised, relinquishing tribal affiliation and "any claim to any further share in the lands or moneys then belonging to or reserved for the use of his tribe and shall cease to have a voice in the proceeding thereof."⁴⁰ He would be thereafter a full member of colonial society.

This enfranchisement provision, allowing the assimilation of Aboriginal people into the colony, ensured, according to the logic of the civilizers, that manual labour school graduates and other progressive Aboriginal people, would be rescued from the regressive atmosphere of the reserve, their knowledge consolidated and their life animated with industry. Through this last reformulation of the civilizing system in the period of Imperial control of Indian Affairs that came to an end in 1860, the Department envisioned increasing numbers of graduates abandoning their communities through enfranchisement and being placed on their own land. In this manner the dire prediction of the Head Commission would be reversed as the goal of civilization rather than being a "distant spark" would rush up to meet them.

The impact of the act was profound. "Civilization" was redefined. The goal of community self-sufficiency was abandoned in favour of the assimilation of the individual. Tribal dissolution, to be pursued mainly through the corridors of residential schools was the Department's new goal. Progress towards that goal was to be measured in the reduction of the size of First Nations through enfranchisements. This new focus had one final consequence. It had a cataclysmic effect upon the participants in the process of development, upon the reciprocal attitudes of civilizers and Aboriginal leaders, and it had a most deleterious effect upon the course of reserve development.

Reaction to the act from First Nation governments across the southern part of the colony was resolutely negative as they recognized immediately its implications for continued tribal existence. Surely, one leader commented, it was an attempt "to break them to pieces." It simply "did not meet their views" and thus they argued before the Department and petitioned Governor Head for the repeal of the act.⁴¹ In a general council that drew representatives from across the colony, leaders announced they would sell no more land and prepared to lobby the Queen's son, the Prince of Wales, who was then on a royal visit. The Six Nations Council declared its aversion "to their people taking the advantages offered" by the act. Some bands removed their children or financial support from the schools,

now seen as the primary mechanism of assimilation. Others refused to allow the annual census of their reserve.⁴²

On their part, missionaries and Departmental officials, convinced of the developmental and motivational power of assimilation, were totally out of sympathy with Aboriginal leaders. Lord Elgin's Civil Secretary, L. Oliphant, who was responsible for the operations of the Department, calculated that the

prospect of one day sharing upon equal terms in those rights and liberties which the whole community now enjoy would operate as the highest stimulant to exertion, which could be held out to young Indians.⁴³

The Rev. W. MacMurray, one of Governor Head's advisors, agreed telling Head during the drafting of the act that enfranchisement was the necessary next step after fee simple tenure because

experience has I think abundantly shown, that the longer the Indian is kept in a comparably helpless condition, and treated as a child, the less inclined he will be, to assume the responsibility for or taking care of himself.⁴⁴

It is no wonder then that civilizers, holding such a position, had little patience with First Nations' protests and petitions. Oliphant's successor, R. J. Pennefather, representing the sentiments of all of them no doubt, dismissed a petition from the Muncey Town community with the terse comment "the Civilization Act is no grievance to you."⁴⁵

In 1860, with the transfer of Indian Affairs to the colony, the philosophy and infrastructure of reserve development, serviced settlements and, most importantly, residential schools, were the core elements of civilizing policy passed on to the Canadians. As well, however, that heritage included the unresolved conflict centred on enfranchisement and assimilation. Canadians were then, of course, pre-occupied with their own conflicts, between French and English, and with threats to their survival posed by the over-bearing economy of the United States. Their attention would not be drawn to the question of Aboriginal policy, the impasse on the issue of assimilation, and thus to the question of residential education, until after Confederation.

In the meantime, Departmental officials conducted a resolute campaign, initially before the colonial cabinet and then after 1867 before the Federal government, against the continued independence of First Nations' governments. These latter

governments were to be held responsible for what had to be admitted was the failure of the Act. By 1863, despite the Department's prediction that many were "desirous ... of sharing the privileges and responsibilities which would attend their incorporation with the great mass of the community," only one man had volunteered for enfranchisement. It was concluded that the "object for which the act was passed is not likely to be attained - for all practical purposes, it is a dead letter."⁴⁶ The government was pressed to abolish First Nations' governments which were represented as blocks on the road to civilization, opposed to their people taking advantage of the act, incapable of managing their own affairs or fostering indispensable conditions for development such as sub-division. They should be dealt with by the coercive force of law. "Petty Chieftainships" should be abolished and a "Governor and sufficient number of magistrates and officers" be put in charge of reserve communities."⁴⁷ In the Department's opinion, self-government and civilization were incompatible.

The Federal government did not hesitate over long in following such advice. In the blueprint of Confederation, the British North America Act of 1867, the Federal government was assigned, in Section 91:24, the power to legislate for Indians and their property. Macdonald took this to mean that his government had to undertake "the onerous duty of ... their [the Indians] guardianship as of persons underage, incapable of the management of their own affairs."⁴⁸ To this end, in "An Act for the gradual enfranchisement of Indians, the better management of Indian affairs ... 1869 "⁴⁹ The government repeated the enfranchisement provisions of the act of 1857.

But Macdonald's government went much further. Self-government was abolished. Traditional government was replaced by "municipal government"⁵⁰ giving extensive control of reserves to the Federal government and its representative the Indian Affairs Department. In subsequent legislation, the Indian Acts of 1876, 1880 and the Indian Advancement Act of 1884, the government took for itself the power to mould, unilaterally, every aspect of life on the reserve and to create whatever infrastructure it deemed necessary to achieve the desired end - assimilation through enfranchisement and, as a consequence, the eventual disappearance of First Nations. It could, for example, and did in ensuing years, determine who was and who was not an Indian, control the election of band councils, the management of reserve resources and developmental initiatives, the expenditure of band funds and impose individual land holding through a ticket of location system. In addition, the Department had the power to make and enforce regulations under the acts with regards to the total spectrum of public and private life in communities. Aboriginal traditions, ritual life, social and political organization or economic practises could be proscribed as obstacles to Christianity and

civilization or could be declared by Parliament, as in the case of the Potlatch and Sun Dance, criminal behaviour. Agents, who were routinely made Justices of the Peace, were to regulate the behaviour of their Aboriginal wards according to the "Act Respecting Offenses against Public Morals and Public Convenience" bringing into play the alien Victorian morality encoded in that legislation.⁵¹

While the Acts related solely to Indian First Nations, the assumption behind them was the same for all Aboriginal people. Men, women and children - Metis, "non-status and status" Indians and Inuit - each in their own time and place, as their homeland was encompassed by the expanding Canadian nation, would be expected to abandon their cherished life ways, to become "civilized" and thus to lose themselves and their culture among the mass of Canadians. This would be an unchanging Federal determination, justified in the minds of Confederation policy makers, and successive generations of politicians and Departmental officials by their sincere, christian certainty that the nation's duty to the original people of the land was "to prepare him for a higher civilization by encouraging him to assume the privileges and responsibilities of full citizenship."⁵²

Of all the initiatives that would be undertaken in the first century of Confederation none was more ambitious or central to the civilizing strategy of the Department, to its goal of assimilation, than the residential school system. In the vision of education developed by both church and state in the final decades of the 19th century, it was the residential school experience that would lead children most effectively out of their "savage" communities into "civilization" and "full citizenship."

THE VISION of RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL EDUCATION, 1879-1920.

In the last quarter of the 19th century, the officials of the Department and their church partners did not stray from the fundamentals of the civilizing logic of their pre-Confederation experience. They did, however, build upon it extensively developing a full rational for, and a three part vision of, education in the service of assimilation. This vision included first a justification for disrupting the parenting process in Aboriginal communities, secondly, a detailed strategy for re-socializing Aboriginal children within the schools and, lastly, schemes for the assimilation of school graduates.

The vision was anchored to the fundamental belief that the

central mechanism in the process of assimilation was education and that "the best method to adopt to secure to the pupils in after life the greatest possible benefit as the result of the education afforded them" was residential schools. That certainty, the belief that children would have to be separated from their families to be educated, was rooted in the Department's and churches' analysis of the failure of day schools. But it had a more profound source as well. It was the logical consequence of the European representation of the character and circumstances of the Indian "race."

This formative representation can be reconstructed from the correspondence between church leaders, politicians and senior Indian affairs officials in the period from the Davin report until the First World War after which philosophic consideration of these questions and of Aboriginal education becomes rare. Of considerable use in this are the Annual reports of the Department. While these were produced consciously by Department officials to be their best face turned to Parliament and are at times not the whole truth, the reports were, in fact, subtly constructed by the discourse about Aboriginal culture that encompassed not only the Departmental "authors" and the Parliamentary "audience" but, indeed, all Canadians. It is the traces of that discourse in the Reports that are most instructive.

The analysis of the failure of the day schools can come first, however. It was clear to the Department that day schools would not educate Aboriginal children. Officials believed they could be utilized only in a limited number of situations - in parts of southern Ontario and Quebec, for example, where the bands had been for sometime associated with settler communities and had, consequently, reached what was termed a more advanced level. In the main, however, for a litany of practical reasons, they were not at all useful. In some areas it was impossible to employ them at all. In communities, like many in British Columbia, the population was so sparse "that the number of children, of an age to attend school on each Reserve, would not justify the expense necessary to establish a school." Even, however, in areas where demographics permitted a school, there were serious difficulties.

Vankoughnet's 1887 memo to Macdonald included a detailed briefing on day schools in which he noted that the children were "extremely irregular in their attendance." This arose "from several causes." Spread out on the reserve or involved with their families in traditional activities, they were simply too far to attend school on a daily basis. Many children, he claimed, had "such a want of sufficient clothing" that especially during the "inclement seasons of the year" they could not attend. And then there was the problem of "the children being fed while attending school." Imagine, he

continued,

a child residing a considerable distance - say 3 or 4 miles - from the school, leaves its home, say, at 8 a.m. to attend school, and, with the well known improvidence of Indians, no luncheon or dinner has been prepared by its parents for the child to take with it. As a consequence the child remains fasting, if it stays the day through, and after repeating this process a few times it becomes discouraged and ceases to attend.

He thought the schools could offer a hot lunch and proposed, perhaps optimistically, that a menu consisting of a "plate of oatmeal porridge with syrup and a couple of biscuits" would be "economical, nourishing" and an inducement to attendance.

Realistically, he knew that the Department's hands were tied. As would be the case throughout the history of the Federal education system, it had, Vankoughnet admitted, but "inadequate means at its command" and could hardly afford inducements in the form of food when it could not provide equipment for the classrooms or repair the buildings or pay adequate salaries to the teachers. Indeed, teachers were a particular problem. The low salaries offered, the generally poor housing or lack thereof, which made it necessary "for the teacher to put up with very uncomfortable lodgings and indifferent board at Indian houses," made the Indian day school the "dernier resort" of a teacher. The Department, therefore, "has very often to put up with teachers who, while they may hold certificates of competency, are, for other reasons not desirable appointees." There were many "actuated by a missionary spirit" but normally anyone taking up an Indian school appointment "has generally the suspicion attached to him that he or she had not been a success as a teacher of a public school." Finally, whether the teacher was talented or not, their tenure was shortened by the fact that they and their families, underpaid and poorly housed,

labour under the very serious disadvantage of being debarred of all these privileges, not the least among which is the society of white people, being obliged to associate wholly with Indians, as the reserves are generally situated at considerable distance from white settlements.⁵³

Vankoughnet's summary was no surprise to anyone involved in Indian affairs. Irregular attendance, buildings in bad repair and inferior teachers who had neither the equipment, talent nor staying power to affect the children in a positive fashion were the norm. So too was the belief that all of this could be improved by appropriate levels of funding, greater efforts by

teachers to ensure attendance and stricter supervision of each school.

There was, however, an additional point of agreement which did not have an optimistic twist. There was a fatal impediment in the day school equation for which there was no easy remedy - the Indian "race" itself. Davin had already noted that the "influence of the wigwam was stronger than the influence of the school."⁵⁴ Throughout, this period the Department had abundant evidence from local agents, teachers and missionaries to support that contention. The annual round of traditional economic activities was most disruptive.

As soon as the Spring opens - the Children are engaged in assisting to make sugar - then planting succeeds. After that gathering berries ie strawberries, Raspberries, plums and Cranberries - then comes husking and curing of Corn - so that the greater part of the year is occupied someway or other. And ... it is very difficult to keep the Indian Children in subordination. They are so much accustomed to move about and sail and have things their own way at home, that after all it is really wonderful that any of them know anything at all.⁵⁵

The children, in the natural order of things, learned from their parents and other adults in their communities - a situation which was, for agents and missionaries, far from desirable. The Indian Workers Association of the Presbyterian Church for Saskatchewan and Alberta warned that "half grown girls and boys" at day schools "even upon nominally Christian reserves are imbued with immoral ideals regarding sexual relations, that are a menace to their growing up to be pure minded men and women."⁵⁶ Vankoughnet concluded that the main cause of low and irregular attendance was the indifference "of the parents in the matter of the education of their children and the absence of the exercise by the parents of proper authority over them to compel attendance."⁵⁷

To understand fully such comments, and how the attitudes they indicated led resolutely to the conclusion that residential schooling was the only way "of advancing the Indians in civilization,"⁵⁸ they must be framed in a wider context. Officials and missionaries, even if they operated in remote corners of the land, did not stand outside Canadian society. They shared with other Canadians a discourse about Aboriginal people that informed their activities and, in this case, their educational plans. The basic construct of that discourse, with due regard to the poetic and philosophic utility of "the noble," continued to be that of the uncomplimentary comparison of the "savage" and the "civilized."

Aboriginal people were, in Departmental and church texts, "sunk" in "ignorance and superstitious blindness," a well of darkness from which they were in need of "emancipation."⁵⁹ "Enlightened" Canadians would have "to elevate the Indian from his condition of savagery"⁶⁰ from their "present state of ignorance, superstition and helplessness." They would then reach the state of civilized Canadians: one in which their "practical knowledge"⁶¹ and labour would make them "useful members of society,"⁶² "intelligent, self-supporting"⁶³ citizens.

Not all Indians could be liberated, however, from their culture; not all could undergo "the transformation from the natural condition to that of civilization."⁶⁴ Adults might make some progress; they might, Davin suggested, "be taught to do a little at farming and at stock raising and to dress in a more civilized fashion, but that is all."⁶⁵ They were J.A. Macrae, the Department's Inspector of Schools for the North West, explained, in his report of 1886, "Physically, mentally and morally ... unfitted to bear such a complete metamorphosis...."⁶⁶ In one common Victorian analogy that illustrated popular ideas of cultural evolution, the Indian "race" was "in the period of infancy" while European civilization - with writing, commerce, industry and Christianity - was the high water mark of cultural maturity. Davin took this further arguing that there was in the adult Indian "the helplessness of mind of the child ... there is, too, the child's want of perspective; but there is little of the child's receptivity...."⁶⁷ Adults, therefore, were, in the words of the Rev. E.F. Wilson, the founder of Shingwauk residential school, "the old unimprovable people."⁶⁸

Unfortunately, Indian adults were more than just irredeemable, lost to the process of civilization, they were a hindrance to it. For though they could learn but little, they did teach. Through them to their children, and on through the generations, ran the "influence of the wigwam," "superstition" and "helplessness." Thus the child who attended day school also "learned little and what little he learns is soon forgot while his tastes are formed at home, and his inherent aversion to toil is in no way combatted."⁶⁹ Aboriginal education, unlike the upbringing children received in Canadian homes, "teaches little that is beneficial," useful in a modern world:

The white child may be educated in the affairs of life and life's duties to a great extent without ever entering the doors of a school. The examples and precepts of its elders, the contact of its fellows, all the circumstances of its existence are educational agencies, indeed, it is from these far more than from instruction in schools that it learns its duties to God, to the State and to

itself. All such circumstances of life equally educate the Indian child at home but its parents, fellows and existence being Indian, it is trained in Indian life not in the life of the white man upon a knowledge of which its future existence depends.⁷⁰

The adult population, continuing its traditional parenting role, and Aboriginal communities as political factors to be dealt with, were to church and state, stumbling blocks on the road to civilization. "The influences at work to prejudice Indians against having their children educated" were, the Department noted in its Annual Report of 1897, "many and powerful."⁷¹ James Smart, the deputy superintendant general of Indian Affairs, wrote, in 1900, of the "fear not unnaturally entertained by the parents that education would not only destroy sympathy between them and their offspring in this life but, through the inculcation of religion separate them in a future state of existence."⁷² For Vankoughnet, parents ran the gamut from merely incapable to grossly evil. He characterized some parents with sympathy as being unable, due to a norm of their culture, to exercise the authority necessary to ensure that children would attend school regularly. But others, as for instance the Indians of the south coast of mainland British Columbia, were beyond the moral pale - using their daughters "so soon as they arrive at puberty, for purposes of traffic of the worst description, and the boys by the terrible example set them by their parents ... would become as depraved as themselves notwithstanding all the instructions given them at a day school."⁷³

Communities in areas of settlement posed an unexpected difficulty. Many of them were favourable to schooling but had an educational agenda, which if allowed to predominate, would frustrate the intended assimilative function of schools. As with communities in pre-Confederation Upper Canada, bands in general attempted to use education as a tool of cultural revitalization, as a method of mediating between themselves and the white communities growing up around them. This resulted in a wholly different view of education than that of the Department and churches. The Department was aware of this and did not, of course, approve. Only "Up to a certain point," the Department reported in 1899, "in order to derive benefit for themselves from such contact as they must necessarily have with whitemen, and to save themselves from being overreached" did communities "show an increasing appreciation of the value of education."⁷⁴ But that appreciation was limited; it was "regulated by the amount of practical assistance rendered thereby in dealings with the dominant race." Children needed to attend schools then only to the extent they could acquire skills that would aid the community in its struggle to continue to support itself. Beyond that point, few parents

"have any ambition" for education "on behalf of their offspring."⁷⁵ They certainly could not be portrayed by the Department as being in any way interested in a curriculum designed to assimilate their children.

These difficulties of Aboriginal character and circumstances, faced by the Department and Canadian churchmen and women were shared by social reformers throughout the world of empires as reformers all cast Aboriginal people in the same mould. Furthermore, in each colonial setting, as an indelible element of contact between the "superior" European culture and indigenous cultures in their "infancy," there was thought to be a severe and pressing crisis. Macrae sketched its manifestation in the western Canadian context:

The circumstances of Indian existence prevents him following that course of evolution which has produced from the barbarian of the past the civilized man of today. It is not possible for him to be allowed slowly to pass through successive stages, from pastoral to an agricultural life and from an agricultural one, to one of manufacturing, commerce or trade as we have done. He has been called upon suddenly and without warning to enter upon a new existence. Without the assistance of the Government, he must have failed and perished miserably and he would have died hard entailing expense and disgrace upon the Country.

With the rapid incursion of settlement and resource development, there was not time for some natural evolutionary course to be run. The Aboriginal population was destined, therefore, to die off unless "Special measures," were adopted "to force a change in his [the Indian's] condition."⁷⁶ The need for such concerted intervention was obvious and compelling to Victorian Canadians. The point at which to strike so as to "kill the Indian in him and save the man"⁷⁷ was equally obvious "it is to the young that we must look for the complete change of condition."⁷⁸

In the minds of Departmental officials and missionaries, the young were the only ones who could be rescued and that could only be done if, as E. Dewdney, the Superintendent General of Indian affairs in Macdonald's second term as prime minister, wrote, children were removed from "deleterious home influences."⁷⁹ The churches' agreement provided moral backing to Dewdney's resolute position. The Catholic Archbishop of St. Boniface and four other Bishops petitioned the government to take children as young as six for it was important that they be "caught young to be saved from what is on the whole the degenerating influence of their home environment".⁸⁰ And the Methodists followed suit, in tones like Macrae's:

The Indian is the weak child in the family of our nation and for this reason presents the most earnest appeal for Christian sympathy and co-operation ... we are convinced that the only hope of successfully discharging this obligation to our Indian brethren is through the medium of the children, therefore educational work must be given the foremost place.⁸¹

The Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in 1908, Frank Oliver, was the only one to strike an ironically theological dissenting note in this chorus of agreement:

I hope you will excuse me for so speaking but one of the most important commandments laid upon the human by the divine is love and respect by children for parents. It seems strange that in the name of religion a system of education should have been instituted, the foundation principle of which not only ignored but contradicted this command.⁸²

There were two models at hand for this educational work: "planting out" and residential schools. "Planting out" had been undertaken most notably in Pennsylvania. As Macrae described it in his report, it involved placing children "at the age character is formed" with "respectable white people" thus relieving them from "the influences of Indianism" and bringing them "under those of civilization."⁸³ This form of fostering, often called "outing" or "farming out," would be employed by the Department in a limited fashion only and always in conjunction with the second more popular option - the residential school.

Almost no one involved in Indian Affairs, with perhaps the exception of Oliver, seemed to have any doubt that separation was justified and necessary or that residential schools were the most efficacious educational instrument. Residential school attendance would, E. Dewdney informed Parliament in 1889, reclaim the child "from the uncivilized state in which he has been brought up" by bringing "him into contact from day to day with all that tends to affect a change in his views and habits of life." Through "precept and example he is taught" by Christian teachers "to endeavour to excel in what will be most useful to him." The desired result, assimilation, would be "more speedily and thoroughly accomplished by means of boarding and industrial schools."⁸⁴

Perhaps the best illustration of this confident conviction is another Departmental photograph of that time - parent and children at the Qu'Appelle Industrial School. The "weak child", the "influences of Indianism," the father, stooped and wrinkled, already a figure of the past having reached the



limit of evolution, appears to be decaying right in front of the camera, dying off as was his culture. In sharp contrast, his children, neatly attired in European clothing, the boy's cadet cap a symbol of citizenship, are, like Thomas Moore after tuition, exemplary of the future, of the great transformation to be wrought by separation and education in the residential school.

To achieve this transformation, it was seen as necessary not only to remove children from parents and community and place them in the guardianship of "respectable white people," new parents in the form of the Department and the churches, but to maintain that separation for as long as possible. Effective socialization depended upon, in the words of the Anglican Bishop of Rupert's Land, "continual residence."⁸⁵ Hayter Reed thought that the nature of the physical separation, aimed at the total isolation of the child, was important. "The more remote from the Institution and distant from each other are the points from which the pupils are collected, the better for their success."⁸⁶ Where the school was in the vicinity of the community, as was the case with boarding schools, and parental visits too frequent and thus disruptive, the Department was prepared to take stern measures. In 1891, for example, Dewdney threatened "to authorize the employment of the Police to keep the visitors off the precincts" of the Qu'Appelle residential school if the Principal could not himself handle the problem.⁸⁷ Finally, the Department's 1889 "Rules and Regulations" for industrial schools included the directive that children were to write to their parents twice a year but that all-incoming and out-going mail "must be scrutinized by the Principal before transmission or delivery."⁸⁸

The importance of continual separation was such that the question of vacations became an issue early in the history of the school system. In general, senior officials of both the Department and the churches, leaned to disallowing them completely or restricting them as much as possible. According to Dewdney, "Our policy is to keep pupils in these institutions until trained to make their way in the world" and therefore "taking children in for short terms and letting them go again is regarded perhaps as worse than useless" as the "effect of allowing children to visit their Reserves is bad."⁸⁹ Father Lacombe opposed holidays and also visits from the parents "because their intercourse and influence demoralize the pupils very much."⁹⁰

For missionaries, local agents and school Principals, however, involved in the day to day operation of the residential school system, holidays were a necessary evil in the process of recruiting students. The Principal of Thomas Moore's school, pushing for a minimum three-week summer vacation, explained that

In trying to secure recruits we are met with the objection that if parents send their children to School, the children are not allowed to leave the School for a visit to their old home for many many years and that their children might as well be dead for all they see of ⁹¹

Hardliners like Reed argued in return that holidays simply reopened the whole difficulty "originally made by the parents with regard to parting with their children" and "renders it difficult if not impossible to get them back again." He lobbied the Department to hold firm for unless parents could "be brought to recognize that the benefits are worth such sacrifice there would be no guarantee that they may not insist from some caprice or selfish motive, in removing their children at anytime."⁹²

The Department found itself caught on the horns of its own principles. Sustained separation was a developmental requirement but adequate recruitment was a necessity also. Driven between the two, it was not until the Department felt it had sufficient control over parents to ensure that children would be returned to the school that it approved, in 1920, a standard two-month summer vacation.⁹³

All of these difficulties over vacations, which will be revisited in terms of the question of compulsory education, could, of course, be obviated by recruiting children who, by European definitions, were orphans. It not surprising then to find a marked preference for such children. E. Dewdney writing in 1883 to the Rev. Thomas Clarke, the Principal of the Battleford school, ordered that "orphans and children without any persons to look after them should first be selected."⁹⁴ This preference remained throughout the history of the residential school system.

Finally, it is important not to leave the impression that the rationale developed in the period before the First World War for residential schools was wholly selfless, directed exclusively to the duty of saving the Indian "race" through the young. While children were to be taken into the bosom of the Canadian nation to dwell in equality with the other subjects of Her Majesty, it was as much for the benefit of the state as it was for the nourishment of the child. Below the rhetoric of duty and civilization ran another motivation which occasionally broke through the surface of church and Departmental texts. It bespoke not a feeling of self-assured superiority in the face of the "savage" but a fear of the unknown other and of its disruptive potential.

At one level this concern related simply to the short-term challenge of transcontinental nation building faced by

Canadian leaders during the first three decades after Confederation. On more than one occasion the turmoil in the American west, the scene of an almost continuous battle between plains tribes and the American army after the mid-1860s, spilled over into Canadian territory. At the same time conditions among Canada's western First Nations were increasingly worrisome due to the beginning of settlement, the diminution of the great buffalo herds, the return of epidemic smallpox and the Riel "rebellion" in 1870.

The Davin report was the first to make a link between the anticipation of disorder and the utility of a residential school system. During his stay in Winnipeg, Davin was briefed on the situation among the western Indian First Nations and Metis. He reported that the Metis were "thoughtful if not anxious regarding the Government's intentions regarding them," that "among the Indians there is some discontent" and that the disappearance of the buffalo would cause extensive damage to Indian and Metis economies. It was the case, he continued, that "No race of men can be suddenly turned from one set of pursuits to another set of a wholly different nature without great attendant distress" and danger he could have added. The whole situation Davin warned in conclusion, required the "serious consideration of the Department."

Davin's advice was that these problems could be solved neither by scrip payments to offset the loss of Aboriginal income or conservation legislation aimed at saving the buffalo but "only by educating Indians and mixed-bloods in self-reliance and industry." With a fair degree of foresight, given that the next western "rebellion" was just seven years away, he cautioned Macdonald that "There is now barely time to inaugurate a system of education," such a "large statesmanlike policy with bearing on immediate and remote issues cannot be entered on too earnestly or too soon." Doing so would bring substantial rewards. Through schools, the danger posed by Aboriginal distress would be neutralized as the tribes would be "prepared to meet the necessities of the not too distant future; to welcome and facilitate ... the settlement of the country; and to render its government easy and not expensive."⁹⁵

In the heat of the ensuing crisis in 1885, the subtlety of Davin's position fell away. The Presbyterian church, lobbying the government in December of that year for what became Thomas Moore's residential school north of Regina, included on the list of anticipated benefits that, as Dewdney reported it, "the Indians would regard them [their children] as hostages given to the whites and would hesitate to commit any hostile acts that might endanger their children's well-being."⁹⁶ Such a belief, though seemingly outlandish, was not rare. In the following year, for example, the Department received the same

opinion from one of its senior employees - J.A. Macrae "...it is unlikely that any Tribe or tribes would give trouble of a serious nature to the Government whose members had children completely under Government control."⁹⁷

This "real politic" rationale for education was not limited to this western crisis. Davin's suggestion that education was pacification, an economic part of the creation of conditions for the peaceful occupation of the west, reoccurred and was applied to the long-term development and condition of the nation in general. Residential schooling, it was argued, was not only a most useful imperial technique of pacification but a national tool of social control. In 1900, Macrae made such an argument and claimed that its supporters were many.

All people in the north with whom the matter of Indian education has been discussed agreed as to its importance not only as an economical measure to be demanded for the welfare of the country and the Indians, themselves, but in order that crime may not spring up and peaceful conditions be disturbed, as that element which is the forerunner and companion of civilization penetrates the country and comes into close contact with the natives. That benefit will accrue to both the industrial occupants of the country covered by treaty and to the Indians by weaning a number from the chase and inclining them to industrial pursuits is patent to those who see that a growing need of intelligent labour must occur as development takes place⁹⁸

A sign of how serious the Department took such a function for the schools was given when Duncan Campbell Scott, who would be the most influential and long serving of the deputy superintendent generals, (he ran the Department from 1913 until his retirement in 1933) subscribed to such sentiments. In 1910, when he was superintendent of Indian education, he commented in the Annual Report that "without education and with neglect the Indians would produce an undesirable and often dangerous element in society."⁹⁹

In this light the residential schools were part of a wide network of institutions meant to be servants ministering to industrial society's need for order, lawfulness, labour and most critically, security of property. Education in general, of course, had such a mandate.¹⁰⁰ And, therefore, it is not surprising that residential schools had an instructive parallel in the industrial and correctional schools of the same era for incorrigible white children. B. Titley, an historian of education and a biographer of Scott, drew out this connection in reference to the non-Aboriginal Victoria

Industrial School founded in 1887. Such schools, he explained, were predicated upon the middle class's judgement that the "lower class family was failing in its perceived responsibility, and it was imperative to intervene in order to break the cycle of crime, poverty, depravity and disorder." For the safety of society, the white savage had to escape the influences of the slum wigwam. It was, as Titley put it, the "superior order of the industrial school" that "would save the children from their parent's folly."

Both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal industrial schools, Titley concluded, were similar in that they belied the "mixture of contempt and fear that was apparent in the middle-class attitude towards the poor."¹⁰¹ Titley is not alone in this position. The Aboriginal leader, George Manuel, certainly shared it and recognized from his own experience as a residential school student the function of the schools as set out by Macrae and Scott. He wrote in his book, *The Fourth World*

The residential schools were the laboratory and production line of the colonial system ... the colonial system that was designed to make room for European expansion into a vast empty wilderness needed an Indian population that it could describe as lazy and shiftless ... the colonial system required such an Indian for casual labour....¹⁰²

The first part of the vision of Aboriginal education developed in this period by leaders in the churches and the Department was erected on the pillars of selfless duty and the self-interested needs of the state. As different as these motives may be, they both underpinned, in their own way, the single conclusion that children had to be removed from their families, "from evil surroundings,"¹⁰³ and "kept constantly within the circle of civilized conditions" - residential schools.¹⁰⁴ This image of the school as the circle of civilization permeates the second part of the vision - the schools themselves and how it was assumed they would function.

The school was a circle - an all-encompassing environment of re-socialization. The curriculum was not simply an academic schedule or practical trades training but comprised the whole life of the child in the school. One culture was to be replaced by another through the work of the surrogate parent, the teacher. The Indian child, in the words of Rev. Wilson of Shingwauk,

... must be taught many things which come to the white child without the schoolmaster's aid. From the days of its birth, the child of civilized parents is constantly in contact with the modes of

civilized life, of action, thought, speech and dress; and is surrounded by a thousand beneficent influences He [the Indian child] must be led out from the conditions of ... birth, in his early years, into the environment of civilized domestic life; and he must be thus led by his teacher.¹⁰⁵

The teacher's concentration on "Action, thought, speech and dress," the encoded mores of civilized society, would be the catalyst of the great transformation. Teachers of quality, being both "competent and desirable persons"¹⁰⁶ would, Reed thought, "devote themselves ... in and out of school to the improvement of the minds, morals, personal deportment and habits of their pupils".¹⁰⁷ Teachers were to be numbered among those "thousand beneficent influences" and thus their character, wrote Davin,

morally and intellectually, is a matter of vital importance. If he is morally weak, whatever his intellectual qualifications may be, he is worse than no teacher at all. If he is poorly instructed or feeble in brain, he only enacts every day an elaborate farce.... A teacher should have force of character.... The work requires not only energy but the patience of an enthusiast.¹⁰⁸

There was considerable concern over the moral character of teachers, in particular the males. Departmental-church correspondence contains normally only intriguing hints. Macrae, however, was open about this noting that the isolation of the schools from non-Aboriginal settlements, "the lax moral principles of the Indians, and their poverty which makes them prone to temptation" made it "absolutely essential that when male teachers are engaged they should be men of strict principle...." Married men were preferred.¹⁰⁹

The efforts of teachers would be guided, in the first instance, by a standard curriculum. In the beginning it was supplied by the Department and was based largely on an Ontario model. Soon, however, Principals were directed to follow the relevant provincial curriculum. In 1895, the Department published in the Annual Report a Programme of Studies for Indian Schools. Students applied themselves to geography, reading, recitation, history, vocal music, calisthenics and religious instruction. They were to move through six standards in each subject and, the programme dictated "Everything must be thoroughly understood before a pupil is advanced to other studies."¹¹⁰ Tabular statements contained in the Annual Reports indicated that students were also to learn spelling, writing, grammar, diction, history, drawing and arithmetic.¹¹¹

The second major part of the curriculum was practical training. The Department was convinced that

no system of Indian training is right that does not endeavour to develop all the abilities, remove prejudice against labour and give courage to compete with the rest of the world. The Indian problem exists owing to the fact that the Indian is untrained to take his place in the world. Once teach him to do this, and the solution is had.¹¹²

In every residential school across the country, it was envisioned that there would be a daily regime of instruction in practical subjects. This was to be the case even in the modest boarding schools where it would include, at a minimum, gardening or agriculture, domestic skills and rudimentary carpentry. In the ambitious industrial schools there was to be a wide array of trades training. In 1891, the Department listed at its industrial schools at Battleford, Qu'Appelle, St. Joseph's, Regina, Ruperts Land, St Boniface, Elkhorn, Metlakahtla, Kuper Island and Kamloops activity in the following "industries": "carpentering," "blacksmithing," "agriculture," "shoemaking" or "bootmaking" and "printing". Female students received instruction in "sewing," "tailoring," "shirt-making," "mending," "knitting," "cooking and kitchen work," "baking", "laundry and dairy work," "ironing," "gardening" and "general household duties."

Academic learning and practical training were balanced in the schedule by the half-day system. Students would spend one half of their day in the classroom and the other half involved in practical activities. These latter could be in the form of structured instruction in an industrial shop room or in learn-by-doing chores. Instructive chores served not only as education but had an additional economic value in the operation of the school. The domestic science taught to girls, for example, amounted to the cooking, baking, dairying, cleaning, laundering and tailoring labour required to operate the school. The same held true for the boys' labour in carpentry, shoemaking, wood-cutting and harvesting so that "the efforts of those receiving instruction are, as far as practicable, made available ... for the benefit of the institution and of the Indian reserves and agencies nearest...."¹¹³

For both economic and educational reasons, the circle could be expanded to include placing the children under the "proper influences" of "suitable"¹¹⁴ non-Aboriginal families with employment opportunities in domestic service for girls and farm labour for boys.¹¹⁵ This "outing system" became, Reed reported to Parliament in 1896, "one of the marked features of industrial institutions." For him and others that was a useful

development constituting one of the best methods "of educating the children in the habits and ideas of, and into sympathy with, the whites...."¹¹⁶ It was seen as a preparation for life after school as the wages the child earned created "a self respect and pride in contributing to self-maintenance."¹¹⁷

While the academic and practical training of the school would cloth the pupil in the skills required to survive in a modernizing economy, the Department and churches realized that the child needed to undergo more profound change. Skills would be useless unless accompanied by the values of the civilized society in which the child was destined to live. Thus learning and life in the circle of civilization were suffused with those values. Students, the Anglican activist S.H. Blake advised the superintendent general of Indian Affairs, needed to be taught "honesty, truth, the beauty of a good, pure life."¹¹⁸

Of course, the curriculum itself carried the seed of the mores of civilization. In "Recitation" and "Vocal Music" in the 1895 Programme of Studies the "Simple Songs" proscribed were to be not only "bright and cheerful" but "patriotic." The verses and prose to be memorized and recited by the children were to contain "the highest moral and patriotic maxims."

Most of the teaching was to be rather more direct. The programme provided a six standards course in "Ethics." In the first year pupils were to be taught "the practice of cleanliness, obedience, respect, order, neatness." In Standard II they were to learn "Right and Wrong. Truth." and a "Continuance of proper appearance and behaviour." In Standard III they would "Develop the reasons for proper appearance and behaviour" in addition to "Independence and Self-respect." Standard IV was "Industry, Honesty, Thrift," while V introduced "Patriotism ... Self-maintenance. Charity. Pauperism." The final standard was the most sophisticated and aggressive. Pupils were to be brought to confront the differences in "Indian and white life," the "Evils of Indian isolation," "Labour, the law of life," "Relations of the sexes as to labour" and "Home and Public duties."¹¹⁹ Many of these values, order, neatness, industry, thrift and self-maintenance, for example, would also be a part of the substance of practical training. They were among the qualities necessary for the integration of a modern Aboriginal workman and workwoman into the productive life of Canadian society.

Within a school that was to function as a home, it was life itself, however, that was to be the great teacher. Children on coming to the school would enter the white world in an act of transformation symbolized by the shearing of Aboriginal locks and the donning of European clothes and boots. Thereafter, they would live the life of white children within a round of

days, weeks, months and years punctuated by the rituals of European culture. The week began with the sabbath and the passage of the seasons was marked by the festivals of church and state: Christmas, Easter, the innumerable Saint's days, Victoria Day, Dominion Day, Hallowe'en and so forth. These rhythms would be imprinted on the child through appropriate celebration: presents, concerts, music with bright tunes and improving sentiments.

Resetting the child's cultural clock from the "savage" seasonal round of hunting and gathering to the hourly and daily precision required by an industrial order was seen by the Department as an issue of primary consideration for "innate in him, [the Aboriginal child] has inherited from his parents ... an utter disregard of time and an ignorance of its value."¹²⁰ E. Dewdney held that pupils had to be taught,

that there should be an object for the employment of every moment; even, therefore, the routine of rising, dressing and washing themselves daily, reading the Word of God, receiving instruction in the great truths of Christianity, the recurrence of the hours for meals, classwork, outside duties, such as gardening, wood cutting, watering and feeding livestock, when any such are kept, recreation, studying their lessons for the next day - all are of great importance in training and education, with a view to future usefulness of children who would, as a rule, never have received the benefit of the same at their homes.¹²¹

The temporal orchestration of life heard in the sounds of water breaking through spring ice and leaves rustling in freshening fall breezes was replaced by ticking clocks and ringing bells - the influence of the wigwam replaced by that of the factory.

Equally essential, with qualified teachers and a curriculum and daily cycle of skills and values, was the influence of the Christian faith. There was at the beginning of this period some reluctance among a few of the senior staff of the Department about the participation of the churches in the operation of the schools. Reed, for example, thought a secular system might be best. But given the lead taken by churches in the development of schools for Aboriginal children and the force of their missionary convictions, to say nothing of the convictions of Victorian Canadians, he realized that "the day for making them [the schools] so has gone by" as "no hope need be entertained of the various denominations relinquishing the hold they already have upon the rising generation through the schools."¹²²

The role of the churches in the recruitment of students, the financing and management of the schools and many other issues which became the substance of fierce sectarian in-fighting throughout the history of the residential school system would drive many senior officials to dreams of ridding themselves of their church partners. However, at the same moment, all the senior officials, Vankoughnet, Dewdney, and Macrae, and the Davin report agreed that the role of religion in this process of cultural replacement was key. The Memorandum of the Convention of Catholic Principals held at Lebreton at the end of this period spoke for all of them

... all true civilization must be based on moral law, which christian religion alone can give. Pagan superstition could not ... suffice to make the Indians practise the virtues of our civilization and avoid its attendant vices. Several people have desired us to countenance the dances of the Indians and to observe their festivals; but their habits, being the result of free and easy mode of life, cannot conform to the intense struggle for life which our social conditions require.¹²³

The Presbyterians echoed these sentiments almost exactly. "We aim at building and developing character on the foundation of Christian morality, making christian faith and love the spring and motive of conduct."¹²⁴

The school system, therefore, had to be denominational. It was not possible, as Dewdney construed it, to erase an Aboriginal "mythology without providing a better one" in which there "exists no question ... as to its perfect correctness." To do so would "rather tend to lower the Indian's mind than to elevate it consequently he must receive but one spiritual training unhampered by any other influence."¹²⁵

In school, in chapel, at work and even at play the children were to learn the Canadian way. Recreation was not leisure but re-creation. The games and activities would not be the "boisterous and unorganized of games" of "savage" youth. Rather the children would have glee clubs, calisthenics clubs, brass bands, boys cadet corps, football, cricket, soft and hardball, basketball and above all hockey with the "well-regulated and ... strict rules that govern our modern games", that produce "prompt obedience to discipline,"¹²⁶ and thus move the child further toward the goal line of civilization.

None of the foregoing could be accomplished, those indispensable values would not be inculcated, unless the children could be released from the shackles of "savage" culture they carried with them into the school. The civilizers in the church and the Department realized that that task was

not to be accomplished simply by separation from the parents or the change into European attire, or the influences teachers or games masters. Rather the profound prerequisite for re-socialization was a concerted attack on the ontology of the children.

A child's ontology, its basic cultural patterning - "the symbolic ordering of the world" through which "actions and objects take on meaning"¹²⁷ - is "inherited from [its] parents" and community from the moment of birth.¹²⁸ Thus, for example, the child, parent and community exist in a landscape - a culture's translation of environment into a "meaning"-filled place. Parts of the programme of studies would disorient children and then attempt to reorient them in a place filled with European "meaning." The ethics course was a obvious attempt to have the child assimilate European values. The geography course and, indeed, mathematics and even theology, however, were insidiously disorienting. Children were to be taught the "science" and scientific methodology of the European world to understand the world as a European place within which only European values had meaning and thus the wisdom of their elders was no longer knowledge but the superstitions of the "savage" they could no longer understand. Such children would be separated forever for even if they went home they would, in the words of G. Manuel, bring "the generation gap with them."¹²⁹ Socialized as non-Aboriginal people, knowing only the mores of that culture and thus behaving according to those norms, despite the fact that they "looked Aboriginal," they could be seen, from the communities cultural standpoint, as the "crazy people."¹³⁰ Only in such a profound fashion could the separation from savagery and the re-orientation as civilized be assured.

That the Department and churches understood consciously that culture or, more particularly, that the task of overturning one ontology in favour of another, was the challenge they faced is seen in their identification of language as the critical issue in the circle. It was through language that the child gained its ontological inheritance from its parents and community. The word bore the burden of the culture from one generation to the next. It was the vital connection. The civilizers knew it must be cut if any progress was to be made. Rev. Wilson in the Fourth Annual Report of the Shingwauk school informed the Department "We make a great point on insisting on the boys talking English, as, for their advancement in civilization, this is, of all things, the most necessary."¹³¹ He was, of course, preaching to the converted. The Programme of Studies of 1896 stated that "Every effort must be made to induce pupils to speak English and to teach them to understand it; unless they do, the whole work of the teacher is likely to be wasted."¹³² Without English, the Department announced in its Annual Report of 1895, the

Aboriginal person is "permanently disabled" beyond the pale of assimilation for "So long as he keeps his native tongue, so long will he remain a community apart."¹³³

The road to acculturation within the school and the assimilation of the graduate thereafter, was through the English language. That language alone carried the culture of civilization. It alone, and not Aboriginal languages, as the Deputy Superintendent General, James Smart, explained in 1900, can "impart ideas which, being entirely outside the experience and environment of the pupils and their parents, have no equivalent expression in their native tongue."¹³⁴ Those ideas were the core concepts of European culture - its ontology, theology and values.

The only effective road to English, however, and thus the necessary pre-condition that would facilitate the operation of the multi-faceted strategy of re-socialization, was to stamp out Aboriginal languages within the schools and in the children. Senior staff in the Department had no doubt that, as Reed advised, it would "be found best to rigorously exclude the use of Indian dialects."¹³⁵ The deputy superintendent general was certainly of the same mind - replying emphatically that "the use of English in preference to the Indian dialect must be insisted upon."¹³⁶

Principals shouldered the task not only of English language training but of developing a pedagogy of prevention, rewards or punishments to make English "in and about all schools as far as possible the only allowed means of communication."¹³⁷ The range of ideas showed imagination. The Principal of Qu'Appelle in 1884 considered the idea of admitting a "few English boys" to be divided among the Indian children at recreation periods to encourage the use of English. They would "also be a great means for helping Indian boys lose their Indian habits."¹³⁸ Wilson at Shingwauk considered the same technique but also developed a reward system. At the beginning of the week each boy was given a number of buttons. Every time they were caught speaking their language, they surrendered one button. At the end of the week, the boy with the most buttons received a prize - a bag of nuts.¹³⁹ Almost universally school staff in addition to their other responsibilities were assigned the duty of preventing pupils from "using their own language."¹⁴⁰ What the Principal did in that instance was what became, perhaps, the most common technique - punishment. Wilson admitted that he chastised "heavily any old pupil who presumes to break a rule"¹⁴¹ governing the use of Indian languages. Over the life of the school system many Principals, had they chosen to, could have made the same admission.

The final part of the vision of residential education was devoted to the graduates, their future life among non-

Aboriginals and their contribution to "the advancement of the Indian race." Again the churches and Department did not, at the outset at least, stray far from the initial plan of the pre-Confederation years - education, graduation and then enfranchisement. Reality, however, soon imposed upon them, as it had upon pre-Confederation civilizers, the need to reconsider and reform their ideas and even to redraft some of the elements of the process of socialization that was to go on within the schools. Unfortunately, these educational strategists could not develop a workable post-graduate plan and, unfortunately, the quality of education, and thereby Aboriginal children and communities were the losers because of it.

The Department understood that its work did not cease with the graduation of students even if they had been transformed, according to the strategy, from savage to civilized. The children's education, the Annual Report of 1887 noted,

must not cease with their school course, on the contrary that should be only the commencement; for as a matter of fact it is after its completion that the greatest care for those who have had the benefit of training at these schools, needs to be exercised, in order to prevent retrogression.¹⁴²

"Retrogression," cultural back-sliding, the return to savagery by graduates was, as it had been in the 1840s and 50s, a considerable worry to Department and church educators. The connection between parent, community and child once broken should not be re-established. The children should not be prey ever again to Indian "prejudices and traditions" and the "degradations of savage life."¹⁴³ It would "seem on the contrary advisable," the 1887 Report continued, "... to prevent those whose education at an industrial school ... has been completed from returning to the reserves." They should be placed in the non-Aboriginal world and secured there with employment in the trades they had learned "so as to cause them to reside in towns, or in the case of farmers, in settlements of white people, and thus become amalgamated with the general community."¹⁴⁴ Indeed, the industrial schools were to be constructed close to towns so that students could have the example of civilization always before them and so that they could be "apprenticed to local tradesmen" who would be, supposedly, "always glad to secure their services."¹⁴⁵ Finally, graduates could avail themselves of enfranchisement provisions of the Indian Act.

The overall strategy of life and learning within the schools had, of course, been devoted to this goal of "amalgamation." Pupils were to receive the knowledge, skills and values that would make assimilation a certainty. But two elements of that

strategy had been particularly mindful of the dangers of "retrogression." The first dealt with how long children needed to be at school. They were to be taken from their parents at the earliest possible age and had to be kept until "their characters have been sufficiently formed as to ensure as much as possible against their returning to the uncivilized mode of life."¹⁴⁶ There was some debate as to what that meant. Thomas Moore's Principal wanted no age limits at all. Boys, he argued, should be kept at school until they were prepared to be responsible in the application of their training while the girls should be "under the guardianship of the school until they are married."¹⁴⁷ The Department, however, calculated the necessary term as a span of 10 years from age six to 16.

The second element of defense against retrogression concerned women, mothers and matrimony. Senior officials held that the education of girls was as necessary as that of boys for their goal was not only to produce civilized young men integrated into the non-Aboriginal labour force, but civilized families. In the Victorian view, women were the centre of that most important institution and motherhood was the formative socializing element. The education of girls therefore, Vankoughnet informed Macdonald, was key as "children are generally influenced to an important degree by the precept of the mother and the example set them by her at home." Female pupils, educated to be civilizing mothers, needed also to be civilizing wives. Unless male graduates

obtain as wives women as intelligent and as advanced in civilization as themselves, they will of necessity have to select uneducated Indian women as partners and if they do not themselves relapse into savagery as a consequence the progeny from these marriages following the example and teaching of the mother will not improbably adopt the life and habits of the pure Indian.¹⁴⁸

The women graduates in turn needed similar protection. If they returned to the reserve and married "among the semi-civilized men of their tribe" then "...the all but universal law by which the woman assumes the status of her husband, will surely take its course."¹⁴⁹

Continued separation by integration in towns and farming communities and inter-marriage among the graduates would ensure that the work of the schools would not be frustrated. Further suggestions were made to support that calculation. Vankoughnet thought, in 1884, that a system of rewards could be instituted to entice graduates to integrate. They might be offered with their diploma a certificate entitling them to enfranchisement and "other privileges from the Government."¹⁵⁰ Reed's advice, given five years later, was somewhat more

aggressive. The Department must contemplate preventing the graduates returning to the reserves lest they "rapidly retrograde." He envisioned communities of graduates set up adjacent to the schools "to admit of continued supervision" on 80 acre farms, operated by married graduates who had been automatically enfranchised.¹⁵¹

Neither of these ideas were adopted for the whole post-graduate strategy quickly had to be reworked in the face of economic realities particularly those in the west and British Columbia. Initially, the Department, had confidence in the capacity of non-Aboriginal communities to absorb ex-students, to offer them a context for integration. Though progress in that direction was slow in the early days of settlement, by 1889 Reed could report, as he did with respect to opportunities for outing, that "month by month the number of the desirable class of settlers is increasing and before many years, the difficulties will have disappeared."¹⁵² However, in 1896, by which time he had become deputy superintendent general, Reed had to admit that this was a gross miscalculation. Employment was not readily available and, as one agent informed the Department, "Race prejudice is against them and I am afraid that it will take time, under the circumstances, before they can compete with their white brothers in the trades."¹⁵³ Thus "for the majority [of graduates], for the present at least, there appears to be no alternative"¹⁵⁴ but to return to the reserves. That "present" stretched into the future; the situation did not improve. Early in the new century there were still but "few openings for graduates"¹⁵⁵ and, with the exception of temporary labour shortages during the two wars, there would never be many. In ordinary times "no appreciable number of graduates of the Schools will be in a position to earn a livelihood by working as craftsmen among whites."¹⁵⁶

The Department had to face the troubling realization that its graduates were going back to their communities where, Reed predicted, "there will be a much stronger tendency for the few to merge into the many than to elevate them."¹⁵⁷ Reports, throughout the period, confirmed this fear. The Principal of Regina Industrial School, for example, was exercised by the fact that when his graduates found "the restraint of the school suddenly thrown off" they were not spending their energy in the industrious application of their learning but in "moving from place to place, visiting etc." and "rapidly drifting back to the nomadic habits of his ancestors."¹⁵⁸ Rev. McWhinney of Crowstand Boarding School gave a sense of the hopelessness of any struggle against those "habits" or against the influence of Indians who had not had the elevating experience of education:

Someone may say that they [the graduates] should be

taught to stand firm. Anyone who knows the weakness of the average Indian character will know how hard it is to overcome this tendency to drift with the current that carries so many of their own people. A few generations hence it may be more easily done. On Cote's Reserve and I suppose to some extent on all Reserves there are a few idle useless fellows whose example and influence is a menace to everyone who leaves our Schools. They will not work the land nor will they settle down to any other definite work. If a graduate has any money or property they will try by one scheme or another to get it from him on the promise of paying him back, which they seldom do. These idlers are usually immoral and are nearly always at the bottom of every case of drunkenness.¹⁵⁹

The Indian Commissioner for Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, David Laird, was only a bit more positive. Some graduates, he reported, "are showing the benefits of their training in the industrial and boarding schools." Some were farming and a few working as carpenters and blacksmiths. "And perhaps in no respect is the result of good training more apparent than in the homes of those Indians who have married girls taught housekeeping under competent instructors Cleanliness, neatness, and fair skill in cooking are quite observable to the visitor." Quite observable to him also, however, was "the depressing influence of those whose habits still largely pertain to savage life." An unacceptably high proportion of "ex-pupils have gone back to the ways of the old teepee life."¹⁶⁰

There had to be, obviously, some new plan for graduates. Martin Benson an official in the education section of the Department, who would succeed Duncan Campell Scott as superintendent of education, stressed this in briefing the new minister, Clifford Sifton, in 1897. "A definite policy of dealing with ex-pupils still remains to be settled upon." He then laid out some of the options for Sifton's consideration indicating that each had supporters within the Department. Were the graduates "to remain Indians in the eyes of the law or is their graduation from an Industrial school to be recognized as a preliminary step towards their ultimate enfranchisement?" Should they return to their reserves or have crown lands assigned to them "either in a block to form an advanced Indian settlement or are they to be allowed to take up lands like white settlers?"¹⁶¹

The new post graduate plans that were worked out in the next few years made a virtue of necessity. Students would always have the option of enfranchisement and a life within non-Aboriginal settlements, but it was understood that most would

return home and it was soon postulated that this was, if properly construed, a beneficial development. In a remarkable change in educational strategy, Reed's successor as deputy superintendent general, James Smart, reasoned that if the residential system was to focus only, as it then did, on the rescue and re-socialization of individuals, on "improving their condition in life," it would always have to be restricted in number "to that for which there is reasonable expectation of being able to find openings for employment." Only in this way would it be justifiable in the eyes of treasury officials. But if

the object be to have each pupil impart what he has gained to his less fortunate fellows, and in fact become a centre of improving influence for the elevation of his race, there would appear to be stronger reason for incurring the cost of their special training, and not the same necessity for so strictly limiting the number to whom it may be given.

This concept, that graduates, and perhaps localized schools, would be an improving influence, was a return to the earliest civilizing logic which envisioned manual labour school graduates as the leaven of civilization in reserve communities. And it was, therefore, as Smart recognized readily, a return to the central worry - retrogression:

To do this, however, it is obvious that the pupils must return to their reserves, and the danger at once confronts them, of becoming individually absorbed by the many and of being themselves affected by the degrading influence of their surroundings, in place of becoming a power for good.¹⁶²

This shift in focus, from the rescue of individuals to the development of the community, was championed outside the Department, as well. "Any scheme for the improvement of the race," the Principal of the Regina Industrial School wrote to the deputy superintendent general, "must include old as well as young." Graduates and schools located in the vicinity of, or even on, reserves would be "a great moral force in the uplift of the life of the reserve." providing "an object lesson" in farming, gardening, housekeeping, the care of the sick and "maintaining sanitary conditions about their homes."¹⁶³

How was it then that graduates could return to those homes, remain impervious to the assault of "savage" influence and thus be able to act as "great moral force," "a power for good," a civilizing agent in their communities? Fortunately,

the elements of a solution were already at hand in the ideas about marriage and motherhood and in Reed's suggestion of communities of graduates. That ideal solution was the "colony."

The colony, "an experiment" begun as early as 1901 and heralded by the Department in its Report of the next year, recognized the inevitability of the return to the reserve while trying to preserve the separation of the graduates from the "down-pull of the daily contact" with their "savage" neighbours. The colony experiment, as a plan at least, involved setting aside for graduates, males with graduate wives being preferred, parts of the larger and more fertile reserves "some distance from the Indian villages or settlements, and under the immediate eye of a farming instructor and the almost daily visits of the agent himself."

The first flagship colony was File Hills organized on a block of 12 square miles on the Peepeekeesis reserve in the Northwest Territories. Fifteen ex-pupils from the Regina, St. Boniface, Brandon and Qu'Appelle schools were each given 80 acre lots, horses, farming equipment, lumber and hardware for houses. The expenses were to be recouped as "it is proposed they shall pay back to the department when their crops warrant it, the money to be used to help others make a start."

It was clearly important for the Department to publicize the venture as a success it being the model upon which this new post-graduate policy was to rest. The 1902 Report, therefore, listed the accomplishments of Ben Stonechild, Fred Dieter, George Little Pine, Jose McNabb, John R. Thomas and other colony settlers who had broken their land and were growing "good wheat and oats." Such progress, credited to the enthusiasm of the graduates and the energetic supervision of the colony's founder, the Agent W.M. Graham, was proof enough for the Superintendent General to assert that the revised plan was working as students were already "beginning to exert an influence on the social tone of reserve life." Laird, who had written the section of the Report on the colony experiment, was equally optimistic and hoped, therefore, that similar colonies "will be organized soon on some other reserves."¹⁶⁴

That hope was not realized. Indeed, the tone of Departmental correspondence and Annual Reports when referring to graduates began to darken. In 1907 File Hills, described as being "hardly out of the experimental stage" was still the only colony. While it was yet "proving thus far very satisfactory," expectations for graduates in general seem to have become more limited. There was going to be retrogression; they were likely to "themselves backslide in the process" though some comfort could be taken from the fact that "the decline would be to a somewhat improved level."¹⁶⁵ Agents reports in 1911 on the

performance of graduates ranged "all the way from 'lazy and indifferent' to 'making satisfactory progress'".¹⁶⁶ Duncan Campbell Scott tried to put the best face on this by suggesting, in rather sour grapes fashion, that "It was never the policy nor the end or the aim of the endeavour to transform an Indian into a white man." This was neither the first nor the last occasion on which Scott would tamper with the facts to put the Department in a good light. He was, in fact, becoming pessimistic about the educational program itself because of the "forces that have conspired against their [the schools] complete success," One of the main ones was the "lack of control over the graduates."

The post-graduate problem could only be overcome, Scott declared without a great deal of originality, "by supervision after the school term is completed and by some assistance in beginning life under the new conditions," that is back on their reserves. He then went on to announce not an extension of the colony experiment but a much more modest initiative. A circular of 1909 directed Principals and agents to correspond and coordinate the return of graduates to the reserve so that they "should not be thrown upon the reserve dependent entirely upon ... [their] own resources."¹⁶⁷ Essentially, all this meant was that some ex-pupils would receive "a gift of oxen and implements ... and the granting of a loan which must be repaid within a certain time, and for which an agreement is signed by the pupil."¹⁶⁸

The "colony" concept remained alive but as an idea only. In 1914, Scott, in a circular sent to agents on the subject of graduates returning home, counselled that there had to be careful planning for this "most important event in the life of a school pupil" and that they should, among other ideas, "consider the advisability of forming them into separate colonies or settlements removed from some extent from the older Indians."¹⁶⁹ In the end, File Hills remained the first and only manifestation of the idea, probably because it was always, as the historian O. Dickason has suggested, "too costly for the budget-minded department."¹⁷⁰

Whatever the reason for not extending the colony system, the Department was left with its rather unambitious solution of 1909 which did not address, in any satisfactory way, either the problem of graduates "backsliding" or the challenge of elevating the reserve community. Still it was the last idea, the program the Department held to until after the Second World War when a new concept, integration into the provincial school system, was introduced. The Department held to the 1909 program, perhaps because it could devise no other scheme, even though it was evident, early on, that it was not a great success. The 1915 Annual Report, for example, noted unenthusiastically the unchanged conditions and the very mixed

results:

The difficulty of assimilating ex-pupils on the reserves is still the essence of the problem. The policy of granting assistance to graduates to encourage farming has been maintained. During the year, forty three males and twenty-three female ex-pupils have been granted assistance, the expenditure being \$6,934.23. It is felt that the assistance granted has been an incentive to many of the ex-pupils to do their best, and, although in some cases the results have not been all that could be desired, it must be considered that these graduates have many difficulties to contend with owing to the environment of the reserve life and the prejudices of the older Indians.¹⁷¹

Finally, and perhaps of greatest significance, the change in post-graduate strategy rebounded upon the Department's vision of the residential schools or, more accurately, on both the content and focus of the curriculum. While there was no retreat from the basic principles of separation and profound cultural replacement, the fact that students would return to the reserves rather than live out their lives in what were conceived to be more progressive non-Aboriginal settlements, led the Department to the idea of children being prepared for "the requirements of the students future environment"¹⁷² on graduation. In terms of the curriculum, this meant the de-emphasis of industrial training, and therefore of the industrial school model, and a stress on agriculture and the rudimentary carpentry skills of the boarding school. By 1904 this had been initiated - "considerable modifications have been made from the original design ... now the efforts of all these schools are devoted to agriculture, and such trade instruction as they receive is merely to supplement this design and make them handy all round farmers...."¹⁷³ The minister made it all official with a announcement in Parliament.¹⁷⁴ These changes meant as well the the provision of a purposively second class education for Aboriginal children.

The move away from the industrial schools' ambitious practical curriculum began as early as 1897. Martin Benson was particularly outspoken. "The first thing to do is to teach them how to get their living from the soil." The Department, he added, "should go steadily to work with this end in view, instead of trying to overrun the country with a lot of half-trained, and half-educated so called Industrial pupils."¹⁷⁵ On Benson's prompting his superior, J. Maclean, informed the Minister, Sifton, that the training of tradesmen was not such a good idea as there was

not much likelihood, for many years to come, of

Indians being so trained being capable of earning a livelihood at such trades in competition with others. The chief aim should be to train the Indian youths how to earn a livelihood when they return to the reserves, and it seems to be altogether out of the question for the Department to undertake to educate a large number of Indians with the idea of making them equal to whitemen by the process of education.¹⁷⁶

The Annual Report of 1897 even went so far as to carry a warning that the specialized trades training of the industrial school "might educate children above the possibilities of their station, and create a distaste for what is certain to be their environment in life." That would be "not only a waste of money but doing them an injury instead of conferring a benefit upon them."¹⁷⁷ Indeed, the idea of returning skilled tradesmen, "industrially trained mechanics," to the reserves was now seen as such an injury in that it was a step away from attaining the goal of assimilation. It would "tend to render ... [communities] more self-contained and self-sufficing," while "the intention of education is not to encourage isolation and self sufficiency at the expense of the amalgamation of the races."¹⁷⁸

The logic of all of this was particularly striking; the consequences of it would be tragic. For the sake of "amalgamation," it was best for Indian youth to receive an education that was not too advanced, that would not equip them to compete with non-Aboriginal people, that while attempting to make them the same as non-Aboriginal people would not make them "equal" nor facilitate the self-sufficiency of their communities. The Deputy Superintendent General, Frank Pedley, was informed in a Departmental briefing memorandum of 1904 that it had "never been the policy of the Department ... to turn Indian people out to compete with whites."¹⁷⁹

As the difficulties with graduate amalgamation mounted, the opinion of senior officials on the capability of Aboriginal people were reduced to be replaced at times by rather racist expressions that may have always lurked below the surface of Departmental rhetoric. Pedley's Departmental minister, Clifford Sifton, expressed his belief that the problems were rooted not in the system of education, nor even in the lack of opportunity in non-Aboriginal communities, as much as they were in the Indian who did not possess the "moral or mental get up" of the non-Aboriginal.¹⁸⁰ They would do best to devote themselves, advised Benson, to farming or to employment as manual workers in local economies, in, using British Columbia as an example, the coastal fishing industry and in mines and stock-raising in the interior.¹⁸¹ In the same vein, S.H. Blake

called upon the deputy superintendent general to initiate "flexibililty" in the curriculum of the schools so that the graduates would be able to do "the appropriate work for the locality - whether it be agriculture, farming, pasture, lumbering, canning," not however as proprietors in those undertakings but only as "all-round workman in his neighbourhood."¹⁸²

In this revised vision, Aboriginal graduates were not to take their place among their fellow Canadians able to compete as skilled tradesmen but would return to their communities. Though they might thereafter be affected, to a limited extent, by the old culture and traditions, they would leave the category "savage" to take on that of rural small holder or labourer in a working class attached to resource development. This was certainly not quite the same vision as it had been in the 1880s - one that had pictured the graduates as "artisans ... commanding ... a high rate of wages"¹⁸³ "amalgamated with the white population ... independent and self-supporting members of the community."¹⁸⁴ It was, however, all that the Department would be allowed for the original vision had been blurred permanently by being rubbed against hard realities, mainly that Aboriginal people would experience considerable difficulty in finding a positive place within the dominant society. Indeed, it is difficult to understand how this revision could be termed assimilation as graduates were simply to return to their reserves where they received minimal support and where little effort was made to integrate them or their communities into the flow of economic developments taking place around them.

The questions of curriculum and specifically of the practical training that would be most appropriate for students and of a suitable "after care" or "follow up" system would constantly trouble church and Departmental officials in subsequent decades. There continued to be, as the United Church's Association of Indian Workers in Saskatchewan pointed out in 1930, "a missing link that should be forged into the present system along the line of 'Follow up work'."¹⁸⁵ Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, officials continued to search for that link in such amendments to the curriculum as "manual training" or "vocational training." But the central problem would persist unresolved - in the case of almost every child and every community assimilation remained distant and unachievable.

This broader reality, the fact that the Department had stumbled in planning the last step to assimilation, that the residential school system had not reached the goal of its founders was not, curiously, the subject of Departmental and church discussion. Rather, they simply persisted in their policy. Apparently, for them, the heart of the vision, that which pertained to the schools themselves and to the great

transformation that was to go on within them, remained very much intact. There were problems with funding and administration but fundamental questions were never directed to the rationale or basic logical structure of the system's philosophy.

At the heart of the vision there was, however, a dark contradiction. Right from the outset, the "circle of civilized conditions" did not live up to its name. It did not because it could not. The correspondence and reports of this formative period reveal that there was, as an inherent element of the vision, a "savagery" in the mechanics of civilizing the children.

The Department, of course, intended that the schools should be homes, sanctuaries where the children would be given, in Davin's description "the care of a mother."¹⁸⁶ The Principal of the Regina school even warned against institutionalization, stressing the desirability of a "homelike" atmosphere in the school.¹⁸⁷ These sentiments were formalized in Departmental regulations. In 1889, Vankoughnet forwarded to the Catholic Bishop of Westminster the "Rules and Regulations" for Kootenay Industrial School. Most of them were devoted to parenting concerns. On entering the school new pupils were to have their "heads and bodies" examined and "if the presence of vermin is discovered, effectual means should at once be taken to destroy them." All children were to be properly attired and not "allowed to wear clothes that are not in every respect in a good state of repair and clean". Clothes were to be inspected at least once a week and repairs "promptly made." Their underclothing and bed linen were to be changed weekly. They were to wash three times a day and be "washed all over at least once a week." The school building, the dorms and classrooms, were to be clean and well-ventilated and water closets kept "scrupulously clean ... and disinfectants ... should be used very liberally." Children who fell ill were to be cared for in a sick room - "an apartment light and airy, and as far removed from the other rooms as possible." All children were to receive training in what to do in case of a fire. Finally, they were to be well fed, in line with a Departmental "dietary," with "plain and well cooked" meals. In short, "The Principal and those under him should endeavour to make all the pupils as happy and the school as homelike as possible."¹⁸⁸

Despite such regulations, the image of the school as home would be undercut and the Department's caring parental intentions frustrated by another set of realities - principally by a funding system that reduced the quality of care, promoted overcrowding and the growth of schools to alienating sizes. But even without those realities, the vision itself, the language in which it was couched, revealed what

would have to be the essentially violent nature of the residential school system in its onslaught on child and culture.

Schools could not be homelike as the basic premise of resocialization was violent. "To kill the Indian in the child," the Department and churches aimed at severing the artery of culture that ran between Aboriginal generations. In the end "all the Indian there is in the race should be dead."¹⁸⁹ This was more than a rhetorical flourish or figurative act as it took on a sharp and traumatic reality in the life of each child - separated from parents and community, often at the tender age of six, and isolated in a threatening world hostile to identity, traditional ritual and language.

The system of transformation was suffused with a similar latent "savagery." Hayter Reed in a perfectly homelike tone counselled that teachers "while exercising firmness, shall endeavour to influence them [the pupils] by appealing to their reasons and affections, rather than to their fears." Yet, he described the purpose of the schools, the goal of those teachers, in very different terms "... every effort should be directed against anything calculated to keep fresh in the memories of children habits and associations which it is one of the main objects of industrial institutions to obliterate."¹⁹⁰

"Firmness," as Reed called it, was, for the sake of obliteration, both a pedagogical technique and a civilizing influence. Others, like Macrae, substituted the word discipline and stressed its utility as opposed to the gentler appeal to reason and sentiment. Referring to the challenge of teaching English, he asserted that "Perhaps discipline will lead to its acquirement more quickly than direct teaching. Better still let discipline produce circumstances to supplement and aid direct teaching."¹⁹¹ Discipline and learning could, indeed, be subtly folded into each other. Rev. Wilson's description of how English was taught at Shingwauk stands as a fine example of that.

The more advanced boys sit with their slates and write out definitions of English words; the rest of the boys ... are taught vive voce, besides being put through manual exercises such as shutting the door, putting a slate on the bench, pulling down the blind etc.; the object being to teach them to understand, and obey promptly, directions given in English.¹⁹²

Prompt and persistent obedience to authority, order and discipline were virtues of civilization and in a civilized

society one of their servants was punishment. Again embedded in church and Department texts was that dichotomy between the "civilized" and the "savage" - between, in this case, "the restraints of civilization" as Davin characterized order and discipline and the wild, unrestrained behaviour of savagery. The children were taken from a "permissive" culture, from parents "and relatives who had never struck a child in their lives."¹⁹³ Indeed, the failure to discipline-punish children was, as Vankoughnet had pointed out, one of the debilitating attributes of "savage" Indian parenting. Debilitating, of course, because, in his view, the day school initiative had been impaired by the inability of parents to "exercise ... proper authority ... to compel attendance."¹⁹⁴ G. Manuel, contrasting the treatment of children at home and in the schools, illustrated this cultural difference and the supposed pedagogical value of punishment. "The priests taught us to respect them by whipping us..." while "our mothers and fathers, aunts and uncles and grandparents, failed to represent themselves as a threat, when that was the only thing we had been taught to understand."¹⁹⁵ A child was to be brought to civilization through discipline and by punishment, if necessary, and would become therefore, a civilized parent, able naturally to "exercise proper authority" over the next generation of civilized children.

In the vision of residential school education, discipline was curriculum and punishment was pedagogy. Both were agents of civilization; they were indispensable to the "circle of civilized conditions" where the struggle to move children across the cultural divide would play itself out in each school situation, child by child, teacher by teacher. If this was not known by the civilizers at the level of theory when planning the schools, it was soon only too obvious from the earliest experiences of running the post-Confederation schools. The most powerful evidence of that fact came from a most influential witness - Father A. Lacombe. Not only can he be counted as one of the founders of the industrial school system, having advised Davin, but he was, subsequently, the Principal of High River one of the government's first Industrial school ventures, along with the Battleford and Qu'Appelle schools, after it accepted Davin's recommendations. He was a most influential proponent of the need for, as he called it, "coercion."

Lacombe's experiences in his first year of running the school at High River in the Northwest Territories was a warning for all involved in the education endeavour that resocialization was to be a difficult struggle. High River was opened in October 1884. By the spring, it had lost almost all of its 25 pupils. With the coming of the good weather "they began to get more uneasy and uncontrollable and finally left the institution, some by their own will, others taken and forced

away by their parents or guardians." Lacombe and his staff did their "best to prevent these departures" but to no avail. The constant "excuse to go," rooted in the pain of separation, "was and is always the same - We are lonesome." Nothing would make them stay. Lacombe even reported that "I bought with my own money more than \$100 worth of candies and toys etc. to make them pleased and fond of the place." They would not be placated, however.

Those "departures" were not the only problem High River encountered. There had also been trouble throughout the fall and winter when the children had remained in the school - trouble, which according to Lacombe, though he did not detail it, was rooted in the stubborn nature of savagery. The students were too "proud and set in their Indian ways." He signalled defeat in his admission "We have not succeeded yet to cut their hair." Treats, toys, comfortable surroundings, good food and clothes, what in essence amounted to a policy of sweet bribes, was a mistake, he concluded, and so too "It is a great mistake to have no kind of punishment in the Institution.... It is absurd to imagine that such an institution in any country could work properly without some form of coercion to enforce order and obedience."¹⁹⁶ Lacombe's successor, E. Claude, followed in that opinion and listed a range of punishments he employed including confinement during recreation and deprivation of food when "the student shall stand in the center of the refectory." He tried to avoid "using too vigorous means with regard to the most rebellious tempers such as blows etc."¹⁹⁷

The Department agreed with both Lacombe and Claude. Punishment, even to the extent of "blows," though it was to have its limits, was to have an important role in the circle. Vankoughnet's rules and regulations of 1889 stipulated that

Obedience to rules and good behaviour should be enforced, but corporal punishment should only be resorted to in extreme cases. In ordinary cases the penalty might be solitary confinement for such time as the offence may warrant, or deprivation of certain articles of food allowed to other pupils.¹⁹⁸

Six years later, the deputy superintendent general was somewhat more specific on the nature of permissible corporal punishment:

Instructions should be given, if not already sent to the Principals of the various schools, that children are not to be whipped by anyone save the Principal, and even when such a course is necessary, great discretion should be used and they should not be struck on the head, or punished so

severely that bodily harm might ensue. The practice of corporal punishment is considered unnecessary as a general measure of discipline and should only be resorted to for very grave offenses and as a deterrent example.¹⁹⁹

These directives seem to set out Departmental policy clearly enough. Punishment was necessary in the operation of the school to enforce obedience. However, corporal punishment should not be the norm, should be employed only in the last resort, in the face of "grave offenses," only as a "deterrent example" and when employed had to be restrained.

This policy obviously violated Aboriginal norms but it was silent on the question of the violation of non-Aboriginal norms, on the adoption by schools "of methods of discipline to which fair exception might be taken by either the Government or the Indians."²⁰⁰ There was no stipulation as to what would happen if there was not "great discretion," if a child was "struck on the head" or beaten "so severely" that "bodily harm" ensued. What action would the Department take if corporal punishment, slapping, hair pulling, strapping, rather than being the exception became "the general measure of discipline"? Such a situation was not unimaginable; the likelihood of both a pedagogy of punishment within the schools and of incidents of excessive punishment was not remote. Not every Principal, teacher or employee was of the desired moral calibre and schools were, normally, outside the gaze of public scrutiny, isolated from both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities. The circle was closed to all but the official outsider and even then visits and inspections were normally by appointment. Within the schools, conditions like those which had been experienced by Lacombe and which had brought Claude to resort to punishments would not be unusual. School authorities would always claim that it was "very difficult to keep the Indian Children in subordination"²⁰¹ and thus an atmosphere would always exist that justified the use of force against children. Indeed, the atmosphere may well have been the critical factor in discipline. Even in the course of the ordinary operation of these institutions "where the work of the school is faithfully carried on the strain upon the teachers and the scholars is very considerable...."²⁰²

Who was there then to defend the child if within "the circle of civilized conditions" there emerged a culture of violence? There was, obviously, no one prepared to protect the Indian in the child but was there not someone who would protect the child as a human creature, who would ensure that the "Rules and Regulations" were faithfully implemented - that children would be properly clothed and nourished, safely housed and educated; that they would not be abused. In ordinary circumstances, be it in Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal society,

this was the duty of the parents. As such, protection became the duty of the Department and the churches when they presumed to parent Aboriginal children in homes they called residential schools.

In theory, at least, the answer was clear. Children like Thomas were to be taken into care, cherished, nurtured and educated. Upon graduation they would be prepared to take their place in their communities and lead them into Canada. That was the vision of the residential school system. It would be tested against that reality in the process of building and managing the system. Right from the beginning, it would fail that test.

1. For a review of Canadian policy see, for example: J.L. Tobias "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy" in A.L. Getty and A.S. Lussier, ed., *As Long as the Sun Shines and the Water Flows* (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1983), J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1989) and O. Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* (Toronto, McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1992).
2. Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs [hereinafter referred to as the Annual Report], 1911, page 273.
3. N.A. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1 MR C 8152, F. Oliver to Joint Church Delegation."
4. Annual Report, 1891, page x.
5. Alexander Morris, *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories* (Toronto, Belfords. Clarke and Co., 1880), page 278.
6. N.A. MG 27 I C4, E. Dewdney Papers, To E. Dewdney from A. Lacombe, 25 November, 1889, page 2189-92.
7. As quoted in Malcolm Montgomery, "The Six Nations and the Macdonald Franchise", *Ontario History*, LVII, March 1965, page 13.
8. INAC File 1/25-1. Vol. 15, To Sir John A. Macdonald from L. Vankoughnet, 26 August, 1887.
9. Annual Report, 1890, page xii.
10. Ibid.
11. N.A. MG 26A - Sir John A. Macdonald Papers. Vol. 91, "Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds" [The Davin Report]. 14 March, 1879. pages 35428-45. See: C.B. Koester, *Mr. Davin, M.P.* (Saskatoon, Western Producer Prairie Books, 1980) for biographical information.
12. J. Barman, Y. Hebert and D. McCaskill, eds., *Indian Education in Canada, Volume 1: The Legacy* (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1986), page 6.
13. J. Leslie and R. Macguire eds., *The Historical Development of the Indian Act* (Ottawa, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1979), page 133.

14. J. Taylor, *Canadian Indian Policy During the Inter-War Years. 1919-1939*, (Ottawa, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1983), page 4.

15. At the outset the position taken on the education of Metis children in residential schools was rather ambiguous. The Deputy Superintendent General, J. Smart, noted in October, 1899 [see N.A.C. RG 10, Vol. 3931, File 116377, MR C 10163, To the Secretary from D. Laird, 27 August., 1900] that while he did not consider it appropriate "that the children of the Half-Breeds proper, of Manitoba and the Territories, should be admitted into Indian schools and be paid for by the Department ... all children, even those of mixed blood, whether legitimate or not, who live upon an Indian Reserve and whose parents on either side live as Indians upon a Reserve, even if they are not annuitants, should be eligible for admission to schools." There was, however, not any hard and fast policy until the 1911 contract [see Chapter 2] where in clause 4.(b) it was stated "No Half-Breed child shall be admitted to the said school unless Indian children cannot be obtained to complete the number authorized [for any particular school]..., in which event the Superintendent General may in his discretion permit the admission of any Half-Breed child; but the Superintendent General will not pay any grant for any such Half-Breed pupil ... nor any part of the cost of its maintenance or education whatsoever." [Correspondence and Agreement relating to the Maintenance and Management of Indian Boarding Schools (Ottawa, Government Printing Bureau, 1911)]. This policy was maintained throughout the history of the Indian Affairs system. In the Northern Affairs system, begun in 1955, [see Chapter 4] Metis children were accepted in the schools equally with other Aboriginal and, indeed, non-Aboriginal children.

16. C.O. 42/27, To J. Kempt from G. Murray (No. 95), 25 January, 1830.

17. For a full discussion of the policy see: J.S. Milloy, *The Era of Civilization - British Policy for the Indians of Canada, 1830-1860*. (Unpublished D.Phil Thesis, Oxford, 1978).

18. J.S. Milloy, "The Early Indian Acts: Developmental Strategy and Constitutional Change" in J.R. Miller ed., *Sweet Promises, A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1991).

19. N.A.C. C.O. 42/429, To J. Colborne from T.G. Anderson, 24 September, 1835.

20. N.A.C. RG 10, Vol.36, Section II, Report on the Affairs of the Indians of Canada. [The Bagot Report]

21. "Report to the Special Commissioners appointed to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada" in *Journals of the Legislative Assembly*

of th Province of Canada from 25th February to 1st June, 1858.
Appendix no. 21, part III, [The Head Commission].

22. The Bagot Report.

23. E. Brian Titley, "Indian Industrial Schools in Western Canada" in N. Sheehan, J.D. Wilson & D.C Jones eds., Schools in the West: Essays in Canadian Eductional History. (Calgary, Detselig Enterprise Ltd., 1986), page 133.

24. The careers of all three men are discussed in R. A. Trennert "Educating Indian Girls at Non-Reservation Boarding Schools, 1878-1920" in The Western Historical Quarterly, Volume XIII, July 1982, Number 3.

25. Professor C. Jaenen has written extensively on French policy. Reference here is made to: "Education for Francization: The Case of New France in the Seventeenth Century" in J. Barman, Y. Hebert and D. McCaskill, eds., Indian Education in Canada, Volume 1: The Legacy (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1986), pages 45-64.

26. As quoted in D.C. Scott, "Indian Affairs, 1763-1841," in A. Shortt & A.G. Doughty, eds., Canada and its Provinces, Vol. IV (Toronto, 1914), page 648.

27. See: C. M. Johnston, ed., The Valley of the Six Nations, (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1964), page 52.

28. For the history of early Methodist activity in Canada, see: J. Carroll, Case and His Contemporaries, vols. I-IV (Toronto, Wesleyan Conference Office, 1867-1874).

29. P.R.O. - C.O. 42/365, To Lord Bathurst from P. Maitland, 11 June, 1820.

30. P.R.O. - C.O. 42/266, To Lord Bathurst from P. Maitland, 29 November, 1821.

31. P. Jones, Life and Journals of Kal-Ke-Wa-Quo-Na-By (Toronto, Anson Green, 1860), page 46.

32. INAC File 601/25-2 Vol. 2, R.F. Davey, Residential Schools Past and Future. 8 March, 1968.

33. E. B. Titley, "Indian Industrial Schools in Western Canada", page 134.

34. The Bagot Report, Section III.

35. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 195, To Colonel Bruce from Chiefs and Councillors - Owen Sound, 8 March 1852.
36. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 151, To T.G. Anderson from J. M. Higginson, n.d.
37. The Head Commission.
38. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 516, To T.G. Anderson from R. Bruce, 10 May, 1854.
39. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 209, To Col. Bruce from Enoch Wood, 22 April, 1854.
40. The Statutes of Canada, 1857, 20 Vic., 3rd Session, 5th Parliament, (Toronto, 1857).
41. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 245, part I, To R. Pennefather from D. Thorburn, 13 October, 1858.
42. For a full discussion and further sources on this see: J. S. Milloy "The Early Indian Acts: Developmental Strategy and Constitutional Change" in I Getty and A Lussier eds., As Long as the Sun Shines and the Water Flows (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1983), pages 60-61.
43. N.A.C. C.O. 42/595, To Lord Elgin from L. Oliphant, 3 November, 1854.
44. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 220, To Viscount Bury from Rev. W. MacMurray, 22 August, 1855.
45. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 519, To Rev. A. Sickles from R.J. Pennefather, 11 November, 1858.
46. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 287, To the Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs from J. Gilkison, 4 March, 1863.
47. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 239 Part I, To R.J. Pennefather from Rev. T. Hurlburt, 22 December, 1857.
48. House of Commons Debates from the Sixth Day of November, 1867 to the Twenty-Second Day of May, 1868, page 200.
49. Statutes of Canada, 32-33 Vict., c.6, 22 June 1869.
50. House of Commons Debates from the Fifteenth of April, 1869 to the Twenty-Second of June, 1869, page 83.
51. For a discussion of this see: J.S. Milloy "A Partnership of Races" - Indian and White, Cross Cultural Relations and Criminal Justice in Manitoba, 1670-1949. A report for the Public Inquiry

into the Administration of Justice and Aboriginal People, Manitoba, pages 60-63.

52. Annual Report, 1876.

53. INAC File 1/25-1, Vol. 15 To Sir John A Macdonald from L. Vankoughnet, 26 August 1887.

54. The Davin Report.

55. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 331, MR C 9582, To C.J. Dupont from Rev. J.W. Sims, 30 July, 1869.

56. INAC File 1/26-3 Brief of the Indian Workers Association, 25 July 1919.

57. INAC File 1/25-1, Vol. 15, To Sir John A Macdonald from L. Vankoughnet, 26 August, 1887.

58. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3924, File 116823, To Sir John A. Macdonald from L. Vankoughnet, 10 December, 1885.

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60. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Reverend and Dear Sirs from F. Oliver, 21 March 1908.

61. Annual Report 1888, pages ix-x.

62. Annual Report 1891, page x.

63. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3647, File 8128, MR C 10113, To Indian Commissioner, Regina from J. A. Macrae, 18 December, 1886.

64. Annual Report 1897, page xxvi.

65. The Davin Report.

66. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3647, File 8128, MR C 10113, To Indian Commissioner, Regina, from J.A. Macrae, 18 December, 1886.

67. The Davin Report.

68. As quoted in D.A. Nock, A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy (Waterloo, Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1988), page 73.

69. The Davin Report.

70. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3647, File 8128, MR C 10113, To Indian Commissioner, Regina, from J.A. Macrae, 18 December, 1886.

71. Annual Report 1897, page xxvi.
72. Annual Report 1900, page xxix.
73. INAC File 1/25-1, Vol. 15, To Sir John A. Macdonald from L. Vankoughnet, 26 August, 1887.
74. Annual Report 1899, page xxix.
75. Annual Report 1907, page xxxiii-xxxiv.
76. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3647, File 8128, MR C 10113, To Indian Commissioner, Regina, from J.A. Macrae, 18 December, 1886.
77. As quoted in D.A. Nock, A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy, page 4.
78. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3647, File 8128, MR C 10113, To Indian Commissioner, Regina, from J.A. Macrae, 18 December, 1886.
79. Annual Report 1889, page xi.
80. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1 MR C 8152, To Honourable Sir [R. Rogers] from the Archbishop of St. Boniface, November[?] 1912.
81. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6040, File 160-3A, MR C 8153, T. Ferrier, Report of the Alberta Methodist Commission, 1911.
82. General Synod Archives, GS 75-103, series 1-14, Box 15, MSCC Blake Correspondence, To S.H. Blake from F. Oliver, 28 January, 1908.
83. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3647, File 8128, MR C 10113, To Indian Commissioner, Regina, from J.A. Macrae, 18 December, 1886.
84. Annual Report 1889, page xi.
85. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3836, File 68557, MR C 10146, To E. Dewdney from the Bishop of Ruperts Land, 7 August, 1891.
86. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3836, File 68557, MR C 10146, Suggestions for the Government of Indian Schools, H. Reed, 27 January, 1890.
87. N.A.C. Rg 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422-4, MR C 10118, To Principal from E. Dewdney, 13 April, 1891.
88. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6452, File 884-1 (1-3), MR C 8773-8774, To Bishop of Westminster from L. Vankoughnet, 17 October, 1889.
89. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422-4, MR C 10118, To Principal from E. Dewdney, 13 April, 1891.

90. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol 3674, File 11422-2, MR C 10118, To Indian Commissioner from Father Lacombe, 12 June, 1885.
91. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3926, File 116836-1, MR C 10162, To Indian Commissioner, Winnipeg, from Rev. A.J. Mcleod, 12 May, 1897.
92. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3764, File 32725-2, MR C 10134, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from H. Reed, 24 February, 1891.
93. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6032, File 150-40A, MR C 8149, Memo for Minister, Compulsory Education, January, 1920.
94. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422-2, MR C 10118, To Rev. Thomas Clarke from E. Dewdney, 31 July, 1883.
95. The Davin Report.
96. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3925, File 116823-1A, MR C 10162, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from E. Dewdney, 14 December, 1885.
97. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol 3647, File 8128, MR C 10113, to Indian Commissioner, Regina, from J. A. Macrae, 18, December, 1886.
98. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3952, File 134858, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from J. A Macrae, 7 December, 1900.
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100. See, for example: N. Sheehan "Education, the Society and the Curriculum in Alberta, 1905-1980: An Overview" in N. Sheehan, J.D. Wilson & D.C. Jones eds., Schools in the West: Essays in Canadian Educational History (Calgary, Detselig Enterprise Ltd., 1986).
101. E.B. Titley "Indian Industrial Schools in Western Canada", page 149.
102. G. Manuel and M. Posluns, The Fourth World (Don Mills, Collier-Macmillan Canada Ltd., 1974), page 63.
103. Annual Report 1911, page 273.
104. The Davin Report.
105. D.A. Nock, A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy, page 73.
106. INAC File 1/25-1, Vol.15, To Sir John A. Macdonald from L. Vankoughnet, 26 August, 1887. The school was in Sault Ste. Marie.

107. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3836, File 68557, MR C 10146, Suggestions for the Government of Indian Schools, 27 January, 1890.
108. The Davin Report.
109. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3647, File 8128, MR C 10113, To Indian Commissioner, Regina, from J.A. Macrae, 18 December, 1886.
110. Annual Report 1895, page xxii.
111. Annual Report 1892, page 287.
112. Annual Report 1895, page xxii.
113. Annual Report 1891.
114. Annual Report 1895, page xxiv.
115. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3836, File 68557, MR C 10146, Suggestions for the Government of Indian Schools, 27 January, 1890.
116. Annual Report 1896, page xxxix.
117. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3818, File 57799, MR C 10143, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from H. Reed, 14 May 1889.
118. General Synod Archives, series 2-14, Special Indian Committee Correspondence, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from S.H. Blake, 14 March, 1906.
119. Annual Report 1895.
120. Annual Report 1889, page xi.
121. Annual Report 1891, page xiii.
122. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3836, File 68557, MR C 10146, Suggestions for the Government of Indian Schools, H. Reed, 27 January, 1890.
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126. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6041, File 160-7, MR C 8153, Report of the Following Institutions Under the Management of the Home Board of Missions for the United Church of Canada, 31 March 1927.
127. R. White, "The Cultural Landscape of the Pawnees" in Great Plains Quarterly, Winter 1982, Vol. 2, No.1., page 33.
128. Annual Report 1889, page xi.
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130. For a full discussion of this including comments by ex-students see: Jean Goodwill and Norma Sluman, John Tootoosis (Winnipeg, Pemmican Publications, 1984), pages 94-104.
131. D.A. Nock, A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy, page 78.
132. Annual Report 1896, page 398-399.
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135. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3818, File 57799, MR C 10143, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from H. Reed, 14 May 1889.
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143. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3647, File 8128, MR C 10113, To Indian Commissioner, Regina, from J.A. Macrae, 18 December, 1886.

144. Annual Report 1887, pages lxxix-lxxx.
145. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, Memorandum for the Minister from Martin Benson, 3 July 1897.
146. Annual Report 1896, page xxxviii.
147. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Indian Commissioner from Principal Heron, 14 April, 1909.
148. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422-2, MR C 1018, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from L. Vankoughnet, 11 November, 1884.
149. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3920, File 116751-1B, MR C 10161, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from H. Reed, 12 July 1889.
150. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Sir John A. Macdonald from L. Vankoughnet, 29 December, 1884.
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155. Annual Report 1901, page xxix.
156. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3927, File 116836-1A, MR C 10162, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from R. MacKay and I. Menzies, 11 March, 1904.
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159. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4072, File 432636, MR C 10183, To Assistant Deputy and Secretary from Rev. W. McWhinney, 26 February, 1913.

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161. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, Memorandum for the Minister from Martin Benson, 3 July, 1897.
162. Annual Report 1898, page xxvii.
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165. Annual Report 1907, page xxxii.
166. Annual Report 1912, page 296.
167. Annual Report 1911, pages 273-275.
168. Annual Report 1913, page 302.
169. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 10410, Shannon Box 35, MR T 10068, Circular. D.C. Scott, 12 March, 1914.
170. O. Dickason, Canada's First Nations, page 320. For more information on the colony see: E. Brass "The File Hills Ex-Pupils Colony" in Saskatchewan History, VI, 2 (1953).
171. Annual Report 1915, page xxiii.
172. Annual Report 1908, page xxxiii.
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174. D.J. Hall, "Clifford Sifton and Canadian Indian Administration 1896-1905" in I. Getty and A. Lussier eds., As Long as the Sun Shines and Water Flows (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1983), page 127.
175. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To J. Maclean from Martin Benson, 15 July, 1897.
176. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, Memorandum for the Minister from J. Maclean, 20 July, 1897.
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178. Annual Report 1907, page xxxii-xxxiii.
179. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 10410, Shannon Box 35, MR T 10068, Memorandum from the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs,

3 October, 1904.

180. As quoted in E.B. Titley, "Indian Industrial Schools in western Canada", page 146.

181. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To J. Maclean from Martin Benson, 15 July, 1897.

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184. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3920, File 116751-1B, MR C 10161, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from H. Reed, 12 July, 1889.

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186. The Davin Report.

187. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Indian Commissioner from Principal Heron, 14 April, 1909.

188. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6452, File 884-1 (1-3), MR C 8773-8774, To Bishop of Westminster from L. Vankoughnet, 17 October, 1889.

189. D.A. Nock, A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy, page 4.

190. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3818, File 57799, MR C 10143, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from H. Reed, 14 May, 1889.

191. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3647, File 8128, MR C 10113, To Indian Commissioner, Regina, from J.A. Macrae, 18 December, 1886.

192. D.A. Nock, A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy, page 78.

193. G. Manuel and M. Posluns, The Fourth World, page 67.

194. INAC File 1/25-1, Vol. 15, To Sir John A. Macdonald from L. Vankoughnet, 26 August, 1887.

195. G. Manuel and M. Posluns, The Fourth World, page 67.

196. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422-1, MR C 10118, To Indian Commissioner from Father A. Lacombe, 2 June 1885. High River Industrial school, also called St. Joseph's, was located near Davisburg Alberta.

197. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422-4, MR C 10118, To E. Dewdney from Rev. E. Claude, 29 October, 1887.

198. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 884-1 (1-3), MR C 8773-8774, To Bishop of Westminster from L. Vankoughnet, 17 October, 1889.

199. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3921, File 116818, MR C 10161, To Assistant Commissioner from Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 28 June 1895.

200. Presbyterian Archives, Foreign Mission Committee Reports, Vol.XX, 1988-1003-2-1, 1906-1908, Report of 17 September, 1907.

201. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 331, MR C 9582, To C.J. Dupont from Rev. J.W. Sims, 30 July, 1869.

202. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3764, File 32725-2, MR C 10134, To E. Dewdney from the Bishop of Ruperts Land, 27 November, 1890.

CHAPTER 2

"A NATIONAL CRIME" - THE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL ERA 1879 TO 1923

In 1922, Father Lacombe's High River School, St. Joseph's Indian Industrial School, chronically unable to meet its expenses and its fabric worn beyond repair, was closed. The Principal reported that the building could not be properly heated and parts of it were "entirely unfit for human habitation"¹ In that same year, the Ontario Provincial Tuberculosis Commission published a pamphlet by P.H. Bryce, the former "Chief Medical Officer of the Indian Department," entitled: "The Story of a National Crime being An Appeal For Justice to the Indians of Canada." It was a ringing condemnation of the Department for its failure to act in the face of the white plague, tuberculosis. Bryce charged, as he had established in a previous report submitted to the Department in 1907, that in the schools a "trail of disease and death has gone on almost unchecked by any serious efforts on the part of the Department of Indian Affairs...."²

These two seemingly separate events were not at all unconnected. The cause of that tragic "trail of disease and death" which had meant, according to one Departmental estimate, "that fifty per cent of the children who passed through these schools did not live to benefit from the education which they had received therein"³ lay in the construction, administration and funding of the residential school system in what can be termed the industrial school era after 1879. The opening of High River, Battleford and Qu'Appelle Industrial Schools had marked the beginning of the industrial school programme following on the recommendations of the Davin Report. In the year that High River closed, the Department was taking the final steps in ending that programme. In the tabular statements of the Annual Reports, beginning in 1923, the terms "Boarding" and "Industrial" disappeared. Thereafter, all schools were "Residential."

By any evaluation of this period, the schools, both boarding and industrial, had failed to educate or cherish children that the Department and churches had presumed to parent. From Confederation in 1867, the school system had grown almost without planning or restraint and had been, as a whole, constantly underfunded. Moreover, the method of funding individual schools, the intricacies of the Department-church partnership in financing and managing schools and the failure of the Department to introduce adequate administrative and financial controls, or to exercise effective oversight of the schools, led directly to their rapid deterioration and overcrowding - conditions within which, as in urban slums of the time, tubercular disease became epidemic.⁴ Simply stated, maladministration of the residential school system, compounded by the failure of the federal government to respond effectively to dangerous health conditions in the schools, meant that there had been, as Bryce's pamphlet concluded, a "criminal disregard" of the responsibility placed on the

government by the British North America Act and by the "treaty pledges to guard the welfare of the Indian wards of the nation."⁵

BUILDING and MANAGING the SYSTEM

In 1868, the Federal government in line with legislation, which authorized allocations from the Indian Fund "to schools frequented by ... Indians,"⁶ assumed the funding of some 57 schools. Only two were residential schools, Mount Elgin and Mohawk. By 1879, the year of the Davin report, that number had grown to four with the addition of Shingwauk and Wikwemikong. All were in Ontario. Thereafter, the numbers mushroomed with an average of almost two schools commissioned each year. By 1904, there were 64 schools, 24 industrial and 40 boarding, with an enrolment of 3,257 students. By 1923, there were 71 schools, 16 industrial and 55 boarding, located in every part of the Dominion except the Maritimes and Quebec. Expenditure for the schools in that year was then \$1,193,219; 5,347 children were in residence.⁷

This rapid and extensive growth, which continued well past 1923, (at its height in 1931 there were 80 schools in operation⁸ with 8,213 children, in 1953 the number of children reached the high point of 11,090) was not evidence of the energetic application by the Department of a developmental strategy based upon careful forethought. There was almost none of that until education needs surveys were undertaken in the 1940s when the Department was bitten by the bug of social science research. In this era, the Davin report was one of the few planning documents produced under government auspices and its recommendations were quite modest calling for only three or four industrial schools. In fact, it was not until 1911 that the Department exercised significant leadership in setting out, by means of contracts with the churches, a comprehensive management structure for the system. Rather, the system grew and was shaped, in the main, by federal reactions to the force of missionary efforts in the field and in response to persistent lobbying by church hierarchies for subsidies, especially for boarding schools they had already established, or for the funding of industrial schools they wanted to open. Party politics and patronage played a role, as well.

While the Department was a believer in the utility of residential education and many enthusiasts among the senior

staff contributed to the vision of the "circle of civilized conditions," the churches led the way in building the system. None of the boarding schools that were opened in this era was a Departmental undertaking and of the 22 industrial schools which operated at one time or another during this period only 6 were initiated in the first instance by the Department.⁹ No better summary of the process of building the system exists than that which was contained in a Departmental briefing given to the Minister, the Hon. Charles Stewart, in 1927. "It thus happens that Churches have been pioneers in the remote parts of the country, and with missionary funds have put up the buildings and induced the Department to provide funds for maintenance."¹⁰

The "remote parts of the country" which were the scene for laying the foundations of the system's post-Confederation development was the northwest. When the new nation entered Rupert's Land, which it acquired from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1870, those church "pioneers" had been active for 50 years. The Catholics, including the Oblates of Mary Immaculate who would operate most of that denominations residential schools, the Methodists, Presbyterians and the Anglicans, led by the Church Missionary Society, had established missions north to the Yukon and westward to the Pacific.¹¹

As had been the case in the east, the missionization strategy of all these churches involved more than just conversion to Christianity. The struggle against Aboriginal spirituality, its heathenish practises and superstitions, meant that a start had to be made on "civilization" through the introduction of agriculture, where such activity was possible, and schooling. Realistically, however, the dominance of the fur trade and the yet uninterrupted hunting and gathering economies of the region's First Nations dictated that civilizing initiatives would be effectively restrained. The Methodist missionary John McDougall admitted that "You cannot really civilize a hunter or a fisherman until you wean him from these modes of making a livelihood."¹² Mission agriculture remained no more than gardening.

Education also, though it was begun, fell far short of any grand design. The Church Missionary Society had been attracted to the area by one of the Directors of the Hudson's Bay Company who held out the prospect of developing a vast educational network.¹³ The society made a rather modest beginning with one school - the Red River Academy.¹⁴ Catholics taught most effectively among the Metis settlements. And for the Protestants, Prince Albert became, in the 1860s and 1870s, a centre for education with a school operated by the Presbyterians and Emmanuel College by the Anglicans.

The restraints on church activities inherent in the old fur trade world were shattered in the region south of the Saskatchewan by the convergence of two events - the coming of Canadian authority to the west and the dreadful diminution of the buffalo herds in the 1860s and 1870s. These brought about the pre-conditions necessary for launching a western version of the policy of civilization and within that the development of the residential school system.

The decline of the great herds brought an end to traditional Plains life and seemed to promise the missionary that Aboriginal independence would be replaced by dependence upon the churches and a reliance upon European lifeways and spirituality. One Anglican missionary claimed to have direct evidence of this. The Plains Cree, he asserted, "are beginning to apprehend the scarcity of buffalo, and many are most anxious to try agriculture."¹⁵

If the precipitous decline in the herds provided the opportunity for "civilization," the Canadian government was to provide the means through the treaties it negotiated between 1870 and 1877. According to treaty promises - promises which stemmed from Aboriginal demands rather than government offers¹⁶ - the region's Indian First Nations were to receive the training and technology necessary for them to move their communities onto a new economic foundation. By the terms of Treaty Six, for example, the Cree were to be given "reserves for farming lands" and, "for the encouragement of the practise of agriculture among the Indians," every type of agricultural implement, livestock and seed.

By such instruments, the world of Aboriginal people was to be refashioned. Agricultural technology was a bridge from the old world to the new, but so too were schools and teachers, the technology of education. In each of the Treaties, One through Six, "Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school on each reserve hereby made, whenever the Indians should desire it." And in Treaty Seven "Her Majesty agrees to pay the salaries of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as to her Government of Canada may seem advisable, when said Indians are settled on their reserves and shall desire teachers."¹⁷

Missionaries, Catholic and Protestant, were involved in the treaty-making process as facilitators, witnesses and interpreters but the degree of influence they may have had on the proceedings or on the determination of the terms is difficult to gauge. In view of the promises of agricultural assistance and education, historians might speculate that their presence was not inconsequential. The noted historian, H. Dempsey, has gone much further. In his most detailed description of the Treaty Six negotiations, he asserts that some leading chiefs and band elders like the venerable Sweet

Grass, were clearly "under Catholic influence," and that "Christian Indians had dominated the treaty proceeding" thus blocking the "concerns of the non-Christian buffalo hunters." Sweet Grass apparently was advised throughout the negotiations by Bishop Grandin and it was he, Sweet Grass, who asked for schools and that missionaries be assigned to the reserves. J. McDougall was equally active among the Methodist adherents.¹⁸ Significantly, both Grandin and McDougall became involved almost immediately in the promotion of residential schools.

Whatever may have been the churches' role in the making of Treaty Six, and in the other six treaties, there can be little doubt that they rejoiced at the government's new commitments. The treaty promises, in the area of education, gave them a lever to move the government to provide funding for schools and teachers. They did not hesitate to use it. The appointment of Davin in 1879, only two years after the last treaty was signed and one year after Prime Minister Macdonald's return to office in 1878, may have been one of the first fruits of their efforts. It was an opportunity at least that the Catholic church did not miss. Lacombe was in Winnipeg to meet Davin with Bishop Tache. They were, interestingly enough, the only clerics Davin lists among those "who could speak with authority on the subject."¹⁹ No doubt, they tried to guide his hand in framing his recommendations. Indeed, the Catholic hierarchy strove to steer the government after Davin's recommendations were submitted and Parliament aside \$44,000 in the supplementary estimates of 1883-84 to implement them.²⁰ The Archbishop of Quebec wrote directly to Macdonald requesting support for missionaries in the west and in particular for "a liberal sum towards the establishment amongst those Indians of Schools, workshops and above all farms under the management" of those same missionaries.²¹

The Catholic church and the other denominations did not patiently wait on the government, however. They moved forward independently and tried, more often than not successfully, to drag the Department along behind them. The Bishop's letter to Macdonald was actually in support of a petition from Bishop Grandin requesting funds for a residential school at St. Albert, already constructed and accepting students. Subsequently, \$1500 was placed in the Parliamentary estimates for that purpose.²²

McDougall, the other Treaty Six veteran, also petitioned in 1883, and with equal success, for his McDougall Orphanage and Training Institution in Morley operating under the authority of the Missionary Society of the Canadian Methodist Church. [r8] Students were not a problem, they already had 14 with room for 40, however, "our great difficulty just now is want of means." McDougall hoped for a subsidy of between \$100 and \$150 per student leaving "a large margin for Voluntary

Subscription and Self Support."²³ Here again, as in the St. Albert instance, the move was coordinated with church headquarters. The Rev. A. Sutherland, the general secretary of the society, had already approached Macdonald proposing a general partnership between government and churches to bring schools to the Aboriginal people of the region.²⁴

With the funding of Morley and St. Albert, the pattern by which the system would be built was set. As was explained to the Minister, Charles Stewart in 1927, the churches expanded the system according to the lights of their mission strategies and budgets and the Department followed as best it could. By 1907, the year of Bryce's first report on tuberculosis, with 55 boarding schools and 22 industrial schools on the books, an expenditure for that year of \$206,000 and yet no sign that the flood of petitions was abating, Martin Benson proclaimed, with evident exasperation, "The clergy seem to be going wild on the subject of Indian education and it is time some limit should be fixed as to their demands."²⁵

At no point before 1907 was the Department able to fix limits on the number of schools or the expenditures for them and it had great difficulty doing so for a fair length of time after that date. Even with the implementation of Davin's recommendations which saw the opening by the government in 1883-84 of three "undenominational" schools, that is schools built, owned and operated by the government but assigned to a particular denomination, the pattern was not disrupted, the Department did not capture the lead. While its three schools were being readied - Battleford an Anglican school to be housed in the converted government building²⁶ and the Catholic High River and Qu'Appelle in newly constructed premises - the Department was entertaining Presbyterian plans for an Industrial school to be built at Long Lake outside Regina and in the 1886 estimates funds were set aside to support the project.²⁷

This was followed the very next year by a proposal from the E. Wilson the founder of Shingwauk, another school which had opened and then went in search of government support, for a network of schools, one every 200 miles, each with an initial \$1,000 grant from the government.²⁸ In a more practical vein, he proposed to open a school at Elkhorn, Manitoba. In fact, true to form, he informed Lawrence Vankoughnet that he had already proceeded having built a small establishment for 16 pupils but had a target of 80 pupils. Some of his Shingwauk students would be transferred to this new school in the belief that they would have "a beneficial effect on the new pupils." Despite private fund raising, he could make no further progress without government support at the rate of \$60 a student.²⁹

At times the proposals even came in in batches. Emile Grouard, Catholic Bishop of the Mackenzie and Athabaska area, assured the Department, in 1895, that most of the Indians in the area were christians and were being served effectively by three Catholic boarding schools, one at Holy Angel's Convent, Nativity Mission, Fort Chipewyan, a second at Sacred Heart Convent, Fort Providence, Mackenzie River and the third at St. Bernard's Mission, Lesser Slave Lake. He begged support for all of them.³⁰ Denominational rivalry being what it was, the Bishop might not be expected to have reminded the Department of the fact that there was also an Anglican school at Lesser Slave Lake with government funding.

The year after Grouard's petition, a Departmental accounting of funded boarding schools in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories showed there were already 23. As a result of the petition that number soon moved to 26. Many of them were sited outside the "cradle of civilization," the treated area of the west. Schools were being set up in territories where Aboriginal communities were and would remain for many decades yet living on the land in traditional ways and thus the enthusiasm for these schools brought the system to regions where the logic of assimilation did not meet the reality of life after school.

It did not matter in what direction the Department turned, it was sure to discover schools which had been constructed and were holding classes for their Aboriginal residents. It was so in the west and the north and British Columbia was no exception to this phenomenon. In 1884, Vankoughnet announced that the Department intended opening three Industrial schools in that province. In fact, the Department would, in the early 1890s, commission four: Metlakatla, an Anglican school, and three Catholic ones - Kuper Island, Kamloops and Kootenay. Vankoughnet made enquiries as to where they might be sited.³¹ From the advice he received from local officials and the churches it became obvious that residential schools were already operating. The Church of England had a manual labour school, dating from 1872, at the famous Metlakatla mission. In addition there was a boarding school at Alert Bay with seven or eight pupils and another, All Hallows, serving the Yale district. The Roman Catholic Church supported a convent and co-educational boarding school at St. Mary's Mission in the Fraser River Agency. That school, founded by the Oblate Florimond Gendre originally with 42, had opened in 1863. There were also convent schools at Cowichan and Victoria. The Methodists, too, claimed to have had boarding schools in operation for many years - one for girls at Port Simpson and a boy's school in connection with the Greenville Mission, Naas River.³² Only the Presbyterians were not active in this mission field.

Many of these pre-Confederation schools, and newer ones constructed after 1884 without any prior consultation with the Department, soon joined the queue, hands outstretched for operating grants. In the late 1880s, Mrs. R. Burns of the Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist church made a case for the Port Simpson girls school. In 1877, the missionary, Thomas Crosby, had begun to take girls into the "mission home" which had since then, in her opinion at least, "been doing brilliant work in the civilization and education of the Indians." Recently, they had hired a matron, made sundry improvements and laid plans for a new building that would accommodate 50 pupils at a cost of \$8,500. Naturally, Mrs. Burns wanted, and thought the school deserved, a subsidy for future maintenance. In 1893, Vankoughnet agreed recommending approval of the grant request to the Minister, T. Mayne Daly, after meeting another Methodist worthy, Mrs. James Gooderham.³³

The Catholic Squamish school at Burrard Inlet opposite the city of Vancouver, is another on the long list of such examples and illustrates, as well, the persistence of the churches. The initial suggestion that a school be funded was made in 1894. The Department for budgetary reasons temporized while Benson argued for a refusal. In 1898, the bishop of New Westminster appealed directly to the minister telling him that in anticipation of a grant the missionary responsible for the project had gone ahead and built a school large enough for 50 pupils and would proceed to open it. "Surely," the bishop concluded "the government will not leave him exposed to the impossibility of opening the school for want of means to care for the intended pupils." The grant was approved in 1900.³⁴

Finally, if only for the sake of denominational balance, an Anglican example. The school at Alert Bay first came to the notice of the Department in Ottawa in 1893 when the Rev. Alfred Hall inquired about the possibility of a grant for a girl's home he had been conducting with his wife Elizabeth. By Elizabeth's account, the school had survived on charitable contributions. But recently it had attracted the notice and support of the Church Missionary Society. Soon it too, received the support of the government.³⁵

Given the missionary zeal of the churches, such a stream of persistent requests is not surprising. The system grew, however, not only because of church demands but because of the acquiescence of the federal government and Department. The Department had the authority under the Indian Act to refuse to accede to grant requests; it was only on the recommendation of the deputy superintendent general of Indian Affairs, or the Minister, the Superintendent General, that a grant could become an item in the estimates submitted to Parliament. The fact that at the end of the day, even with delays and sometimes outright opposition in the Department, the deputy

and minister rarely refused means that further explanation is required to more fully understand the role of the federal government and the Department in the initial stages of building the residential school system.

The Department, of course, lived within the world of real politics - a world within which the church was a determined and notable player. The pulpit was a power in the home and thus in politics. And party politics, with its eye on church opinion, was a power within the civil service not only in the offices of senior officials but extending down to the lowest ranks. Party service and loyalty were still a road to appointment and preferment even with the limits placed on such factors by the professionalisation of the civil service. The Department of Indian Affairs was no exception and thus officials were wisely not only solicitous of the feelings of individual denominations but also strove to preserve the appearance of fair and equal dealings with them. Hayter Reed, in 1887, justifying his support of a second Anglican industrial school in the Northwest, pointed out to Deputy Superintendent General Vankoughnet that the Anglicans had done more perhaps than any other denomination to Christianize the Indians of the region "and it must be remembered that they have only one Industrial school in the Territories under their influence."³⁶ The Catholics, of course, had two, High River and Qu'Appelle, with plans in the works for a number of others.

Not only was this fact "remembered" and acted upon, in this case with the opening in 1890 of St. Paul's, also known as Rupert's Land Industrial, in Manitoba,³⁷ but there was a predilection to balance the "influence" of the two major denominations, Catholic and Anglican. This tendency was reinforced by the churches' protectiveness of their converts and their determination that their children could only be educated in their schools. This led unavoidably to a duplication of schools propelling the number of establishments and costs even higher. The school list published in the Annual Report of 1908 reveals that 25 per cent of the boarding schools in the old Northwest Territories (Alberta and Saskatchewan) were twins - that is two schools, Anglican and Catholic, serving the same or adjacent communities. These were at Onion Lake, the Blood and Peigan Reserves and Lesser Slave Lake.³⁸

This situation was reminiscent of the old days of fur trade rivalry with Hudson's Bay Company and Northwest Company posts leap frogging each other across the west and traders staring out at each other from behind their log battlements in quest of their harvest of fur. The quest for the souls and minds of Indian pupils was as hard and bitterly fought by the churches. An indispensable element in that quest was government funds. Members of the Baptist Ministerial Association of Toronto were

certainly the exception to the norm when they wrote to the Prime Minister, Sir J.J. Abbott, in 1892 claiming that the separation of church and state was a constitutional principle and thus demanding that the grants to Indian schools be cancelled immediately.³⁹ All the other churches took the lower road and when they arrived at the Department they did not simply leave their petitions on the doorstep but crossed the threshold often in the company of members of Parliament.

As well as church influence, party politics were another factor which determined the conduct of the Department. While members appeared at times to be acting simply as agents for a particular denomination, passing along their petitions to the Department with covering letters expressing support⁴⁰ they had their own interests to serve also. In 1894, P.H. Macdowall, the M.P. for the Prince Albert region, promised the Anglicans that they would get a school in the area. He soon was complaining to the Minister, T. Mayne Daly, that an unnamed Quebec M.P. had made the same promise to the Catholic church and that there were rumours that the Catholics were to get their grant. He reminded Daly that "it certainly does not look well to one's constituents to see their own Member's recommendation overlooked while a stranger's is granted." MacDowall was doing no more, of course, than reminding the minister how the game was played.⁴¹ "One's constituent's" were obviously of critical importance and the methods of currying their favour, of assuring success at the next election, were well known.

The Department, which on the change of government passed from the control of one political party to the other, and was used, as were most Departments, to solidify the ruling party's position in the country, could not keep the schools off the playing field and therefore, as with other public institutions and works, the construction and operation of the schools were spoils within the public domain. They might well be educational institutions to the missionary and dedicated civilizer within the Department but to members and to local politicians they were an opportunity for patronage because for merchants, builders and workers they meant contracts for supplies and construction and jobs.

Some communities even entered bidding wars to secure a school and thereby the attendant plums. The Macleod Council in southern Alberta lobbied the Minister, T. Mayne Daly, in 1894 to place the proposed Anglican industrial school, which was eventually built in Calgary, in their community. In this case Hatyer Reed tried to wring some benefit out of the situation for the Department's budget. Macleod, as an inducement, was offering \$5000 to assist in the start up of the school, a 160 acre site and was guaranteeing building materials at a reduced cost. Reed favoured Calgary as

it is a larger centre of settlement the students will come into more contact with the general improvements of civilized life, learn more and enjoy better opportunities for getting employment as they become sufficiently advanced to be farmed out.

He did not proceed, however, without suggesting that Calgary should provide a 320 acre site and at least match the rest of the offer - "it would not seem to be expecting too much from the Calgary corporation to give an equal amount," he informed the bishop of Calgary and Saskatchewan and added, indicating that this was not an isolated example, "Brandon was glad enough to secure the establishment of the Methodist School there on the same terms!"⁴²

As Reed demonstrated, the Department was mindful of the value of schools as sources of patronage and thus of the inherent political character of building the system. In British Columbia when the Department moved to open the first Industrial schools, Vankoughnet assured Prime Minister Macdonald that the relevant members of Parliament had been canvassed for their advice on where schools were to be sited.⁴³ Local officials were instructed that the appointment of teachers would "be subject to the approval of the Department and of the Members of Parliament for the localities." Departmental files reveal that J. Mara, a powerful Tory M.P., was instrumental in choosing Kamloops as a school site, in supervising its erection and even in hiring the staff. It was Mara, suitably, who sent a telegram on 21 May, 1890 to another Tory from British Columbia, Edgar Dewdney, then the minister of the Department, "Everything ready - children are here and satisfactory arrangements made with the Sisters."⁴⁴

Seventeen years later the school was still receiving political attention. In 1907, Mara's Liberal successor, Duncan Ross, was badgering the Department, then itself led by the Liberal Frank Oliver for an increase in the annual grant provided to the school.⁴⁵

There was one additional element, perhaps more in the way of being an unknown quantity, in this mix of church and secular politics that may have influenced the Department - Aboriginal communities themselves. In the majority of cases, they were silent, or at least their voice was not often imprinted on the written record when churches strove to bring the blessings of a boarding or industrial school to them. There was certainly not a Departmental policy of consulting communities in any way. On the other hand there were instances in which a voice was heard. Some church petitions forwarded by members of Parliament were accompanied by community petitions.⁴⁶

The question arises, however, of how "authentic" is that voice? It is clear from the text of such petitions, that they were not produced independent of missionaries. But, in turn, what that means is not easy to discern. Like the Upper Canadian communities before the Enfranchisement Act of 1857 who approved and funded the schools and the so-called "Christian" chiefs of Treaty Six, they may have valued education as a mediator between the two cultures and employed the missionary as no more than a supportive community scribe. Or they may have been, as Dempsey suggests of Sweet Grass, under the "influence" of the church, compliant if not enthusiastic, and thus it is only the voice of the missionary that speaks out of those pages. And, of course, the existence of a multitude of meanings laying between these two extremes, varying from community to community, is equally plausible.

Some cases, for example, suggest not independent or parallel but mutual interests expressed in a church-community partnership in the founding of the school. Such a partnership may not have lasted for long and would certainly have been disrupted as the general record of residential schools unfolded. But it is not impossible to believe that it was there in the beginning. Such a middle and cooperative path is certainly suggested by the events surrounding the beginning of the school at Sechelt. The Sechelt example also illustrates most of the elements involved in the creation of the school system in general and raises the issue of the final element in the development of the system - the contribution of the Department itself.

On Christmas day, 1903, the Sechelt band directed a petition to the Minister, Clifford Sifton, drawn up, perhaps, after mass which would have brought the "Christians" together. The 60 individuals whose signatures appeared on the petition, wanted a boarding school. The petition was witnessed by the community's Oblate missionary, E. Chirouse.⁴⁷ It was, in fact, their third petition. Neither the first, submitted two years before with the support of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for British Columbia, A. Vowell, or the second of April, 1903 ⁴⁸ made it any higher up the Departmental ladder than Martin Benson in the education section. In this third attempt, Sifton was informed that they had "to go pretty far away from our village to make a living, our children must be kept at school while we are away." They were determined to get their school, so "To show the Government we mean what we say we all combined last spring to get enough from our labor to have a school house put up."⁴⁹ Three months later, the bishop of New Westminster wrote to the minister in support, made the obligatory request for a grant and indicated that he would supply nuns for the school.⁵⁰

At that point what was an ordinary set of events in opening a

school took an unusual turn. The bishop closed his letter with the information that the community was in debt owing to construction costs and thus needed to be bailed out. Duncan Campbell Scott, then the Department's accountant, and Martin Benson collected the details. The community had gone ahead and built a school to accommodate 50 residents. They now wanted to place it under the Catholic church and they also wanted the Department to authorize the expenditure of \$1,000 from their band fund to equip the school. Finally, they applied for an annual grant to maintain the children at the school.

On the main issue, the school construction debt, it appears they had attempted to raise funds through a forestry operation and were doing well enough selling the logs to a local merchant until the price fell by 50 per cent. As a result, they were left with only \$3,000 of the \$10,000 needed to pay off the building.

It is clear that the situation made both Benson and Scott feel somewhat under the gun, and a church gun at that, and they did not like it. Benson advised the deputy against letting "priest or parson ... dictate" to the Department and Scott was equally blunt - "the hand of the Department has been forced by ecclesiastical authorities." Educational policy

and right to establish or discontinue schools must reside with the Department, and the most dangerous precedent which we could establish is the present that we should finally become responsible for the boarding school which we time and again refused to sanction.⁵¹

Scott was being rather disingenuous for that "most dangerous precedent" had been set over and over again. It was about to be set again. In February, 1905, the school was operating with 46 students, had received a good inspection report, and on the strength of that a conditional approval from Benson. It should have its maintenance grant, he suggested, but the Department should not accept liability for the debt. In March, this recommendation, condition and all, was accepted by the Deputy Superintendent General, Frank Pedley.⁵² Two years later, the Departmental Secretary, J. McLean, sent a note to Vowell telling him that the Department had put into the estimates for 1907-08 the amount required to retire the debt.⁵³

The fact that the school was eventually funded despite opposition within the Department, opposition that can be found in the early stages of the beginning of other schools and which focused, in those instances as well, on issues of funding and control, might leave the impression that a reluctant Department was simply driven forward by the whips of churches and politicians. That would be accurate only in part.

For it is clear that the Department was complicit in the rapid and extensive development of a system that it soon realized was inefficient and financially out of control. Moreover, Departmental attempts to bring financial order to the school system, by the adoption in 1892 of a funding arrangement that remained in force until 1957, were ineffectual and a contribution to the problems of which Benson and Scott complained. More critically, they created the very conditions that produced the escalating death rate in the schools.

There certainly was annoyance expressed in the corridors of the Department in Ottawa with the churches' behaviour. Civil servants universally feel that they have all the work and none of the authority and thus men like Scott and Benson were bound to resent those "priests and parsons" who trampled on the Departmental "right" to control Aboriginal education. There was also, however, a fair deal of cheering the churches on. Senior Departmental officials were unanimous in their support of residential education. None was more enthusiastic or influential with respect to building the system than Lawrence Vankoughnet.

Vankoughnet spent his career with the Department joining in 1861 and serving as deputy superintendent general from 1874 until 1893. Particularly in the Macdonald years after 1878, he was allowed, as his biographer, Professor Douglas Leighton, has observed, to "manage the Department with a minimum of supervision."⁵⁴ He earned such trust, and thus latitude, not only because he was a talented administrator but because he was a loyal Tory. His extensive control of the Department, even after it passed out of Macdonald's hands, was no doubt maintained by the fact he served only Tory ministers. During his term 60 per cent of the schools, boarding and industrial, that would be commissioned, that is awarded annual federal grants during this period to 1923, were opened. He was much more than a passive observer in this process, more than a servant of the churches.

In a series of letters to Macdonald in 1885 and 1886, Vankoughnet set out his position on industrial and boarding schools. Taking Shingwauk as his model, he told the prime minister that residential education was the best way "of advancing the Indians in civilization" and therefore, "every encouragement should be given to persons undertaking the establishment of such institutions." In particular, "it would be well to give a grant of money annually to each School established by any Denomination for the industrial training of Indian children."⁵⁵

This "encouragement" came in a form based on the arrangements that had been made in pre-Confederation Ontario. Schools were given an annual per student grant up to an authorized number

of students. The amount of this "per capita" and exactly what it was meant to cover as well as the authorized number was set by the Department. The per capita arrangement was carried into the Northwest and British Columbia but applied initially only in the funding of the boarding schools.

When it came to the industrial schools in the west, the Department, at first, deviated from that course taking on the whole cost of construction and thereafter of management of the "undenominational" schools - first Battleford, High River, Qu'Appelle, and then in addition Regina, assigned to the Presbyterians and Red Deer to the Methodists.

It was a course that was soon regretted. The cost of these schools, and of education in general, grew during Vankoughnet's term at an alarming rate. In 1878-79, the education expenditure was \$16,000, in 1888-89 it was \$172,000. This was, however, not nearly the whole cost in that decade for, in addition, Indian First Nations had had deducted from their funds, managed by the Department, approximately \$100,000.⁵⁶

By 1891, Vankoughnet was vigorously ringing the alarm bell and moving to put out a financial fire he and the churches had set. The per capita levels for the boarding schools had, as a result of church lobbying, gone up from \$60 per student to \$72. And there were serious difficulties with the cost and conduct of the industrial schools. They were being managed, Vankoughnet concluded, in an extravagant fashion. Costs had been "unnecessarily high, nor can ... [we] find that any commensurate results are being obtained."⁵⁷ Expenditures for these undenominational schools totalled \$409,000 between 1884 and 1890⁵⁸ and would continue to mount rapidly unless the Department introduced what Vankoughnet referred to as the "correct principal," per capita funding that allowed the Department to "know exactly where we stand."⁵⁹ He was inclined,

to the belief that when religious denominations or Benevolent Societies bring influence to bear on the Department to cause such institutions to be placed under their direct control, through officers approved by them, the Dept. should fix a rate per capita, beyond which it should decline to be further responsible for the expenses of the Institution.⁶⁰

Belief became policy. When the industrial schools were opened in British Columbia they were given per capita grants of "\$130 per annum per pupil on the annual attendance." St. Boniface and Brandon, new schools planned for Manitoba, were to have \$100 grants. These represented a considerable reduction from the estimated per capita costs of \$170 for Qu'Appelle, \$224

for High River and \$273 for Battleford.⁶¹

In the early 1890s, it seemed increasingly clear that measures would have to be adopted to curb the rising cost of the school system. This may well have stemmed from the fact that Parliament's patience with Indian Affairs, never a favourite subject for consideration was wearing thin. In 1891, the estimate for the industrial schools in the Northwest was cut by over \$16,000.⁶² In the following year the general education estimates were frozen while some elements of them were reduced by 50 per cent.⁶³ The increase from \$60 to \$72 was managed not by an increase in real funds but by manipulating the authorized number of students. That number was reduced so that the funds for each student could be increased without exceeding the total voted by Parliament.⁶⁴ The bishop of Calgary was informed that the Department had managed to secure a grant to start work on the Calgary school only with the greatest difficulty, there being a strong feeling "that too much is already being spent on denominational schools of this class."⁶⁵

Measures to take the situation in hand were initiated finally in October, 1892 through an Order in Council. It introduced per capita funding in the industrial school sector. Thereafter, so as to "relieve the pressure of present expenditure", the funding of all schools, boarding and industrial, would be by that "correct principle" because "the Minister considers that when the whole cost of an Institution is directly borne by the Government the same economy by those in immediate charge is not used as would be employed under other conditions."

The government was determined that fiscal responsibility would be the primary dynamic in the management of the system. To that end, the Order introduced "a forced system of economy" first by the assignment of per capitas to the original Northwest industrial schools and then by the formulation of regulations for the more efficient operation of the schools.

The per capita rates dictated by Cabinet were below the current level of expenditures - Qu'Appelle and High River, for example, were assigned \$115 and \$130 respectively while their expenses were listed at \$134.67 and \$185.55. This, it was assumed, would mean immediate savings and force the church to practise more "economical management."⁶⁶

The theory of all of this was, as Vankoughnet had said in 1890, that a per capita arrangement enabled the Department to "know exactly where we stand"⁶⁷ for all costs above the per capita grant would be borne by the churches. Unfortunately, the execution of the theory was very sloppy and contributed directly to continuing the growth of education expenditures.

The lines marking out financial responsibilities were not sharply drawn. The Order stipulated that "All charges for maintenance, salaries and expenses [were] to be paid by the management [the churches] out of the per capita grant" but that in addition, the Department would supply "All books and appliances ... for educational purposes." And finally, "the buildings were to be kept in repair jointly by the Government and the management, the former to furnish the material and the later to perform the labour".⁶⁸ This was much more open ended than Vankoughnet's description of per capitas suggested. The Department was not going to have any sure sense of the costs it would face to repair the schools or to equip them until the bills sent in by the churches dropped through its letterbox in Ottawa.

Moreover, even the per capitas themselves were potentially problematic. While they definitely threw a percentage of the expense onto the churches, at the same time, they made the Department dependent on high levels of church funding. In 1908, the Department estimated that the churches had spent from 1877 to 1906 \$435,000 on education.⁶⁹ This added financial force to the political lever the church already had to move the Department and to maintain considerable control over the development and management of the system. It meant also that if the per capita rates did not meet the real cost of operation, and that would be very difficult to determine accurately school by school as it would depend upon so many variables - the location of the school, its access to supplies, the availability of students and so forth - that the churches might well find their own funds over subscribed and thus end up with deficits. These they would take to the Department, cap in hand, member of Parliament in tow. In that event, the whole unpredictable and increasingly expensive process would begin all over again despite the Order.

In fact, what became a ritual in church-government relations had begun even before the Order was submitted for Cabinet's approval. First, the bishop of Rupert's Land approached the Minister, E. Dewdney, in the fall 1890, informing him that the financial condition of his diocese was declining owing to the withdrawal of the Church Missionary Society from the region and thus he would need an increase in the number of pupils authorized for St Paul's or an increase in the grant to \$125. Not surprisingly, the year after the Order was passed the school had a deficit of \$2,000.⁷⁰ Secondly, by an Order in Council of 27 March, 1893, the Department was authorized to pay off deficits of \$1,431.09 at Qu'Appelle, \$1,616.58 at St Josephs and \$880.44 at Regina. The argument made to Cabinet was that these requests should be acceded to for the management had taken steps, by reducing salaries and by other economies, to ensure that it would not occur again. Of course, it would happen again and this, therefore, was to be only the

first of many rationales the Department would have to develop to pay off the tide of deficits that would roll eastward to Ottawa.⁷¹

The second aspect of the 1892 Order's "forced system of economy" was the declaration that the Department had the authority to institute "rules ... laid down from time to time ... to keep the schools at a certain standard of instruction, dietary and domestic comfort."⁷² The rules, the "Regulations Governing the Per Capita Grant to Industrial Schools" were produced from drafts developed by Hayter Reed, circulated to the churches for comment, and then formalized as a second Order in Council in 1894.⁷³

These Regulations, filled in the details of the financial relationship set out by the Order of 1892. First came the division of responsibility for the physical plant and ancillary services. The government, in the case of new industrial schools, was to provide the building complete with a heating system. Repairs were a joint responsibility as set out in the body of the 1892 Order. The government would provide the land and the fencing and thereafter the church would be responsible for the upkeep of the fences. Educational equipment, plus account books and stationery fell on the government list. Paying the cost of the transportation of the students to the school was in the first instance a charge on the government but the cost of keeping student numbers up to the authorized level was put on the church account. Medical attendance was a Departmental responsibility but the churches were to provide the medicine.⁷⁴

These stipulations were followed by a section of the regulations relating more directly to the administrative operation of the school system. The Department would determine who worked in the school including all Principals, teachers and staff, which children got into the school, how long they stayed and under what circumstances they were to be discharged. The churches' role in all of that was paperwork. They had to maintain records of attendance and discharge and, of course, the requisite financial records.

In addition, the churches in their general management of the school would have to conform to standards of care instituted by the Department.⁷⁵ Those standards, however, were not purely expressions of concern for the residents. They were also financial tools which would act as restraints against overexpenditure. Indeed, the regulations were so characterized by the Department in 1895 when a copy was transmitted to A. Forget, the assistant Indian commissioner in Regina. The regulations, he was told, were "for the close control of the per capita allowance placed in the hands of the various religious denominations for the conduct and maintenance of

such schools as will ensure their application to the best possible advantage."⁷⁶ Even more telling, perhaps, the Anglican Archdeacon J.A. Mackay was informed, in the letter which accompanied his copy of the regulations, that "the Department's scale of food, clothing, and other necessities [could not] be exceeded without permission, even should funds at the time appear to justify it."⁷⁷

The Orders in Council of 1892 and 1894 were obviously intended to be statements of Departmental authority. Initially, the instructions which had been sent out, for example, to the Industrial schools in 1883-84 had given the Principals a degree of latitude and a participatory role with local officials in determining example the furnishings and equipment. That was considered appropriate for it was believed that Principals would know what "will be best adapted for the children's convenience and comfort." In fact, the Principal was allowed "to draw up a code of regulations to be observed in the School and to be approved by the Department."⁷⁸

These two Orders swept away any such latitude. The 1892 Order declared that in consideration of the federal funds it received, the school management "would conform to the rules of the Indian Department as laid down." Furthermore, the Department had the authority to amend and supplement those rules from "time to time."⁷⁹ Principals then would receive a constant flow of directives making Departmental control even more pervasive. The directive began to be issued almost immediately following the publication of the 1894 Order. In November, the Department sent out detailed instructions on how attendance registers were to be kept and attendance calculated to determine, with the certification of the local agent, the size of the quarterly payment of the grant earned by each school. Included was the stipulation, a supposedly handy accounting technique, that

A number should be assigned to each pupil when entered on the books of the Institution, numbering from 1 upwards in the case of the boys and 01 in the case of the girls - such numbers to be used on all occasions when a pupil is referred to as well as the pupils name, and a number once given to a pupil should not be changed or used for another pupil.⁸⁰

To ensure that the Principals did "conform to the rules," they were reminded that there would be rigorous oversight, that the Department "may at any time inspect and report upon the Institutions"⁸¹ and that it was expected "that every facility be afforded its authorized officers for the inspection of schools, buildings, pupils, diet, clothing etc."

This attempt to bring order, Departmental authority, economy and financial control to the system, was over the next decade, a total failure. This blanket condemnation was issued by no less an authority than Duncan Campbell Scott. In considering the deficit at the Regina Industrial School, which by 1904 had risen to just over \$9,000,⁸² he zeroed in on the "loose and indeterminate" character of the arrangements, on the lack of authority the Department had actually realized in 1892 and on the woeful financial consequences. The churches had been persuaded to accept the per capita grants.

but the acceptance was merely tentative and they refused to be bound by any terms of contract whatever. No contract was implied in the arrangement and [this] is not the first time that the Department has been appealed to under like circumstances as the final relief. This has been the position of the religious bodies interested in the schools, and it has been recognized by the payment of deficits. The procedure all along the line in the treatment of these Indian schools has been to pay deficits, to increase the per capita grants, to extend more favourable terms and, in effect, to accept full financial responsibilities for the conduct of these institutions.⁸³

Laying in front of Scott was the record of a decade of failure etched in red ink. Industrial schools ran deficits despite the considerable intrusion of the Department in the internal operation of many schools. By 1904, the collective debt was \$50,000,⁸⁴ an amount equal to 35 per cent of the government's expenditure for industrial schools in that year. And it would continue to grow. Regina was a particular trouble spot, though far from the only one. A year after the Department paid off its debt, in 1904, the school had a new deficit of nearly \$3,000.⁸⁵ In view of the commonality of deficits, the Auditor General demanded that "A rigid inspection of financial affairs of each school should be made on behalf of the government at least once a year."⁸⁶

While some of the debt could be ascribed to bad and extravagant management, as Departmental officials were more than likely to charge⁸⁷, it came also from "many unforeseen circumstances"⁸⁸ factors which could not be modified by "rigid" inspections. In 1912-13, the Red Deer and Battleford Principals explained that their deficits, \$5,000 and \$2,500 respectively, had arisen from multiple crop failures due to hail and rain. Nearly all the industrial schools when they set their budgets included as income the produce from their farms operated by student labour. Crop failures forced them to purchase more expensive supplies on the local market.⁸⁹ The Principal of Mount Elgin Industrial rejected outright the idea

that his debt was traceable to mismanagement. His school's per capita of \$60 was simply not large enough. He needed up to double that level of funding to reduce the arrears and to "lessen the amount of manual labor to the pupils."⁹⁰

It was not only the Department's balance sheet that was stained red. The churches' books were also effected. When, for example, the Methodists approached the Department with the \$5,000 Red Deer Industrial debt, they were quick to point out that they had had to spend \$16,000 of their own funds over and above the per capita allowance.⁹¹ The per capita rate for boarding schools of \$72 remained frozen until 1911 despite the fact that churches found the rate inadequate and thus the system underfunded. The Deputy Superintendent General F. Pedley confirmed that that had indeed been the case when he briefed the Minister, Frank Oliver before Oliver met the Church of England hierarchy in the fall of 1910 to hear what would be another in a long list of church requests for boarding school increases.⁹²

Until 1911 the Liberal government, which had been in power since 1896, had turned a deaf ear to such requests. On taking office, the Liberals had proceeded to slash budgets and proved, with regards to Indian affairs, to have "an unvaryingly parsimonious attitude."⁹³ Thus per capita rates remained unchanged in the boarding sector until 1911 and were only slightly modified for some of the industrial schools.⁹⁴

Like the Tories before them, however, the Grits were sensitive to the opportunities of office and the power of the churches. The Minister, Clifford Sifton, quickly replaced the Deputy Superintendent General, Hayter Reed, with his friend, fellow Manitoban and long-time political associate, James Smart. Smart left the day-to-day administration to others and "dealt with only the more politically sensitive matters of general policy or patronage."⁹⁵ Under his tenure, in response to the churches, both the number of schools and, therefore, the total budget increased. Expansion even continued in the way it had before 1896, though the rate of growth was slowed a bit. Benson noted that it was still the practice of the churches "to extend their work beyond their means which finds them in financial straits and sends them to the Department for assistance."⁹⁶ Once in Ottawa, the churches found that Liberal ministers were, like their Tory predecessors, not above bowing to the wishes of priest or parson. That, for example, was the experience of the bishop of the Mackenzie region who had opened and was running a boarding school at Hay River and then wanted, and received from Clifford Sifton, a grant for its continued operation.⁹⁷

At the beginning of the Liberal administration there were 27 boarding schools and 20 industrial. On the eve of the per

capita increases, the figures respectively were 54 and 20. In line with this increase the total budget went up - from \$253,259 to \$305,761. But the party managed to have its cake and eat it too, for while the increases were there, the actual rate being spent on each school remained almost the same. The average rate spent on each boarding school went from \$2,303 to \$2,660 while for the industrial schools it actually declined from \$9,548 to \$8,104. In effect, a larger system was being underfunded by about the same margin.⁹⁸

Clearly, by these figures, without even taking into account inflation over the period, the per capita rates paid were far too low and underfunding was a characteristic of the system as a whole. When looking at the financial condition of the individual school, it becomes obvious that there was a fundamental impediment in Vankoughnet's "correct principle" which made the situation even more deplorable and the underfunding quite chronic. The funding mechanism rested on the weakest link in the educational chain - the ability of the schools to acquire and retain pupils from Aboriginal communities. It was on the basis of the number of pupils a school had, counted quarterly, that the total grant was calculated. In too many cases, the Department realized, there were predictable factors "that may prevent a school from drawing the full grant allowed, in which case deficits are bound to occur."⁹⁹ The decline, noted above, in per school expenditures for industrial schools illustrates this for it was, in fact, caused directly by falling industrial school enrolments after 1898. In 1898 there were 1994 pupils and in 1910, 1612.¹⁰⁰

The most common of those factors restraining enrolment was the reluctance of parents to send their children to the schools. Scott reflected in 1919, when briefing the Minister, A. Meighen, that "There is no lack of children of school age but the apathy or hostility of the Indians defeats the object of the Department."¹⁰¹ The most common and certainly understandable reason for those feelings was the bond between parents and their children. A petition in 1910 from Beardy's community in Saskatchewan written by Joseph Seesequasis, an ex-student of the Regina Industrial School, requesting a day rather than a boarding school expressed those sentiments well:

We think we are capable of taking care of our children when not at school. The whiteman loves his children and likes to have them round him in the evenings and on the days in which school is not open. We also love our children with just as warm an affection as the whiteman and we want to keep them round us.¹⁰²

In areas beyond settlement, where communities were still living on the land, practical considerations probably

supplemented sentiment. For such parents there would be no apparent need to send their children as there was no need for them to "appreciate" the value of the skills children were to be taught.

The Department, however, felt that there were additional reasons why parents held their children back which had to do with the treatment of children who had actually been in the schools. In 1893, Hayter Reed went so far as to postulate the idea that

The truth of the matter is that parents have to be influenced through the children much more than the children through the parents. If you can make children happy and contented at these schools, experience proves that parents very seldom make any strong effort to take them away.

Reed was trying to make a point with the Anglican authorities in charge of St. Paul's Industrial who had just had five pupils removed by their parents because they had been beaten which "they say they will not stand." One girl "had her clothes taken up and had been whipped in that state ...[her father] would not take her back as she was almost a woman and that was disgraceful." One of the boys had his shirt "taken off and he was thrashed on the bare back." Reed, himself, noted, when he visited the school, "the depressed bearing of the pupils who seem to lack the cheerful demeanour and alacrity of friendly response met with in kindred Institutions." Such "harshness and severity of punishment" reflected in the student body, were, he contended, ill-advised, "fatal to prospects of success" and had a most negative impact on recruitment.¹⁰³

Benson provided another equally instructive example. He agreed with the Mount Elgin Principal's claim that his grant was much too small and noted that to make up for the revenue shortfall the Principal ran an extensive livestock operation. The labour fell to the boys to the detriment of their education. The "boys of this school are not only working they are being worked, and they as well as their parents see the difference, hence the numerous complaints which reach the Department of ill-treatment of the pupils."¹⁰⁴

At Mount Elgin and even at those "kindred Institutions" where the children were, according to Reed's observations, being well-treated, there was a pervasive disability depressing enrolments. The Indian Commissioner for Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, David Laird, in 1903, was not alone in the belief that "Poor education in the past is responsible for all the trouble in getting children. There have been no results in the past to encourage other Indians to send their

children to school." Benson laid the blame for this at church doors arguing that parents did not appreciate "instruction in religion and manners" and would be much more impressed if their children were given "practical education that would fit them to earn their own living and assist them to better their condition." To support his case, he advanced comments from a local agent who worked among the Blood:

Any lad who has never left the reserve, is at the age of 18, far better off than a lad who has been in school for years, and what is more is very much more self-reliant and able to make his living as easy again as any of these school lads, and the older Indians are not slow to see that.

When the schools, Benson concluded on another occasion, "improve their methods and impart useful instruction the repugnance of parents and pupils will disappear."¹⁰⁵

Industrial school enrolments were affected by all of those factors and by an additional one - the boarding schools. As these were always built close to or on a reserve, the parents, if they felt compelled to send their children away, often found boarding schools preferable. The Rolling River community in Manitoba actually asked their agent J. Markle to press the Department to enlarge the Birtle Boarding school so that they could place their children there. They thought the Department

was unreasonable in demanding them to send their children so far away from home as Regina where in cases of sickness it was impossible for the parents ... to see them whereas if placed at the Birtle school they could get to them and also be able to visit them at least once a year.¹⁰⁶

This was not an isolated case. It was understood both in the Department and the churches that "the sentiment of Indians on all reserves is so largely in favour of having boarding schools on the Reserves."¹⁰⁷ Moreover, industrial school Principals realized that they were being undercut not only by parental sentiment but by boarding school Principals who, facing their own budget difficulties, were reluctant to see any of their students sent on to the industrial school even if it meant supposedly superior academic opportunity.¹⁰⁸ There was little they could do about it. The Catholic church, in fact, in the case of St. Boniface Industrial School in Manitoba wanted to throw in the towel and replace it with boarding schools. This was approved and four boarding schools, Sandy Bay, Fort Francis, Fort Pelly and Fort Alexander took its place.¹⁰⁹ The Anglicans took part in a similar development with the closure of Battleford in 1914 and the opening of boarding schools at The Pas and Montreal Lake.¹¹⁰

While recruitment was obviously vital to attain the goal of civilization, and critical within that for the financial well-being of the schools, there was little cooperation between the church and Department. Recruitment was the responsibility of the school management as the Department felt that missionaries had more influence in the communities than anyone else.¹¹¹ Agents were to assist but as a class, they appeared apathetic towards the schools.¹¹² Benson recognized that agents did not actively promote residential education, saw recruitment as extra work and "performed it in a perfunctory manner ... especially in cases of schools conducted by religious bodies."¹¹³ Some agents made no secret of their feelings claiming that children returned to their communities without the skills needed to forge a new life, less prepared in some cases than children who had never gone to school.¹¹⁴

Principals then were left on their own to conduct what were expensive and often fruitless recruiting trips. Given the financial and religious pressure to get students, recruiting techniques included bizarre and questionable practises. In 1902, a three-man Departmental inquiry, informed the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Clifford Sifton, that the fact "That Principals of Schools should tramp the country, at great expense, competing with each other, and even bribing parents to secure students for their Schools is humiliating and demoralizing."¹¹⁵ In 1908 the Principal of Red Deer Industrial, Mr. Barner, was described as an exception to the rule. "His methods are coaxing and persuading instead of bribery and kidnapping."¹¹⁶

The performance of senior officials of the Department was notably similar to that of the agents. While they encouraged agents to cooperate, they were unwilling to push the recruitment issue further. Consistently throughout this period, they resisted church demands for the initiation of compulsory attendance regulations at boarding and industrial schools.¹¹⁷ It was not a question of principle but of safety. Vankoughnet, in 1892, believed that Aboriginal communities in the Northwest Territories were not "sufficiently advanced in civilization to render such drastic measures advisable."¹¹⁸ Reed in 1889 agreed advising "great caution." One needed only to remember,

how recently compulsory education had been introduced among people of the old civilization and the hostility so frequently exhibited by them to the measure [and] it becomes at once apparent that it cannot be rashly attempted with our Indians.¹¹⁹

Caution, indeed, marked the Departmental approach to the issue. Regulations adopted in 1894 fell far short of compulsion empowering an agent or Justice of the Peace to

place by force if necessary, only a neglected child in a school but giving parents the right of appeal.¹²⁰ This was far from meeting church demands for a "policy of compulsory education" but as the Minister, Frank Oliver told them in 1908, the government had gone "as far as is deemed advisable" and he would not countenance any law "which would provide for the arbitrary separation of parents and children."¹²¹

The fact was, however, that the Department did not go even as far as the regulation allowed. The provision was not generally applied. David Laird, the Indian Commissioner for Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, set the standard when responding to a query from the Touchwood Hills Agent. Laird thought "it inadvisable in our present circumstances" to employ the power of seizing neglected children but rather "to use your personal influence and explain the advantages to be derived from attendance at school". In particularly stubborn cases, the agent might consider withholding "from unwilling parents all help that you have at your disposal, provisions, tea, tobacco, etc...."¹²²

The issue was finally resolved in 1919 when Duncan Campbell Scott, who had earlier opposed compulsion on the basis that such a law could not be enforced,¹²³ decided for it. It was, he concluded impossible to effectively "recruit for the schools under the present voluntary system."¹²⁴ An amendment to the Indian Act in 1920 made it mandatory for every child between the ages of seven and 15 to attend school and set out the mechanics of enforcement - truant officers, and penalties of fines or imprisonment for non-compliance.

Any parent, guardian, or person with whom an Indian child is residing who fails to cause such child ... to attend school as required ... after having received three days' notice so to do by a truant officer shall ... be liable on summary conviction before a justice of the peace or Indian agent to a fine of not more than two dollars and costs, or imprisonment for a period not exceeding ten days or both, and such child may be arrested without a warrant and conveyed to school....¹²⁵

Scott's conversion and this aggressive amendment were all part of an apparent Departmental resolve to solve the administrative and financial difficulties of the schools and to make residential education work. That resolve had in 1911 brought about the revamping of the school system through a two pronged approach: the adoption of formal contracts between the government and the churches for the operation of boarding schools and, second, the decision to bring an end to the Industrial school Programme.

That such reform was urgently required had become obvious quite early in the life of the system. It had been indicated not only by the deficits which were symptomatic of financial mismanagement but also by the growing conviction that the schools were not reaching their goal of civilizing the children. Dewdney observed, in 1891, that despite the considerable investments being made in the schools, the Department could not discover "that any commensurate results are being obtained."¹²⁶ His pessimistic opinion was related to more than the fact that, owing to recruitment problems, student numbers were not adequate or that graduates were having to return to their communities as they were not finding places in the non-Aboriginal economy. Rather, the schools were not providing training up to the expected standards.

Martin Benson, who joined the education section of the Department in 1897, was particularly critical of the quality of education being delivered by the churches and he took it upon himself to "impress on the Department the fact that our present school system was defective and requires remodelling."¹²⁷

Even at the risk of being considered too insistent I cannot help again expressing the opinion that the system of training pursued at this [Mount Elgin] and other schools requires careful revisions as it is little less than a waste of time and money to follow the present method as there is little use in our educating any Indians if in our endeavour to we spoil a horn and fail to make a spoon. That our schools have failed in their object is generally admitted. I think I can point out why they have failed and make some practical suggestions as to their improvement if called upon to do so.¹²⁸

The churches, he argued, "seem to strive more to make converts of their pupils than to give them a good english education and proper manual training." Every opportunity that came to hand, he exploited. When the Catholics despaired of making a go of St. Boniface Industrial, he reviewed its 10 year history for the deputy superintendent general. From 1890 to 1901, it had admitted 309 pupils and discharged 217 - 74 of whom were reported to be doing well by the Principal "the remaining 143 have turned out badly, died or been lost sight of." Even the 74 had not been well-served having "received no industrial training at the school for no trades had ever been taught there."¹²⁹ Benson claimed that the school's record was not all that unusual - "it is in no worse position than the others which have failed to meet the expectation of the department."¹³⁰

Benson, though he may have led the charge, was not alone in

his critique of education or his call for reforming the system. Laird and others pointed out how substandard education had been affecting recruitment. From the financial flank, the auditor general in 1904 threw in his weight¹³¹ and Scott, in a comprehensive memorandum on financial relations with the churches, recommended that "the time has come to look the facts boldly in the face, and reconstruct the whole school system."¹³²

The Minister, Clifford Sifton, was easily brought on side. As early as 1899, he had informed Parliament that he doubted the wisdom of the expenditures which had been made on industrial schools.¹³³ In 1903, he wanted to put a brake on further development through a moratorium on the commissioning of new boarding schools until, according to Benson's notes, "the whole school question has been gone into."¹³⁴ This was quickly accomplished and a new approach was announced in the House in 1904. Sifton's speech heralded the end of the Industrial schools which had not been "the best, or most effective, or most economic way of improving the condition of the Indians", and the abandonment of the goal of absorbing graduates into Canadian society. In their place

We have substituted a less elaborate system of what we call boarding schools where a larger number of children can for a shorter time be educated more economically and generally more effectively. What we desire to do is ... to distribute over the whole band a moderate amount of education and intelligence, so that the general status of the band would be raised.¹³⁵

Sifton's successor in 1905, Frank Oliver, was left to implement the policy of "closing the larger Industrial schools...."¹³⁶ In 1906, St. Paul's was the first to go, it burnt and was not rebuilt, followed by St. Boniface, Metlakatla, Calgary, Regina, Battleford, Elkhorn, Red Deer and, in 1922, High River.

Much more, however, was to follow. The push for reform was far from the sole province of Benson, Sifton and Oliver and it would involve more than the end of the emphasis on the industrial school model. The churches were very much in the field with their own goals and to them the reforms of 1904 were merely a beginning. They kept up constant pressure particularly with regards to their considerable contribution to the costs of boarding schools - a burden on them which they could not long endure. Most significantly, the Protestant churches came together at a conference on Indian Education in Winnipeg in December of 1906, drew up a set of resolutions and presented them to the government in April, 1907.

The Winnipeg Resolutions revealed that there was at the outset little common ground with the government. The churches agreed that "it might be a wise policy to reduce the number [of schools] or to transfer some to more needy localities."¹³⁷ But then they returned to their usual demands: compulsory education, increased per capita rates of \$100 in Ontario and \$130 west of the Great Lakes which would amount to a \$900,000 addition to the budget¹³⁸, the upgrading of schools at government expense, increases in teachers salaries, and the provision of adequate medical services including sanatoriums "in central locations for the treatment of tubercular and other contagious diseases."¹³⁹

Negotiations were carried on from 1908 to 1910 with one of the most troublesome elements being not the terms but the politics of the situation. The Catholic church had to be brought into the discussions as the church was initially unwilling to make common cause with the Protestants and was not, on its own, seeking "more favourable terms."¹⁴⁰ And of course, the Department had to struggle to get approval for larger appropriations.

When the churches and the government signed the 1911 contracts for the operation of boarding schools, they agreed, as well, to a programme of reduction in the number of boarding and industrial schools. Some schools would be replaced by "improved day schools" - schools conducted by a married couple who would provide a noon meal and tuition "specially designed for the localities where they are situated." As well as educating the children the school would play a role in the development of the reserve. The woman, a "field matron", would instruct women in the community "in the simplest domestic arts - the making of good bread, the preparation of the ordinary articles of diet, the cleanliness of the houses." The man would tend a demonstration garden.¹⁴¹

In the contracts themselves, as the minister explained to a delegation of church representatives in a final negotiating session held in his office on 8 November, 1910,

the whole conduct and management of these schools would be covered ... the responsibilities of each toward the other would be definitely fixed and the financial straits in which the churches found themselves ... would in a measure be relieved by the Government."¹⁴²

That relief came in the form of new per capita rates which related, broadly, to the regional differences in costs of operation. Thus Ontario rates were to be between \$80-\$100, Western rates between \$100-\$125 and Northern rates were pegged at \$125.¹⁴³ Most of the schools would receive the \$100 per

capita.

The "responsibilities each toward the other" were set out in detail in the contract. They constituted, without major amendments, the structure of the relationship between the churches and the Department for the next three decades. In accepting government funding, the church would be required: to admit students between the ages of seven and 18, only on the approval of the superintendent general, and only after the children had been given a certificate of good health from a physician, to operate the school according to regulations made by the Department, to teach the children according to the curriculum set out in the contract combining a good English education with the skills of agricultural life "or other industries as are suitable to their local requirements," to provide training in the moral and civic codes of civilized life, to manage the school at staffing levels set by the Department and to hire only teachers approved by the Department who met approved training standards and to dismiss those staff or teachers found unsatisfactory by the Department, to supply food, clothing, lodging and equipment according to standards set by the Department, to keep the buildings in a sanitary condition and the children "clean and free from vermin both in their clothes and person," to maintain the school in good repair if owned by the church, and to hold the school ready for inspection by any agent appointed by the Department.

As well as providing a per capita grant to each school, which supposedly would fix absolutely and finally the government's financial commitment, the government was bound: to provide medicine, school books, stationery and school appliances, and to maintain in good repair and sanitary condition those school buildings it owned. It reserved the right, of course, to cancel the contract pertaining to any school that, in its judgement, was not being operated by a church according to the terms of the contract.

These reforms, comprising the decision to phase out Industrial schools and the contracts with increased funding, would suggest that the government was taking hold of the system and making a break with the past. Interestingly, in that vein, the negotiators agreed that the old practice of first opening a school and then turning to the government for support would no longer be countenanced. The Departmental Secretary J.D. McLean certainly wanted it to appear that a new administrative and financial day had dawned. He noted that as the government was to pay "a much larger proportion of the total cost of Indian education than before" it is "compelled to assume a proportionately larger measure of responsibility as to the conduct of these schools." And he was certain that this initiative, as well as the "improved relations" between the

Department and the churches, would result "in benefit to the physical condition and the intellectual advancement of the Indian children."

Hopeful sentiments, however, were not the substance of effective reform. The system did not so easily escape its past; it soon fell back into funding and management difficulties. The 1911 contracts were to be reviewed and renewed at the end of 5 years - they never were. And thus the strict management arrangements of the contracts soon had no basis in any enforceable agreement between the two parties and the parties drifted into an "unbusinesslike lack of arrangement"¹⁴⁴ and into discord over who was responsible for what and who was to have the last word on particular issues.

On the financial front circumstances as usual intervened and the Department was unable to respond appropriately. The First World War brought steep price increases and channelled government funds away to military purposes.¹⁴⁵ Churches then saw, as in the past, their proportion of the cost of the system rising. By the summer of 1917, none of the churches could live within the limits of their per capita grants.¹⁴⁶ And the Department, recognizing that the churches were indeed in financial difficulty, managed, in 1917, a \$10 increase in the per capita rates. But it did so by taking money out of funds allocated for the sorely needed upgrading of buildings.¹⁴⁷

But even if it could be said that the reforms of 1911 were efficacious, that the system's future would show a marked improvement, it was all much too late. The weight of inefficiency and underfunding that had pressed down on church and Departmental budgets and had driven the schools into debt was nothing compared to the consequences of that seen in the deplorable condition of so many of the schools themselves. Badly built, and ill-maintained, they were a dreadful weight which had pressed down on the thousands of children who attended the schools in that period. For many of those children, it had proven to be a mortal weight.

The provisions of the contract and the discussions during the negotiating sessions made it clear that all the participants knew that there was a crisis in conditions, sanitation and health in the schools. They could not have pretended otherwise as Dr. Bryce's 1907 report was published just as the discussions were to get underway and another report, by F.H. Paget, a Departmental accountant, came to hand in 1908. The lawyer, the Hon. S.H. Blake, who was conducting a review for the Church of England of its missionary work and would be an influential force in the negotiations, brought the issue before Oliver, in January of that year, in the most blunt fashion:

If you seek to draw the Indian from the wigwam and out-of-door life, you must educate him in the ordinary hygienic rules - the non-observance of which cultivates tuberculosis and scrofulous affections - principal causes in the high death rate. The appalling number of deaths among the younger children appeals loudly to the guardians of our Indians. In doing nothing to obviate the preventable causes of death, brings the Department within unpleasant nearness to the charge of manslaughter.¹⁴⁸

The contract was drawn in such a way, in terms of the maintenance, funding and enrolment provisions, so as to deal with the issues of health and sanitation. This was all laid out in a memorandum of agreement sent by the Departmental Secretary, J.D. McLean, to the church representatives who had met with Oliver in November 1910. The contract embodied the conditions upon which the increased grant was to be paid.

Those conditions require that the school buildings shall be sanitary and that the school management shall be such as to conduce to the physical, moral and mental well-being of the children.

The per capita rates were designed to assist in that. Whether a particular school was assigned the minimum or maximum of its regional rate (whether, for example, it got \$100 or \$125 in the Western region) was based on the "recognition that the standard of comfort and sanitation is much higher to-day than it was twenty years ago and that the condition of the Indian children is such that they should have the benefit of the best sanitary arrangements." Churches that were in possession of, or put up in the future, what were termed "Class A" buildings, those which "met specified modern conditions" would qualify for the full rate. School buildings that were built or continued as "Class C," that is they "did not provide modern improvements," received the minimum. There was supposedly an incentive and financial room within the rate to improve buildings and maintain them at high levels. In terms of its own buildings, Class B, the government was pledged to the same principles.

Similarly, the contract dealt with the authorized enrolment for each school with an eye primarily to considerations of health. The number of children to be accommodated in each school was limited by the contract. That limit in turn

was fixed by consideration of air space and ventilating systems, and floor space in classrooms. In the dormitories the air space must be at least 500 cubic feet for each child. In the class-

rooms the limit is to be fixed by floor space for seats and the air space for pupils, the latter to be not less than 250 cubic feet for each pupil, and the former 16 square feet for each pupil.¹⁴⁹

Unfortunately, the concern for the children reflected in those provisions did not give any inviolable priority to the plans for the improvement of the condition of the schools. By the end of the Great War, it was business as usual, business as it had been since the 1880s. In 1918, Duncan Campbell Scott briefed the Superintendent General, Arthur Meighen, who would in two years become the prime minister, on the state of Indian education. He reviewed the contract system pointing out that one of its central purposes had been to deal with the "inadequate" buildings which "were unsanitary and ... were undoubtedly chargeable with a very high death rate among the pupils." For a few years after 1911, the Department, he continued, "had been able to do its share" towards improving conditions that is "until the outbreak of the war." Then "as the war continued all new projects were abandoned." The result of that was reflected in a dramatic decline in expenditures. In 1914, the Department spent on average \$8,684 on each boarding school and \$16,146 on each industrial school. In 1918, those figures had fallen to \$5,738 and \$12,338 respectively. Total expenditures fell by 33 per cent from \$811,764 to \$542,568.¹⁵⁰

It is evident from these figures that while the Department was able to hold the line in terms of per capita rates, and even managed a \$10 advance in 1917, it was going backwards in so far as funding improvements in the physical condition of the schools. Increasingly, the "circle of civilized conditions" was a crumbling edifice. If it had been Blake who briefed Meighen, he may well have added to Scott's commentary a sobering reflection - as the Department was still "doing nothing to obviate the preventable causes of death" it continued to be "within the unpleasant nearness to the charge of manslaughter."¹⁵¹

"The Charge of Manslaughter"

The deplorable and tragic conditions which made the schools, in Scott's words, "chargeable with a very high death rate among the pupils"¹⁵² were, in many cases, the consequence of the construction of the school buildings themselves made worse

overtime by neglectful and inadequately funded maintenance programs. Those many schools that were opened by the churches in advance of government grants were routinely "erected on very primitive plans"¹⁵³ by amateurs without the guidance of professional architects.¹⁵⁴ They received grants sight unseen, without any Departmental inspection, and despite the fact that senior officials, like Scott, admitted that they were "intensely apprehensive" about the quality and safety of church built structures.¹⁵⁵ This was such a common concern that Hayter Reed, when drafting the 1894 regulations, included a proposal that the Department, before any grant was authorized, should have the right to inspect the plans or, if already built, the school premises.¹⁵⁶ This may well have been useful for when schools were finally visited, the Department discovered, in some instances, that their decision to proceed had not been wise. The Squamish school was a case in point. Built by the Catholic missionary and funded in 1900 after a direct appeal to Clifford Sifton by the local member of Parliament and the Catholic bishop it was, when inspected by the Assistant Indian Commissioner of British Columbia, C. Perry, shortly after its opening, in such ramshackle condition that Perry thought it should be closed immediately.¹⁵⁷

The Department's own record was not a great deal better. Benson, in a general assessment of the school system made shortly after joining the Department's education section in 1897, pulled no punches:

The buildings have been put up without due consideration for the purpose for which they would be required, hurriedly constructed of poor materials, badly laid out without due provision for lighting, heating or ventilating.¹⁵⁸

From the outset, they had been built with an eye to economy. E. Dewdney, who supervised the construction of the first three Industrial schools in the west, insisted that they be of the "simplest and cheapest construction." Putting them near railway lines would facilitate the acquisition of construction materials and supplies. In the course of time, he reasoned, with the growth of settlement, construction costs would drop and the schools could be upgraded.¹⁵⁹ That was, it turned out, a foolish assumption. The trains, when they came, brought settlers, but certainly no federal funds for reconstructing schools.

These schools were not only cheaply built, they were in some cases, as Benson charged, badly constructed even though professionals were employed. Father Lacombe visited the just opened Kamloops Industrial School in 1890. It had been designed by an architect and constructed under the supervision of a "Dominion Government Engineer" of the Public Works

Department. Lacombe was shocked.

The Architect and contractors, I suppose, never saw or never heard about an institution of the kind. It is a pity to see the inside. For instance consider that there is not a little space for a chapel, not a small room for laundry, for bakery when the matrons are obliged to bake three times a day in the cooking stove and imagine what kind of temperature it will be during summer, no place for a stove, no bathroom for girls!

The Inspector of Schools, J.A. Macrae, who was dispatched to check on Lacombe's complaints, seconded all of them and added one of his own - one that became a universal concern linking building design and the health of the pupils. "All the emanations from the cellar which is unventilated now flow into dining room and main building."

These, however, were not the only problems and they were not unique to the Kamloops school. An article in the Toronto Empire revealed "The hospital room opening out of the school room and therefore calculated to spread infection and to kill the patient with the noise of the school beside him" There was also the danger of "the same breakneck stairs." When the Department investigated these charges, it became apparent that the Kamloops school had been built to the same design as Elkhorn in Manitoba and thus had the same defects, stairs and all. The local agent found them "steep and narrow" and suggested that they "were probably made so to save material and expenses and are by no means of the safest kind." There was, he advised, nothing that could be done. "They cannot now be altered without spoiling the building."

Beside evidence of considerable incompetence that led to a structure that was unsafe, potentially unhealthy and did not provide adequately for the functions of such an institution, there was the mark of political patronage on the project - overseen by the Tory M.P. J. Mara. Lacombe's discovery of "three beds the size of those in hotels for ladies and gentlemen occupying the place of ten good iron beds etc" .. sparked the comment that "As long as merchants can make money with the Government they think that's alright."¹⁶⁰

Kamloops, of course, was far from being the only object of patronage and Lacombe was not the only person who thought he saw the mercantile hand in the political glove to the detriment of the pupils. A not unusual phenomenon, an angry western voter, protested anonymously, under the title "Taxpayer".

Its a damn shame to let Govt. schools be run as

they are. You have a College [Emmanuel College, Prince Albert] here that is a disgrace to anybody. Ignorant teachers, pigsty boarding, poor clothing everything cheap and nasty, tax payers money is not paid for frauds of this kind. The whole business should be ventilated before Parliament. It should be inquired into now. There is enough boodling without allowing people to make money out of poor Indian lads.¹⁶¹

The "Taxpayer" was not far from the mark. Many schools were a "disgrace to anybody." The Department's files chart a catalogue of industrial school ills as the defects in their construction or subsequent deterioration became obvious. Battleford opened and took students into a government building that was only partially renovated and that was still two years later, in 1885, unfinished and in "danger from fire ... owing to the large number of stoves necessary to keep the building sufficiently heated." At night when the fires were allowed to go out "the temperature in the rooms differs from that outside by only a few degrees ... the coldness of the rooms has been intensely felt." The cellar needed frost-proofing and the bathroom was too small for the number of students. "Owing to the number of people in the building it is very desirable that the premises be properly drained." Five years later, after having been damaged by troops who occupied the building during the Riel rebellion, it was still "totally without any protection from fire" and continued without a proper drainage system that would "obviate the possibility of epidemic."¹⁶²

With Regina's persistent deficit, it would not be surprising to find that the management was unable to keep the buildings up to standard. A report in 1904 concluded that considerable funds would have to be set aside to enable it "to properly meet the purpose for which it was established." The floors and ceilings were in a "wretched condition and should be replaced." And as usual "many of the stairs are really dangerous and require immediate attention."¹⁶³

When funds were finally set aside for building improvements after the 1911 contracts, it was too late for a school like Red Deer. The Methodist church itself took the position that "Expenses for repairs to the present Red Deer school would be wasted" as the state of the school was "most unsatisfactory and discreditable." It should be closed for all the buildings were "in a most dilapidated and unsanitary condition."¹⁶⁴

At Qu'Appelle Industrial it was not sanitation but heating problems that endangered the occupants. The Principal, Father Hugonard, petitioned yearly for improvement to the school's heating system which was "a serious menace to health." The gym, he wrote in 1895 a decade after the school was first

opened, can be so cold that "hands become so numb as to render the exercises themselves dangerous."¹⁶⁵ Elkhorn, constructed with government assistance, was equipped with a boiler that was too small so that there was, according to E. Hay. Machinists and Boilermakers, not enough radiation "to keep the building warm in cold weather, particularly the girls and boys school rooms."¹⁶⁶ At Brandon, and at most of the other industrial school, according to Benson's 1897 review, the problem was too much heat. He informed the departmental secretary that "When Lord Aberdeen [the Governor General] visited Brandon in the fall of '95 he had complained of the excessive heat of the rooms and recommended that thermometers be supplied, six of which were sent to the school."

The problem with some schools came not so much from construction, equipment or maintenance faults as from the site chosen for the school. Benson's review was scathing about Industrial schools in this respect. In general, they did not have enough farming, grazing or wood lands. Unable, therefore, to produce sufficient food and firewood, they were compelled to purchase supplies thus driving up both their operating costs and their debt levels. There was more in this than just financial implications. The placement of the building often "evinced a great want of judgement." They had been put up "where drainage is well nigh impossible and without any consideration being had for ordinary sanitary laws, and in the most exposed situations."¹⁶⁷ At one time or another Regina, Brandon, Elkhorn and St. Paul's all were listed as having serious drainage and therefore sanitary problems.¹⁶⁸

The Calgary Industrial school, for which Hayter Reed had taken such care to secure every financial advantage possible, was a graphic example of Benson's critique of the schools. The school had a short and difficult history typical of all the worst aspects of the industrial experience. It opened in 1896 with 20 students and a per capita of \$130. Five years later, it was in financial crisis. It could not sustain an adequate enrolment, undercut the Principal, H. Hogbin, complained by boarding schools in the region, so that its actual costs were \$265 per capita.¹⁶⁹ The Department was most reluctant to bail it out. Benson informed the secretary of the Department that they had built a irretrievable disaster. It had serious heating problems and the "site of the present school is unsuitable, there being no drainage and constant danger from floods and it would be extremely risky to spend more money in enlarging it." On the schools tenth anniversary, the Inspector, J. Markle was recommending closure as the main building was in need of extensive repairs.¹⁷⁰ Dr. Bryce, however, proposed renovations so that it could be turned into a sanatorium. The "beauty of the situation leaves little to be desired" he wrote, but there were difficulties associated with the "situation" that had to be remedied:

The site of the school and the buildings is on the river bank and well chosen except that at high water in the Bow the water forces itself up the house sewer preventing the use of the closets and sinks, while the ground water rises in the lowest basement some two feet.¹⁷¹

The Bryce proposal was not implemented and the school continued to deteriorate. In 1907, the Deputy Superintendent General, F. Pedley, told the minister that though built in 1896, the school "was never completely finished" and had needed constant repairs. It was now impossible for the staff to remain in the buildings for another winter "without great discomfort." It had been a terrible waste; the "results have been almost nil." A few months later the decision was taken to close the school.¹⁷²

It is important, as well as illustrating the range of problems and their causes, to give some indication of the degree of crisis that existed in the fabric of the residential school system as a whole, of how wide spread that crisis was owing to construction deficiencies, siting and short budgets. Moreover, it is also critical to have some sense of how conscious officials in the Department were, or could have been, of the situation. It might be possible to argue that senior officials had no clear overview. Information on the condition of the schools normally came into the Department in fragmented correspondence and was filed away separately, school by school, or under agency headings. Without reading the correspondence as it arrived or without having regular or systematic reviews (Benson's 1897 report was the first of its kind) senior officials, it could be suggested as unlikely as it was, may have had no feeling for the scope or proportion of the problem.

A single report, submitted in 1908 by F.H. Paget, can, however, give some sense both of the scope of the problem and senior staff's awareness of it. The report was commissioned by the Department during the negotiations for the contracts when information on the condition of the system was vital and it amounted to a review of a cross-section of nearly one-third of the system including both industrial and boarding schools.

Paget was an accountant with the Department sent to western Canada to "give agents etc. instructions in how accounts are to be kept." As well, he was to visit schools "look into the methods of keeping accounts" and to inspect "the general work of the school" and the manner in which "pupils are fed, clothed and lodged." Finally, he was "to report whether the methods of education carried out at these schools are consistent with the Department's policy and with the future life of the pupils on Indian Reserves."¹⁷³ Paget spent the

summer of 1908 on tour. He visited 15 boarding schools and six industrial schools in Saskatchewan and Alberta.

Paget's report revealed that the schools ran the gamut from good to deplorable with the vast majority, 15 out of the 21, in the latter category. He was impressed with Qu'Appelle rebuilt after its fire "with all the modern conveniences." It did, however, still have its original laundry which was then "unsanitary and unfit for further use." Lacombe's High River, "was splendidly conducted ... neat and clean." He was impressed most with the Duck Lake boarding school - "excellent order, neat and clean throughout" and "very much a self-contained institution, all clothing being made, and meats, roots, grains and vegetable raised."

All of this was overshadowed by his descriptions of schools that did not pass muster. Not surprisingly, Regina and Red Deer topped the industrial school list. Regina was a sorrowful school - "...driving up it looked more like a deserted place than a Government Institution." The "building is old and the floors are worn, the plaster broken and marked in places and the paint worn off..." The children "did not have that clean and neat appearance that was in evidence at other schools." Red Deer was "not modern in any respect" and Paget was particularly worried that it did not have a system for hot and cold baths "which is a great drawback, baths especially being a great necessity in such an Institution." His treatment of Brandon was rather ambivalent. It was an "excellently conducted institution" but it needed extensive remodelling. One wing was in danger of collapsing as its "foundation is poor and it is gradually sinking and falling away from the main building."

The boarding schools were certainly no better and some were much worse. St. Paul's boarding, a Church of England school on the Blood reserve, was

an old log building of two stories with low ceilings, unplastered and quite unfit for the purpose it is being used for. It is without exception the worst building I was in on my travels and no time should be lost in replacing it with a modern structure.

At File Hills, the dormitories were too small, Cowessess needed brick cladding, Crowfoot was too small and badly ventilated, Sarcee could not be heated, was unfit to be used as a school and could not be modernized, Round Lake had to be completely replaced, Old Sun's was unsanitary and unsuitable and Blue Quills had to be modernized. The Onion Lake Catholic school was in desperate need of fire escapes. It was a three-storey frame building heated by stoves and lit by coal oil

lamps. Paget feared that in case of fire the "staircases may become filled with smoke and the pupils would be smothered before they could reach the open air." The Blood reserve school also had no outside fire escapes but, as well, its roof leaked, its ventilation was deficient, the adjacent river regularly flooded the basement and had on one previous occasion washed away the garden. "The Principal of the school is much exercised over the danger that is imminent every spring."

Finally, the report indicated what was by 1908 a commonplace - the connection between the condition of the schools and the ill-health of children. Though Paget covered much of the same ground as Bryce's report of the year before, he had not been directed to check the doctor's findings many of which came from Saskatchewan and Alberta data. He was, however, certainly familiar with the Bryce report and even referred to it obliquely in his description of Old Sun's boarding school which he "found to be all that had been said of it by others in regard to being unsanitary and the building unsuitable in every way for such an institution." In addition, he brought forward some similar observations of other schools.¹⁷⁴

The Department, of course, was fully aware, before either the Bryce or Paget reports, of the plague of tuberculosis affecting the Aboriginal population and the fact that it had insinuated itself into the schools. The tubercular epidemic, which had moved across the country with the tide of settlement, was the result not only of white presence and the Aboriginal community's lack of immunity to infectious diseases but also of the process of colonization, of the forces that marginalized communities divorcing them from their traditional lifeways. Confinement to reserves and overcrowded European-style lodgings provided the fertile ground with malnutrition, lack of sanitation, despair, alcoholism and government parsimony, from which the infection ran its mortal course through communities.

The impact of tuberculosis, statistically expressed, was out of all proportion to the size of the Aboriginal population. Bryce, in 1922, illustrated this baleful phenomenon. A study he had conducted in 1906 showed the rate of tubercular infection for Indians was one in seven

and the death rates in several large bands 81.8, 81.2, and in a third 86.1 per thousand while the ordinary death rate for 115,000 in the city of Hamilton was 10.6 in 1921.¹⁷⁵

Just over a decade later at the annual meeting of the Canadian Tuberculosis Association figures were circulated that detailed the percentage of Aboriginal tuberculosis deaths by province

compared to their percentage of the population. In Manitoba of the total deaths, 41 per cent were Aboriginal though Aboriginal people made up only 2.2 per cent of the population, in Saskatchewan it was 27 per cent of the deaths and 1.6 per cent of the population, in Alberta it was 34 per cent of the deaths and 2.1 per cent of the population and in British Columbia it was 35 per cent of the deaths and 3.7 per cent of the population.¹⁷⁶

The tubercular bacilli infested the body in a multitude of manifestations. "Contracted in infancy [it] creates diseases of the brain [tubercular meningitis], joints, bones and to a less degree the lungs [pulmonary tuberculosis or consumption] and ... if not fatal till adolescence it then usually progresses rapidly to a fatal termination in consumption of the lungs."¹⁷⁷ This list by Bryce is only partial as the disease invaded almost any part of the body and was signalled by a wide range of symptoms - head and joint aches, pain in breathing and glandular swelling and eruption (scrofula) being some of the more common ones. In its most contagious phase, consumption, coughing and spitting blood or sputum spread the infection to others and fever, weakness and wasting led to death.

One mode of transmission that particularly affected the children in the schools was drinking milk infected with bovine tuberculosis.¹⁷⁸ Industrial and boarding schools kept cows and the children routinely drank unpasteurised milk. As with the school buildings, the outbuilding for livestock were often the problem. The Principal of St. George's school in Lytton, for example, was told by the Department of Agriculture that he would have to pull down his barn as it was a log structure and could not be disinfected. The school had lost 18 head of cattle in the last three years.

Not only was it impossible to isolate the schools from the epidemic but the schools themselves were expeditors; they aggravated the problem by simulating in an exaggerated fashion many of those problematic conditions which affected reserve communities - confinement, overcrowding, per capita that were inadequate to the task of properly caring for the pupils, lack of sanitation and stress and anxiety among the children.¹⁷⁹

Reports on the ill effect of schooling on the health of the children began to come into Ottawa quite early in the history of the system tracing out, by the time Benson submitted his summary review of the schools in 1897, a pattern of interwoven factors: overcrowding, lack of care and cleanliness, and poor ventilation and drainage, all contributing to rising rates of tubercular infection. In 1891, following a visit to Battleford Industrial, Reed commented on the high number of sick children in the school and the absence of adequate medical services and

facilities.¹⁸⁰ The Agent J. Day submitted a report on the death of the Battleford student William Thom adding

This makes three deaths at the Industrial School this past month and it is quite a heavy death rate. Although the Industrial School is splendidly situated with regard to having a high dry and healthy site; yet the building itself is placed in such a position that nearly all the sunlight is excluded from the classroom and dormitories, which fact is very favourable for the propagation of the germs of tuberculosis.

He closed with a request that the Department insist on monthly medical visits.¹⁸¹

When such visits became more common, doctors began to send in warning signals. Dr. T. Patrick's 1893 and 1894 reports on Crowstand boarding school were forwarded to Reed detailing a drainage system and water system that were threatening the pupils' health. The next year he appealed for improvements to the heating and ventilation of the boys dorms and concluded with the dire observation that the pupils were neglected in that "the sores &c on some of the Children had not been attended to."¹⁸²

Dr. M. Seymour's report on Qu'Appelle was both more graphic and pointedly instructive. He calculated that the boys dorm was four times too small for the number of children assigned to it. Out of necessity, the

beds are packed in as closely as they can be and the ceiling only being about eight feet [high], and from the deficient ventilation the boys have consequently to breathe and rebreathe the same air during the night.

Before morning, the air in the dorm "is simply awful." Overcrowding and the breathing of "vitiating air" constituted the main factors which facilitated the spread of tuberculosis and there would be little hope of "lessening the present very high death rate from this disease" until the children were "provided with such room as it will allow them to be in a healthy atmosphere both day and night." Renovations to the dorms were essential as they would be the most immediate "means of saving a number of lives." Adequate ventilation was a requirement of all accommodation but it was, he concluded forcefully, "all the more important when dealing with Indian children who do not bear confinement well being all more or less disposed through hereditary taints to tuberculosis."¹⁸³ None of these points were lost on Benson who took these and similar reports, added them to his own research on public

institutions in Ottawa and the Alexandra Industrial School for Girls in Toronto and sketched, as part of his 1897 review, a damning portrayal of the system's health care and conditions. From a stand point of health the buildings were ill-designed:

In all modern school architecture, great stress is laid on lighting, heating and ventilation, as it is recognized that the health of the students is to a great extent dependent upon good light, equable temperature and pure air, the last of which is of the greatest importance. What do we find in our schools? Ventilation wholly disregarded, or in a few instances where any attempt has been made to provide for it, that an entire disregard of all scientific principles has been shown. Outlets for the escape of foul air are provided in some rooms at a few schools but without adequate provision for the admission of fresh air and it is scarcely any wonder that our Indian pupils who have an hereditary tendency to phthisis [consumption], should develop alarming symptoms after a short residence in some of our schools, brought on by exposure to drafts in school rooms and sleeping in over-crowded, over-heated and unventilated dormitories.

The expense of the critically necessary upgrading would be, he cautioned, considerable. His recommendations gave priority to the "proper ventilation of over-crowded sleeping rooms" which were "absolutely essential to the health of the inmates" and then to the renovation of those areas that would see the large dorms divided to provide rooms "for smaller numbers and more isolation." Lacombe's double ladies and gentlemen's beds were apparently not uncommon. Benson wanted them all replaced so that particularly the very young children, who he considered especially vulnerable, could be kept separate. Water closets, based on the Smead Dowd system, had "proved ... to be a failure and a menace to the health of the students." They, and many of the water supply systems, simply had to be torn out and replaced.¹⁸⁴

Realistically, of course, very little of this could be undertaken. The tide of Parliamentary appropriations had run out in the early 1890's leaving the system high and dry. It would not turn until 1911 only to go out again with the war carrying overseas in the form of troops, ships and armaments what might have been renovations for the schools. It is ironic, perhaps, that only a fraction of those funds which took so many to their deaths in Europe, including Aboriginal soldiers, could have been, as Dr. Seymour suggested, the "means of saving a number of lives"¹⁸⁵ of Aboriginal children.

In the years after Benson's review and still-born recommendations, the reports of illness in the schools came in unabated. Dr. H. Denovan, in 1903, reported on the unhealthy buildings at Red Deer. That same year the school's new Principal, Dr. J.P. Rice, was so upset by the institution that he wrote directly to Clifford Sifton. On his arrival at the school from a comfortable Toronto parish "the sight of the ragged ill-kempt and sickly looking children was sufficient to make me sick at heart." Enrolment was down due to deaths and the removal of children by their parents and the "sanitary conditions of the buildings are exceedingly bad."¹⁸⁶

Indian Agent Macarthur appeared equally troubled by the record of the Duck Lake boarding school. Some, he said, may believe that the students get tuberculosis from their parents, but in his mind home conditions, particularly when the children lived in tents, were more sanitary. No one "responsible can get beyond the fact that those children catch the disease while at school" confined for eight months "in a building whose every seam and crevice is, doubtless, burdened with Tuberculosis Baccilli." The result, he concluded, has been and will continue to be in the future that a full 50 per cent of the children sent to the school will die.¹⁸⁷

One of the more unusual letters contained a complaint from a day school teacher in the Qu'Appelle region, Mrs. W. Tucker. She informed the Department that students were returning home from the industrial school to die of tuberculosis. Moreover, "I consider it a crime to send a pupil sick with a contagious disease from the Industrial school to a reserve and spread disease. To say the least it is a very effectual way of solving the Indian problem." She received a polite reply from the departmental secretary. Her concerns would be investigated.¹⁸⁸ But not, perhaps, by Benson for whom the phenomenon that "should be particularly looked into"¹⁸⁹ most urgently was overcrowding. It was, with the physical failings of the buildings, the main cause of the spread of tuberculosis among the students.

Curiously, the Department maintained contradictory statistics that seemed to deny the problem of overcrowding. In 1901, for example, a table was compiled listing 40 boarding schools and 21 industrial schools, their "Provision" (funding rate and authorized number of students) "Accommodation" (school size expressed in a maximum allowable student number) and "Attendance" (the number of students actually in the school). Only four of the boarding schools had more in attendance than their accommodation number allowed. And of those, the highest number was only seven. Most were far below the limit. In fact, the total accommodation figure, that is the size of all the boarding schools combined, was 1,845 while the total attendance was only 1,426. In the industrial school

category only one school, St. Paul's, was over its limit and that was by one student. The disparity in total space and attendance was again in favour of roominess. The total accommodation was 2,280, the total attendance 1,863.

Given the surfeit of qualitative, anecdotal data from doctors and senior officials like Benson (who actually compiled the above data), which insists on widespread overcrowding, these figures must be understood to bear little relation to actual conditions in the schools. In fact, there had never been any standard set determining healthy "Accommodation" or, indeed, even a standard by which "Accommodation" was to be calculated. It is likely that what was being measured to arrive at the "Accommodation" figure was the total space of the school rather than the space where the students lived and where tuberculosis was most likely to be spread - in classrooms and dorms. Schools then may not have been overcrowded but those vital living areas must have been. That reality was confirmed by the Department and the churches when they introduced in the 1911 contracts "scientific" limits on enrolments based on the provision of 500 cubic feet for each child in a dorm and 250 cubic feet in the classrooms.¹⁹⁰

The root of overcrowded dorms and classrooms, as with the deteriorating condition of school buildings, could be traced back to funding arrangements and particularly to the per capita system. The critical need Principals had to maintain high levels of enrolment to qualify for the full grant that had been assigned to their school led to practises that contributed directly to the health problem. Pushing enrolments to and past the point of overcrowding was one of these. Qu'Appelle Industrial and Crowfoot boarding schools provided striking examples of this. The Deputy Superintendent General, in commenting to Hayter Reed on a request from Qu'Appelle's Principal for an increased authorization, noted, with reference to Dr. Seymour's report, that he "was unable to reconcile the statements made about the insufficiency of existing accommodation with the application for a considerable increase in the number of pupils for next year."¹⁹¹

In 1909, the Department's Chief Accountant, Duncan Campbell Scott, had no difficulty reconciling a request from the Principal of the Crowfoot school with information supplied by Benson that the dormitories were overcrowded and the ventilation was poor. He told the deputy superintendent, rather angrily, that of the 52 pupils that had been in the school since it had been in receipt of grants eight years earlier, eight had died, seven of those in the school and the other within a month of leaving. Of the 39 children in the school who had been examined recently by Dr. J.D. Lafferty, 22 were infected with tuberculosis in the lungs:

This is what we have to show for an expenditure of \$15,611. The outlook for the remaining pupils in attendance is not very bright and there is very little hope that the graduates of the School will attain maturity and be able to exercise any civilizing influence.... The accommodation at the School is inadequate for the number of pupils in residence, and the unhealthy pupils should be discharged.¹⁹²

Principals, of course, were contending with problems flowing directly from just the sort of funding Scott referred to and which the Crowfoot Principal no doubt saw as inadequate. As the per capita ceiling remained stubbornly unchanged at \$72 until 1911, they could only increase their grant by having their authorized student number raised. Annually, the Department was besieged with such requests. Additionally, Principals had to strive to recruit up to the maximum number authorized which might already have been a figure that permitted the overcrowding of the living spaces of the school, as was evident in the Qu'Appelle and Crowfoot examples.

The pressure that Principals worked under meant that there was a tendency to be less than careful both about overcrowding and the condition of the children they brought into the school. In 1907, the Anglican bishop of Caledonia in British Columbia wanted to turn over Metlakatla to government control because of the anxiety, and perhaps the moral disquiet, he felt over recruitment. He admitted candidly "The per capita grant system encourages the taking in of those physically and intellectually unfit simply to keep up numbers."¹⁹³

Such recruiting, coupled with the high death rates at the schools, made the job of the Principals even more difficult. MacArthur, the Duck Lake agent closed his abovementioned report with a note that the community was resisting pressure to send their children off to one of the residential schools and wanted a day school. "While they cannot very well get up and tell you just why, I know it is because so many of their children die at the Boarding school, or come home from the boarding school to die."¹⁹⁴

Neither the Agent's information about the community's attitude nor the Bishop's confession was new knowledge in the Department. It was known that schools routinely admitted unhealthy students without any medical check as "it is felt that the children would not pass the examination at the time or the children are under school age." Often these children were not seen by a doctor for months after admittance to the school. This was at times put down to the charitable notion that the children were given a space "in the hope that good food and warm clothing will effect a cure."¹⁹⁵ Whether it was

charity or fiscal expediency, however, the fact was that healthy children would be soon infected by occupying too little space as they slept or studied with the carriers of tuberculosis.

Of course, neither the Principals nor the churches were solely responsible for the schools. If school administrators were driven into excess by funding needs and led there by missionary zeal, they were not restrained in any effective way by the Department. The 1892 and 94 Orders in Council established the government's responsibility for providing medical services to the industrial schools and, by the 1911 contracts, to the boarding schools. In both cases, the Department's right to inspect the schools was made a condition of the grant. Regulations were issued in 1894 and retained, throughout the period, stipulating that children had to have a medical certificate signed by a doctor before admission.¹⁹⁶

Unfortunately, the implementation left much to be desired. There was no regular inspection of the schools nor any guarantee that forms were being filled in or doctors consulted. In 1909, the departmental secretary sent out new admission and certificate of health forms which he thought were "sufficiently stringent to guard against tubercular children being taken into the school." They were not enough, however, to keep Louise Plaited Hair out of St. Mary's boarding school on the Blood reserve. Her form was signed by Dr. O. Edwards and accepted without question by the Department, in 1911, despite the fact that there was evidence she had contracted tuberculosis. To a question which asked if there were signs of scrofula or other forms of tubercular disease, Edwards had written - "Glands on right neck slightly enlarged."¹⁹⁷

According to Scott, when he reviewed the situation with other senior officials in the Department at the end of the industrial school period, Louise represented hundreds who had been admitted despite regulations and even then the "indiscriminate admission of children without first passing a medical examination" continued. It was not only the Principals, he realized, but "our own officers who are picking up orphans, delinquents and others, that are causing the difficulty, as occasionally no application forms are forwarded." There had to be as well "more careful checking of the medical officers' remarks in the case of all applicants."¹⁹⁸

Another set of instructions which were then sent out elicited a most instructive reply from the agent at Grouard in Alberta. The children could not be checked during the summer as they were "wandering" with their parents. And then when they

arrived at school it was impossible, given the shortage of doctors in remote areas, for the doctor to examine them with any despatch as the schools were too far apart. Infected children were bound, therefore, to gain admission and once in the school as grant earners it might have been less likely that the Principal would send them off.¹⁹⁹

The administrative difficulties identified in Scott's review encompassed more, obviously, than lax implementation of regulations by officials or attempts to evade those regulations by Principals desperate to keep up enrolments. The system simply did not have the medical support that the Department was pledged to provide and that was required to properly protect the children and attend to their health needs - a tragic omission that had to be laid on the Department's doorstep.

The scope of this tragedy was measured in 1907 by Dr. P.H. Bryce, the Medical Inspector to the Department of the Interior and Indian Affairs. He had been appointed to that position in 1904 after a career in public health with the Ontario government. In February 1907, the Deputy Superintendent, F. Pedley, directed him to inspect the schools in the west reporting particularly on "the sanitary conditions at each of these schools."²⁰⁰ After visiting 35 schools, he submitted his report in November. It was printed and distributed to members of Parliament and to the churches.

Bryce's report was compelling reading. It brought the consequences for the children of all the health issues, overcrowding, the lack of proper sanitation and ventilation, and the failure of administrative controls, into horrifying focus. More than anything else it propelled health onto the agenda of the contract negotiations of 1908-1910 and even made the issue of financing the schools a health issue.

The report set out the history of the schools and then the incursion of tuberculosis - how, because of "the accidental circumstances under which especially" the boarding schools were founded, and "owing to the lack of any system under which they came under government inspection, ... cases of scrofula and other forms of constitutional disease were admitted into the school" by Principals who did "not exercise any fine discrimination as to the degree of health of those admitted to school." It then spread "through direct infection person to person" or "indirectly through the infected dust of floors, school rooms and dormitories." The situation was compounded by school staffs who were ignorant of the "actual situation" and who not uncommonly, Bryce maintained, made light of the epidemic:

This fact was fully borne out by my own experience

during the recent inspection. Principals and teachers and even physicians were at time inclined to question or minimize the dangers of infection from scrofulous or consumptive pupils and nothing less than peremptory instructions as to how to deal with cases of disease existing in the schools will eliminate this ever present danger of infection.

In some schools, he conducted scientific tests zeroing in, naturally, on ventilation. In almost all cases there had been "no serious attempt at the ventilation of dormitories". Pure air became polluted in 15 minutes so as to be detectable "by ordinary chemical tests."

It is apparent that general ill health from the continued inspiration of air of increasing foulness is inevitable; but when sometimes consumptive pupils and very frequently others with discharging scrofulous glands are present to add an infective quality to the atmosphere, we have created a situation so dangerous to health that I was often surprised at the results were not even worse than they have been shown statistically to be.

Statistics, indeed, were what mattered. The impact of the report lay not in his narrative of the disease, much of that was already known within the Department, nor in its scientific tone, the product of his "ordinary chemical tests." It was the statistical profile of the extent of the white plague among the children that projected the stunning gravity of his findings.²⁰¹ It was the stuff of headlines and so it became. The Ottawa Citizen on 16 November ran its story of the report under the banner:

SCHOOLS AID WHITE PLAGUE - STARTLING DEATH ROLLS REVEALED
AMONG INDIANS - ABSOLUTE INATTENTION TO BARE NECESSITIES OF
HEALTH

The article published by Saturday Night on the 23rd of that same month screamed just as loudly. The report should "startle the country" and "compel the attention of Parliament." "Indian boys and girls are dying like flies in these situations or shortly after leaving them.... Even war seldom shows as large a percentage of fatalities as does the education system we have imposed on our Indian wards." It revealed "a situation disgraceful to the country."²⁰²

Bryce's statistics were based upon questionnaires he distributed to all 35 schools eliciting the health history of the children who were then, or had been, in the schools. He received only 15 replies, all from boarding schools founded between 1888 and 1905, but still had what he considered

"valuable information and food for thought." The information related to the history of 1,537 children. Of these, 24 per cent had died. Invariably, the cause of death is given as "consumption or tuberculosis" and just as regularly whenever an answer was given to the question "Condition of the child on entry," it is "given as good."

The situation was bound to get even worse. The death rate would move beyond the 24 per cent mark. Close analysis by Bryce of some of the returns revealed "an intimate relationship between the health of the pupils while in the school and their early death subsequent to discharge." Of the 31 pupils who had been discharged from the File Hills boarding school, 15 left in coffins. An additional seven died from within a few months to three years after returning home. In total, 75 per cent of those on the discharge roll were actually dead. When the File Hills ratios are applied to Bryce's sample of 1,537 children, it results in an increase from 24 per cent to 42 per cent as the percentage of those children who would die from their school experience. Assuming that these ratios were constant and projecting them throughout the system in 1907, when there were 3,755 students in the schools, would mean that some 1,614 of those children would die prematurely. And every year more children came into the schools and more became infected.²⁰³

In 1909, the Departmental Secretary, J. McLean, in support of a second western trip made by Bryce, in association with Dr. J.D. Lafferty, collected information from an additional 13 schools of the 35 Bryce had originally targeted. The statistics, again relating to children then in the school or children who had been discharged up to three years previously, matched the original findings. Twenty-three per cent of the children had died. The statistics for individual schools revealed higher percentages, particularly, as would be expected, for the schools that had been in existence for longer periods. At Keeseehousee school, opened only since 1905, only one child had died. However, at Old Sun's, founded in 1890, and the Church of England boarding school on the Peigan reserve (1892) 65 and 64 children respectively had died giving those schools a death rate of 47 per cent.²⁰⁴ Comments, which accompanied some of the reports, suggested that the figures could actually be higher. The Agent A. Mcmillan warned that the Round Lake report was not accurate as "Many other students [other than those identified in the report] have gone through this school ... and I fear that a full investigation would disclose that many of them have died."²⁰⁵

McLean also received a fair number of comments from local officials on Bryce's report, itself, which on the whole substantiated the doctor's findings. For the Agent T. Eastwood Jackson "the mortality rate amongst children sent to those

establishments ... has in the past been deplorably large" and, he added, it had "contributed not a little to cause the reluctance of the Indian parents to send their children to Boarding & Industrial schools."²⁰⁶ Others understood the relationship between the condition of the schools and the spread of the disease. The inspector of Indian agencies in the Kenora region told McLean that

Some schools which I have visited tolerate the most unwholesome basements. Dust is allowed to gather as if it were a harmless factor in the Health of the School. Putrid water lies hidden under the floors. Vegetables are allowed to pollute the air where children play in cold weather. Drains are not flushed frequently. Bathing of sick and well in the same tub and on the same day and in the same small room is permitted. Disinfectants are used too sparingly. There is room for a general awakening on the question of sanitary arrangements.²⁰⁷

Some few were willing to defend the record of the schools. S. Swinford, an Inspector of Indian Agencies, attacked Bryce as a medical "faddist" and described the "jolly, healthy children fairly bubbling over with vitality" to be found in Manitoba boarding schools.²⁰⁸ One of the local Manitoba agents contradicted him suggesting that Bryce was "pretty near the mark."²⁰⁹ David Laird was angered that Bryce's report had had such wide circulation and had led to "sensational headlines" that had brought the schools "into undeserved disrepute." The best he could do in their defense, however, was to tender his opinion that the health of the children had improved in recent years and that the sanitary condition of the schools was every bit as good as that of other public buildings in the region²¹⁰ - a contention that might not have been comforting to any of the civil servants working in those buildings who were familiar with Bryce's report. Father Hugonard at Qu'Appelle asserted that the success of Indian education was "something to be proud of." He, at least, was far from being ashamed of his school's record. In the period 1884 to 1905, 795 children had been pupils - 153 had died in the school or within two years after leaving. This meant that only 19 per cent of the children who had come to him had died under his care.²¹¹

Despite the gravity of the situation, no full investigation was ever launched. Surveys were not undertaken in British Columbia or Ontario and the industrial schools did not produce statistical reports. It would be either a herculean or foolhardy task, if not both, to try to reconstruct statistical profiles for the schools from admission and discharge records which are not complete. What is available is qualitative evidence with limited statistical references. These, however, are suggestive, pointing in the same tragic direction as

Bryce's findings. The Principal of Calgary Industrial wrote that "a large percentage (much too large) of the pupils die either during their school life or soon afterwards."²¹² In the 11-year history of the school, 10 of the 32 Blackfoot pupils had died. Scott noted, in 1910, that the latest medical report on High River by Bryce and Lafferty showed that nearly every child suffered from tuberculosis.²¹³ Benson reported on the boarding school at Chapleau in northeastern Ontario where seven of the 31 children died in one three month period. Parents were so frightened that they were no longer willing to let their children go off to school.²¹⁴

Kuper Island Industrial school in British Columbia was an exception but not, however, from the doleful impact of tuberculosis. Fortuitously, the Principal, Father Lemmens, submitted a full survey in 1915 when the school was 25 years old and had just moved into new premises. Since 1907, his predecessor, Father Classen, had campaigned for a new school, with the support of the local doctor, as the original buildings were "both unsanitary and unhygienic to a high degree, as well as being impregnated with the germs of infectious diseases." The buildings were badly sited at the bottom of a steep hill so that there was no room for a playground. They were in an advanced state of decay. The heating system did not work effectively, "most of the buildings are so shaken up by the wind that the plaster comes down in patches" while "the boys main building has been sinking for more than six inches at one side." On the occasion of the opening of the new buildings, Principal Lemmens sent in the names of the students, 193 boys and 128 girls, who had been in the school since its founding. He was able to supply information on 165 of the boys and 99 of the girls. Of the total, 264, 107 were dead. The future may not have been all that bright either. He added as a final comment. "From a sanitary point of view our [new] buildings are far from perfect, but we always try to keep them scrupulously clean and well ventilated."²¹⁵

With the Bryce report in hand, comments from agents and remarks such as Blake's about manslaughter, it is not surprising that the negotiations of 1908-10 turned to the question of the tuberculosis epidemic. In fact, the report had carried forward recommendations for the reformulation of the school system. These urged the government to press on with residential education with the stress on reserve boarding schools, to place the management of the schools wholly in Departmental hands, relegating the churches to an advisory capacity, and to insure that

... the health interests of the pupils be guarded by a proper medical inspection and that the local physicians be encouraged through the provision at

each school of fresh air methods in the care and treatment of cases of tuberculosis.²¹⁶

The contracts approached the problem in different ways with regulations aimed at improving the medical screening of children entering the schools and at ending overcrowding and revisions to the funding system to facilitate better maintenance and improvements in the vital areas of ventilation and sanitation. These may have been chosen for reasons of cost rather than efficacy. Bryce's recommendation of "fresh air methods" for each school was shorthand for sanatoria which would have been a very expensive approach to the problem necessitating considerable remodelling of buildings and high levels of medical staffing to care for the children. That may have been politically beyond reach, as well. The Catholic church was opposed to many of the reforms, Bryce's and those eventually included in the contracts. The schools, the church charged, were being "submitted to vexatious requirements by physicians, whose interests therein appear to have been in large measure confined to making unnecessary demands." Moreover, in what may have been a reference to Bryce, "it has been painfully evident that the Department's medical policy has been inspired by faddism."²¹⁷

There seemed to be on the part of most parties, however, a determination to fashion and use the contracts as a weapon in the struggle to eradicate the scourge of tuberculosis.²¹⁸ Unfortunately, that determination evaporated rapidly and the conditions in the schools went on unchanged and that is what drew the public ire of Dr. Bryce in 1922.

When Bryce took up his pen in vitriolic exasperation and composed "The Story of a National Crime," he laid the blame for the continuing death of children squarely on the shoulders of "the dominating influence" Duncan Campbell Scott who had become "the reactionary" deputy superintendent general in 1913 and prevented "even the simplest effective efforts to deal with the health problem of the Indians along modern scientific lines." "Owing to Scott's active opposition ... no action was taken by the Department to give effect to the recommendations made." Within a year, Scott shouldered Bryce out of the Department and replaced him with a man, Dr. O.I. Grain, "since retired for good cause, quite inexperienced in dealing with Indian disease problems [which]... showed how little the Minister cared for the solution of the tuberculosis problem."²¹⁹ Grain, indeed, was certainly not energetic in his new position. He spent much of his time during the War inspecting military recruits and neglecting his Indian responsibilities with the approval of the Department.²²⁰

Though much of Bryce's narrative is the self-interested tale of his failed ambitions in the Department and of his

unsuccessful attempt to secure the appointment as the first deputy minister of the department of health when it was formed in 1919, the core of his charges were undeniable. Scott was in charge and nothing was accomplished. The evidence and the causes for that were close at hand.

Obviously, as Scott himself admitted, the war forced the cancellation of building projects that were intended to improve the schools and the health regulations were still not, as he discovered when he reviewed the situation with senior officials in 1925, preventing the recruitment of infected children.²²¹ But economies in other areas, based on Departmental rather than Parliamentary decisions, further reduced the ability of the Department to care properly for the children. The budget for medical services was not protected from wartime measures of economy and it declined throughout the period. Bryce estimated that only \$10,000 a year was put into the budget to discharge the government's medical responsibility to some 105,000 people spread across the country in 300 bands while in the City of Ottawa with a similar population, the Province spent three times that amount on tuberculosis patients alone.²²² In fact, the Department did not have doctors of its own in the field. It contracted medical services from local physicians so that Aboriginal communities and the school shared the practitioner's time and energy with the non-Aboriginal population. In this arrangement there was no guarantee that the health needs of the children would be met.

Certainly, through the war years and after, the Department was progressively less capable of dealing with the white plague and it was completely unarmed in the face of the Spanish flu that struck the country in 1918-19. At the war's end an influenza pandemic killed some 20 million people around the world.²²³ It was brought to Canada from Europe by repatriated soldiers and spread across the nation as they returned to their homes. It killed an estimated 30,000 Canadians, 4,000 of whom were Aboriginal people.²²⁴ As with tuberculosis, the mortality rate was higher for Aboriginal than for non-Aboriginal communities. Maureen Lux, an historian who has studied the epidemic among "Prairie Indians," argues that that rate was the result not "of a so-called 'biological invasion' of non-immune people" but of "poor living conditions, poor nutrition and lack of access to medical care."²²⁵ All of those factors pertained to the schools.

The children in some schools were clearly defenceless. From Onion Lake Catholic boarding Agent W. Sibbald reported that in November 1918, 45 children, all but one, were "laid up with the sickness" along with eight of the 10 Sisters. They were in a "precarious condition" as "help was not obtainable either from the Indian or white inhabitants" nor from Dr. Eacret who

gave "the whole Institution as much attention as he could afford to give, he had so many other calls to answer." Finally four Sisters came to their assistance from St. Paul des Metis yet, in the course of the sickness, "seven Indian and two non-treaty children died."²²⁶

There had been no doctor at all to visit the sick at Red Deer Industrial School that November. The Principal, J. Woodsworth, who had been ill along with the students and staff, sent along word to the Departmental Secretary, J. McLean, that five children had perished - Georgina House, Jane Baptiste, Sarah Secsay, David Lightning and William Cardinal who had died of the sickness "as a runaway from the school." Conditions were "nothing less than criminal." "We have no isolation ward and no hospital equipment of any kind." At the height of the sickness, without medical attention, "The dead, the dying, the sick and convalescent, were all together" in the same room. You must, he pleaded, "put this school in shape to fulfil its function as an educational institution. At present it is a disgrace."

It was not the only disgrace. As no one had recovered sufficiently to bury the children in the school cemetery, the Red Deer undertaker had to be summoned. Woodsworth assured McLean, however, that he had kept a watchful eye on expenses. "I directed the undertaker to be as careful as possible in his charge, so he gave them a burial as near as possible to that of a pauper. They are buried two in a grave."²²⁷

There was one further disgrace. In the year that the flu struck down so many of the Department's wards in the schools and the communities, Scott decided to dispense with the position of Medical Inspector - "for reasons of economy."²²⁸

The evidence which most effectively supports Bryce's Story, his charge "that there had been a criminal disregard for ... the welfare of the Indian wards of the nation,"²²⁹ resides in documents in Departmental files that Bryce never saw. These reports, some gathered on Scott's initiative, not only chart the persistence of all the conditions that were known to undermine the health of the children but reveal, in some cases, the neglect, the lack of love, for those suffering and dying in the careless arms of school authorities.²³⁰

It was not only the schools but schooling, the standard of care and the rhythm of life, that led the children down Bryce's "trail of disease and death."²³¹ A study undertaken jointly by the prestigious Bureau of American Ethnology and the Office of Indian Affairs of Tuberculosis Among Certain Indian Tribes of the United States, published in 1909, asserted that the cause of the disease among children in non-reservation schools

is the depressing effect on the newly arrived child, of a radically different environment. A child taken from a reservation where it has become accustomed to almost unrestricted freedom of will and motion, is subjected to discipline for at least four-fifths of its waking hours. In addition, there are the exertion of studying in a strange language, the change of associations, the homesickness, the lack of sufficient diversified exercise out of doors, and (to it) unusual food. All these influences can not but have a depressing and physically exhausting effect, which makes the pupil an easier prey to consumption.

The mental condition of a victim of tuberculosis, as well as the physical surroundings, was a critical factor influencing the course of the disease. Here again, the study suggested, the pupil, far from home and the comfort of parental sympathy, was at a disadvantage. Often "the patient utterly gives up the fight against the disease as soon as he fully understands that he is infected. This is particularly true of the young"²³²

Catholic schools in Canada certainly substantiated that observation. Duncan Campbell Scott, though he felt it "a shame to have to draw invidious comparisons between the religious bodies," held, and there was a fair deal of evidence on his side, that Catholic schools were in better physical condition than Protestant and especially Anglican ones.²³³ While that was not disputed by the Inspector of Indian Agencies in British Columbia, W. Ditchburn, he argued in his report on Catholic schools in 1920 that the mode of conducting the school was an equally important factor in the children's health. He had witnessed "apparently robust children weaken shortly after admission and eventually become so sick that they have to be sent home on sick leave." This could "be accounted for by any of the following reasons and possibly all of them"

(A) Lack of proper rest occasioned by early rising to attend religious services. (B) Manual labour performed by the students to severe for them. (C) Lack of nourishing food containing the necessary fats to build up the body. Remedy: - In Catholic schools children should be allowed to remain in bed until at least 6:30 A.M. in the summer months and 7:00 A.M. in the winter and the hours for early religious service and study should be advanced. As regards food I am of the opinion that a dietary should be determined upon by the Department after consultation with authorities on this subject and all residential schools should be forced to provide the same.²³⁴

Both of these strands of disease etiology, the physical context of the children's life at school and the psychological impact of schooling, were brought together powerfully for the Department by Dr. F.A. Corbett. The impact of his reports came not from another round of statistics but from descriptions of the children which seemed to shock even the doctor, himself.

Corbett was a Regina physician Scott commissioned, in 1920 and again in 1922,²³⁵ to survey the western boarding schools - the same ground that Bryce had covered in 1907 and 1909. He found that little had changed. At Ermineskins school, Hobbema, 50 per cent of the children were infected and the school overcrowded. Old Sun's was the Church of England school on the Blackfoot reserve. Bryce had condemned it in 1907 and it still deserved that fate. The buildings were "far short of ideal," the "dormitories are overcrowded" and there was "no proper playroom" or "infirmary in the building." The ventilation was poor as "the ceilings are low" and the children did not have access to the balconies "which constitutes a very serious defect ... for an abundance of fresh air is essential for the health of all children."

Those conditions had left their indelible and mortal mark on the children who Corbett found to be "below par in health and appearance." Seventy per cent of them were infected. They had "enlarged lymphatic glands, many with scrofulous sores requiring prompt medical attention." "One little girl", Emma Big Old Man, had "a large tuberculous abscess of the neck and jaw", another, Mary Red Morning, "is suffering from tuberculous ulcers of the chest and neck and requires equally urgent treatment." A boy, William Calfrobe, had consumption "and should not be in the school, as he is a danger to the other pupils as well as in a precarious state of health himself."

But it was the discovery that 60 per cent of the children had "scabies or itch ... in an aggravated form" which most upset Corbett for this was unnecessary and a sign of gross neglect. This skin infection caused by the itch mite and usually found amongst children living in overcrowded and unhygienic conditions had "been neglected or unrecognized and had plainly gone on for months."

The hands and arms, and in fact the whole bodies of many of the children being covered with crusts and sores from this disgusting disease. Two of the girls [Jean Spotted One and Elsie Many Goods], have sores on the back of their heads fully three inches across and heaped up with crusts nearly a half inch deep. The condition requires active treatment....

The remedy was simple cleanliness. Scabies could be eradicated

"in a short time with efficient treatment." The childrens' clothing and bedding and "all articles coming into contact with the affected parts will require sterilization by boiling or being well washed with antiseptic."

As bad as the situation was at old Sun's, it was worse at the Sarcee boarding school outside Calgary, another Anglican establishment. The school was "neither clean, tidy nor sanitary." There were 33 pupils "much below even a passable standard of health." "All but four were infected with tuberculosis, were in "a condition bad in the extreme" and were "fighting a losing battle with this disease." Corbett expected that their health would deteriorate further through the winter when the children were "kept more closely housed." On entering the classroom, he found a lesson in progress - 16 of the children had "suppurating glands or open ulcers and many sit at their desks with unsightly bandages around their necks to cover up their large swellings and foul sores." They might not live for long but it seemed that the Principal was determined that slates and chalk in hand, they would die on the road to civilization. In the infirmary Corbett found a child who did not have much farther to travel.

The condition of one little girl found in the infirmary is pitiable indeed. She lies curled up in a bed that is filthy, in a room that is untidy, dirty and dilapidated, in the northwest corner of the building with no provision of balcony, sunshine or fresh air. Both sides of her neck and chest are swollen and five foul ulcers are discovered when we lift the bandages. This gives her pain, and her tears from her fear of being touched, intensifies the picture of her misery.²³⁶

Two years later Corbett made another tour for the Department. This time he was not a passive observer but the agent of a remarkable course of treatment. In January, 1922 Dr. A.H. Kennedy, who had done some work for the Department in the two boarding schools on the Blood reserve, proposed that a surgeon from Calgary be engaged to remove the tonsils, the suspected source of infection, from 68 children who showed signs of tuberculosis. He could accomplish the task within two or three days and for good measure, "while the children are under anaesthetic, the teeth that require extracting [would] be taken out." The Indian commissioner thought that the idea of asking the Department to send "in a Doctor to remove the tonsils and adenoids of 60% of the pupils ... is unusual to say the least".²³⁷ He was not aware, perhaps, that the procedure had previously been approved and carried out at the Kamloops Industrial school.²³⁸

It was approved again. Corbett took up the task in the spring.

At Crowfoot, the Blackfoot school at Cluny, at Old Sun's, where "the sanitary conditions are no better than last year," at Sarcee, where thanks to the work of a Dr. Murray the health of the children had improved but the building still lacked the "most essential requirements" for good health, at Hobbema and on to St. Albert's in Edmonton, children were laid out on tables and he removed glands, teeth, adenoids and tonsils, at times with parental consent, but often without. He completed 60 multiple operations saving the Department, the commissioner estimated, between \$1,000 and \$1,500 by doing the operations in the schools rather than in hospitals.²³⁹

Corbett's reports revealed one final dynamic of the situation -it did not have to be quite so deplorable. Even within the budgetary limits imposed on the Department, throughout the industrial school era, by a Parliament whose priorities were placed elsewhere and despite the overwhelming force of the plague which was sure to find its way into the schools to some degree given the rudimentary diagnostic techniques available in this period, greater and more effective care could have been taken of the children. Church and Departmental determination and soap, fresh air, sunlight and Christian love could work against the tide of suffering. When he visited Crowfoot Catholic boarding school which had been severely criticized by both Dr. J.D. Lafferty and Scott in 1909,²⁴⁰ the children Corbett encountered were, in the main, "fully up to a high standard of health and appearance." They were "plainly well fed and clothed, clean and wholesome standing erect and soldierly, strong and vigorous and would compare well with the children of any school." As he travelled through the system, there were other examples speaking of the efforts of Principals and their staffs.²⁴¹

The Department too had it within its power to make a greater effort, if not through improved funding than through muscle - by insisting its own officials carry out inspections and that the churches follow regulations directed to the care of the children. In only one case did it use the lever the contracts placed in its hands, its right to cancel grants and take children out of a school, to move a Principal into compliance. In 1912, St. Cyprians, the Church of England school on the Peigan reserve, was "not being conducted according to the contract.... the whole standard of the institution is very much below what the Department has a right to expect." Scott had discovered when he visited the western schools that the Principals of both St. Cyprians and Old Sun's did not even have copies of the contracts and were, therefore, "ignorant to a certain extent of their responsibilities." Over the next two years the Department brought pressure to bear on the school staff and church officials, threatening that "unless the terms of the contracts are lived up to" it would be "compelled to withhold the grant." In 1914, the school received a good

report and so the grant was continued. Almost immediately, it slid back and the Department returned to threats of closure without result. In 1925, it was still well below par. W. Graham, the Indian Commissioner, commented to Ottawa

just imagine at the present day a school having the windows nailed down and no means of ventilating the dormitories. It is almost criminal and it shows the class of men we have in charge of that institution The Indians have good grounds for complaint here and some decisive action should be taken by the Department to remedy this state of affairs at once.²⁴²

The Department did not have to rely on its imagination - there were too many on-going St. Cyprians for that to be necessary. And in this case too, nothing was done. The Departmental watch dog was far from vigilant; it rarely barked and as at St. Cyprians, to say nothing of Old Sun's or so many other schools over which Bryce, Paget, Corbett, local doctors and even senior Departmental officials had shaken their heads,²⁴³ it certainly did not bite. The Orders in Council of 1892 and 1894 and the contracts of 1911 were in fact administrative fictions - powers, authorities and agreements that did not facilitate effective, efficient, or even what seemed the most constant goal, economical management.

The reality was that from the moment the school system was launched in the 1880s and 1890s, it drifted without a firm hand, without concerted intervention. And this was despite the knowledge that many children were held in dangerous circumstances and that the death rate was not only of tragic proportions but was, in addition, undercutting the whole purpose and strategy of the system - many, many children, perhaps as high as 50 per cent according to the Department's estimate would not "attain maturity and be able to exercise any civilizing influence" in their communities.²⁴⁴

A significant cause of this lay with personnel in the Department and in the churches involved directly in the management of the system: with such as the careless "class of men" and women at places like St. Cyprians, with officials like W. Graham who admitted on the receipt of Corbett's reports that he was ignorant of the condition of the schools in an area for which he held primary responsibility²⁴⁵, with senior clerics who thought "the requirement of isolated hospital accommodation ... excessive"²⁴⁶ and whose reaction to Corbett's report on Old Sun's was to suggest that it was "somewhat overemphasized"²⁴⁷ and, of course, with Bryce's bete noir, Scott, whose biographer, Brian Titley, puts much of the system's crisis down to the deputy superintendent's "economizing attitude."²⁴⁸

These many men and women failed to act decisively in the face of the suffering and death of so many children. But they were joined in complicity and insensitivity by non-Aboriginal society as a whole. The devastation that the white plague brought to the children in the schools and through their deaths to their parents and communities drew out the fundamental contradiction between the persistent cruelty of the system and the discourse of duty - of the "sacred trust with which Providence has invested the country in the charge of and care for the aborigines committed to it."²⁴⁹ It was a contradiction that the country was not prepared to face. The editor of Saturday Night seemed to sense that from the very moment of the publication of the Bryce report:

His report is printed, many people will scan the title on the cover, some will open it, a few will read it and so the thing will drift along another year. And so with the next year and the year after. So will be the course of events ... unless public opinion takes the question up and forces it to the front. Then Parliament will show a quick interest, pigeon holes will give up their dusty contents, medical officers will have a wealth of suggestions and the scandalous procession of Indian children to school and on to the cemetery may possibly be stopped.²⁵⁰

Of course, none of those conditions were fulfilled. There was no "public opinion," Parliament showed no interest quick or otherwise and the children continued to go to the schools and to the schools' cemeteries. By 1907, and certainly by 1923, the issue of Aboriginal people had long since been swept into the darker reaches of national consciousness. The deaths, and the condition of the schools pricked no collective conscience, wrought no revolution in policy or even any significant reformulation. Sir George Murray's comment in 1830 about the old Imperial policy was just as true nearly one century later. This federal policy "was persisted in as a matter of routine, than upon any considered grounds of preference."²⁵¹ There was no reconsideration, no second thoughts, no questioning of the assumptions of assimilation or of residential schools as an appropriate method of achieving that end. There appeared to be no thought or reaction at all.

The "routine" of residential education persisted. Unlike so many children, it survived the tubercular infection. It survived, as well, the fact that throughout the industrial school era the parenting presumption of the Department and the churches, the cornerstone of the school system, was a forlorn hypocrisy. The vision of life and learning in the "circle of civilized conditions" had not become a reality. The promise that children would receive the "care of a mother"²⁵² and an

education that would elevate the child "to a status equal to that of his white brother"²⁵³ remained unfulfilled. As a second review of this period will demonstrate, the children were not cherished or nurtured, not adequately clothed or fed or even educated according to the system's curriculum. Some sense of that is given by the Rev. A. Lett who became the Principal of St. George's Residential school in 1923 and found on arrival in Lytton that

The Children were lean and anaemic and T.B. glands were running in many cases. Energy was at its lowest ebb. Five minutes leap frog was the most I could get out of the boys at once. In examining the Bill of Fare I found that here lay a great deal of the trouble in the health and welfare of the children. They were not getting enough to eat....²⁵⁴

In 1923 that was the system's history. It was also its future. After Bryce, the circle, closed and silent, ignored by Parliament and impervious both to the occasional critique from without and to the constant evidence of neglect and mistreatment of children coming from local officials, carried those children helplessly forward for another two decades. Not until the middle of the next war, in which Aboriginal soldiers, some of them young men from residential schools, again played a heroic role, would the preference for residential schools begin to be eroded.

1. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3933, File 117657-1A, MR C 10164, To D.C. Scott from Rev. J. Guy, 16 May, 1922.

2. P.H. Bryce, The Story of a National Crime Being an Appeal for Justice to the Indians of Canada (Ottawa, James Hope & Sons, Limited, 1922), page 14.

3. D.C. Scott "Indian Affairs 1867-1912" in A. Shortt ed., Canada and its Provinces (Toronto, University of Edinburgh Press, 1913), Vol. 7, page 615.

4. G.J. Wherrit, The Miracle of Empty Beds: A History of Tuberculosis in Canada (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1977), pages 11-13.

5. P.H. Bryce, The Story of a National Crime, page 14.

6. Statutes of Canada, 1868, c.42 (31 Vict).

7. It is impossible to determine the number of Aboriginal children who attended the schools over the life of the system. Estimates have been given. T. Lascelles, O.M.I. in "Indian Residential Schools" in the Canadian Catholic Review, May 1992, suggests that less than one in six attended. James Redford in his study - "Attendance at Indian Residential Schools in British Columbia, 1890-1920" in B.C. Studies, Number 44, Winter 1979-80, concluded that only 17.6% of children aged 6 to 15 attended residential schools in British Columbia in 1901 and that the number rose to 22.3% in 1920. J.R. Miller in "Owen Glendower, Hotspur and Canadian Indian Policy, Ethnohistory, 37, no. 4, 1990, concluded that "the system never reached more than a minority of young Indians and Inuit." In fact, the extant school records for the system as a whole are not complete enough to allow useful calculations to be made. Given that fact, this text relies upon enrolment lists found in N.A.C. RG 10 Files, INAC Files and the Tabular Statements of the Annual Reports. These, however, give only total enrolments per year and cannot be used to determine the number of children who had a residential school experience. Any figures including the minorities mentioned in Lascelles, Redford and Miller, are dangerously misleading unless they are fully contextualized. An important part of that context is the realization that the impact of the system was felt not only by the children who attended the schools but by their families and communities who were deprived of their children and had to

deal subsequently with children who returned damaged from the schools. In that sense, communities, parents and, indeed children who would be born to the ex-students of the residential schools, were all enrolled.

8. See Appendix 1.

9. Those were: Kuper Island, Kootenay and Kamloops in British Columbia and Battleford, Qu'Appelle and High River in the Northwest.

10. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7185, File 1/25-1-7-1, MR C 9696, Memorandum to the Hon. Charles Stewart, 31 October, 1927.

11. J. W. Grant, The Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and Indians of Canada in Encounters since 1534 (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1984) pages 98-105.

12. As quoted in J.S. Milloy, The Plains Cree (Winnipeg, University of Manitoba Press, 1988), page 104.

13. J.W. Grant, The Moon of Wintertime, page 99.

14. W. Stevenson, "The Red River Indian Mission School and John West's 'Little Charges', 1820-1833" in Native Studies Review, Vol. 4, Nos. 1 & 2, 1988.

15. J.S. Milloy, The Plains Cree, page 109.

16. J.L. Taylor "Canada's Northwest Indian Policy in the 1870s: Traditional Premises and Necessary Innovations" in R. Price ed., The Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties (Montreal, Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1980).

17. A. Morris, The Treaties of Canada, pages 354 and 371.

18. H. Dempsey, Big Bear (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1984), pages 71-73.

19. The Davin Report.

20. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422-2, MR C 10118, Report of a Committee of the Privy Council Approved by the Governor in Council, 13 July, 1883.

21. N.A. C. RG 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422-2, MR C 10118, To Sir John A. Macdonald from the Archbishop of Quebec, February, 1883.

22. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422-2, MR C 10118, To Sir John A. Macdonald from L. Vankoughnet, 11 June, 1883.

23. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422, MR C 10118, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from J. McDougall, 28 October, 1883.
24. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3647, File 8128, MR C 10113, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from A. Sutherland, 30 July, 1883.
25. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6436, File 878-1 (1-3), MR C 8762, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M. Benson, 23 October, 1907.
26. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422, MR C 10118, To Father Lacombe from E. Dewdney, 23 July, 1883. See for a history of the school: W. Wasylow, History of Battleford Industrial School for Indians, Unpublished Thesis, M.Ed., University of Saskatchewan, 1972.
27. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3927, File 116836-1A, MR C 10162, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from E. Dewdney, 14 December, 1885.
28. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3924, File 116823, MR C 10162, To Sir John A. Macdonald from L. Vankoughnet, 15 March, 1886.
29. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3924, File 116823, MR C 10162, see: To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from E. Wilson, 25 June 1887, To Minister of the Interior from E. Wilson, 20 October, 1887 and To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from E. Wilson n.d., 1888.
30. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3952, File 134858, MR C 10166, To Indian Commissioner from Rev. E. Grouard, 16 December, 1895.
31. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3694, File 14676, MR C 10121, To J. Powell from L. Vankoughnet, 2 August, 1884 and To J. Powell from L. Vankoughnet, 29 November, 1884.
32. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3743, File 30614, MR 10132, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from J. Powell, 26 November, 1886, Vol. 3694, File 14676, MR C 10121, To E. Dewdney from L. Vankoughnet, 8 July, 1890 and To Sir John A. Macdonald from D. Jennings, 20 June, 1885, J. Barman, "Separate and Unequal: Indian and White Girls at All Hallows School, 1884-1920" in J. Barman, Y. Hebert and D. McCaskill, eds., Indian Education in Canada, Volume 1: The Legacy (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1986), page 111 and INAC File 1/25-1, Vol. 51, "Education".
33. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3853, File 77025. To ? M.P. from Mrs. S. Burns, 13 February, 1892, To A.W. Powell from M.J. Cartmell, 23 March, 1892 and To T. Mayne Daly from L. Vankoughnet, 24

April, 1893.

34. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6467, File 889-1 (1-2), MR C 8785, To T. Mayne Daly from Chiefs of Squamish, Sechelt ... Tribes, December, 1894, Memorandum for the Minister from Martin Benson, 9 March, 1897 and To C. Sifton from Bishop of Westminster, 26 Novembr, 1898.

35. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6426, File 875-1-2-3-5, MR C 8756, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from Rev. A. Hall, 18 June 1894, To A. Vowell from Elizabeth Hall, September, 1894, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from A. Vowell, 27 December 1895 and To Vowell from Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 23 May, 1895.

36. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3764, File 32725-1, Mr C 10134, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from H. Reed, 19 April, 1887.

37. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3764, File 32725-1, MR C 10134, To E. Dewdney from Bishop of Rupert's Land, 24 March, 1890.

38. Annual Report 1908, Tabular Statements. Is it merely a statistical coincidence that the list reveals that there were then 7 Catholic industrial schools and 7 Anglican ones across the country?

39. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Sir J.J. Abbott from Members of the Baptist Ministerial Association of Toronto, 27 May, 1892.

40. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6422, File 869-1 (1-3), MR C 8754, To Thomas Earle M.P. from E. Dewdney, 10 March, 1890, Vol. 6267, File 580-1 (1-3), MR C 8656, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from T. Davis M.P. 8 August, 1903 and Vol. 6467, File 889-1 (1-2), MR C 8785, To C. Corbould Q.C. M.P. from T. Mayne Daly, 21 December, 1894.

41. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3844, File 73320, MR C 10148, To T. Mayne Daly from D. H. Macdowall M.P., 6 July, 1894.

42. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3866, File 87071-1, MR C 10153, Memorandum for the Information of the Minister from H. Reed and To Bishop of Calgary, 12 May, 1894.

43. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3799, File 48432-1, MR C 10139, To Sir John A. Macdonald from L. Vankoughnet, 7 July, 1887.

44. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3799, File 48432-1, MR C 10139, To A. Vowell from E. Dewdney and To J.A. Macrae from E. Dewdney, June 1890.

45. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6436, File 878-1 (1-3), MR C 8762, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from Martin Benson, 23 October, 1907.

46. See for example: N.A.C. Vol. 6267, File 580-1 (1-3), MR C 8656, Petition to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from The Pas Band 8 August, 1903 and Vol. 6467, File 889-1 (1-2), MR C 8785, Petition to T. Mayne Daly from the Squamish, 1894.

47. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6459, File 887-1 (1-2), MR C 8779, To Hon. Clifford Sifton from Sechelt Band, 25 December, 1903.

48. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6459, File 887-1 (1-2), MR C 8779, To Deputy Superintendent General from Martin Benson, 10 February, 1904.

49. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6459, File 887-1 (1-2), MR C 8779, To Hon. Clifford Sifton from the Sechelt Band, 25 December, 1903.

50. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6459, File 887-1 (1-2), MR C 8779, To Clifford Sifton from Bishop of New Westminster, 25 March, 1904.

51. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6459, File 887-1 (1-2), MR C 8779, To Deputy Superintendent General from M. Benson, 28 March, 1904, To Deputy Superintendent General from D.C. Scott, 10 May, 1904.

52. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6459, File 887-1 (1-2), MR C 8779, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M. Benson, 19 February, 1905 and To R. McDonald from F. Pedley, 3 March, 1905.

53. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6459, File 887-1 (1-2), MR C 8779, To A. Vowell from J. McLean, 23 June, 1907.

54. D. Leighton, "A Victorian Civil Servant at Work: Lawrence Vankoughnet and the Canadian Indian Department, 1874-1893" in L. Getty and A. Lussier eds., *As Long as the Sun Shines and the Water Flows* (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1983), page 105.

55. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3924, File 116823, To Sir John A. Macdonald from L. Vankoughnet, 10 December, 1885 and To Sir John A. Macdonald from L. Vankoughnet, 15 March, 1886.

56. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Reverend and Dear Sirs from F. Oliver, 21 March, 1908.

57. N.A.C. RG 10, Vol. 3674, File 11422-4, MR C 10118, To Principal of Qu'Appelle from Deputy Superintendent General of

Indian Affairs, April, 1891.

58. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3933, File 117657-1, MR C 10164, Memorandum for the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 17 September, 1891.

59. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3927, File 116836-1A, MR C 10162, To E. Dewdney from L. Vankoughnet, 2 June, 1890.

60. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3926, File 116836-1, MR C 10162, To E. Dewdney from L. Vankoughnet, 10 June 1890.

61. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3799, File 48432-1, MR C 10139, To L. Vankoughnet from E. Dewdney, 15 September, 1891, Vol. 3919, File 116751-1, MR C 10161, To E. Dewdney from L. Vankoughnet, 28 March, 1890 and Vol. 3674, File 11422-4, MR C 10118, To E. Dewdney from Rev. J. Hugonard, 5 May, 1891.

62. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422-5, MR C 10118, Memorandum for the Deputy Minister, 11 September, 1891.

63. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3918, File 116659-1, MR C 10161, To A. Vowell from L. Vankoughnet, 6 February, 1893 and Vol. 3853, File 77025, MR C 10150, To T. Mayne Daly from L. Vankoughnet, 24 April, 1893.

64. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3844, File 72929, MR C 10148, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from H. Reed, 3 December, 1891.

65. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3866, File 87071, MR C 10153, To Bishop of Calgary from Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 18 August, 1892.

66. INAC File 600-1, Vol. 2., Report of the Honourable the Privy Council, approved by the Governor General in Council, on the 22nd October, 1892.

67. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. File 116836-1A, MR C 10162, To E. Dewdney from L. Vankoughnet, 2 June 1890.

68. INAC File 600-1, Vol. 2., Report of the Committee of the Privy Council ... 22 October, 1892.

69. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Reverend and Dear Sirs from F. Oliver, 21 March, 1908.

70. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3930, File 117377-1A, MR C 10163, To Indian Commissioner from Chair, Board of Management, 1893 and To T. Mayne Daly from L. Vankoughnet, 23 May, 1893.

71. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6001 File 1-1-1 (1), MR C 8134, Order in Council no. P.C. 792, 27 March, 1893.

72. INAC File 600-1, Vol. 2., Report of the Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council ... 22 October, 1892.

73. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3922, File 118820-1, MR C 10162, To Archdeacon J.A. Mackay from H. Reed, 1 March, 1895, Vol. 3938, File 121607, MR C 10164, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from H. Reed, 1894, Draft, Vol. 3836, File 68557, MR C 10146, To H. Reed from L. Vankoughnet, 15 August, 1891, To E. Dewdney from the Bishop of Ruperts Land, 7 August, 1891, Vol. 6032, File 150-40A, MR C 8149, Regulations Relating to the Education of Indian Children, 1894.

74. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6032, File 150-40A, MR C 8149, Regulations Relating to the Education of Indian Children, 1894.

75. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6032, File 150-40A, MR C 8149, Regulations Relating to the Education of Indian Children, 1894.

76. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3938, File 121607, Mr C 10164, To A. Forget from Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 18 January, 1895.

77. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3922, File 116820-1, MR C 10162, To Archdeacon J. A. Mackay, from H. Reed, 1 March, 1895.

78. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422, MR C 10118, To Sir John A. Macdonald from L. Vankoughnet, 20 July, 1884.

79. INAC File 600-1, Vol. 2., Report of the Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council ... 22nd October, 1892.

80. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6210, File 46901 (1-3), MR C 7941, To J. Lawlor from Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 8 November, 1894.

81. INAC File 600-1, Vol. 2, Report of the Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council ... 22nd October, 1892.

82. The whole Regina episode is outlined in E. B. Titley, A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1986), pages 80-82.

83. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3927, File 116836-1A, MR C 10163, Memorandum for the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from D.C. Scott, 29 April, 1904.

84. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3927, File 1156836-1A, MR C 10162, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from Martin Benson, 19 March, 1904.
85. E.B. Titley, Narrow Vision, page 81.
86. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from Auditor General, 7 December, 1904.
87. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3921, MR C 10161, To Secretary from S. Swinford, 26 May, 1913.
88. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M. Benson, 16 December, 1904.
89. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3921, File 116818-1B, MR C 10161, To Secretary of Indian Affairs from Rev. T. Ferrier, 21 August, 1913 and Vol. 3922, File 116820-1, MR C 10162, To Secretary of Indian Affairs from E. Mattheson, 29 January, 1912.
90. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6205, File 468-1 (1-3), MR C 7937, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from W. Shepard, 21 November, 1902.
91. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3921, File 116818-,1B MR C 10161, To Secretary of Indian Affairs from Rev. T. Ferrier, 21 August, 1913.
92. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6730, File 160-2 (1-3), MR C 8092, Memorandum for the Minister from F. Pedley, 13 September, 1910.
93. D.J. Hall, "Clifford Sifton and Canadian Indian Administration 1896-1905, page 121.
94. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, Statement of Industrial Schools Showing the Number of Pupils Provided for, the Accomodation and the Attendance at each School. This includes a note of the per capita rate at each school.
95. D.J. Hall, "Clifford Sifton and Canadian Indian Administration 1896-1905", page 122.
96. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6431, File 877-1 (1-2,4) MR C 8759, To Deputy Superintnedent General from M. Benson, 17 November, 1903.
97. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6472, File 905-1 (1-2) MR C 8788-9, Bishop of Mackenzie from J. McLean, 21 November, 1901.

98. These figures have been generated from calculations based on figures in the Tabular Statements of the Annual Reports.

99. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M. Benson, 16 December, 1904.

100. See, for example: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3933, File 117657-1, MR C 10164, To Rev. T. Ferrier from J. McLean, 14 November, 1906.

101. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3933, File 117657-1A, MR C 10164, To A. Meighen from D.C. Scott, 11 December, 1919.

102. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3929, File 117056-1, MR C 10163, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from J. Seesequasis, 20 May, 1910.

103. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3930, File 117377-1A, To Bishop of Rupert's Land from H. Reed, 31 May, 1893.

104. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6205, File 468-1 (1-3) MR C 7937, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M. Benson, 26 November, 1902.

105. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3919, File 116751-1A, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M. Benson, 23 June, 1903. As well as his own opinions, Benson forwarded those of others in the Department including David Laird's.

106. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3990, File 175581, MR C 10169, To Indian Commissioner, Regina, from J. Markle, 19 March, 1896.

107. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3924, File 116823, MR C 10162, To J. McLean from Bishop [C.E.], 31 March, 1910.

108. See, for example, comments from various Principals: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3927, File 116836-1A, MR C 10162, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from J. Sinclair, n.d. 1902, Vol. 3866, File 87071-1, MR C 10153, To J. McLean from G. Hogbin, July, 1901, and for Departmental acknowledgement - Vol. 6337, File 663-1, MR C 8694, To Bishop Pascal from J. McKenna, 9 March, 1900.

109. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3919, File 11675-1, MR C 10161, To D. Laird from J. P. Magnan, O.M.I. 10 December, 1902 and File 11675-1A, To F. Pedley from D. Laird, 30 April, 1903.

110. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3922, File 116820-1A, MR C 10162, To F. Pedley from D.C. Scott, 19 February, 1912.

111. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3930, File 117377-1A, MR C 10163, To Bishop of Rupert's Land from H. Reed, 31 May, 1893.
112. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3927, File 116836-1A, MR C 10162, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from R. MacKay and J. Menzies, 11 March, 1904.
113. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, Memorandum for the Minister from M. Benson, 3 July, 1897.
114. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3933, File 117657-1, MR C 10164, To Assistant Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from Agent on the Blood Reserve [name not given], 28 July, 1917.
115. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3927, File 116836-1A, MR C 10163, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from R. MacKay and J. Menzies, 11 March, 1904.
116. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4041, File 334503, MR C 10178, To F. Pedley from F.H. Paget, 25 November, 1908.
117. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3818, File 57799, MR C 10143, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from H. Reed, 14 May 1889.
See also: Vol. 3947, File 123764, MR C 10166, To E. Dewdney from L. Vankoughnet, 13 April, 1892, Vol. 3647, File 8128, MR C 10113, To H. Reed from E. McColl, 21 March 1884, 21 March, 1884, Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Reverend and Dear Sirs from F. Oliver, 21 March, 1908 and Vol. 6730, File 160-2 (1-3) MR C 8092, To Rev. J. Lofthouse from D.C. Scott, 16 June, 1909.
118. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3947, File 123764, MR C 10166, To E. Dewdney from L. Vankoughnet, 13 April, 1892.
119. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3818, File 57799, MR C 10143, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from H. Reed, 14 May, 1889.
120. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6032, File 150-40A, MR C 8149, Regulations Relating to the Education of Indian Children, 1894.
121. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Reverend and Dear Sirs from F. Oliver, 21 March, 1908.
122. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6032, File 150-40A, MR C 8149, To Agent Touchwood Hills from D. Laird, 29 April, 1904.
123. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6730, File 160-2 (1-3), MR C 8092, To Rev. James Lofthouse from D.C. Scott, 16 June, 1909.

124. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3933, File 117657-1A, MR C 10164, To A. Meighen from D.C. Scott, 11 December, 1919.
125. Statues of Canada, 1919-20, c. 50. (10-11 Geo. V.).
126. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422-4, MR C 10118, To Principal of Qu'Appelle from E. Dewdney, n.d. April, 1891.
127. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3919, File 116751-1A, MR C 10161, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from Martin Benson, 9 June, 1903.
128. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6205, File 468-1 (1-3), MR C 7937, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M. Benson, 26 November, 1902.
129. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3919, File 116751-1A, MR C 10161, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M. Benson, 4 February, 1903.
130. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3919, File 116751-1A, MR C 10161, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M. Benson, 23 June, 1903.
131. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from the Auditor General,
7 December, 1904.
132. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3927, File 116836-1A, MR C 10163, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from D.C. Scott, 29 April, 1904.
133. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3919, File 116751-1A, MR C 10161, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M. Benson, 9 June 1903.
134. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3919, File 116751-1, MR C 10161, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M. Benson, 4 February, 1903.
135. D.J. Hall, "Clifford Sifton and Canadian Indian Administration 1896-1905", page 127.
136. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6267, File 580-1 (1-3), MR C 8656, To F. Oliver from D.C. Scott, 18 October, 1910,
137. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To F. Pedley from A.E. Armstrong, 1 February, 1907. See attached Memo of Resolutions.

138. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Reverend and Dear Sirs from F. Oliver, 21 March, 1908.
139. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from A.E. Armstrong, 1 February, 1907.
140. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Reverend and Dear Sirs from F. Oliver, 21 March, 1908.
141. N.A.C. Rg 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Reverend and Dear Sirs from F. Oliver, 21 March, 1908 and To S.H. Blake from F. Pedley, 24 April, 1908.
142. N.A.C, RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, Memorandum on Conference in Minister' Office with the Churches, 8 November, 1910.
143. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, List of Divisions and Per Capitas introduced in 1910.
144. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Sirs [the representatives of the churches] from J.D McLean, 25 November, 1910. This has attached a copy of the contract to be signed by the churches.
145. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6040, File 160-3A Part 1, MR C 8153, To D.C. Scott from T. Ferrier, 2 July, 1917.
146. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6730, File 160-2 (1-3), MR C 8092, To the Minister, Dr. Roche from D.C. Scott, 27 June 1917 and Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Rev. C. Bouillet, O.M.I. from J. T Ross, n.d. 1919.
147. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To D.C. Scott from M. Benson, 25 June, 1917, 27 June 1917 and To Dr. Roche from D.C. Scott, 27 June, 1917.
148. Anglican Archives, M.S.C.C., Series 2-14, Special Indian Committee, 1905-1910, To the Honourable Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior, from S.H. Blake, Sunday Morning, 27 January, 1907 printed in To the Members of the Board of Management of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, by The Hon. S.H. Blake, K.C., page 21.
149. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Sir from J. D. McLean, 25 November, 1910. A copy of the contract is attached.
150. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6001, File 1-1-1 (1), MR C 8134, To A. Meighen from D.C. Scott, n.d. January, 1918.

151. Anglican Archives, M.S.C.C., Series 2-14, Special Indian Committee, 1905-1910, To the Honourable Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior, from S.H. Blake, Sunday Morning, 27 January, 1907 printed in To the Members of the Board of Management of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, by The Hon. S.H. Blake, K.C., page 21.
152. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6001, File 1-1-1 (1), MR C 8134, To A. Meighen from D.C. Scott, n.d. January, 1918.
153. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7185, File 1/25-1-7-1, To Hon. Charles Stewart from D.C. Scott, 31 October, 1927.
154. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4037, File 317021, MR C 10177, To Secretary of Indian Affairs from D. Laird, 7 December, 1907.
155. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7185, File 1/25-1-7-1, To Hon. Charles Stewart from D.C. Scott, 31 October, 1927.
156. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3836, File 68557, MR C 10146, Suggestions for the Government of Indian Schools, H. Reed, 27 January, 1890.
157. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6467, File 889-1 (1-2) MR C 8785, To Dr. H. McGill from C. Perry, 25 May, 1900.
158. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To J.D. McLean from M. Benson, 15 July, 1897.
159. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422, MR C 10118, To Father Lacombe from E. Dewdney, 22 July, 1883 and To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from E. Dewdney, 16 April, 1883.
160. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3799, File 48432-1, MR C 10139, To E. Dewdney from Rev. A. Lacombe, 21 June 1890, To A. Vowell from J. A. Macrae, 30 July, 1890, To A. Vowell from L. Vankoughnet, 20 October, 1890 and To A. Vowell from J. W. Mackay, 3 November, 1890.
161. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3932, File 117504-1, To E. Dewdney from a Taxpayer, n.d. 1902.
162. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422-5, MR C 10118, To Indian Commissioner from T. Clarke, 13 February, 1885 and To Indian Commissioner from T. Clarke, 31 July, 1884.
163. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3927, File 116836-1A, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from R. MacKay and I. Menzies, 11 March 1904.
164. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6040, File 160-3A Part 1, MR C 8153, To Hon. R. Rogers from G.E. Shore, 17 January, 1912.

165. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3917, File 116575-5, To Indian Commissioner from Rev. J. Hugonard, 25 September, 1895.
166. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3924, File 116823, MR C 10162, To D. Laird from E. Hay Machinists and Boilermakers, 22 July, 1903.
167. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To J.D. McLean from M. Benson, 15 July, 1897.
168. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3922, File 116836-1A, MR C 10162, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M. Benson [?], 25 April, 1905 and Vol. 3931, File 117377-1C, MR C 10163, To J. Smart from D. McKenna, 2 April, 1902.
169. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3866, 87071-1A, To G. Hogbin from J. Mclean, 5 June, 1901 and To J. McLean from G. Hogbin, n.d. July, 1901.
170. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3866, File 8707-1A, MR C 10153, To Secretary from M. Benson, 29 October, 1902 and To F. Pedley from J. Markle, 3 March, 1906.
171. N.A.C. Rg 10 Vol. 3866, File 87071-1A, MR C 10153, To C. Sifton from P. Bryce, 8 January, 1905.
172. N.A.C. Rg 10 Vol. 3866, File 87071-1A, MR C 10153, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from F. Pedley, 13 October, 1907 and to F. Oliver from F. Pedley, 2 December, 1907.
173. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4041, File 334503, MR C 10178, To Secretary from Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 18 July, 1908.
174. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4041, File 334503, MR C 10178, To F. Pedley from F.H. Paget, 25 November, 1908.
175. P. Bryce, The Story of a National Crime, page 11.
176. G.J. Wherrit, The Miracle of Empty Beds: A History of Tuberculosis in Canada (Toronto, the University of Toronto Press, 1977), page 110.
177. P. Bryce, The Story of a National Crime, page 11.
178. G.J. Wherrit, The Miracle of Empty Beds: A History of Tuberculosis in Canada (Toronto, the University of Toronto Press, 1977), pages 16-17.
179. G.J. Wherrit, The Miracle of Empty Beds, pages 16-17 and 100-103.

180. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422-5, MR C 10118, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from H. Reed, 13 May, 1891.
181. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3922, File 116820-1A, MR C 10162, To Secretary from J. Day, n.d. 1891.
182. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6027, File 117-1-1, MR C 8147, To W. Jones from H. Reed, n.d. November, 1893 and To Assistant Commissioner from A. Baird, 24 December, 1894.
183. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3917, File 116575-5, MR C 10161, To Indian Commissioner from M.M. Seymour M.D., 17 September, 1895.
184. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To J. McLean from M. Benson, 15 July, 1897.
185. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3917, File 116575-5, MR C 10161, To Indian Commissioner from M.M. Seymour M.D., 17 September, 1895.
186. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3920, File 116818, MR C 10161, To C. Sifton from Dr. J.P. Rice, 3 August, 1903 and To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M. Benson, 9 September, 1903.
187. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6305, File 652-1, MR C 8682, To Secretary from Agent Macarthur, 27 December, 1910.
188. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6327, File 660-1 (1-3), MR C 9807, To Secretary from Mrs. W. Tucker, 26 May, 1904.
189. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To J. McLean from M. Benson, 15 July, 1897.
190. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, Statement of Boarding Schools Showing the Number Provided For, the Accomodation and the Attendance at Each School, February 1901 and To Sir from J.D. McLean, 25 November, 1910. See attached contract.
191. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3917, File 116575-5, MR C 10161, To H. Reed from Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 14 November, 1895.
192. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6348, File 752-1, MR C 8705, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from D. C. Scott, 23 April, 1909.

193. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3937, File 120048-1, MR C 10164, To A. Vowell from Bishop of Caledonia, 11 November, 1907.
194. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6305, File 652-1, MR C 8682, To Secretary from Agent Macarthur, 27 December, 1910.
195. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs from W. Graham, 1 January, 1911.
196. See, for example: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6210, File 469-1 (1-3), MR C 7941, To J. Lawlor from Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 8 November, 1894.
197. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 1543 [no File Number], MR C 14839, To R. Wilson from J.D. Mclean, 2 October, 1909 and Application for Admission attached to R. Wilson from D. Laird, 7 March, 1911.
198. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6015, File 1-1-13, MR C 8141, To W. Graham from D.C. Scott, 16 February, 1925.
199. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6015, File 1-1-13, MR C 8141, To R. Ferrier from Acting Agent, 9 March, 1925.
200. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4037, File 317021, MR C 10177, To J.D. McLean from Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 14 February, 1907.
201. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4037, File 317021, MR C 10177, P. Bryce, Report on the Indian Schools of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, Ottawa, Government Printing Bureau, 1907.
202. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4037, File 317021, MR C 10177, Copies of stories in the Citizen, 16 November, 1907 and Saturday Night, 23 November, 1907 as well as the Montreal Star, 15 November, 1907, are in this file.
203. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4037, File 317021, MR C 10177, P. Bryce, Report on the Indian Schools ... 1907.
204. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3965, File 150000-4, MR C 10168, To Principals ... from J.D. McLean, 17 March, 1909 and Vol. 3966, File 150000-14, See statistics compiled in 1909 from responses by Principals to McLean's request of 17 March. The deaths listed are minimum totals for it is clear that the Principals have lost track of many ex-students.
205. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3966, File 150000-14, MR C 10168, To Secretary from A. McMillan, n.d. September, 1909.

206. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4037, File 317021, MR C 10177, To Secretary from T. Eastwood Jackson, 15 December, 1907.
207. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4037, File 317021, MR C 10177, To Secretary from J. Semmens [?], 10 December, 1907.
208. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4037, File 317021, MR C 10177, To Secretary from S. Swinford, 4 December, 1907.
209. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4037, File 317021, MR C 10177, To Secretary from Agent, Birtle, Manitoba, 20 December, 1907.
210. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4037, File 317021, MR C 10177, To Secretary from D. Laird, 7 December, 1907.
211. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4037, File 317021, MR C 10177, To Secretary from Rev. J. Hugonard, 17 December, 1907.
212. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4037, File 317021, Mr c 10177, To Secretary from Principal, Calgary Industrial School, n.d. 1907.
213. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3933, File 117657-1, MR C 10164, To Deputy Minister from D.C. Scott, 19 January, 1910.
214. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6191, File 462-1, MR C 7926, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M. Benson, 2 September, 1908 and To J. D. McLean from H. West, 13 October, 1908.
215. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 1346-7, [no file number], MR C 13916, To W. Robertson from H.B. Rogers M.D., 30 November, 1907, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from Father Classen, 15 November, 1907, To W. Robertson from Father Classen, 12 December, 1909, To F. Pedley from Father Classen, 1 April, 1910, To W. Robertson from Father Lemmens, 31 March, 1915.
216. P. Bryce, The Story of a National Crime, page 4.
217. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To R. Rogers from Bishop of St. Boniface et al., 24 November 1911 and 15 November, 1912.
218. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Reverend and Dear Sirs from F. Oliver, 21 March, 1908. See particularly Oliver's discussion of Winnipeg Resolution no.7.
219. P. Bryce, The Story of a National Crime, page 5.
220. E.B. Titley, A Narrow Vision, page 87.

221. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6001, File 1-1-1 (1), MR C 8134, Memorandum on Indian Education for A. Meighen from D.C. Scott, n.d. January, 1918 and Vol. 6015, File 1-1-13, C 8141, To W. Graham from D.C. Scott, 16 February, 1925.
222. P. Bryce, The Story of a National Crime, page 13.
223. D.A. Herring, "There Were Young People and old People and Babies Dying Every Week: The 1918-1919 Influenza Epidemic at Norway House, in Ethnohistory. Vol. 41. No. 1. Winter, 1993. There is a general outline of the epidemic given in the article.
224. E.B. Titley, A Narrow Vision, page 57.
225. M. Lux, "Prairie Indians an the 1918 Influenza Epidemic" in Native Studies Review, Vol. 8 No.1, 1992.
226. INAC File 671/23-5-025, Vol. 1, Agents Report ... 1 February, 1919, W. Sibbald.
227. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3921, File 116818-1B, MR C 10161, To Secretary from Rev. J. Woodsworth, 25 November, 1918.
228. E.B. Titley, A Narrow Vision, page 87.
229. P. Bryce, The Story of a National Crime, page 14.
230. See for example: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6255, File 576-1 (1-2), Inspection Report Brandon School, 4 May, 1918, To Rev. T. Ferrier from J.D. McLean, 21 May, 1918, and Vol. 3933, File 117657-1A, MR C 10164, To D.C. Scott from Rev.J. Guy, 16 May, 1922.
231. P. Bryce, The Story of a National Crime, page 14.
232. Ales Hrdlicka, Tuberculosis Among Certain Indian Tribes of the United States (Washington, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 42, 1909), page 32.
233. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4092, File 546898, MR C 10087, To Sir James Lougheed from D.C. Scott, 1 December, 1920.
234. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7182, File 1/25-1-1-1, MR C 9695, To Sir from W. Ditchburn, 12 October, 1920.
235. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4092, File 546898, MR C 10187, To Hon. Sir James Lougheed, 1 December, 1920 and To W. Graham from F.A. Corbett, n.d. [Spring], 1922.

236. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4092, File 546898, To W. Graham from F.A. Corbett, 7 December, 1920.
237. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4092, File 546898, MR C 10187, To W. Graham from A.H. Kennedy, 7 January, 1922.
238. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3918, File 116659-1, MR C 10161, To J. Smith from Assistant Deputy and Secretary, 6 April, 1918.
239. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4092, File 546898, MR C 10187, To W. Graham from F.A. Corbett, n.d. [Spring], 1922 and To D.C. Scott from W. Graham, 24 June, 1922.
240. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6348, File 752-1, MR C 8705, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from D.C. Scott, 23 April, 1909. Scott reviews a recent report from Dr. Lafferty.
241. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4092, File 546898, MR C 10187, To W. Graham from F.A. Corbett, 7 December, 1920.
242. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6368, File 763-1, MR C 8720, To E. Yoemans from Assistant Deputy and Secretary, n.d. 1911, To Archdeacon J. Tims from S. Stewart, n.d. 1911, To Archdeacon J. Tims from J.D. McLean, 22 January, 1913, To Archdeacon J. Tims from J.D. Mclean, 15 February, 1913, To A. Gunn from J.D. McLean, 15 February, 1914 and To Secretary from W. Graham, 21 July, 1925.
243. See, for example, correspondence on the Chapleau school: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6191, File 462-1, MR C 7926, To Rev. J. Anderson from J.D. McLean 29 December, 1914, Extract of Inspection Report by W. Hamilton, 3 May, 1915 and To J.D. McLean from J. Sheahan M.D., 2 July, 1917.
244. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6348, File 752-1, MR C 8705, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from D.C. Scott, 23 April, 1909.
245. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4092, File 546898, MR C 10187, To D.C. Scott from W. Graham, 7 December, 1920.
246. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To R. Rogers from Bishop of St Boniface et al., 15 November, 1912.
247. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4092, File 546898, MR C 10187, To D.C. Scott from Canon Gould, General Secretary of the M.S.C.C., 17 January, 1921.
248. E.B. Titley, A Narrow Vision, page 57.
249. Annual Report 1891, page x.

250. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4037, File 317021, Saturday Night, 23 November, 1907.

251. N.A.C. C.O.42/27, To J. Kempt from Sir G. Murray (No. 95). 25 January, 1830.

252. The Davin Report.

253. INAC File 1/25-1, Vol. 15, To Sir John A. Macdonald from L. Vankoughnet, 26 August, 1887.

254 N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6462, File 888-1 (2-3, 6-1), MR C 8774, To the New England Company from Rev. A. Lett, 10 April, 1923.

CHAPTER 3

"WE ARE GOING TO TELL YOU HOW WE ARE TREATED"
PERSISTENCE AND THE PARENTING PRESUMPTION
1879-1944

During the Christmas season of 1923, a House of Commons Press Gallery reporter, F. Mears, forwarded to Duncan Campbell Scott a letter to our "Dear Parents" from a young boy, "Edward B.," at the Onion Lake residential school:

We are going to tell you how we are treated. I am always hungry. We only get two slices of bread and one plate of porridge. Seven children ran away because there [sic] hungry ... I am not sick. I hope you are same too. I am going to hit the teacher if she is cruel to me again. We are treated like pigs, some of the boys always eat cats and wheat. I never ask anyone to give me anything to eat. Some of the boys cried because they are hungry. Once I cry to [sic] because I was very hungry."¹

Mears wondered if this was an accurate picture of conditions in this and other Departmental schools. Scott took time to consider his answer. The Onion Lake school had come before him in the past. In the previous two years, the Department had received negative reports on the quality and amount of food, the care of the children and the condition of the Onion Lake school building. Local officials had noted particularly that the children did not get enough milk, that indeed, the "practise they had been following was for the children to drink from the well either before or after eating." The visiting nurse found the children dirty and the building "very unsafe for children." It was known, as well, that the Onion Lake Band Council had threatened to petition to have the Principal removed.² Despite these reports, Scott advised that Edward's letter was libellous and should not be published. The boy was just looking for sympathy; he was not trustworthy. Children were well cared for and, in fact, he concluded, "Ninety-nine percent of the Indian children at these schools are too fat."³

As fleeting as it was, the briefest of moments in the history of the school system, this episode now has a lasting significance as a resolute symbol of the treatment of the children in the schools and of the operation of the school system over the period from 1879 to 1944. Many children at too many schools, like Edward and his schoolmates, lived out their lives, as Scott had known for years and had been reminded as recently as March, 1923 by Rev. A. Lett of St. George's "ill-fed and ill-clothed and turned out into the cold to work." They were trapped, "unhappy with a feeling of slavery existing in their minds, no aims, no feelings" and no way to escape except in "thought" - in their imagination and their memories of home.⁴ In the face of similar conditions, of neglect and abuse, at many of the schools, most, though not all, officials in the churches and the Department responded as a matter of

course, like Scott, with a mixture of denial and disdain. In the Onion Lake case, the Anglican church had, even before the incident, laid out its defense. Conditions at the school might not be exemplary but the Principal, "Mr. Ellis is a satisfactory man; he has been under the very great difficulty of trying to make ends meet with insufficient means."⁵ A church inspection in May, 1923, gave the school a clean bill except for the fact that it lacked utensils. The children, the band council and the Department were supposed to be satisfied with that. In many cases, including this one, the Department was. The matter was dropped.

Throughout the history of the school system in this period, sensitivity to the plight of the children was rare. And so too was any sense that the voluminous catalogue of mistreatment, of which the Onion Lake example is only one of thousands, was creating a sorrowful and difficult legacy. The partners of the era of fur trade and "discovery" were not becoming brothers and sisters of a new nation as it was envisioned they would at the beginning of the system. Rather in the schools and, indeed, across the face of the relationship where settlement and development were pushing communities off their land, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people were increasingly distanced by a gulf of disbelief, frustration, anger and mistrust. When some sense of this did surface, it was apparent that somewhere in the consciousness and conscience of the churches and the Department there was the knowledge that what was being done was dreadfully wrong.

In June of 1942, the Rev. Charles Hives, Lett's successor, sent along to the Department's Superintendent of Welfare and Training, R.A. Hoey, a souvenir, a "memory of days gone by" - a set of shackles. These, the Principal had been told by a former student, had been used "to chain runaways to the bed." In one instance "two girls ran away and they were chained together and driven home in front of the Principal." Hives did not, of course, send along the stocks that stood in the playground. But he assured Hoey that "they were used." "I am telling you this because, I want you to know how very much has to be irradicated [sic] from the memories of these people before they will develope [sic] confidence in the administration of this school." Hoey understood this in a still wider context:

I can understand now why there appears to be such a widespread prejudice on the part of the Indians against residential schools. Such memories do not fade out of the human consciousness very rapidly. You and I may not be able to do much but we can at least be humane and kindly in our treatment of these underprivileged and unfortunate people.⁶

During this long period from 1879 to 1944, the Department and the churches failed to "be humane and kindly," to meet their "parental" responsibilities to these many children. They did not ensure, throughout the system, that children were well-fed and clothed, safely housed and provided with the education that was the fundamental justification for removing them from their parents and communities. Nor did they ensure that those who actually parented the children, the staff of the schools, were of the requisite quality for such a difficult task. These failures sprang, no doubt, from the fact that the task overwhelmed the Department and the churches. As with the story of tuberculosis in the schools, they had neither the necessary financial or administrative resources. But more seriously, they lacked, even by their own standards, moral resources and thus neglect became a thoughtless habit, harsh discipline and excessive cruelty unexceptional events that were routinely excused or ignored.

Despite the fact that some like Hives and Hoey may have known that there was something rotten at the heart of the system and were sensitive to the plight of the children, no one called for, or seemed to think, it could be halted. The school system seemed to have a life and trajectory of its own. Notably even Hoey, who was responsible for the operation of the schools, felt he was "not able to do much." What Inspector A. Hamilton said of Elkhorn school in 1944 was emblematic of the whole system - It "is not being operated, it is just running."⁷ Thoughtless persistence not sympathy, nor intervention by the Department on behalf of those "unfortunate people,"⁸ was the hallmark of this deplorable institution - it simply continued.

PERSISTENCE, 1923-1944.

In these last 20 years of the larger period before the Department and then Parliament began to question the sense and the utility of residential education, there was a net increase of three schools. At the outset, in 1923, there were 72 Residential schools as they were thereafter to be called. That number grew to a high of 80 in 1931. There was then one school in Nova Scotia, 13 in Ontario, 10 in Manitoba, 14 in Saskatchewan, 20 in Alberta, 16 in British Columbia, four in the Northwest Territories, two in the Yukon and plans for two schools in Quebec. That number then gradually fell through closures, many because of fires, to 75 in 1943. The much slower post World War I rate of growth did not indicate any waning in the enthusiasm for expansion. Churches continued to push to open schools in the few remaining untapped educational areas.⁹ And the Department cooperated. Scott, himself, led the way in moving the system into one of those areas, the East -

Quebec and Nova Scotia. The first school commissioned in Quebec was the Anglican Fort George followed by Fort George Roman Catholic School, both at Moosenee, and in Nova Scotia the first and only school was the Catholic School at Shubenacadie. Scott was particularly dedicated to this latter project. "When we have this school established," he wrote to the Catholic church in 1926, sounding more like Vankoughnet than himself, "one of the desires of my official life will have been accomplished."¹⁰

As well as there being but limited horizons by the 1920s, finance continued to be a restraint on growth and a detrimental factor in the condition of existing schools. Wartime reductions which had blighted the programme of improvements of 1911 ushered in yet another era of under funding. Initially, after the war there were advances in the level of per capita. Recognizing the justice of the churches' claim that "on account of war conditions," the "prices of food and clothing have greatly increased, so much so that we are finding it impossible to run our schools on the present per capita...."¹¹ a \$10 increase was authorized in 1919.¹² Other increases followed in 1921, 1924, 1926 and 1931 moving the average per capita to \$172.¹³ These increases were never enough, however, to satisfy the Churches' appetite for government funds nor to prevent them from again "encountering huge deficits".¹⁴

In the Depression, the situation got worse as the "financial condition of the country is such that economies" were then "imposed on" the government.¹⁵ In 1932, it was "found necessary ... to make a flat decrease in per capita grants." The first reduction was 10 per cent.¹⁶ In 1936, there was "a drastic cut in appropriations" and thus another 5 per cent reduction.¹⁷ T.A. Crerar, the Minister for the Department of Mines and Resources, which became responsible for Indian Affairs in 1936, managed to have some of the funds restored. Thereafter, by rather contorted financial reasoning, Hoey argued, in response to angry church comments, that the actual reduction between 1933 and 1938 was only 5 per cent.¹⁸ The churches' analysis was dramatically different. In 1938, the Committee of Churches Co-operating with the Department of Indian Affairs calculated that between 1932 and 1938 the reduction was well beyond 5 per cent and had amounted to a \$840,000 loss to the churches.¹⁹

The Department's position was rather hollow. Privately, senior staff knew that the per capita average, claimed to be still about \$180 in 1938, was "exceptionally low" and inadequate particularly in relation to the funding available to other residential child care facilities. Hoey gave H. McGill, the deputy superintendent general, a detailed financial comparison. The government of Manitoba provided per capita

grants of \$642 and \$550 respectively to the Manitoba School for the Deaf and the School for Boys. Private institutions in that Province were also more generously funded. The Knowles School for Boys in North Kildonan was sponsored by the Community Chest at \$362 per boy. The Catholic church provided St. Norbert's Orphanage with \$294 and St. Joseph's Orphanage with a \$320 per capita grant. The Children's Aid Society of Alberta estimated that the minimum per day maintenance cost for a neglected child was \$1.00. The Ontario figure was slightly lower at 75 cents, Manitoba was between 72 and 63 cents, B.C. was 57 and Saskatchewan 50 cents. This worked out to an average of 70 cents. The Department's national average, using its \$180 figure, was 49 cents and it was supposed to cover more than just food and clothes. Finally, an international comparison was not in the Department's favour either. The Child Welfare League of America estimated that the average per capita grant in the United States of large child care institutions was \$541 with the smaller ones running only as low as \$313.²⁰

The Second World War pulled the country out of the deep economic trough of the Depression but it brought no benefits to the school system. Wartime military expenditures meant reductions "to almost every appropriation"²¹ for the Department and a building freeze. In the face of this, Hoey realized that it would be "exceedingly difficult to secure the funds necessary ... at any time during the years that lie immediately ahead of us."²²

Not only was the level of per capita funding a problem but that other congenital difficulty which determined the financial condition of individual schools, the struggle to acquire students, continued throughout most of these decades. On the surface that did not appear to be the case. The number of students increased, from 5,347 in 1923 to 8,729 in 1943, and, more significantly, the average number of children per school grew from 74 to 116 which was the highest it had ever been since the Department kept such statistics. However, given church and Departmental comments these figures are somewhat misleading. It would appear that throughout the system, and, of course, at some schools more than others, recruiting difficulties continued to produce budget shortfalls.²³

Agents, in his period, did not seem to exhibit any greater enthusiasm for recruitment than they did in the industrial school era. Not only was it extra work, as Benson had noted, but church rivalry made it both controversial and difficult. Agents, particularly on reserves served by schools of different denominations, could spend countless frustrating hours and even days attempting to work out the correct religious affiliation of a child being fought over by feuding Principals.²⁴ In a letter drafted for the minister's signature

in 1931, Scott explained, using the Blood reserve where there was a Catholic (St. Mary's) and an Anglican school (St. Paul's) as his example, how complex the task was;

Some of the Indians on the reserve do not take the whiteman's religion very seriously, and when they have a pupil old enough for school they have been known to play one principal against the other and to accept church rites from both. Then there is the vexed question of Indian marriages. A mother will remove herself with her young children from her first husband and will take another who is perhaps a communicant of another church. In a year or two we find both schools claiming the children. Further, the adoption of children is common in Indian communities and, sometimes, it is very difficult to decide between the rights of the natural and the foster parents. To complicate matters still further, very often, the ecclesiastical law does not harmonize with civil law and, of course, the Department, when making decisions, must be guided by the Canadian courts.

In case Brigadier-General J.S. Stewart M.P., to whom the letter was to be sent, needed further enlightenment, Scott then turned to specific, bewildering cases. There was the case of Annie Chief Moon. Her father "on his death bed received the last rites of both churches and, consequently, both principals are claiming his children." After some deliberation the Department had decided, in view of the fact that the widow had gone to live with a Catholic man and her sister was already in a Catholic school, "to approve her admission to the Catholic school." This only served to even up the score for in another case two girls were admitted to the Anglican school over the protest of the Catholic Principal. In this latter case, the Principal took the matter to his provincial superior and from there it went to the head of the Oblate Order in Edmonton who placed it in the hands of a firm of lawyers. Their "protest which was in considerable detail, was duly received and carefully considered, but the Department did not change its decision."

Finally, there was the story of Irene Chief Mountain who was left at the Roman Catholic hospital when her mother died. She was raised by the nuns but when she became old enough to go to school her father "refused to relinquish his paternal right to direct her education." She was placed in the Anglican school. The whole process was, Scott concluded wearily, a no-win situation for the Department:

Whenever a religious case is really difficult of

solution, one or other of the Reverend principals of the Indian residential schools is sure to be dissatisfied with the Department's decision.²⁵

The best evidence, however, of a persistent enrolment problem is in the issue of compulsory education. The churches continued to insist upon the need for coercion. A joint Catholic and Protestant delegation when lobbying for higher per capita rehearsed for the Minister, Charles Stewart, in 1921, their traditional argument for the rigorous enforcement of the compulsory attendance section of the Indian Act. They resolved

That since financial deficits in the maintenance of Indian residential Schools frequently arise in large part from the fact that although the church is compelled to organize and maintain the schools on the basis of an attendance of the maximum number of pupils for which the school has accommodation, a lesser number of pupils are actually in attendance, - the Government put into force the Compulsory clause of the revised Indian Act and secure an attendance of the maximum number of pupils at each and all Indian Residential Schools.²⁶

The Principals of Catholic schools pushed Scott for the "appointment of a special officer of full authority" to order the police to "uphold the authority of the law and have it respected." They found it

really provoking to see people of so inferior a condition as the Indians who for the most part are ignorant of the first word about education, dictate laws to us and raise all possible difficulties when they place their children at school.²⁷

Scott was, however, still as reluctant as he had been before the 1920 compulsory amendment to the act and his response was laconic at best. "I may say that from time to time, as the Indian communities in different provinces are ready for such action, Section 10 of the Indian Act will be enforced."²⁸ It was only after Scott retired that serious steps were taken to bring agents, Principals and the RCMP to cooperate in an aggressive enforcement of the law.²⁹

The second, persistent category of underfunding pertained to the maintenance and repair of the buildings. Under the terms of the 1911 contracts, the Department had been charged with that expense and even after the contracts lapsed, it agreed to continue. In 1922, Stewart, having been informed that the upkeep of buildings was a "serious drain on church funds,"³⁰

promised the churches that he "would endeavour to keep the church-owned buildings in a state of good repair." Indeed, in the relatively optimistic days following the First World War, the policy of the Department was to buy up the church schools and then to be responsible for all capital costs including repairs and new construction.³¹ Scott went so far as to propose that the cost of purchasing all of the church-owned schools be placed in the supplementary estimates in order that the whole matter "may receive the careful consideration of the government."³² This would have meant acquiring 43 of the 75 schools then operating in 1922: 27 Catholic, 10 Anglican, four Presbyterian and two Methodist. The remaining 32 were undenominational schools: 13 Catholic, 11 Anglican, five Methodist and three Presbyterian.

Stewart's promise and Scott's proposal remained good intentions only. In the early years of the Depression expenditures (combining the per capita grants and capital funds) fell from an average of \$28,000 per school to \$16,000. By the Second World War, the Department was so far behind that Hoey and P. Phelan, chief of the training division, estimated that they had less than half the funds necessary to meet repair commitments.³³ McGill, admitted, in fact, that they had "been experiencing for the last 10 or 12 years the utmost difficulty in securing the funds necessary to keep our schools in a state of repair...."³⁴ They were not, he concluded, being maintained "in a reasonable state...."³⁵

As in the industrial school era the net result of underfunding could be seen in the condition of the schools and the care given to the children. The building stock was in poor shape at the outset. A Departmental survey in 1922 concluded that of the 75 schools the great majority were not "modern up to date buildings in good condition" nor were they "adequate for the purpose of Indian education." A small number were condemned as "dilapidated and inadequate." The value of the 10 Anglican owned schools was "nil, because of the poor condition of the buildings or their situation" and the two owned by the Methodists needed to be completely rebuilt. Catholic schools, which had the reputation for being the best built and maintained, were not above reproach. Squamish owned by the Sisters of the Holy Infant, Christie Residential school owned by the Basilians and the Jesuit school at Spanish were listed as being entirely inadequate. The Presbyterian schools came off the best. Of the four only one was worth "nothing" while the others were described as modern and well designed.³⁶

Needless to say the condition of the system was not improved by the reductions in funding in the 1930s and the wartime freeze. In 1931 one of the systems flagship schools, Shingwauk, was condemned.³⁷ Long lists of repairs from every corner of the system were submitted and ignored as were pleas

for urgent assistance. Bishop J. Guy O.M.I. informed the Department in 1936 that the situation at the Sturgeon Lake school in Alberta had

reached a very serious point as buildings are caving in with constant danger to lives of staff and children. The buildings are very old and worn out. They have outlived their utility by many years.

Four years later Hoey replied that it was still "impossible to consider including in the estimates the amount requested..." for the Sturgeon Lake school.³⁸

In the industrial school era bad and badly maintained buildings translated into bad health. That, too, continued to be the case. In February, 1927 a report from Dr. P. Wilson on St. George's, Lytton, detailed graphically overcrowded dorms and both a heating and ventilation system that were defective. Water pails had to be used to flush the toilets that at times overflowed spilling their contents into the basement. The laundry room was not fit for anyone to work in as "the building is in such a state of dilapidation that the wind blows through it. The children working in the building are cold, while breathing in damp steamy air." Not surprisingly, he concluded, there were numerous cases of tuberculosis. Three months later, the agent reported that 13 children had died from flu and mumps. He thought it was because the buildings were so cold.³⁹

The extent of the tuberculosis problem in the schools in the 1920s and 1930s is hard to assess. There were no reports of the scope or calibre of the Bryce or Corbett reports. Routine agents' reports, which are the most common documentation, are of limited value. Appearances of improvement in the health of the children, particularly to the untrained eye, could be deceiving. The Inspector of Indian Agencies for the Alberta Inspectorate, M. Christianson, in January, 1935, reported that the children at Crowfoot school seemed healthy but he cautioned that he had made the same comment the pervious June only to be told by the doctor who was examining the children that 11 of them were so infected with tuberculosis that they had to be immediately sent to hospital.⁴⁰

In some cases, however, the condition of the children was sorrowfully obvious. In 1930, Ditchburn forwarded a report on Kootenay school compiled by Assistant Commissioner C.C. Perry which charged that the extent of tuberculosis was a "serious indictment of past administration at this school. A deplorable condition exists here, in fact, a worse condition than I have seen in my twenty-three years experience with the Indians." He noted that some parents had beseeched the local physician, Dr.

Coy of Invermere, to give their children certificates of health so that they might not be sent off to be "contaminated by tubercular pupils known to be in the school." He estimated that 50 per cent of the children were infected and that they were knowingly kept in the school and only discharged so that they would die in their homes. Dr. Green the medical officer from Cranbrook gave it as his opinion that if all the children who were ill were removed from the school, it would have to close.⁴¹

It was obvious from Wilson's and Perry's reports that the Department's administrative system regarding health certificates was still far from watertight. Dr. C. Pitts, who attended the children at Lejac in British Columbia certainly agreed. He claimed special knowledge of the school system as his father was a long serving Principal and he had friends who were also school doctors. He went so far, in 1935, to suggest that the regulations were a farce and their enforcement a practical impossibility:

As for the general medical examination ... this is not done in any other school that I have any knowledge of.... Where is the point of this [examination], when I know that were I to apply the standards of health to them that is applied to children of the white schools that I should have to discharge 90% of them and there would be no school left.⁴²

Moreover, the Department was still faced with opposition from the Catholic church. Its Principals' conventions in 1924 and 1925 formally petitioned Scott not to employ sanatoria, more "faddism" perhaps, but to leave children with school authorities or to return them to their homes with instructions on how they were to be nursed.⁴³ They were opposed as well to nurses being sent into the schools. Nurses were, in accordance it seemed with some yet surviving pre-Nightingale perception, dangerously immoral. In "their manners, their dress and their language, they have often forgotten certain requirements essential to the proper training and disciplining of Indian children."⁴⁴

An even more serious impediment to any attempt to care for the health of the children was the inability of the Department to acquire funds to underwrite attacks on tuberculosis in the schools. In 1932, for example, Dr. R.G. Ferguson, the medical director of the Qu'Appelle Sanatorium, recommended that one Catholic and one Protestant school in Saskatchewan be set aside to accommodate infected pupils who did not yet require a sanatorium place thus removing the threat they posed to their non-infected classmates. The two schools would be specially equipped and staffed. The proposal was

enthusiastically supported by Dr. E. L. Stone, the director of medical services appointed on Scott's recommendation in 1927, as it "provides a means whereby the Residential school may be made tuberculosis free, and whereby the children selected from them may be given a good chance of recovery." Stone admitted, however, that though tuberculosis was still a major problem in the province, the death rate being 20 times higher for Indians who constituted only two per cent of the province's population, they simply could not afford the idea. In fact, he added, when briefing McGill, another medical doctor, the Depression era cutbacks were severely effecting medical services in general. "All tuberculosis work is at a standstill for lack of funds, and there are ... other provinces to be considered."⁴⁵

McGill, himself, gave evidence of the impact of Depression era restraint on health services in a directive he circulated to agents in January, 1937. Noting that health expenditures were still too heavy, he directed that "substantial reduction in cost be made immediately and maintained." In the last part of the decade funding for sanatoria treatment, largely owing to pressure from the Canadian Tuberculosis Association, was improved but there were no funds set aside especially for the schools and their care was less than it could have been.⁴⁶

These first two decades of the "Residential" school era had more in common with the "Industrial" era that preceded it than underfunding, the woeful condition of the buildings and the infection and death of children from tuberculosis. Connected to each of these issues, nested in reports on them, is another persistence - constant evidence of the failure of the churches and the Department to parent adequately these children, to operate institutions that were above reproach as homes and as schools. In part this was again due to the issue of finance. Whenever the per capita were reduced or seen to be too low or even when maintenance funds were not available someone was bound to point out that this effected the children - that it "will render almost superhuman the task of feeding, clothing and treating the children in the manner required by the Department."⁴⁷ And there were numerous reports from schools confirming this. In 1932, the Principal of Christie school in British Columbia, Victor Rassier O.S.B., travelled to Ottawa to present the "deplorable" condition of his school to the Department "... something simply had to be done about them."

I was made to realize the financial crises existing precluded for some years hope of assistance in any form. Taking counsel with myself on returning to the school, I decided that the only course left for me to pursue was to strive for a solution of my problems by directing to the task every available bit of energy on the premises, and by economizing

to the bone in every department.⁴⁸

This was certainly not a phenomenon of recent years. Agent J. Smith reporting on Kamloops in 1918 asserted that it was "more than clear that the School cannot be run on its present income."

After a careful review of the whole situation a most stubborn conviction is forced on me, that if the Institution is to continue, some radical as well as practical assistance must be forthcoming or its doors will have to be closed. The farm is useless as it is not irrigated, the horses are too old to do the work If the children are to be kept they ought to be reasonably clothed and fed, and this is utterly impossible to do from the present per capita grant ...⁴⁹

School doors were rarely closed. Rather the Principals were, indeed, throughout the larger period from 1879 to 1944, forced to economize to the detriment of the children. Benson, in 1903, when forwarding, with a supportive recommendation, a request from the Principal of Qu'Appelle for an increased level of funding warned the deputy superintendent "that there is almost too much economy exercised at this school as regards the clothing and diet of the pupils - this having been rendered necessary by the increase of supplies, fuel and labor and the difficulty of recruiting pupils."⁵⁰ Furthermore, in these straightened conditions, the labour of the children became an overly exploited resource for the schools. They were constantly overworked. Benson, of course, had criticised the management of Mount Elgin where to supplement the budget, the "boys of this school are not only working they are being worked and they and their parents see the difference...."⁵¹

But the failure to care properly for the children was rooted in more than the issue of funding. The "manner required by the Department," for "feeding clothing and treating the children,"⁵² a standard of care, was both an ill-defined and a rarely achieved goal. If Bryce and Paget and Corbett stand as witnesses to the inherent structural flaws in the system, the Rev. Thompson Ferrier comes forward to add to that the human failings and the resultant suffering of the children who were neglected by Departmental-church "parents", cruel or incompetent, who presumed that they should and could supplant the childrens' natural Aboriginal parents but who did not consistently carry out their parenting responsibilities.

Just three years after Bryce's story, in July 1925, Ferrier, who had then been in charge of Methodist industrial and boarding schools and hospitals for 25 years set down on paper his memory of a cross country tour of those schools when he

first took up his position. Only Coqualeetza in British Columbia was, in his opinion, in good order. The others were not circles of civilized conditions but circuses of chaos:

Mount Elgin Institute at Muncey looms up in memory with its untidy yard and a lot of old sheds, outbuildings and dilapidated barns that had passed their day all unconscious of their need of repairs and paint. The main building had accommodation for about one hundred pupils who were receiving such harsh treatment as to call forth numerous complaints from the Indian people and the Indian department. Several attempts were made on the part of the pupils to burn up the whole business all because it was under the management of a man who had the idea that physical strength was to take the place of what ought to be done by the heart and head in educating and training young life, who believed that it was safer to deal with the hide than the honor of the pupil and a man who took more interest in hydraulics than hygiene.

When he got to Brandon, he found 90 children who seemed to have the upper hand. They were

destructive, untrained young men and women from thirteen to twenty-three years of age. They were having their own way, smashing everything they could not eat or wear and running roughshod over a discouraged staff. It looked as though the institution had fallen into a pit and was waiting for someone to come and give it a decent burial.

At Norway House

we had a poor barn shaped building with broken doors, worn out floors, no modern conveniences of plumbing, heating or lighting, a cold shell of a place with partial accommodation for about thirty-five pupils who were obliged to live without a balanced ration as there was no garden, poultry or stock. An incompetent staff were trying to penetrate the stronghold of heathenism with the belief that the problem would never be solved.

Red Deer was no better. The school comprised

a miserable lot of buildings, the boys home being very dark and unsanitary. There was a stable for horses but none for stock. The management was unconscious of the great possibilities of the rich fertile land of the farm and the opportunity

presented as a training school for farmers and stockmen. For many reasons the whole institution was very unpopular with the Indian people of Alberta. The office appeared to be used more for a real estate business than to make a contribution toward civilizing and educating the people.

Finally, he came to the west coast and to Port Simpson where "we had twenty boys housed in a building and under a management that was a disgrace to the Methodist church."⁵³

As had been the case with all those previous reports, Bryce Paget and Corbett, none of this was news to the Department or to the churches. They already had a flood of evidence, a spate that continued through to and beyond 1944, that indicated that in too many cases the children were not being adequately fed, clothed or taught and that discipline often crossed the line into abuse. This should have allowed all of them, as it did Hoey, to "understand now why there appears to be such a widespread prejudice on the part of the Indians against residential schools"⁵⁴ and prompted them to take corrective action.

THE PARENTING PRESUMPTION, 1879-1944.

FOOD, CLOTHES AND "PARENTS"

"Education has no charms for the hungry" - Martin Benson, 1897.⁵⁵

Edward B. and his school mates were far from the only children who cried in vain for food. Hunger was a common companion. The struggle for nourishment by the children and by the management of schools was in some cases a more pressing occupation than the struggle to teach or to learn. Edward and his mates not only cried, but in extreme cases they ate what they could find, "cats and wheat." And often children ate what they could steal. At St. George's Industrial School when Lett arrived in 1923, it was a way of life. "Stealing was chronic and from all this was done without hesitancy"⁵⁶ as it was necessary for survival. At Elkhorn, the Superintendent of Reserves, D.J. Allan, reported to Hoey that the boys had been stealing lard "to assist in making rabbit stew which formed the piece de

resistance [sic] at a feast they held in the bush utilizing rabbits snared by some of the boys".⁵⁷ Ironically, real life at the school and thus the need for both such a traditional skill and for thievery undercut the practical and moral lessons the children were supposed to be learning in their classroom.

Furthermore, hunger and the resultant disorder and dishonesty were at times the nexus around which further mistreatment and abuse clustered. Not every Principal was like Lett at St. George's who, to combat stealing, "immediately increased the fare and varied it as much as possible."⁵⁸ H. Grant at Carcross school in the Yukon in 1940 employed punishment. Students, he admitted, were strapped on various parts of their bodies so severely that they had to be held down. When this proved futile, he regularly resorted to a tactic that one of the teachers assured him had worked at another school - cutting off the child's hair. When one girl stole a loaf of bread, she was given what he termed was a "close haircut."⁵⁹

Of course, not every child went hungry nor can every school and administrator be faulted. Departmental files contain numerous positive reports as one, for example, on the Morley Indian Residential School on the Stoney reserve which was submitted to McGill in 1935 by Inspector M. Christianson:

As far as I could ascertain in my visit to this school the children are well cared for and they are not overworked. They receive good food, and in fact no school I know of feeds the children better than this one. They get plenty of milk and butter and in general have an abundance of good food. They are well clad and looked after in every way.⁶⁰

That Christianson knew that he must look to see if the children were "overworked" and his cautionary note, "As far as I could ascertain," highlight the fact that it is not easy to determine how common hunger was throughout the system over this long period. The Department did not at any point undertake a food survey parallel to Paget's 1908 building survey or the 1922 accounting of the physical condition of the system. What comes most regularly to hand in Departmental files are reports by local officials of the Department and of the churches on the conditions in individual schools or at best some regional comments.

Reports on school food, and indeed on clothing, discipline and abuse, need to be handled with care for they were controversial even in their day. To some, evidence in them from the children made them suspect. Scott was not unique in suggesting that pupils, like Edward B., were untrustworthy, were playing for sympathy. Others did, as well. Father P.

Bosquet of Fort Francis school in Ontario in 1934 opposed an inspection of the school by the "Chief and Council of Kootchicing Reserve", who for some reason he called "Soviets," because of the effect such a visit would have on the children and the potential negative effect on the reputation of the school. The children become, he charged

excited and unruly, so that the task is an arduous one to those in charge of the School. In the dining room, the children pretend not to eat such and such food for the purpose of complaining in the presence of the parents. In the classroom the pupils might act in a stupid way so as to make these inspectors believe that they - the pupils - learn nothing.⁶¹

Such supposed childish duplicity could work the exact opposite way, however. On 8 February, 1918, J. Smith, the local agent, took his dinner with the children at Kamloops school. He found the food far from acceptable, "it looked from where I sat to be very slim for growing boys."

At the conclusion of the meal, I asked them collectively in the presence of the Principal and teaching staff before they left the dining room if they had had enough to eat, they all answered in the affirmative.⁶²

The agent at Kitamaat, Ivor Foughner, was even more direct noting that when the children at that school were asked about the food: "As could be expected they remained silent. Indian children, in such circumstances, from diffidence, seldom or never speak, when questioned by white people."⁶³

This is not the only evidence that children were silenced by the presence of the staff or acted on direct orders to mislead an inspector. An employee of the auditor general's staff when delivering a copy of the 1911 contract to the Principal of Carcross school found that the children were neither well-fed or clothed. The school kept hens and a cow but the milk and eggs were sold as the children supposedly did not care for such food:

This however was not borne out by my investigation, as I found that the children were given to understand that they could not have these things, and that they must say that they did not care for them. This, to my mind, is not very creditable to the management.⁶⁴

There is evidence as well that either by the Department or churches some community complaints were effectively silenced. Chief Bignell representing the "Band Council of The Pas and

the Halfbreed Association" admitted to D.J. Allan that they had withheld their concern over the treatment of the children in Elkhorn and that still they "were afraid to press their complaints too strongly to the Principal as they were sure that he would take it out on the youngsters...."⁶⁵ Complaints from communities were often roughly rejected, met with the riposte from the school, as in the case of concerns expressed at Mistawasis about Battleford, that they "were of a most frivolous nature" and that in the face of them "some action should be taken to bring the guilty person to justice."⁶⁶

Finally, as the Carcross example suggests, children were not the only source of problematic evidence. Not all Principals were fully cooperative or candid about the adequacy of the diet in their school. What has become known as the Simes report, compiled for the Department by Dr. A.B. Simes, medical superintendent of the Qu'Appelle Indian Hospital, on Elkhorn school in 1943-44 is only the most blatant example of this phenomenon. Sparked initially by Bignell's and then Allan's complaints about the school, Simes concluded that "nothing favourable can be said for the recent administration of this institution."⁶⁷ While the Anglican church admitted that not every thing about the school was above question, it claimed that conditions were not unacceptable.⁶⁸ Sime's descriptions of the school indicated that he differed strongly:

On approaching the school one received the impression that there was a lack of organization, supervision and interest. The grounds were very untidy, articles of clothing and other wearing apparel were scattered over the yard, school entrances and steps. Many window panes were broken. The unbroken panes had the appearance of having been treated for a BLACKOUT, [his emphasis] they were so dirty. Inside the building these impressions were confirmed by findings wherever you went. Filthy is the only word and even that does not adequately describe the condition of the mattresses, pillows and bedding.... Not a single toilet bowl in the whole school had a seat. The majority of bowls were badly stained, and had an uncared for appearance.

The children had the same uncared for appearance "... they were dirty and their clothes were disgraceful."

In the midst of and despite these chaotic conditions, the school tried to convince Simes that the children were well fed. He could not be fooled. "A copy of the menu SUPPOSED to be in use is attached hereto." The evidence of malnutrition was there before his eyes - "28% of the girls and 69% of the boys are underweight." When surveying what was actually served

and comparing it to the menu "it was apparent there were more OMISSIONS than SUBSTITUTIONS." There was not enough milk, no potatoes or other vegetables on stock and, as at Carcross, the children never received eggs.⁶⁹

Departmental officials, who under the 1894 regulations and the 1911 contracts held the right of inspection, could have difficulty seeing into the schools. It seemed to be well-known in the Department that school administrators readied the school for a forthcoming visit. This was so common that when a local official wished to add weight to his report, he would often write, as did W. Graham of his trip to St. Joseph's in 1914 - "There was no preparation made for my visit as I was quite unexpected."⁷⁰ A teacher at Round Lake school, Miss L. Affleck, who was fired by her Principal for disloyalty - she had written to the church headquarters revealing the conditions in the school - charged bluntly that such deception was conscious and well-organized.

To almost everything at Round Lake there are two sides, the side that goes in the report and that inspectors see, and the side that exists from day to day....⁷¹

As well, the power of the churches radiated out from their missionary headquarters into every corner of the system and could intimidate inquisitive agents. F. Ball, the agent at Squamish, reported that he suspected that the children were not being fed properly. But that

It is difficult to keep a close check on the food supply as officials are courteously but none the less effectively prevented from any close investigation and one is naturally desirous of avoiding any unpleasantness with the reverend principal who has been in charge so long. The only meal that I have actually seen was one at mid-day which consisted of a piece of bread and a raw carrot. It may have been a fast day, and I have not since been successful in actually seeing a meal on the table.⁷²

Despite these reservations about the character of evidence, there are a surfeit of frank reports from school officials themselves and clearly valid reports from local officials at times prompted by parental and community protests. While these do not allow quantification, a measurement of the extent of hunger across the system, they do establish the fact that the operation of the system did not begin to guarantee that all children would be in every instance fed properly, and moreover, that hunger was a continual and systemic problem: that "the food given" to boys and girls was too often "too

meagre"⁷³ that agents were not satisfied with the diet "neither as to quantity or quality,"⁷⁴ that the children "were not given enough to eat, especially meat,"⁷⁵ "the food supply has been inadequate for the needs of the children," that "the vitality of the children is not sufficiently sustained from a lack of nutritious food, or enough of the same for vigorous growing children."⁷⁶ They reveal, as well, congenital inaction on the Department's part in the face of hunger, a neglect rooted in administrative and financial considerations, in the application of Departmental regulations and, of course, in the issue of the per capita grants.

According to Departmental regulations, adopted at the beginning of the Industrial school era, schools were to follow a Departmental "dietary" or scale of rations including amounts, to be provided weekly to the children. This was reaffirmed in 1892 and 1894 and in the 1911 contracts which stipulated that all schools receiving a government grant had "to be kept up to a certain dietary."⁷⁷ As with health regulations, these were honoured more in the breach than in the observance resulting in confusion and finger pointing.

In what may be the earliest scale, Dewdney, in 1883, set out for Lacombe the rations on a per diem basis. Students were to receive 1lb. of flour, 1/2lb. of bacon, 1lb. of beef, 1/8 oz of tea, 2 ozs of sugar, 1/2 oz. of rice, 1 oz. of dried apples, 3 ozs of oatmeal, 1/2 oz. of pepper and syrup at 3 gallons a month per student.⁷⁸ Whether the students actually were given such food in the proscribed amounts is a moot point and one which remained a point of difference between the schools and the Department for years. In the first decade of the history of the system, the Department began complaining that school administrators did not adhere strictly to the scales even purchasing items "which might be regarded as luxuries."⁷⁹ This was unnecessary according to Benson, who concluded in his 1897 review of the school system that the scale provided for adequate amounts of wholesome if plain food.⁸⁰

On their part, churches replied that the scales were unrealistic, even if they could be followed faithfully, and thus Principals had to go their own way. Father Hugonard at Qu'Appelle spoke for many when he explained to the Superintendent General, E. Dewdney, in 1891, that while "the present ration scale may be good for children" in general

it is not suitable for the majority of our pupils one third of whom eat more than men and women and another third eat fully as much. I have seen them at the end of a meal complain that they had not had enough to eat and upon enquiry have found that it was never without good reason.⁸¹

This difference was never resolved. Some sense, however, may be had of how adequately the children were being fed through data revealed by an inquiry into the Regina school deficit in 1904. A report submitted by J. McKenna, the assistant commissioner, J. Menzies, a chartered accountant with a Winnipeg firm which represented the Presbyterian church and R. MacKay, another Presbyterian official, set out the allowances according to an 1894 dietary and compared them to the amounts actually consumed. In most instances the children were underfed.

For basic foodstuffs, the 1894 allowances provided per child, per annum: 182lbs. of beef, 51lbs. of cheese, 21lbs. of currants, 12lbs. of beans, 12lbs. of rice, 360lbs. of flour and 11lbs. of raisins. The investigative team discovered that for 1900, for the 90 children and the 13 staff then in the school, this worked out as follows:

	Allowance[lbs]	Actual Consumption
Beef	21,580	13,866
Cheese	515	73
Currants	206	456
Beans	1236	700
Rice	1236	730
Raisins	102	200

An interesting sidelight was the note that the scales for teachers were higher in some instances. For example, teachers were allocated 540 rather than 360 lbs. of flour. It is hard to believe, however, that such variances could have added up to the dollar differences the auditors put in their report. It cost, they estimated, \$26 to feed each child for the year and \$52 each adult.⁸² Perhaps on the adult bill went a whole series of additional commodities purchased regularly by the Principal, Rev. Mr. Sinclair - purchases which shocked Martin Benson as they were obviously not just plain, wholesome food. Benson described how the Principal went along to the Regina Trading Company "as frequently as to the ordinary corner grocery store" where he procured,

marmalade, sardines, lemons, oranges, shelled walnuts, icing sugar, lunch tongue, canned salmon, toilet cream, bananas, Fry's chocolate, olives, candies, tobacco, jelly powder, canned peas (French?).

To this amazing list Benson then added

In enumerating the luxuries indulged in, I forgot to mention Mr. Williamson's account. He keeps a fruit exchange at Regina and supplied the oysters

and grapes needed by the school.

Finally, as if this was not enough, Sinclair regularly had shipped in from the wholesaler, A.J. Macdonald Co., Winnipeg

syrup, strawberries, raspberries, blueberries, peaches, plums, red cherries, pears, pineapples, apricots, raisins, figs, tomatoes, corn, macaroni, kippered herrings, dates, honey and tooth picks by the case, monthly.⁸³

Such fare stood in sharp contrast to Benson's own description of a "regulation school meal" of "bread and drippings or boiled beef and potatoes."⁸⁴

The argument over the scale, its adequacy or the schools deviance from it, was rather academic for the overriding dynamic which determined the quality of the dietary was the funds that were available to the schools. Even had the Department regularly inspected the schools and insisted on compliance with all the regulations including the dietary, which according to Benson, it did not do,⁸⁵ many Principals could not have complied for they found either that the per capita level was too low or that they did not have a large enough student authorization. Thus, as the Principal at Kamloops stated bluntly, "food could not be provided to the scale of rations furnished by the Department, because I had not sufficient means to do so." He claimed, ironically, that if he was to feed the students he had in the school, he had to have more students in the school.⁸⁶ This, of course, was the usual plea made here for the sake of the food budget and in so many other letters for repairs, or teachers salaries or general overhead. There was never "sufficient means" for any of these things.

The cuts in grants which came in 1914 and again during the Depression and the Second World War made the task of feeding the children even more difficult. J.T. Ross, the Principal of Cecilia Jeffrey school (Presbyterian), Kenora, writing on his own and on behalf of Father C. Bouillet, who operated the Catholic school in Kenora, informed the Department that despite the across the board \$10 increase in 1917, the "per capita grant is not sufficient to meet our needs in buying food for the children." It is "absurd to imagine that an Indian child can be properly fed on 40 cents per day leaving clothing out of the question."⁸⁷ Food prices climbed during the war - up in his region, the Principal of Brandon estimated, 40 per cent - leaving him unable to keep up.⁸⁸

After the First World War, the Department appears to have thrown in the regulatory towel. According to a remark made by Benson in 1904 this would not have been a great change. He

explained to the deputy superintendent that the dietary had been to a great degree a fiction.

Such a scale was prepared many years ago but it was never intended to apply to schools on the per capita basis and it is not now and was never enforced by the schools.... It was prepared as a guide some years ago to arrive at the cost of feeding pupils when the schools were first established and were under Departmental management and also to assist in the preparation of the estimates for Industrial schools while carried on by the Department.⁸⁹

In 1922, whatever its status, the "dietary" was virtually handed over to the churches. R. Ferrier, then the Department's superintendent of education, asked each school to submit their own scale to the Department. This was to list the food and the quantity served to the children each day. The local agent would then use this as a guide when visiting the school. Some of the scales were to be submitted to the "Health Department at Ottawa for their criticism."⁹⁰ Only a very small number of schools responded to this call and there appears to be no record of any consultation with the Department of Health. Some school menus were collected, as a matter of course, during inspections but they are mute; they say nothing about what was actually served and in what amounts. As Simes realized at Elkhorn such menus could be no more than culinary creations.

From another perspective, however, the 1922 non-policy based on school by school scales more realistically addressed the question of feeding the children. Centrally set food policy, given the widely differing circumstances of the schools, could not work. For Agent W. Halliday, who in 1926 reviewed the Alert Bay school menu, it was obvious that the members of the Anglican committee in Winnipeg who dictated it "apparently know nothing whatever about the climatic conditions and what is best for this particular place."⁹¹ Furthermore, the method of setting per capita rates was not at all sensitive to those local and different school circumstances. The Department itself, admitted that fact. In 1937, Hoey set out the drawbacks of the "very unsatisfactory" per capita system.

The payments now allowed appear to have been agreed upon as a result of negotiations carried on between the Indian Affairs Branch and the church authorities. Increases are usually the result of appeals from those charged with the operation of the school for sufficient money to keep the institutions in operation. We do not appear to have on file anything to guide us in determining what should constitute an economic enrolment at a

residential school in an outlying section of the Dominion, nor have we authoritative information to guide us in our attempts to discover the actual costs of operation - which costs are influenced by inaccessibility, freight rates, lack of food supply in the territory, etc. Certain representatives of the churches, who have interviewed me since I entered the Department, assure me that they have, for a number of years, persuaded certain merchandising concerns to give a cut rate on supplies, without which they would have been unable to maintain their school in a state of efficiency.

The policy that had been followed since 1892 was too "rigid." No allowance had ever been made for the "violent fluctuations in the purchasing power of the dollar." Hoey thought it would be possible to arrive at "a more or less scientific formula on which our payments could be based." It would need to have "a measure of elasticity" enabling "bonuses when the cost of commodities were at their peak" and withdrawing them "when the cost of living went down. In other words, there should be some relationship between our payments and the cost of feeding and clothing pupils from year to year."

That was what Hoey hoped might be the future. In the past, however, that "relationship between our payments and the cost" had not existed and thus Principals had been left on their own to deal with "the actual costs of operation" in their area influenced by such factors as "inaccessibility, freight rates, lack of food supply in the territory, etc."⁹² They had to do so within the persistent context of underfunding. As a general rule, the response, school by school, was what Father Victor Rassier had determined at Christie - a programme of "economizing to the bone in every department"⁹³ and striving to produce food and revenue from their land and stock. This way forward proved particularly rocky for the children who might expect shorter rations and whose "manpower" would be the main energy in the effort to produce revenue.

Aboriginal people knew that to attempt to concentrate significant numbers of people for any length of time in most areas of Canada, with the exception of the British Columbia coast and the St. Lawrence valley, was to court disastrous food shortages. Fur companies, such as the Hudson's Bay Company, had overcome this difficulty only by post gardening where possible, the employment of Aboriginal hunters and fishermen and the organization of an extensive and sophisticated supply system to distribute plains produced pemmican or other foodstuffs acquired in settled areas of the country. Schools, therefore, built, as Hoey said, in an "outlying section of the Dominion" and larger in every case than any fur post took on a considerable and, perhaps,

irresponsible challenge. There was no government supply system and thus schools in the north and even those along the Pacific coast, found themselves in difficulty procuring essential supplies.⁹⁴ The Western schools had had the same problem as they had been opened in the 1880s and early 1890s in advance of heavy concentrations of prairie settlement and the accompanying accommodating infrastructure.

Even settlement, the development of urban centres, however, was not an unmixed blessing. While it guaranteed local sources, demand often outstripped supply and thus schools could find themselves priced out of the market.⁹⁵ Moreover, always with an eye on the political utility of its schools, the Department directed Principals "in fairness to the dealers of the town" to buy locally even if it was less expensive to bring in supplies from distant wholesalers.⁹⁶ As Hoey's church informants told him this was a political luxury they determined they could not afford and thus some entered agreements, persuading "certain merchandising concerns to give a cut rate on supplies."⁹⁷ On the plus side, the local non-Aboriginal population did represent a market opportunity for school produce. Here again, however, the Department set up a road block. It would not countenance interference with local producers or tradesmen. When it occurred, Scott, in particular, was emphatic. He lectured Father Hugonard, Principal of Qu'Appelle, who frequently transgressed, "not to undertake work for the public, and again to direct you not to enter into competition with the business community."⁹⁸

The only answer schools could adopt to the persistent underfunding by the government and churches and the vagaries of local markets was school production for consumption or sale. Children under the direction of the Principal, or at times a farm instructor, ran farming and dairying operations as well as producing wood for fuel used in cooking meals and heating the schools before the introduction of oil, gas and electric. And, of course, the children carried on the general housework of the school. In 1893, Hayter Reed described the labour of the young girls at St Paul's Industrial School.

I would draw your attention to the tender age of the girls set to work in the laundry and although there is a laundress I observed that the girls only were at the wash-tubs; no less than nine of the staff have their washing done in the School, and this entails almost more work than the washing for all the children there being no starched clothes for the latter.... I would recommend that the benches be stained and the tables covered with zinc so as to reduce the household labor of the children as much as possible.

Reed feared that the girls would become "drudges to the staff."⁹⁹ All the children, in fact, became drudges to their schools. Duncan Campbell Scott's comment on Qu'Appelle, that it "has been constantly represented that they [the children] are simply used as so much manual power to produce revenue for the school" could have been applied throughout the system.¹⁰⁰ Rising early, the boys and girls were to spend half their day in the classroom and the rest of the day in barns and coops or field and woodlots, in the laundry and bake house. The daily grind was arduous and exhausting. Benson calculated that the school day was 15 hours long. It was "a wearisome grind for teacher and pupil ... the half day system ... is very tiring for any but the grown up pupils."¹⁰¹

There was, unfortunately, no guarantee in any of this that the children would be fed adequately at the end of the day and considerable evidence that the commercialization of the school operation contributed to malnutrition. Inspector A.E. Green informed the Department in 1905, with reference to Port Simpson, that the children "were treated harshly, that the boys were not given sufficient food."¹⁰² The sale of dairy products, milk, cream and butter was common throughout the system and a good revenue source. It meant in many cases, however, that the children were denied these important foods.¹⁰³ Assistant Commissioner C.C. Perry's 1930 report on Kootenay was particularly critical on this point, charging,

that during the regime of these Sisters it was their practise to sell most of the milk and eggs and other produce in order to augment maintenance funds, disposing of these products at a rate of about \$250.00 a month; that the children were given skim milk and very badly fed....¹⁰⁴

Inspector P.H. Cairns noted that this practise was widespread in British Columbia schools. He was particularly concerned by milk skimming. "If I had my way I would banish every separator from these Industrial and Boarding Schools. The pupils need the butter fat so much."¹⁰⁵

No doubt, as Benson suggested, children who were overworked, overtired and underfed had little interest in school work. They were also more susceptible to disease including tuberculosis. Poor diets, and indeed unfamiliar food as the Smithsonian study asserted, were yet another factor with insufficient ventilation and overcrowding which created the tuberculosis catastrophe. The Department was well aware of this. In 1915, Dr. Norquay at the Norway House hospital warned the Inspector of Indian Agencies, J.R. Bunns, who passed the information directly to Scott, that the children from the Methodist residential school he was seeing who were infected with tuberculosis were in every case under-nourished. The food

at the school was not up to standard. The bread was bad, there was not enough beef or fish and the Principal admitted he could not grow enough vegetables.¹⁰⁶ At the other end of the country and at the end of this period that link between poor diets and poor health was still in evidence. In 1938 Inspector G.H. Barry, following conversations with Dr. R. Dick, who provided medical services to the children of Kuper Island school, admitted that

in the absence of some improvement in the variety and quantity of food served to the children at Kuper Island and the provision for a somewhat longer time for meals, I am somewhat apprehensive with regard to the health of the pupils particularly those now stated to be infected with T.B.¹⁰⁷

The reality of the economics of the schools did not change between 1915 and 1938. Food shortages, therefore, were persistent and it was the childrens' labour which fulfilled what in fact was a duty of their new "parents" to them. The final irony in this was that in all areas of the country, except the high plains after the disappearance of the buffalo, children on entering the schools likely left behind a better diet, provided by communities that were yet living on the land, than that which was provided to them by school authorities. This had in fact been Cornelliuss Bignell's main point about Elkhorn - that living conditions in the community were better than in the school.¹⁰⁸ After the Second World War, with the professionalization of the supervision of food services in the school system, it would be possible to have surer insights into the quality of school diets but even in this period there are hints that the move from a "savage" Aboriginal diet to an inferior "civilized" non-Aboriginal diet was problematic. In this light, Benson probably did not realize the profound nature of his 1897 critique of school food.

The bill of fare is decidedly monotonous and makes no allowance for peculiarities of taste or constitution. What is one man's meat is another man's poison, but at our schools it is die dog or eat the hatchet.¹⁰⁹

Cultural practises, the "peculiarities of taste," were certainly not replicated in the schools. There are constant references in the reports by local officials that school dietaries lacked adequate amounts of meat or fish.¹¹⁰ Such protein sources were the major component of the traditional diet. Unlike vegetables or grains which could be produced in bulk and had a long shelf life, fresh meat and fish were difficult to procure in quantity or to store. The Principal at

Prince Albert raised the ire of the "James Roberts band" because as the school had no proper facilities for storing or cleaning the fish, it was often spoiled when it was served to the children. The agent R.S. Davis, who investigated the complaint, reported that "at present they are cleaned outside in the bush along the lake, this draws many flies. The fish are held over from one meal to another and cannot be of the best on a hot day when the evening meal is served."¹¹¹

The community at Kitamaat was equally exercised over the diet of that school and again the agent noted that "she [the Principal, Ida Clarke] cannot always get fresh meat or fish."¹¹² Clarke's claim that despite this the children "always have enough to eat" did not satisfy the community and may not have satisfied a dietician either who may have pointed out that a diet without meat or fish, or a legume substitute, (beans, peanut butter and so forth), would fulfil the child's carbohydrate needs only.

The Department was aware that another nutritional component, often identified as a lack of "fat," was missing from many diets.¹¹³ This was the basis of Cairns's campaign against cream separators¹¹⁴ and the concern expressed by others that children received few dairy products. Halliday, at Alert Bay, even drew the connection between health, Aboriginal food culture and that school's diet. He noted the shortage of meat and fish and what he thought was an unusual amount of sickness among the children. It had been pointed out to him, he told the Department,

that in their native habitat Indians live on more or less oily foods, they use large quantities of fish and use very largely fish oil and also eat a great many hair seals which are very fat indeed. I found at the school that there was a very small quantity of fish on the diet list. It must be admitted however that at times it is difficult to get fresh fish, but it would appear from the quantity that would be used there that an arrangement might be made to get a good weekly allowance.¹¹⁵

While Halliday and others may well have been concerned about the dietary, at no time in this period did the Department make any sustained attempt to ensure that "an arrangement might be made to get a good weekly allowance" of food to the children. At times, as at Elkhorn, the Department responded to community protests. But the result was never anything more than a report over which senior staff might, at best, have shaken their heads in dismay, unless it is to be believed that they discounted not only the evidence of "Edward B." but that from their own agents and visiting physicians. They certainly did

not shake their fists in indignation and they were not moved to sympathy or action even by the warning that lay in Simes's report.

To permit present circumstances to continue will eventually not only bring severe public criticism on Indian Affairs Branch, but serve no useful purpose in uplifting or helping the Indians.¹¹⁶

Without a concerted national effort by the Department to ensure adequate diets and against the force of fluctuating local conditions and the rise and fall of per capita rates, efforts by Principals to feed the children, or by agents to rectify particularly bad situations, seemed doomed to failure. At the heart of this failure lay the fact that Ottawa did not intervene though officials in the field, from the earliest days of the system, argued for it. Dewdney, in 1888, pointed out to the deputy superintendent general that as "the Department is the legal guardian of the Indian children" and the senior financial partner in the system that "in a matter considered by it [the Department], to be of serious importance [it should] reserve the right of withholding such assistance pending effect being given to its expressed views."¹¹⁷ There was to be, however, no such forceful administration. The Department did not use its power to suspend per capitass, even after the 1911 contracts, or to remove children from a school as a way of leveraging churches into compliance with any suitable dietary. Thus the system was allowed to drift and local problems continued unresolved. A brief episode at Kitamaat sufficiently illustrates what was the norm throughout the system.

At Kitamaat Girls School in 1922, the community, angered over the death of one of the girls and the "ill-treatment" of the children, refused to let any child return to the school after a holiday. The agent, the Principal and "two Constables" of the RCMP held a public meeting to air community grievances. Parents complained that the children were not well-fed or clothed and that the school was injurious to their health. "One made the statement that of all the girls who had attended the school 49 have died, and 30 are alive." Once the agent promised that a doctor would visit and check on the condition of the children and the sanitary condition of the school:

The Indians at last agreed to return the children to the school, if the principal would sign a paper that the children would be well fed. Miss Clarke signed a paper to this effect; and, on behalf of the Indians two of them signed a statement that they would give the school proper support.¹¹⁸

The parents remained watchful or as the local missionary

reported, they exhibited a "belligerent attitude" that had a "disturbing influence on the workers in the Residential school."¹¹⁹ The community's attitude was justified for four years later when the school was visited by Inspector Cairns, he was not satisfied with the general condition of the school, the schoolwork or the food "neither as to the quantity or quality." In defense of the children, parents resorted to resisting their enrolment in the school.¹²⁰ In defense of the children, the Department did nothing.

The Kitamaat community and others who protested that their children were not being well fed or cared for may have felt, as did Chief Bignell at The Pas, that "it was the duty of the Department rather than that of the Indians to see that the conditions in the school were remedied".¹²¹ If that was, indeed, the case, it was, throughout this period, a vain hope for the Department's inaction in the face of hungry children was part of a pattern of irresponsibility, writ even larger and more tragically in the physical abuse of the children. It amounted to complicity in the mistreatment of its wards.

CLOTHES

"In fairness I want to add that all the children have good clothes but these are kept for Sundays and when the children go downtown - in other words when out where they can be seen, they are well dressed."¹²² A. Hamilton, 1936.

Inspector Hamilton's comment about the clothes of the children of Birtle school in Manitoba disrupts the image of the residential school child that the Department displayed in its Annual Report photographs - Thomas Moore in his neat suit and the pretty dresses and straw hats of the young Qu'Appelle girls posed with their shabby savage father. Daily, behind the school walls, after the posing or the trip downtown, the children returned to a reality that did not reflect that published ideal. Many children sat down, poorly dressed, to meagre meals. The reasons for both of these facts were the same.

European clothes were the outward manifestation of the transformation from the "savage" to the civilized state. In the early optimistic days in the life of most schools "good clothes," were purchased or, in the case of the industrial schools, run up from material, duck, blanket cloth and linen, provided by the Department. In 1884, a list was issued of what was "Required for the use of the Industrial Schools about to

be opened in the NW Territories at Qu'Appelle, Battleford in Treaty 7." Each school was to be issued

- 200 yds brown duck lined with cloth for winter wear
- 200 yds brown duck for summer suits
- 100 pairs woollen mitts
- 100 grey flannel shirts
- 16 hides for buckskin moccasins
- 100 sinews for sewing
- 20 needles
- 20 balls thread, black & white, different sizes
- 100 pairs woollen socks
- 30 yds duffel for winter wear
- 40 prs assorted sizes of brogans for boys between 7 & 17
- 35 comforters
- 35 fur caps
- 140 blankets
- 175 yds ticking
- 30 white blankets to make great coats
- 100 yds linen¹²³

The clothes made from these supplies were to be the first outward sign of what was assumed would soon be the inner grace of civilization.

For school administrators, school uniforms were especially significant - countering what had always been seen by Europeans as the dangerous, excessive individuality of Aboriginal society. Unbridled individualism, manifest in boisterous, decorative display, which broke the bounds of decorum and thus signalled the potentiality of lawlessness, was the core of savagery. In the schools, it could be moderated by uniforms which reduced the children to sameness, to regularity, to order and were, therefore, agents of discipline and thus of civilization.

The link between order, discipline and obedience to authority, woven symbolically into the fabric of the school uniform was often picked out approvingly by the churches as a military analogy. In 1925, T. Westgate, the field secretary of the Missionary Society of the Church of England, lobbied the Department for a system-wide uniform to be adapted from that used by Canada's naval cadets. The idea was not received with enthusiasm by R. Ferrier, the superintendent of education. He balked at the administrative difficulties of such a task and added cryptically "that there was much to be said for and against a uniform for boys at Indian residential schools."¹²⁴

For the churches, however, there was no room for debate. In 1938, a submission to the minister from a joint delegation of all the churches laying out the "URGENT NEEDS" of the system

requested the government provide a uniform. They had

always considered uniforms to be essential to such work as this. The value of a uniform in the Services need not be dwelt upon. There would be no true cohesion without a uniform. Further if modern Dictators [Hitler, Mussolini] find that a coloured shirt assists in implanting political doctrines and even racial and theological ideas, it should be obvious that the adoption of a bright and attractive uniform would assist in implanting all that we desire in the children under our care.

There was, however, more to this issue than the ideological importance of attire, of school uniforms and proper Sunday clothes. In the submission, the churches wanted the uniforms provided by the government for they admitted that they had not routinely had funds to purchase proper clothes for the children.¹²⁵ As in almost everything about the schools, the considerable distance between the vision of the schooling-civilizing process and the actual treatment of the children measured the breadth of the churches' and governments' hypocrisy. Many a first-time Principal, like Lett at St. George's, or the Rev. J. Salles at Kamloops, was shocked when first arriving at school to find how wide that gap was. In the spring of 1917, Salles found on his arrival that the Kamloops buildings were "very old and have been patched up so often that it costs more to repair them than it would to build an up to date school." The farm, needing irrigation, was unproductive and the "horses and cattle being too old, everything should be replaced." However,

What struck me most when I came here is the ragged condition of the boys' clothes. None had been bought since September and I could not buy any as we had not a cent in the bank and I will not buy any until July as we will be without cash and I cannot get any credit.... Half of the boys have only one pair of stockings, they repaired their own shoes, but these are too old to last long and their uniform is so old and so worn out that we do not dare to show them to anyone.

Agent J. Smith, when he visited the school in the following year, supported Salles assessment in every detail adding that the girls too were poorly clothed including the fact that the "present supply of underwear for the girls is shockingly low." He agreed, too, that all of the failings were rooted, not surprisingly, in that universal reality - inadequate per capita grants.¹²⁶

That fiscal reality and its effect on care generally and here

on the quality of the clothing provided to the children had and continued to echo throughout the system. More examples piled up in Departmental files spanning the period. In 1908, at Chapleau, Ontario, the agent, in a surprise visit, saw the school "in an ordinary state." The building was "not suited to the needs of a residential school," it was overcrowded and there were hardly any washing facilities. Some of the 40 children had tuberculosis and there was considerable eczema against which

apparently no steps had been taken to stop the spread of the disease and unless proper provision is made for washing and the cleanliness of the pupils, this disease is likely to spread through the whole school....

The Department admitted that funding was the problem, that the Principal was "doing his best to carry on on the government grant and in his anxiety to make ends meet he has taken in more pupils than the school will accommodate and has pushed economy to the limit." Such economy had led to the fact that there was neither adequate clothes nor bedding for the children.¹²⁷

Again, in 1908, but this time at Cecilia Jeffrey School, the Inspector found that

although this is a comparatively new school, it is badly in need of repairs for lack of attention. They have no systematic water supply; the daily needs are dependent on what is brought in in pails and barrels.

The building was cold as "no proper precaution [is] taken to retain the heat" and amidst this litany was the notation that the children were not warmly clad and the bedding was insufficient and unclean.¹²⁸

In 1910, the Kamloops Principal frankly stated that he had to reduce the amount of food and that he could not afford to provide "decent clothing" for his pupils.¹²⁹ In 1914, parents of children at St. Joseph's complained to the Dominion Land agent, C. Stockdale, that "the children up there are not being treated at all good, nothing on their feet etc."¹³⁰ In 1929, W. Graham was informed by Agent Murison, after a visit to Round Lake school, "I was oppressed with an atmosphere of listlessness in everything." The boys "looked fairly healthy but in all my experience I never before saw such patched and ragged clothing as worn by the boys."¹³¹

Round Lake was, indeed, a mess. Miss Affleck, in a long letter to W. Graham, sketched out the consequences for the children.

"In all my 18 years experience as a teacher, I never had in my school a dirtier, more ill-clad or more likeable class of little folk." Washing facilities, sanitation, and, of course, food and clothes - the "attractiveness" and adequacy of the food and the supply of clothes - were wanting. "Breakfast," she wrote,

always means porridge, bread and lard and tea - nothing else. When I asked the cook why so little porridge for each child (about 3 tbs) she said 'The children don't like it and besides the pot isn't big enough to make more.'

The clothes were equally comic and sad. The Principal, Mr. Ross, himself

has complete charge of the footwear for both boys and girls and he gives them the most ridiculous outfits. The little girls go teetering around in pumps with outlandish heels, or those old fashioned very high boots with high heels, sizes too large, or silly little sandals that won't stay on their feet - cheap lots that he buys for next to nothing, or second hand misfits that come in bales.¹³²

At the end of the period, in 1944, Bignell, Allan and Simes at Elkhorn added deplorable clothes and shoes to the list of everything else at the school which was wholly "unsatisfactory" - the children's

clothes were disgraceful, The clothing was not only dirty but torn and ragged. Their stockings were full of holes. Not a single child was observed to be wearing a good pair of boots.¹³³

In the absence of adequate funding from either government or church headquarters, Principals could only fall back on the school's revenue producing potential or, particularly in the case of clothes, on charity. "Second hand misfits which come in bales" - charity clothes, outlandish "pumps," "old fashioned ... boots," "silly ... sandals," miles of mufflers, mitts, disused duffle coats, tee shirts, sweaters, shirts, dresses, socks came from women's auxiliaries. They were collected in church foyers, packed and shipped from church basements to cover the indecencies of the "savages" around the world and the children in residential schools.

"PARENTS"

Obviously, financial factors, chronic underfunding in

particular, was a major dynamic in the manner in which Principals and their staff attended to the care, clothing and feeding of the children and the upkeep of the fabric of the school. To a degree their behaviour in this regard was pre-determined - programmed by the relatively limited options available - overcrowding the school to acquire larger grants, overworking the children to augment school budgets and practising economy in every sector. However, the fact that some schools were better than others, which was how Christianson, for example, had characterized the treatment of children at Morley or, indeed, how Scott had characterized the physical condition of Catholic schools in general, speaks to another universal reality - school administrators had some latitude as well. There was scope for a Principal and staff to exercise initiative and what talents they had to benefit the children. Here again, in too many cases, the system was wanting, the churches and the Department, which under the Order in Council of 1892 and the contracts of 1911, retained authority over appointments to the schools, did not guarantee that the people employed, those who were the daily "parents" of the children in the schools, were appropriate to the task or worked in conditions which were conducive to the well-being of the children and their proper treatment. In the quality of those "parents" and in the conditions in which they toiled lay not only the roots of the neglect but of the abuse of the children.

Operating a school was a complex task for the institution was not only a school, but, of course, a residence and in most cases a farm. The expertise required of a Principal and the effort required of the staff, both teaching and non-teaching, was considerable. All of this was made more onerous by the fact that the children came from another culture and were to be cared for without adequate provision from the government.

Unfortunately, all too often, the staff were not up to this difficult challenge. The evidence of this, according to senior staff of the Department, was readily evident in the condition of the school and the care of the children. In 1916, Scott received a report on Old Sun's school detailing the "entire want of discipline and order." The floors and walls were unclean, the bake house was filthy, there were "indications of mice in the flour" and pails were used for toilets in the dormitories and then emptied in the lavatories where they were left and "smell horribly." It was all, Scott concluded, because of "the principal and his wife" who "are said to be very nice people but without the faintest idea of managing an institution of this sort."¹³⁴ They were far from the only such people put in charge. At the Whitehorse school in 1912, the Principal, a "navy man" was also to do the farming and his wife, the Matron, was to be the cook. Neither had any experience whatsoever in running a school.¹³⁵

This was the case, too, at the Alberni school in 1910. Agent A. Neill announced to the Department, with considerable exasperation, the arrival of Mr. H.B. Currie and his wife:

They appear to be very nice and well-intentioned, but they have absolutely no knowledge of school management, or of nursing or of handling Indians; they do not appear to have been fully informed of the conditions under which they will have to work. I repeat that personally, I think they are people of fine character, but it is not fair to them, it is not fair to the school, it is not fair to the Department for the church to send out people so entirely inexperienced in the work.¹³⁶

He was particularly exercised not only because the school had just lost, through retirement, a highly experienced Principal but because he was frustrated by the way in which the appointment system worked. He had the year before pushed for the introduction of strict qualifications for Principals and, indeed, teachers, only to have the ABC's of the financing of the residential school system pointed out to him by his superior in British Columbia, A. Vowell. Neill, in fact, wanted a college degree as a prerequisite for Principalship. The fact that the vast majority of the Principals came from the ranks of the churches was no guarantee of quality. Graduation from a divinity school, ordination as a priest or the taking of holy vows did not in any significant fashion prepare a person for the multiple responsibilities entailed in the management of a school. Vowell explained, however, that school positions were not attractive to qualified people. The schools were, in most instances, isolated and did not offer salaries competitive with those of urban provincial schools. To recruit university trained Principals was not only a near impossibility but would inevitably lead to requests from the churches for larger grants to meet the increased salary expenditure. In Vowell's opinion, and he was correct then and would be throughout the period

from the tenor of the Department's letters on the subject from time to time received of late years it is understood that it is not at present disposed to entertain requests for increased grants to Indian boarding and industrial schools.¹³⁷

The Department, of course, realized that its access to mission workers, allowed it to operate the system much more economically than would be the case if it had to compete for staff with provincial educational systems. Without such people, moved, as Davin described them, "by a motive power beyond anything pecuniary,"¹³⁸ costs would "mount to an alarming figure." There was, however, a down side to this in

the quality of those employees. To Vowell's suggestion that the system could not readily attract first rate people some senior staff added a darker suspicion - the schools were a dumping ground for less competent church staff. R.T. Ferrier commented in 1932 on the "proness of Church officials to assign to Indian work Reverend gentlemen and instructors who have not been too successful in other fields of activity."¹³⁹ The system routinely employed those who had not been "too successful," people like the Currie's, and the children suffered for it. Bryce noted in his 1907 report the consequences for the health of the children. The staff in general were ignorant of, and unimpressed with, the idea of a tubercular epidemic. Furthermore, in the schools he surveyed, there was no provision for "physical drill." In ordinary circumstances, "the need for such exercise would be looked upon as an elementary necessity." Perhaps, however

remembering the very varied types of teachers, difficulty often experienced in obtaining permanent ones of high quality, and the sources from which they are drawn, it may be expecting too much to suppose that so elementary a necessity of school hygiene as physical exercises should have been a regular part of the course in these schools.¹⁴⁰

Neill's fear that Currie would be quite unsatisfactory was unfortunately, borne out. The Principal was unaware apparently of the "elemental" necessities and thus the school rapidly declined. But Currie, of course, was allowed to stay on. According to Ditchburn, he spent most of his time building up a livestock business in the interest of the school and devoted little effort to the school itself. When R. Ferrier visited in 1921, he recorded his impressions of the Principal and his wife.

Mr. Currie is a hardworker, of unprepossessing appearance, is petulant and quick tempered. Mrs. Currie is a splendid type. My personal opinion of the principal is that he is hardly big enough for his job.¹⁴¹

While just such a statement might have been made about many men and women who found employment in the schools that is not to say that the school system did not attract any dedicated administrators and staff of talent. It did, but often they worked under conditions of such difficulty that even skill and missionary zeal could fail them. They would find themselves unable to properly care for the children they wished to parent. Some frank and detailed letters from Rev. Lett to the New England Company, the English charity which operated St. George's in conjunction with the Department, attest to this giving a glimpse into the difficult life of a Principal and

the personal toll running a school could take.

Lett arrived with his wife and baby at St. George's in 1923. The school buildings were in an advanced state of decay, the children badly fed and clothed, the farm and orchards neglected. The agent thought that if radical action was not taken quickly, the institution should be closed. Lett tackled the problems with energy and optimism. But within two years the strain of the work and their living conditions brought his wife, who had taken on the duties of matron, to the verge of a breakdown. Lett, himself, was increasingly troubled. While he struggled to get the farm and orchard back into efficient operation and cope with a fractious staff, he faced a serious moral crisis in the school.

In the dormitory we have a moral problem, which owing to the arrangement of that part of the building, we are unable to combat. We had one of the boys run away two weeks ago, and questioning him on his return, found out that the bigger boys were using him to commit sodomy, hence, his getaway, afraid to come to me. I suspected this for sometime, but myself and the supervisors had not been able to check up on it. It at least will be an impossibility to eradicate it, until we have proper accommodations where we can separate the older boys from the mediums and youngsters.

Living in the main school building, the Letts experienced some of the same conditions that were endured by the children.

As mentioned, or touched upon, our own situation is by no means ideal. We have at the present time, nor have we had since coming, any home life. Mrs. Lett, baby and myself occupy one bedroom, not even having a spare room for visitors. The living and dining rooms are so public that we dare [not] talk over business affairs and repair to our bedroom, but then must confine ourselves to whispers.

They lived side by side with the staff even sharing a bath and toilet with three others. Thus, Lett wrote, we enjoy

no privacy, which is so much needed under such strenuous conditions of work. We long for sometime and place where we could be separate, for at least a time and could enjoy home by ourselves. With the children's dining room on one side, dormitories overhead, playroom below, we cannot have much peace. Our little girl is now growing up, and the constant contact with tubercular and syphilitic children, and immorality does not make our feelings

any brighter. To the above I attribute Mrs. Lett's condition.¹⁴²

The effort of running the school without adequate means and realising that he was not succeeding was bringing him to his own crisis. In November 1924, the Agent, G. Pagnell, found him "almost in despair."¹⁴³ Scott was shown Lett's letters and promised to meet the Anglican church, which was commissioned to operate the school by the New England Company, a missionary charity based in England, to discuss his situation.¹⁴⁴ Lett wrote to Scott that he and his wife "cannot allow ourselves to go on in this way indefinitely, and finally emerge broken. No use in Indian work or anywhere else." Rightly, he laid the blame for it all at the door of the Department

In conclusion, I might say that I am at the present time, feeling rather upset, in mind, because of the fact, that I am unable to pick up owing to the financial strain, the financial end of the school work I go with my hands tied the work becomes more and more burdensome, and I feel it is time the Department was placing the institution on a permanent businesslike basis so that I will be enabled to relief [sic] the burden and strain carried.¹⁴⁵

He soldiered on regardless as he had no other choice. Scott, on his part, despite Lett's plea and reports from agents and the visiting doctor, P. Wilson, that showed that without substantial capital expenditures the condition of the school, the health of the children and the level of care would continue to deteriorate¹⁴⁶, did nothing for another four years. Finally, a grant for a new building was secured from Parliament.¹⁴⁷

Lett and St. George's were, of course, far from the only case of urgent need. The whole system was tugging at Scott's sleeve, was crying out for funding for critical improvements and per capita that would provide adequate meals and clothes. Many Principals and matrons had to struggle under the load and raise their children in the same deplorable conditions suffered by the students. In terms of quality most were probably somewhere between the pronounced dedication of Lett and the obvious incompetence of Currie. For all there was a unifying experience - what enthusiasm they brought with them and their talents were no doubt submerged by the waves of responsibility, overwork, anxiety and frustration that soon overwhelmed them.

If the strain told on Lett and his wife, it was no less so for the staff of the schools - the teachers, cooks and stockmen and labourers where they were employed. As Bryce noted in his

comment, there was, throughout the system, a high turnover rate which the Department understood was due not only to its low level of salaries but to the working conditions in the schools - "to constant strain and overwork."¹⁴⁸

Much of the work of the school that was not done by the children themselves, was attended to by the teachers who as well as teaching in the classrooms, or in the shops and fields if they taught trades, were supervisors of the childrens' work, play and personal care. Their hours were long, the remuneration small and the working conditions irksome, owing to the conditions of the buildings and particularly to the management structure of the school.

It is difficult to peer into the Catholic schools where the nuns' vows of obedience enforced loyalty to the Principal and thus silence and where vows of poverty may well have obviated any concern about the physical shortcomings of their and the children's lot. Departmental files do, however, reveal some details, slight nevertheless, about the lives of staff in Protestant schools. It was not an easy life. An appointment to a school took a person out of the normal round of social intercourse and the opportunities available in non-Aboriginal communities and placed them in an isolated and closed community of co-workers. The potential for strained interpersonal relations, heightened by fatigue and the lack of privacy, was too often realized.¹⁴⁹

Strangely enough in a number of recorded cases, stress was compounded by fear - a fear of the children, a dangerous current of emotion which may have coursed below the surface and broken through in torrents of abuse at many schools. In 1896, the Principal at Brandon, John Semmens, reported three occasions on which the staff had either been struck or threatened by male pupils. In each case, there had been a resolution including an apology by the boy. Semmens, however, saw in this darker forebodings:

The point of the trouble lies in the disobedience and the insubordination involved. The boys may repeat this and what protection have we, or what guarantee that they will not combine and give trouble to all concerned? It may be necessary to handcuff or imprison if the ordinary corrective influences fail us.¹⁵⁰

Whether Semmens disquiet over a combination of young men rising against the school was rooted simply in fear of the physical strength of 16 to 18 year olds or was motivated additionally by feelings of anxiety over how badly the children were being treated is impossible to determine. What is clear is that he was not alone in this fear. Thomas Ross,

a teacher at Red Deer, frantically telegraphed Clifford Sifton, in 1902, "Boys Industrial school have knives - beyond control - principal ladies badly fear hourly - kindly take steps immediately."¹⁵¹ The Principal of Mackay, Rev. E. Bird was, in 1924, also concerned about the violent nature of the older boys who, he claimed, had at times attacked the staff. The "ladies" wanted strong measures taken against them.¹⁵² Some years later at Mackay Principal Conlin, worrying about the yet threatening behaviour of the boys, thought the solution actually lay in replacing his ladies with employees who could effectively intimidate the boys. "I would not suggest replacing them with matrons from a jail or rough people of any sort, but in future it would be well to supply good Husky [sic] ladies for the school, a light weight one is out of place here."¹⁵³

The Department had apparently no opinion on the appropriate size of female employees. However, in response to Semmens, it did not entirely dismiss the perceived danger to the staff.

Concerning your conjecture that the boys may combine in their opposition to constituted authority, I would say that while there is nothing in your letter to indicate that you will ever be called upon to meet a crisis of the above nature, yet should such an occasion arise there would apparently be no practical course open to you other than to call in a policeman.¹⁵⁴

To all of these factors must be added the dynamics of school organization. Schools were mini-monarchies. They were normally run by a Principal and a matron. The Principal was in absolute charge having overall responsibility and particular charge of academics, the hiring and firing of staff, the recruitment of students, the general operation and upkeep of the school and budgets. The matron supervised the housekeeping, cooking, laundering and the general care of the children. Often the Principal and matron were man and wife and that could be problematic for the staff. J.D. McLean, the departmental secretary, informed J. Edmison, the secretary of the board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian church, with regards to an inspection report on Cecilia Jeffrey School

There was not the harmony between the Matron and the subordinate officers which we could have desired to find. This raises the question as to whether it is best to have the Principal and his wife in command in the same institution. Sympathies may be so strong between them that a sort of family compact appears. In this case others may for the sake of self-protection criticize freely as to awaken secret dislike which later manifests itself

in opposition. So often this kind of thing grows from more to more until someone must go to preserve the peace.¹⁵⁵

Working conditions for staff which destroyed their morale and drove them to opposition and resignation and the failure of Principals, whether it was due to incompetence or to overwhelming odds, could in no way benefit the children. Nor could the fact that the schools were not peaceful, rewarding places to work, not havens of civilization. Rather, they were sites of struggle against poverty, the result of underfunding, and, of course, against cultural difference and, therefore, against the children themselves.

Locked away in a distant establishment, beyond or impenetrable to the gaze of almost everyone in Canada, this struggle against the children and their culture, within an atmosphere of considerable stress, fatigue and anxiety may well have dulled the staffs' sensitivity to the childrens' hunger, ill-kempt look and illness and often, perhaps inevitably, pushed the application of discipline over the line into abuse, transformed what was to be a culture of care into one of violence. Certainly, while there is evidence of christian love for Miss Affleck's "likeable class of little folk,"¹⁵⁶ clear traces of an emotion that stood against neglectful and harsh treatment, there was also evidence that links those conditions with the neglect and abuse of the children.

Letters of complaint from staff to the Department, "disloyal" letters like that sent in by Miss Affleck, often dealt with both the treatment of the staff and of the children. Worn beyond their tolerance by onerous duties and at odds with their superiors, the writers broke the seal on the closed "circle of civilized conditions" revealing the great secret - the mistreatment of the children.

In 1902, Abbie Gordon wrote directly to the Minister, Clifford Sifton. Conditions at St. Paul's school were unsupportable. The staff was "cooped up in an unsanitary school building that does not tend to the contentment of the officers or even their health." But it was Miss Lang, the matron, who made life wholly intolerable:

She treats the officers especially the ladies in a supremely arrogant manner. It is so much so, that a couple or three months is as long as they can tolerate her abuse.

She immediately turned to the treatment of the children. Beatrice Mark was

very ill and when the least pressure is put on her



Lac LaRonge School

1909

breast blood oozes out. Nothing was done for her until Miss Kayll who is at present acting as principal ordered her to the sick dormitory. Another delicate girl, Emily Grey, is forced to sleep in an unsanitary bed. It is known as the fatal bed because every girl who sleeps in it takes sick. Another girl, Margaret Umfreville, who has a strong tendency to consumption and is at present sick has to sleep with her head up against the hot air register that heats the dormitory.... Other instances could be mentioned of careless indifference shown to sick children in this school.¹⁵⁷

And there were certainly innumerable other examples of "careless indifference" to children, sick and well, and of outright abuse by staff throughout the school system. There is also a clear record of neglect on the part of the Department in that even when senior officials became aware of cases of abuse, they routinely failed to come to the rescue of children for whom they were "the legal guardian" and who they had, supposedly for their own good and for the good of their communities, removed from their real parents.

DISCIPLINE and ABUSE

The picture of the boys and girls standing in front of the Anglican school at Lac La Ronge in 1909 symbolizes their lives and learning. The right angles of windows, roof and doors intersecting the straight rows of vegetable plants makes a unity of building and garden as architecture and agriculture frame civilization. At the centre of the frame are the children arranged in some Linnaean order -in straight rows, divided by sex and arranged by size. The whole effect emphasizes the goal of re-socializing the children by a movement from circle to square: from a world to be navigated by belief, dreams and spirit guidance to one of secular logic and reasoning, from rhythms which came from the body and needs of the child to those in which the child was to respond to the corporate needs of the school and from learning by living, observing and doing, to living and learning by discipline in preparation for a life governed by the dictates of an alien society.

Behind those windows and doors, the children's lives were to be meticulously arranged in a disciplined regimen of rising, working, learning and resting - the ebb and flow of a ceaseless tide of industriousness. At Qu'Appelle, for example,

the weekday schedule proscribed -

5:30	Rise
6:00	Chapel
6:30-7:15	Bed making, milking, and pumping
7:15-7:30	Inspection to see children are clean and well
7:30	Breakfast
7:30-8:00	Fatigue [chores] for small boys
8:00	Trade boys at work
9:00-12:00	School, with a 15 minute morning recess
12:00-12:40	Dinner
12:40-2:00	Recreation
2:00-4:00	School and Trades for older Pupils
4:45-6:00	Fatigues, sweeping, pumping and so forth
6:00-6:10	Preparing for supper
6:10-6:40	Supper
6:40-8:00	Recreation
8:00	Prayer and retire

Then on Sundays: Usual Fatigues, morning church parade to Lebret Parish Church: 2:30 p.m. Vespers with Choir: 5:00 to 6:00 p.m. Principal gives talk on behaviour and moral instruction - in winter he does this for an hour a day.¹⁵⁸

One girl who attended the Kamloops school in the 1930s recalls that from the moment of rising, the codes of discipline governed minutely every activity.

In the morning, we had to get up at six o'clock, perfect silence. We all took turns going to the bathroom: we'd fill our basin full of water and we'd take it to our bedside. We'd wash, take that basin, empty it, clean it out, put it back, fix our bed, get dressed and as soon as you're finished - you only had half an hour to do all this - brush your teeth, get in line and stand in line in perfect silence.

"And then we marched from there down to the chapel" where the ideology of the system which imbued every activity not only in chapel but in classroom, shop, field and barn, was laid out by the priest yet again.

...there they interrogated us on what it was all about being an Indian.... He would just get so carried away; he was punching away at that old altar rail ... to hammer into our heads that we were not to think or act or speak like an Indian. And that we would go to hell and burn for eternity of we did not listen to their way of teaching.¹⁵⁹

The consequence of not listening, of deviance, of "insubordination"¹⁶⁰ as it was normally termed, of transgressing the authority of the schoolmasters and thus challenging in some way the pedagogy of civilization, was more immediate than some future hell. It was earthly punishment. "If you're caught ever speaking one word", in one of those lines, she continued, "boy, you got cuffed around."¹⁶¹ Discipline, regimentation and punishment, in the service of cultural change, were the context of the children's lives. It was pervasive in the system and, to some observers, poisonous. G. Barry, the district inspector of schools in British Columbia, described the situation at Ahousaht school "where every member of staff carried a strap" and where "children have never learned to work without punishment."¹⁶² Another critic, who saw the same negative implications of this tyranny of routinization charged that at Mt. Elgin

... their whole life day in and day out is planned for them. They learn to work under direction which doesn't require, and indeed discourages, any individual acting or thinking on their part. Punishment goes to those who don't keep in line.¹⁶³

To keep them in line, children could be deprived of food, or strapped, or confined or lectured.

In what way, however, did the Department mark out abuse, when punishment became excessive, the point at which deprivation verged on starvation, strapping became beating, confinement became imprisonment and lecturing the verbal abuse of ridicule, sarcasm and public indignity? While there was never any detailed directive on this matter, pronouncements by deputy superintendents general, by Vankoughnet in 1889 and Reed in 1895, did at least appear to lay out a position on corporal punishment. Corporal punishment "should only be resorted to in extreme cases" and could only be employed "with great discretion" and certainly never so "severely that bodily harm might ensue."¹⁶⁴

In ensuing years this position was echoed as individual cases came forward. Commissioner, A.E. Forget, for example, responded to Principal Semmen's fear of a general uprising at Brandon and his request for guidance with the directive that corporal punishment should be a last resort and

... it should not be more severe than a strapping on the hand, which should be administered in the presence of the whole school, and after such a full explanation of the case as will leave no doubt in the minds of anyone as to the justice and necessity of the course pursued.¹⁶⁵

It was Duncan Campbell Scott, however, who in 1921 underlined most emphatically this policy. He proclaimed the Department's right and duty to care for and protect children against ill-treatment. This pronouncement was sparked by a report on Crowfoot school he received from Nurse Ramage. She had discovered, when entering the dining room to investigate a complaint of bad food:

Four boys in chains and chained to the benches. Later returned to the dining room to examine one of the girls who was reported marked badly by a strap. Several marks were found on her right lower limb. Five girls were in chains.¹⁶⁶

Scott appeared incensed and sent out a sharp letter to the Principal, the Rev. Rioui. O.M.I.:

I wish to state that the Department will not countenance such corrective measures as chaining pupils to benches and corporal punishment that leaves a boy or girl marked. Treatment that might be considered pitiless or jail-like in character will not be permitted. The Indian children are wards of this Department and we exercise our right to ensure proper treatment whether they are resident in our schools or not.¹⁶⁷

Unfortunately, Scott's word was not given effect by him or the Department. Not before, during or after his term as deputy superintendent did senior members of the Department make effective their right and obligation "to ensure proper treatment" of the children and thus Principals and staff, by and large, behaved as they saw fit with impunity.

As with the dietary and the health regulations these dicta on punishment verged on administrative fiction. In 1895, the Deputy Superintendent General, Hayter Reed, thought it necessary that "Instructions should be given, if not already sent to the Principals of the various schools" on the subject of punishment.¹⁶⁸ Nevertheless, a dozen years later the Commissioner, David Laird, was still looking for and stressing the need for just such a directive from Ottawa. He was then dealing with the case of a boy at Norway House school. Charlie Clines had been beaten and run away "and as a consequence was badly frozen." The local agent was outraged.

The result of the punishment is shocking. That a boy should so feel the injustice and severity of his punishment as to run away from school and sleep out in weather so severe that his toes were frozen and that he will lose them, is certainly a most serious matter.

Laird discovered that the boy had been in the school for eight years and was a persistent bedwetter and for that reason the object, more than the other children, of severe treatment. He "lived in constant dread of the lash." Perhaps, Laird suggested, "careful medical treatment might have obviated the painful necessity of frequent whippings, and it might have been more in accordance with Christian methods." All of this went to prove to Laird that the Department had to develop guidelines for the staff of all the schools. In cases of incorrigible boys, he advised that a policy of expulsion should be adopted rather than them being "repeatedly severely punished when it does not prove a restraining discipline."¹⁶⁹ Laird's advice when it arrived in Ottawa was supported by Benson¹⁷⁰ but still it fell on deaf ears. It was not until after Scott retired that a circular was supposedly distributed governing the proper procedure of strapping students¹⁷¹ and there never was, in this period, any comprehensive guidelines on permissible forms of discipline. Without such guidelines governing the behaviour of the staff, promulgated and strictly enforced by the Department, and without any serious response by the Department and the churches to dozens of incidents of severe punishment or neglect that caused injury or death¹⁷² and, finally, without any attention to one of the root causes of abuse, the working conditions of the staff, abuse like tuberculosis flourished in the schools.

There can be no doubt that abuse was a constant phenomenon in the system. Head office, regional, school and church files are replete with incidents. Of course, it could be argued that abuse can only be recognized as such within the context of community standards of the period. According to such a position, characterizing incidents of punishment as abuse can be, at any time, a difficult process complicated further when such judgements have to be made across time and from documents only. Fortunately, in the case of the schools, people involved in the system, the staff and Departmental employees of that time, individuals with that period's sensibilities, have already identified many incidents as abusive by selecting them from the normal course of discipline in the schools and reporting them as unacceptable treatment to more responsible authorities often requesting that immediate, resolute action be taken against the abuser.

In some cases, staff went so far as to make an explicit comparison with standards of treatment in non-Aboriginal schools. One such case took place early in the history of the system at Red Deer school. It is a particularly valuable example as it also illustrates many of the other elements in the story of abuse in the schools that need to be addressed including the complicity of the Department and the churches.

In June of 1896, Agent D.L. Clink reported that he had

returned some children to the school including one David Baptiste who had absconded some time ago. Principal Nelson said he would take the boy back "but he would make him toe the mark, that he had been severe with him before but he would be more severe with him now." Clink removed David from the school. "I felt if I left the boy he would be abused."

Clink had grounds for his concern. In his view, one of the teachers, a Mr. Skinner, was clearly abusing pupils. Skinner had without warning, struck John Bull for disobedience - picking up a book he had been told not to touch. Bull

without taking time to think, grabbed the stick from the teacher and struck him back with it; Mr. Skinner regained the stick and struck the boy a sharp blow over the head with it.

The boy, three months later, still had a large lump on his head which eventually required surgery. Skinner went on to threaten the boy telling him the next time he would beat him with his fists.

There was more. Skinner had "in a passion gave [sic] one of the larger girls a violent shove throwing her the whole length of the floor. The girl cried half an hour afterwards." As well, "he fought with another of the big girls over a slop bucket exchanging blows several times." These incidents, Clink concluded, were part of a general pattern of mistreatment, of abuse, of the children "... such brutality as has been going on there should not be tolerated for a moment." Skinner's "actions ... would not be tolerated in a white school for a single day in any part of Canada."

Clink would find, however, that he was alone in his outrage, that these acts would be tolerated in an Aboriginal school. He could get no justice in the school. The Principal's intervention in the Bull incident had been to force the boy to apologize. And when Clink mentioned the lump on Bull's head, the Principal replied "... the lump was alright there" and warned him off from making further inquiries with the claim "we run the school".¹⁷³

There was little hope outside the school either. The Methodists, in the persons of Rev. A. Sutherland, the general secretary, and Rev. John McDougall, had that winter reviewed the operation of the school and found that it was "not altogether satisfactory" in a number of ways. They had even noted that the Principal was difficult being "arbitrary alike with the pupils and the employees." Yet they used the review only as a spring board for an attack on the Department complaining that all the school's faults, including a staff that was not of the desired quality, could be put down to the

too small per capita grant.¹⁷⁴

Clink, of course, turned to his superiors writing to the Commissioner in Regina:

Now if the Department forces the parents of these children to send them to school then they should see that they are properly cared for and not abused. The Indians have frequently complained to me about their children being improperly treated at this school, and I think that the time has come when the Department let them see that they will get fair treatment.¹⁷⁵

No such reassuring action was taken by the Department. When Clink's reports found their way to the Deputy Superintendent, Hayter Reed, it was the occasion for his abortive suggestion that "Instructions should be given..."that would include a proviso that children "should not be struck on the head."¹⁷⁶ Actions might have spoken louder than these intended words. But, despite the fact that the Department would always be quick to counsel Principals to employ police and judicial authorities in the case of difficult children, Clink's hint that Skinner could be taken before the magistrate was ignored. Reed used the opportunity of Nelson's retirement to do no more than declare "The Department thinks it would be well to call the new Principal's attention to what Mr. Clink has said in reference to Mr. Skinner's treatment of pupils."¹⁷⁷

One of the most reliable indicators of abuse was the runaway. Hundreds of children, like Charlie Clines and David Baptiste, fled because, as the assistant deputy of the Department explained in 1917, of "frequent punishments" and "too much hardwork and travelled through all sorts of hardships to reach their distant homes."¹⁷⁸ Many however, did not make it home to their communities and when the trail was followed back to the school from where searchers found an injured or dead child,¹⁷⁹ it led, almost inevitably, to conditions of neglect, mistreatment and abuse. It was commonplace within the system that, in the words of one local agent, "there is certainly something wrong as children are running away most of the time." Subsequent investigations would discover, not surprisingly, that "conditions at the school are not what they should be."¹⁸⁰

The connection between punishment and running away was at the heart of two quite representative tragedies in British Columbia. On the 10th of February, 1902, just as it was getting dark, Johnny Sticks viewed the body of his eight-year-old son, Duncan, dead from exposure having fled from the William's Lake Industrial School. He lay, Mr. Sticks recalled for the coroner, "75 yards off the road in the snow - he was

quite dead but not frozen." Duncan's blood-stained hat was laying about one yard away, and "he had marks of blood on his nose and forehead - the left side of his face had been partially eaten by some animal." Sticks took his son home in a sleigh regretting all the while that the school had not notified him immediately that his son had run off for "I should have gone at once and looked for him - he ran away from the Mission about one o'clock on Saturday and must have been dead for nearly two days when found."¹⁸¹

Nearly four decades later, on New Year's Day, 1937, at the Lejac School, four boys, Allen Willie, Andrew Paul, Maurice Justin and Johnny Michael, ran away and were found frozen to death on the lake within half a mile of their village. When Harry Paul saw his son on the ice he was wearing summer clothes, "no hat and one rubber missing and his foot bare." Another found his boy "lying face down with his coat under him.... He was the only one with a cap on. He had running shoes on with no rubbers." The boys, "only little tots" was how Police Constable Jennings described them, had set out for home in 30 below weather. They had gone some eight miles, "straight to the light that was at the Village," before they perished.¹⁸²

In both cases, investigators uncovered, in evidence given by staff, children, parents and some graduates, a history of neglect and violence. At the William's Lake inquest, Christine Haines explained why she had run off twice in the past:

...the Sisters didn't treat me good - they gave me rotten food to eat and punished me for not eating it - the meat and soup were rotten and tasted so bad they made the girls sick sometime. I have been sick from eating it... I used to hide the meat in my pocket and throw it away. I told the Sisters to look at the meat as it was rotten, and they said it was not rotten and we must eat it. The Sisters did not eat the same kind of food as they gave the girls. If we didn't eat our porridge at breakfast, it was given to us for our dinner, and even for supper, and we got nothing else till it was eaten.

For her disobedience, Christine claimed she had been locked in a "cold and dark" room, fed bread and water and beaten "with a strap, sometime on the face, and sometimes [they] took my clothes off and beat me - this is the reason I ran away." Other children, like Ellen Charlie whose experience had been remarkably similar to Christine's, made the same charges. Duncan's sister, Mary, told the coroner that as a punishment the nuns "tied my hands and blindfolded me and gave me nothing to eat for a day." She could not, however, give any information about Duncan for at the school, as was common throughout the system, boys and girls were separated. "I was

never allowed to speak to my brother at the school, and I don't know how he was treated."

The staff was unanimous in rejecting the children's charges. The Sister responsible for the girls denied any brutal treatment but admitted that "sometimes girls are shut up in a room for serious faults for periods varying from a few hours to 10 to 12 days - this is the longest time - this latter has happened only once...." The evidence of one of the male teachers, J. Fahey, was just as curious. After assuring the coroner that the children were well treated, he admitted that he used a saddle whip on children guilty of "immorality."¹⁸³

At Lejac, a graduate, Mrs. S. Patrick, recalled "Even when we just smiled at one of the boys they gave us that much," 30 strokes with the strap on each hand, and when they spoke their own language, the Sister "made us take down our drawers and she strapped us on the backside with a big strap." At this school, too, food was an issue. She told the Department's investigator, Indian Commissioner D. MacKay, "sometimes we ate worms in the meat, just beans sometimes and sometimes just barley." The new Principal admitted that there had been a regime of severe punishment at the school but that he would in future bring the school in line with community norms, operate it, in regards to punishment, "along the lines of the provincial public schools."¹⁸⁴

MacKay's central recommendation to Dr. McGill, then the Director of the Indian Affairs Branch, was appropriate not only to the Lejac case but to the whole school system. "My investigation leads me to the conclusion that the Department should take steps to strengthen its administrative control of our Indian Residential Schools through the full use of the privilege which it reserves of approving the more important appointments of these schools."¹⁸⁵ In 1937, this was a long overdue suggestion. The system was out of control; despite Scott's stern pronouncement in 1921, it had not effectively protected the children and thus the record of abuse had grown more sorrowful each decade. It was, as MacKay implied, a problem the Department had not dealt with.

There was more to this Departmental irresponsibility than simply a failure to ensure that appropriate staff were hired. There was a pronounced and persistent reluctance on the part of the Department to deal forcefully with the incidents of abuse, to dismiss, as was its right, or lay charges against, school staff who abused the children. Part of the pattern was an abrogation of responsibility, the abandonment of the children who were "wards of the Department," to the churches who in their turn failed to defend them from the action of members of their own organisations. That was, indeed, what transpired at the William's Lake and Lejac even after the

investigations. The church was left to do what it would to prevent the abuse and neglect of the children from continuing. Lejac and William's Lake were far from isolated incidents of abuse by staff and derogation of duty by the Department. A series of cases in western Canada, brought to the attention of the Department by W. Graham, beginning with an incident at the the Crowstand school in 1907, further illustrate this pattern, the dynamics of the mismanagement of the issue of abuse within the system. Graham, then an inspector of Indian agencies, reported that Principal McWhinney had, when retrieving a number of runaway boys, "tied ropes about their arms and made them run behind the buggy from their houses to the school."¹⁸⁶ The Department Secretary, J.D. McLean, when he referred the matter to a senior member of the Presbyterian church, suggested that the Principal be dismissed as his conduct had been "to put it mildly, most indiscreet."¹⁸⁷

The church refused as its investigation had found that the Principal's action could not be faulted for he had, it was claimed, only tied the boys to the wagon because there was no room inside, the distance had only been some eight miles and the boys did not have to run the whole way as "the horses trotted slowly when they did trot and they walked a considerable part of the way." Even when the horses trotted the boys "could, and did help themselves along by clinging to the buggy."¹⁸⁸ The Department greeted the church's explanation with the cynicism it deserved. Benson saw these "lame arguments" as an attempt to "whitewash McWhinney."¹⁸⁹ The church, however, held firm though privately it extracted a promise from McWhinney that "he will not in the future again adopt methods of discipline to which fair exception might be taken by either the Government or the Indians."¹⁹⁰ McWhinney was kept on despite a continuing record of ill-treatment of the children, including his failure to act when the farm instructor in 1914 took two girls into a room where he had "sexual intercourse with them". Scott, newly appointed as deputy superintendent general, did no more than suggest that McWhinney be transferred and let the matter drop.¹⁹¹

Left unattended by the Department, the situation did not improve. Indeed, Benson soon informed Scott "Things seem to be going from bad to worse ... and it does not seem fair that the Presbyterian church should wish to saddle the Department with Mr. McWhinney." The Department's Medical Inspector, O. Grain, added his opinion. The school, he told Scott, is "the worst residential school I have had to visit." The buildings were dilapidated, the washrooms unsanitary, the dorms were not up to standard and the rooms were full of flies as there were no screens on the windows. The children looked uncared for. "I would like to suggest that the whole boarding school be entirely done away with."¹⁹² The school remained open and McWhinney carried on.

While such a failure to respond forcefully to incidents of abuse and neglect would be standard behaviour for Scott during his term as deputy superintendent general, he was just following what was already an established Departmental habit - so ingrained as to have become unofficial procedure. Indeed, two years earlier he had experienced how immutable that "procedure" was. In November, 1912, Graham had reported the drowning of a seven-year-old boy, Archie Feather, at the File Hills school. He and other boys had been left unsupervised playing beside a lake on which the ice was just forming. Graham was adamant that the school staff were at fault but so too was the church, again the Presbyterian church, for not hiring enough staff to care properly for the children.¹⁹³ Scott, then the Departmental accountant, agreed. It is, he wrote, "pretty clear that negligence has resulted in the loss of life." Referring to the newly signed 1911 contracts, he advised the deputy superintendent general to use this incident to establish fully Departmental authority:

I think we should let them [the churches] see that the Department is determined to have the management comply with the terms of the contract, and I would, therefore, advise that the Presbyterian Authorities be told that the we cannot continue to pay the grant for the File Hills Boarding School until there is proper staff and necessary supervision.¹⁹⁴

After discussions with the church, the deputy decided not to follow Scott's lead. "For the moment the question of withholding the grant may stand."¹⁹⁵ That "moment" was to encompass the future as well, for not Scott, when he assumed the mantle of Departmental leadership, nor any of his successors, used the power of the purse to ensure that the churches maintained adequate levels of care or to punish school management for abusing the children.

In 1919, Graham alerted Departmental headquarters to yet another case of abuse. Reports forwarded from a local agent and a police constable set out the case of George Baptiste who had run away from the Anglican Old Sun's school. On being brought back, the boy was shackled to a bed, had his hands tied, was stripped and was "most brutally and unmercifully beaten with a horse quirt until his back was bleeding."¹⁹⁶ The accused, P.H. Gentleman, in the course of his explanation, admitted using a whip and shackles and that the boy "might have been marked".¹⁹⁷ Graham advised that "Gentleman should be relieved of his duties at once."¹⁹⁸ Scott, however, turned to the church for its "advice."¹⁹⁹ Canon S. Gould, the general secretary of the Missionary Society, mounted a most curious defence - such a beating was the norm, "more or less, in every boarding school in the country."²⁰⁰ Scott accepted this and Gentleman remained at the school. Graham was irate writing to

Scott that "instead of placing this man in a position of responsibility, where he might repeat his disgraceful acts, he should have been relieved of his duties."²⁰¹

Graham's frustrations would only increase as he dealt with more cases and failed each time to bring the Department to initiate corrective measures. In the fall of 1922, he began to submit critical reports on the Catholic Muscowequan school in Saskatchewan. The visiting nurse found the children dirty and neglected, the school full of flies and the "floor thick with mud, could hardly tell it from the outside." The next year, another nurse reported that the building was not fit to be a school and that the diet was inadequate with the children receiving no milk and no vegetables except potatoes and very little of those.²⁰² Finally, in 1924, Cortland Starnes, the Commissioner of the RCMP sent on to Scott a "Crime Report" in which one of the girls charged that "improper proposals were made to her by Father Poulette ... when she was working in his office at the school."²⁰³ Graham pushed Scott to deal at least "with the serious part of the Constable's report ie. - the charge against Father Poulette."²⁰⁴ Scott, however, would not be moved.

In the same year, 1924, Graham brought forward another incident - the beating of Arthur Dorion until he "was black from his neck to his buttocks" at the Anglican MacKay school in Manitoba. The cause of such punishment was, according to J. Waddy, the agent, the fact that "the boy could not work as he had blistered hands from handling a hay fork or some other tool, and he got trimmed for this." The boy had "fought back I understand when he was getting strapped and made the Principal lose his temper."²⁰⁵ Graham's reaction when he learned that the Department had yet again turned over the investigation of the case to the church showed just how ingrained and corrosive the practice had become. "Chances are," he wrote, "it will end like all the other cases" with no action being taken against the Principal and thus will undermine the vigilance of the local Departmental staff:

I think the Department ought to look at it from their own officer's side of the question. No officer likes to write a report and feel that nothing will result from it, and you can understand why they hesitate to report on inefficient members of staff, under the circumstances. The Inspectors feel that where the churches are concerned there is practically no use in sending in an adverse report, as the Department will listen to excuses from incompetent Principals of the school more readily than to a report from our inspectors based on acts as they find them."²⁰⁶

Unfortunately, Graham was proven right; "excuses from incompetent Principals" backed by their churches would have the greater priority. In this case, Waddy confirmed that the punishment of the boy, and indeed of others, by the Principal, Rev. E. Bird, had been excessive.²⁰⁷ Bird admitted that he had marked the boy but the church exonerated him claiming the punishment had been warranted.²⁰⁸ The Department let the matter drop. But this was not the end of it. The very next year another boy fled from the school "almost naked and barefoot" and was found by non-Aboriginal men after a week in the bush "nearly out of his mind" from being "whaled black and blue." One of the men who saw the boy before he was taken to the hospital warned that if the Department did nothing he would contact the "SPCA like he would if a dog were abused." Waddy reminded the Department that this was a repeat of the Dorion incident and tried, as Graham always did, to push the Department into action:

One of these times a pupil will starve to death in the bush after running away from school, this boy was away for a week and nearly made a nice case of publicity against the Department, as in the final analysis we are responsible.²⁰⁹

Graham supported his subordinate suggesting that finally, perhaps, "the time has arrived when the services of this Principal should be dispensed with."²¹⁰ Scott, however, loyal to the tradition of having the church investigate itself, asked Gould to give the case "your customary careful attention." The result was that Bird was exonerated again²¹¹ and when Graham attacked the church's investigation for having ignored the men who found the boy and gave evidence as to his physical condition, he was put in his place by the secretary of the Department. "I have to assure you that the Department has dealt with this question seriously and I feel that no further action is advisable at present."²¹²

In these and in dozens of other cases, not only in the west and British Columbia but throughout the system, "no further action" was ever taken and thus at many schools abusive situations remained unresolved. In 1931, Graham was still writing to Scott about conditions at MacKay school. "I have not had good reports on this school for the past ten years, and it seems that there is no improvement. I think the time has come that the Department should have the whole matter cleared up."²¹³ Departmental inactivity continued even after Scott's retirement. A. Hamilton, referring to conditions at Elkhorn school warned, in 1944, that so long as the Department did not intervene aggressively in the "present management" of the school "the children will continue to run away [and] someone will be frozen to death or killed riding trains."²¹⁴

That the Department seemed congenitally incapable of responding to the prompting of men like Laird, Clink, Waddy, Hamilton and Graham was part of the long-established habit of neglect. But that tragic lethargy stemmed also from the fact that the Department did not think it "advisable at present" to contradict the churches in these matters. The church was still a force to be reckoned with within the national political arena and therefore within the school system. Benson in his 1897 report, when calling for a tightening of the regulatory guidelines, complained that the churches "had too much power." In that light, he noted, in 1903, the Department had a "certain hesitancy in insisting on the church authorities taking the necessary action."²¹⁵

Some officials certainly feared church influence and thought the Department should as well. Agent A. O'Daunt who, in 1920, conducted an inquiry into an incident at William's Lake that involved the suicide of one boy from eating "poison hemlock" and the attempted suicide of eight others, admitted that he found it unwise to accept the uncorroborated evidence of children for "to take evidence on that will bring a religious hornets nest around the ears of the Department, unless the reverence in which the missionaries are held in the East has undergone a change since I lived there." As well, he found his way forward blocked by two other factors. First, even if it was wise to believe the children, "it will be quite impossible to obtain any evidence as the fear of the Church would keep any youngsters from coming forward." Additionally,

without in any way impugning the character of the school authorities, it is a matter of common knowledge that religious bodies carry what may be termed "Esprit de Corps" to the extent that would make it very difficult to place the guilt on one of their members.²¹⁶

While Scott may not have feared those spirited clerical hornets, he certainly carried forward Benson's "hesitancy" by paying persistent deference to church advice throughout his long career as deputy superintendent general from 1913 to 1933.

The Department was not, however, simply overawed by influential churches which refused to accept criticism of their treatment of the children or disciplining of their staff. It also acted defensively. Witnessing, throughout this long period the persistent mis-treatment of children, the Department felt most immediately not compassion for its wards but only its own vulnerability. Edward's cries of neglect and abuse were threatening and thus they, and those from other children and parents, had to be silenced and the conversations of criticism among officials had to be carefully managed and

sealed in the tomb of Departmental records within the strong-walled bounds of the "circle of civilized conditions." Always, as in the case of two young girls who had been sexually "polluted" at Kuper Island school in 1912, "it has been kept from the public, and I trust", wrote Inspector W. Ditchburn, "in the interest of the Department's educational system, that it will remain so."²¹⁷ In a similar vein G.H. Barry, the Department's inspector of schools in British Columbia, worried that at Christie school "the Principal may be rather rough in his treatment of the boys", warned the Indian Commissioner in 1937:

It would be as well to avoid any chance of ill-treatment of pupils in any Indian Residential School, as the general public is rather inclined to be very critical at the present time, and any incident of harsh treatment may be highly exaggerated in the press, and give a very false idea of the work we are trying to carry out in this Province for our Indian children.²¹⁸

The "educational system," the "work we are trying to carry out," its goal of civilization, had the highest priority. In the minds of Alexander Morris, Davin, Vankoughnet and almost every other senior Departmental official, the schools were concrete proof that Canada was carrying out its duty to Aboriginal people. Scott was no exception. When he formulated plans in 1926 for opening the Shubenacadie school in Nova Scotia, he told the Catholic church that it should be "located within full view of the railway and highway, so that the passing people will see in it an indication that our country is not unmindful of the interest of these Indian children."²¹⁹ While the "passing people" might be able to see the schools, they were rarely able to see in them, to see the children in their suffering, deaths, and the damage done to their identities. Nevertheless, Scott was sensitive to even the little the public could know from the outside. In a note he made in the margin of a 1930 report on Gordon's school, which underlined its filthy condition and dilapidated exterior, he commented "This country is overrun with tourists since the automobile has come into general use and it is not right that our institutions should come in for criticism that they do from time to time."²²⁰

In the face of such criticism, when neglect or abuse was revealed or suggested, senior staff of the Department, despite the knowledge of the real conditions in the schools, routinely, and often aggressively, protected the system and thus the Department's reputation - at times by trying to demean the reputation of others. During Scott's term this was a marked style being applied with particular force in dealing with opposition to Departmental policies emanating from Indian

political organizations. Scott's letter of 1921 to the Superintendent General, Sir James Lougheed, attempting to discredit F.O. Loft, a Mohawk, World War I veteran and founder of the "League of Indians of Canada," is typical of his own aggressive behaviour in this regard. Loft, who had the same level of education as Scott, had volunteered for war service but had not been allowed, because of his age, to enter combat. Scott did not trouble to present these facts accurately:

He has some education, has rather an attractive personal appearance, but he is a shallow talkative individual. He is one of a few Indians who are endeavouring to live off their brethren by organizing an Indian society, and collecting fees from them What he ought to get is a good snub. He volunteered for the war and looked very well in a uniform, but he was cunning enough to evade any active service, and I do not think his record in that regard is a very good one.²²¹

In the case of those "few Indians," Scott tried to draw attention to their supposed character flaws and thus away from the issues Aboriginal reformers were attempting to highlight.

In the residential school sector, too, offense, focusing on the complainant, was, the Department sensed, the best defense. Round Lake School in the 1920s was a case in point. Throughout the decade, Graham had submitted negative reports from local officials on the operation of the school which had been ignored. The place was unsanitary and often unheated. By the middle of the decade, he had begun to lose his patience. "Although an adverse report has been sent in ... I have heard nothing at all from the Department with reference to it ... it seems to me that a report of this kind requires action on the part of the Department." In 1926, he wrote to Scott -

The classrooms are reported to be untidy, and the children are sitting with heavy coats on in their seats. I can just picture this Indian School. I have seen them before.

Finally, in 1929, when he submitted the most extensive and damning review of the school, of its inadequate diet, ragged clothing and unsanitary conditions,²²² he got a response. Scott discounted the reports as this latest critique was based upon information supplied by Miss Affleck who had been dismissed by her Principal, Mr. Ross, for the disloyal act of reporting what she considered his incompetence to United Church headquarters. She was not to be believed because, according to Scott, she was obviously a "troublemaker."²²³

Trouble, of course, did not have to be made; it was real and

was rooted in the actions of the Principal. But that was to be dealt with in private, at the highest level, between Scott and the church without the agency of a troublesome woman supported by local Departmental officials. In 1930, after yet another bad report, this one by A. Hamilton, Scott consulted the United church. Church officials seemed, he recorded, "satisfied with Mr. Ross's work on the whole" and were "not desirous of taking any drastic action." Scott was further informed "that it is probable that Mr Ross will leave Indian work in another year or so" and thus he "promised that the Department would be patient." That patience did not pay any dividends for the children. The next report on file came from the church, itself, looking for a new building as the existing one was "a disgrace both to the Department and the United Church."²²⁴

Miss Affleck and other women who wrote of their concern for the children²²⁵ did not have to be believed or their reports acted upon, for they were powerless against the solid church-Department front. In fact, critical reports from former staff members were at times not even "placed on fyle"²²⁶ so that the extent of criticism from this source will never be known.

Complaints from solitary parents could receive the same cold reception. In 1924, Louise Pinsonault from "Caughnawaga" wrote to inform Scott that children who had returned home from Spanish residential school said that they had been "mistreated reason being they are savages, given food not fit to eat." They were, as well, she charged, abused. In one case the Christian brothers who ran the school undressed a boy "whipping him naked until he became unconscious." She realized that "of course it will be denied by the Christian brothers but I am very sure that the boys back home are to be believed." Despite the fact that this was typical of the severe punishments which were reported regularly (1924 was the year that Graham reported the beatings by Principal Bird) the Department secretary indicated that he was not prepared to investigate the school as he was confident the children were well-treated by a devoted staff.²²⁷

Some parents, rather than being ignored, were warned off. Sergius Bruyere, introduced to the Department by Agent J. Bunn as a man whose "energy is directed along the complaining line," a "busybody with wrong ideals as to the functioning of the school, criticised the management of the Fort Alexander school for working the children too hard in the fields and for not exercising proper discipline - allowing the children "to swear and use very bad language at persons who pass by the school." For his pains, Bruyere was lectured, told that he could best "help the school by helping the staff maintain good discipline."²²⁸ Others parents were intimidated. Charlie Johnson told the coroner at the Duncan Sticks inquest that his

son, too, had run away several times complaining of the bad food and beatings but that each time he had taken him back: "I did not complain to the Fathers about my boys treatment because I was scared."²²⁹

The Department, however, was prepared to defend the system even when the opposition was more formidable. In 1921, 20 parents with children at the Chapleau school petitioned Henry Jackson, the president of the "Grand General Indian Council" of Ontario, to investigate "acts of cruelty and unkindness to as well as mismanagement of our children." Jackson secured the services of a lawyer from London, A. Chisholm, who visited the parents and took affidavits. These charged that, as well as numerous acts of cruelty, the school was filthy and the boys, rather than being in class, spent their time chopping wood and peddling it and milk door to door in Chapleau. Chisholm counselled Scott to act quickly to save the Department considerable embarrassment. "In case of delay, so sure as the Sun rises Henry Jackson will have the matter brought before Parliament and there is no use having a stink over it."²³⁰

Scott took Chisholm's advice, but not as it was intended. In less than a week, R.T. Ferrier, a man who was, Scott informed Chisholm, "quite capable of dealing with the issue there [at Chapleau] and in Parliament," arrived "unannounced" to inspect the school. He found the children fairly clean with not too great an incidence of scabies or too much illness. They sold wood by order and thus did not peddle it door to door. They were paid to sell the milk and worked only moderate hours. The Principal's punishments were "severe" but not cruel.²³¹

While Ferrier's review of the school was clearly mixed, he was in no doubt as to the course the Department should take - everyone criticising the school was to be discredited. The affidavits were a "tissue of lies" and the Indians' "testimony" was "largely false." The Indians, however, were only dupes being "unaware of what they were signing." At the bottom of the episode were the real troublemakers - Jacob Candeese, fired by the Principal, it was claimed, for misappropriation of funds and Chisholm, himself, who "used extravagant language in the affidavits" and thus had "aggravated the trouble by his cupidity." He was in fact the main "troublemaker, by magnifying in the eyes of the Indians their own fancied wrongs."²³²

Again, as at Round Lake, the "wrongs" were not "fancied" but real and the Department was fully aware of it. Shortly after Ferrier submitted his report, Scott wrote to the Principal, Rev. G. Prewer, warning him that his management of the school was not above reproach, that he should curtail his use of corporal punishment, rearrange the daily schedule so that the children did not have to rise each day at 5:30, give them more

class time, replace the sale of wood and milk with practical training in the school and, finally, call upon the services of the doctor more often. At the same time, Scott instructed the local agent, T. Godfrey, that in light of conditions at the school, he should monitor the situation.²³³

Some local officials did not need direction from head office; they acted instinctively "in the interests of the Department's educational system."²³⁴ One of the most remarkable examples came in the aftermath of the Sticks inquest. The coroner's jury recommended a government inquiry into the operation of the school especially the charges of physical abuse, inadequate diet and the high number of runaways. The Department complied feeling, perhaps, as did A. Vowell, one of its senior British Columbia officials who was assigned the task, that "the trouble at the school having assumed such serious proportions and having been, more or less, brought to the notice of the public, it is highly necessary, in the interests of all concerned, that the inquiry be made."²³⁵

Vowell held private meetings with the children questioning, in particular, those who had testified at the inquest. Augustin told him they were only ever whipped, and then only on the legs, for not knowing their lessons. "When I asked him if he was much hurt he laughingly said he was not." Louis admitted that he had run off after being beaten but not so severely that he was hurt and, indeed, "he had plenty to eat but that a long time ago he was sometimes hungry." The only general complaint was that they did not get enough bread. That problem, Vowell told them, they could solve themselves. They just had to ask for more and the staff, reasonable and good-hearted people, would undoubtedly provide it.

Following on his description of the student meetings, the conclusions he made in his report were not surprising. The school was given a clean bill. The food was adequate and the discipline judicious. Neither were grounds for the children running away. That was rooted in the children themselves. The older boys left because they wanted jobs and the younger boys emulated them as a right of passage into maturity. The same could be said for the girls.

There was no more to the situation than that. None of the complaints were valid. No one who criticised the school could be believed. The children rarely understood the questions they were asked and when they did, they tended to give the answers they thought the questioner wanted. Their testimony at the inquest, therefore, had to be discounted. Their meekness made them untrustworthy. Two other inquest witnesses, Ellen Charlie and Christine Haines, though far from meek, were no more believable. Vowell tracked them down in the village of Alkali Lake. When they staunchly maintained their stories of abuse,

Vowell commented pointedly, "it must be remembered that they were discharged from the school for bad conduct." Parental complaints were equally groundless. They, apparently, were under a mysterious influence that was jealous of the school's success in crop and stock raising "fancying that the school had in some way an advantage over outsiders."

Before Vowell left William's Lake, he took steps to cure the runaway problem. Again he met privately with the children and he told them to stop. Running away only brought shame on themselves and to their parents and to those who had their best interests at heart, their "instructors and guardians, at the school, and also the Government which was doing so much for them."

Vowell had one final private meeting - with the Principal. The tenor of this one was not unlike the one with the students. He told him to stop. He was to cease corporal punishment in the school unless it was absolutely necessary.²³⁶ It appears that there was, after all, a connection between the treatment of the children and running away. The Department Secretary, J. McLean, put his finger on it too. When acknowledging Vowell's report, he hoped that Vowell's corporal punishment prohibition "will have the effect of preventing any irregularities at this institution in the future."²³⁷ It did not. Over the next two decades, reports continued to come in of truancy and beatings.²³⁸ In 1920, A. O'Daunt was sent to investigate what, it was claimed, was the aftermath of another episode of severe beatings - the suicide of one boy and the attempted suicide of eight others.²³⁹

Protests over conditions in schools and the treatment of children were not always easily turned aside or covered up, nor did they all conveniently evaporate as in the Chapleau case. There were instances when pressure from communities brought to bear at the local level, sometimes literally on the front porch of the school, did bring remedial action. The parents at Kitamaat who withdrew their children en masse and, through the intervention of the local agent, forced the Principal to promise to improve the food served to the children, a promise that was not kept for very long, admittedly, provide a cogent example.

There are others. Some parents refused to let their children be taken off to school despite the law or the urging of the Department "because their boys were not treated well before."²⁴⁰ Others, it was thought, persuaded children to run away²⁴¹ and "encouraged disobedience"²⁴² In addition, the Department suspected that as the "parents and guardians sympathize too deeply with the juniors ... they encourage them to resent all forms of punishment."²⁴³ Certainly, in response to severe punishments, parents protested; they even wrote

letters²⁴⁴ and hired lawyers²⁴⁵, who remonstrated on their behalf assuring the Department "that these people have real grounds for complaints"²⁴⁶ and, in one case, advising

that the cutting of the hair of children is not proper punishment, and in the case of girls I consider it constitutes an assault; and unless this practise is stopped, at any rate in the case of girls, my advice must be to lay information against the principal for assault.²⁴⁷

There are, indeed, enough of these examples to make it important to assess their implication for the character of the system and the treatment of the children.

The historian J.R. Miller has done just that. He has published research which attempts to measure the actual impact of assimilative policies - the pass system, the sun dance prohibition and others, in particular, residential schools. In this work, he has detailed further cases of resistance including even some which led to the removal by the church of an unpopular member of staff. By such acts, he concludes, "by means ranging from evasion to resistance ... parents made their children's educational experience tolerable." While successful acts of resistance "were not typical of all residential schools," they do serve the purpose, he argues, of suggesting "that the conventional picture of residential schools as totalitarian institutions run arbitrarily by all-powerful missionaries and bureaucrats is not also universally accurate." ²⁴⁸

Though Miller's research is valuable, his corrective to the "conventional picture" is a minor one. To suggest that some parents had a momentary degree of agency is one thing but to posit subsequently that this made the system less "totalitarian" is quite another. In any general picture of the relationship between Aboriginal people and the dominant society, it can be safely said that in no significant fashion was decision-making shared with parents. In areas which concerned the funding and management of the schools, the levels of care of the children and the nature of the curriculum, missionary and bureaucrats were "arbitrarily" "all powerful." The system was not in any real sense democratized.

Nor, indeed, did resistance from any quarter change the overall pattern of habitual neglect and persistent abuse. For the children, the school was meant to be a totalizing experience and again the resistance of parents did not make it less so. Nor could the children, themselves, who absconded, sometimes so frequently that "one could almost designate it a continual in and out"²⁴⁹ who wrote letters like "Edward B.," hid rotten food in their pockets or stole food, attacked their

abuser or, who, as happened quite often, set fires²⁵⁰ "to destroy the school so they could all go home."²⁵¹ Despite such acts of defiance that may have temporarily moderated the treatment of a few, there were always thousands of children trapped within the "circle of civilized conditions" which was impervious both to criticism from without and to the constant evidence of abuse witnessed by officials in the Department and by sympathetic staff.

It is, of course, important to recognize that Aboriginal people's resistance to colonization was general, persistent and, as George Manuel noted, immediate:

The fact of the matter is that there was never a time since the beginning of the colonial conquest when the Indian people were not resisting the four destructive forces besetting us: the state through the Indian agent; the church through the priests; the church and state through the schools; the state and industry through the traders.²⁵²

And thus Miller is right in saying that Aboriginal people should not be pictured only "as objects rather than agents, victims rather than creators of their history."²⁵³ Parents struggled to protect their children from harm and victories were won in the cultural struggle conducted in the field of education. But certainly those individual victories did not make the school experience in any way "tolerable" for generations of children.

The residential school experience was, beyond question, intolerable. That inescapable reality was determined by the system's fundamental logic that called for the disruption of Aboriginal families and by the government's and churches' failure to parent the children in accordance with the standards of the day or to be vigilant guardians so that all too often "wards of the Department" were neglected and abused - overworked, underfed, badly clothed, housed in unsanitary quarters, beaten with whips, rods and fists, chained and shackled, bound hand and foot, locked in closets, basements and bathrooms and had their heads shaved or hair closely cropped.²⁵⁴ As well, there were torments, which, while not physical, were equally hurtful ranging from the general loneliness that came with the children's prolonged separation from parents to individual acts of profound cruelty. Rev. W. Moore, a Methodist missionary on Mistiwasis reserve, reported, in 1903, that at the Regina school, where he sent children from his community, one of the teachers, Mr. Gilmour, had handed a revolver to a young girl who announced that she wanted to commit suicide telling her to go ahead and pull the trigger. She did - but the gun was empty.²⁵⁵

In the face of so many incidents of abuse and of the pervasively abusive character of the system, itself, there can be no question that in the operation of the schools, children, and through them their families and communities, were "objects" and "victims" and in a recounting of the system, in any "conventional picture," they cannot in any fashion be construed as "creators of their history."

Those in the Department whose interventions on behalf of the children were deflected by the intransigent habit of neglect, or the Department's inability to confront the churches, who found it, as Graham wrote, in 1930, "discouraging ... to go back year after year and find no improvement [in the schools], although suggestions have been made to the Department"²⁵⁶ witnessed the results of that victimization and knew, moreover, that such treatment was unacceptable, that it was, as Inspector McGibbon warned in 1897, "more calculated to bring contempt on a school than to accomplish any lasting good."²⁵⁷

The record of abuse that was compiled by the action of some and the persistent inaction of the Department, decade by decade, would do more than "bring contempt" on the schools creating for contemporary Canadians a sorrowful history that will "not fade out of the human consciousness very rapidly."²⁵⁸ Abuse had long term consequences for the children and their communities and immediate consequences for the educational function of the system. Abuse was self-defeating. It was more than a moral failure; it was a tactical mistake as it disrupted the context in which the cultural transformation was to take place. "Thrashing in the school [Rupert's Land] which is a remnant of the dark ages has caused", an agent commented to Hayter Reed, "nearly all the trouble at the school." "When", the agent continued, "did an Indian ever learn anything good by being thrashed." He understood, as did Reed, that the educational venture was balanced delicately on the treatment of the children by the staff. Without care, it could tip the wrong way. "Teachers of Indian children," Reed advised the Bishop of Rupert's Land,

However gifted in other respects and thoroughly earnest [they] may be, the lack of what may perhaps be described as the personal magnetism required to secure their [the student's] confidence and consequent inability to govern through the affections necessitates a harshness and severity of punishment fatal to prospects of success.²⁵⁹

"It must be obvious," wrote Davin, "that to teach semi-civilized children is a more difficult task than to teach children with an inherited aptitude, whose training is moreover carried on at home.... The work requires not only

energy but the patience of an enthusiast."²⁶⁰ That "difficult task" must have been even more difficult when it was undertaken by unqualified teachers in what was often an atmosphere of hunger, ill-health, neglect, overriding discipline and violence. All these factors were, as a review of the educational record of the system discloses, "fatal to the prospects of success."

TEACHING and LEARNING

On the 23rd of March, 1923, W. Graham composed yet another letter to Duncan Campbell Scott. In this instance, the subject was not abuse; it was education. His observations were, however, no less critical:

Particularly during the last two years I have been repeatedly told that ex-pupils are more careless of their property and less able to manage their affairs and work than those Indians who have not attended school. In most instances where the graduates make good on their farms it is as a result of careful and helpful supervision and instruction by the Farm Instructors and Agents and not because of the training they have received at school.... In many cases the comments of the Public School Inspectors would lead one to believe that we are neglecting the children; wasting time and spending large sums of money and getting no results. Many times I have complained that our graduates on leaving school can hardly speak English, certainly many of them could not be employed as interpreters because of this lack of knowledge.

Graham's remarks were far from original. Scott had heard them from every quarter, not only from "Public School Inspectors" and Departmental employees but from parents who objected to the fact that their children were receiving but a "poor education."²⁶¹ Even the churches and their school staff, normally so sensitive to criticism, were critical of the state of education. Within six months of Graham's letter, the Rev. J. Edmison, the President of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, forwarded to Scott a copy of an address that had been given by Principal R. B. Heron to the Regina Presbytery. Coincidentally, Heron began where Graham had left off - with the central issue of language.

The ex-pupils of our Indian schools have such faulty education that very few of them are capable of interpreting Cree into English, or vice versa. A story is told of a clergyman who attempted to preach to an Indian congregation through an interpreter, from the text (Math. 14-27) "It is I be not afraid." When this came to the ears of the congregation in their own language, it was; "Hit him in the eyes, don't be afraid." One has only to attempt a conversation with these ex-pupils to find how very meagre is their English vocabulary, and how painfully limited is their knowledge. This is further emphasised by the fact that very few of them subscribe for a newspaper or magazine of any kind. Any system that leaves young men and women without a desire to read, is open to criticism.²⁶²

Throughout the pre-World War II period, the educational component of the residential system was certainly "open to criticism" - criticism that had been, according to Hoey in 1941, "constant and, at times, very bitter."²⁶³ It was, furthermore, justified. The system's vision had not been realized in any substantive way. The schools had not graduated a generation of educated children who had been re-socialized and subsequently enfranchised. Rather, the majority of children on returning to their families were wholly unprepared to lead their communities into a new Canadian future. The agent assigned to Muscowequan's Reserve concluded of the ex-pupils, in 1909, that they were "no better than the ordinary Indian; and although they have not gone back to the blanket, their manner of living is in no respect superior. I do not think that their education has made them any worse...."²⁶⁴ Others would think that even this conclusion was too much praise.

The failure of the residential school system to reach the goals set out in the 1880s was rooted, as were the other profound deficiencies of the system - the deplorable physical condition of so many of the facilities and the low standards of care of the children - in those persistent characteristics of the system: inadequate funding and the Department's lack of oversight and regulation of the operation of the schools. Moreover, the Department did not manage its partnership with the churches so as to ensure that the children were indeed receiving the sort of education called for by its assimilative design nor did it initiate reforms despite a clear delineation by educators of serious curricular and pedagogical problems which beset the system.

That severe problems existed in the particular areas of skill and language training, in the content of the literary curriculum and in the quality of the teaching corps was

constantly brought to the notice of the Department. In addition to specific critiques there developed a more general discourse of dissent that was, potentially at least, at odds with the fundamental logic of residential schools. An argument evolved, which, though not fully articulated in this period, held that Aboriginal culture and education in western knowledge and skills were not mutually exclusive and, indeed, that children would only learn within a program that took heed of the persistence of Aboriginal culture. This was a profoundly revolutionary message delivered to the Department by both outside educational experts and its own employees. It was, however, a message largely ignored by the Department until the 1970s.

Measured against its assimilative goal, the school system's failure was complete; it was also immediate. The very act of creating the system after the Davin report brought the schools into contradiction with their founding vision. Senior staff recognized that the rapid, uncontrolled and irreversible spread of the system across the land, driven by the churches' missionary zeal, not only pushed the system past the limit of available financial resources, but also quickly outstripped the logic of the system's proposed industrial curriculum. In too many cases, the education offered by the schools was out of step with the thrust of regional development or the reality of Aboriginal life.

It was assumed by the Department, with respect to the assimilative force of the major constituent elements of the curriculum - skill training, language training and literacy - that, in Reed's words, "instruction in industries is of much greater value to Indian children than in literary subjects."²⁶⁵ It was understood just as clearly that failing the integration of the graduate into non-Aboriginal urban or farming settlements, that that practical instruction had to be appropriate to the afterlife of the pupils in their communities. Training must have, Hoey declared in 1941, "a direct and vital relationship to the tasks the pupils are to undertake immediately following their departure from school."²⁶⁶ More often than not, no thought was given to that at all; schools were opened in areas in which only a traditional lifestyle was possible, where there had been no significant Canadian intervention, outside of the fur trade, and thus schools were "in advance of what was required to educate Indian children"²⁶⁷ and remained so for decades. It was, therefore, the fate of many an Aboriginal child, B. Warkentin, a provincial school inspector, concluded, to be made "miserable by confining him within the narrow walls of the whiteman's school, and asking him to do silly things for which he sees no practical use."²⁶⁸

Even schools in settled areas were not above criticism in this

regard. In the scramble for needed per capita, they often recruited children from territories beyond the limits of Canadian development. J.D. McLean noted that Elkhorn school brought in children from northern "hunting and fishing districts." That, he thought, was not "advisable ... as the industrial training they receive is not such as enables them under present conditions to better earn a livelihood as hunters, freighters etc...."²⁶⁹ - the only employment open to them when they returned home. Graham was in complete agreement. For those children education could only be justified if on graduation they could be induced to remain "out on the prairies, which gives them a chance to assimilate with white people or to settle on reserves where they can make a living".²⁷⁰

In the early history of the school system, no one pressed harder than Martin Benson to highlight and rectify this situation, to restrict growth to sensible financial and educational limits and to bring the vision of education for assimilation in line with the realities of life in the different regions across the country. The Department, he counselled, should not "forget wisdom in the teaching of knowledge"²⁷¹ and thus he argued constantly, but unsuccessfully in every case in the 1890s and early 1900s, against the funding of remote schools "especially as their [the children's] residence from eight to ten years in the school will totally unfit them to earn their living in the surroundings in which they would be placed on leaving school."²⁷² Instead, he wanted a more measured approach in which formal education came not first but second, following on the heels of significant community development. In the West, he wrote in 1897, where "the education and civilization" of the Indians is

still in its infancy ... we should be content to let them creep for a time before they attempt to walk. It is only a few years since they were wild untamed savages living by the chase, hunting in small bands, or families. Now that game is not to be had, they must of necessity, turn to the soil for their subsistence. Necessity will be their best civilizer. The Government is assisting in every way to make them farmers first, then citizens. Then they can do what they like with their children. If the Government succeeds in making farmers and settlers of the rising generation, it will have carried out its obligations. I do not see that it is called upon to make them all mechanics, merchants, teachers or clerks. The first thing to do is teach them how to get their living from the soil, give them locations and assistance at the start. When they have learned all this the rest

will be easy.²⁷³

In opposing an application from the Presbyterian church for funding a proposed school on the British Columbia coast, Benson went so far as to argue that education by the children's parents, in this and in many other instances, would be more efficacious. The children for the new school were to be taken from a small community and would on their return have to support themselves by fishing and sealing "and it seems to me that they will be better fitted to follow these pursuits which are taught them by their parents while they are young, than after several years residence in a boarding school." Indeed, throughout the coastal region, residential education would be, he thought, inappropriate and, more than that, harmful - a drag on community development and damaging to the character of the children themselves.

The West Coast Indians are said to be industrious and fond of earning money and if it were not for the competition of Chinamen and Japs in the canneries, they would be well-off, as it is they are independent and provide for their own wants and the feeling of dependence and unreliance that life in a boarding school engenders, would be a set-back to the civilization they are working out for themselves through necessity.²⁷⁴

While no one in the Department, not even Graham, carried their critique of the system to the length that Benson did, his ideas did not go without support. Many, some even before him, saw the sense of a localized curriculum. When in the late 1880s, the Department was preparing to introduce industrial schools in British Columbia, J. Powell, the Indian Commissioner, advised that the standard curriculum based on agricultural training be revised in favour of "improved methods of developing the immense 'Sea Farm' which is and will prove a source of great wealth to the country at large." He wanted one school to operate out of a cannery where the children could be taught deep sea fishing, curing and not only Canadian culture but "fish culture", too.²⁷⁵

Even the Minister, Frank Oliver, preparing for negotiations with the churches for what would be the 1911 contracts, indicated that he, too, had taken to heart one of Benson's central points - one, indeed, that had the potential of radically re-aligning the Department's civilizing strategy. He admitted that Davin's industrial model was, in the west

in advance of the real needs of the case; that a more permanent influence for good would have been exerted by industrial education carried on upon the

reserves and made up not only of tuition at day schools but of the generally civilizing influence of instruction given to adults in agriculture, ranching, and domestic pursuits. It must not be lost sight of that in several districts of the provinces of Saskatchewan, and Alberta the Indians are practically self-supporting, and as a basis of material progress is always necessary before education can have any lasting value, it may be said that the best interests of the Indians have been served by instruction carried out upon the reserves and not by the elaborate system of education. It would seem to be advisable to get back to these first principles and to expend whatever appropriations are placed at the disposal of the department largely in improving the conditions on the reserves.²⁷⁶

Such support for Benson's position did not, however, translate into reform. Like the other proposals that emerged at that time from the Paget and Bryce reports, the Winnipeg resolutions and the Department's involvement in the contracting process, reform remained an intention only. There was no greater investment of thought or energetic action in tailoring the curriculum's practical training to regional employment opportunities or development trends than there was an investment of funds in the improvement of the physical condition of the system or the health care of the children. And there was, of course, no restructuring of the system along the lines of "first principles." Community development, Benson's and Oliver's idea of "improving the conditions on the reserves" in advance of education, was not accorded a higher priority than immediate formal education.

Throughout the period, the Department kept the stress on education, on residential schools, as the core of its developmental and assimilative strategy and maintained and even extended the unreformed status quo of the system. In 1926, at the Alberni school in British Columbia, for example, the local agent reported that the training children received still related solely to agriculture which "is practically useless to them as the West Coast Indians do not follow farming and efforts to induce them to do so have met with very poor success." As had Benson and Powell so many years before, he called for training that would allow the graduates to secure jobs in canneries and on commercial fishing vessels.²⁷⁷ Similarly at Joussard school in 1941, the Provincial School Inspector, E.C. Stehelin, was able to praise the teachers for the energy they put into skill training but regretted that the practical curriculum at that school, and at "many Indian schools which I have inspected,"

has been developed without much regard for the vocational needs of the area served by the school. In the case of this particular school it is a mixture of the Ontario curriculum with ours of Alberta. As a result, pupils who have passed through these schools possess a certain amount of skills for which there is no demand, and opportunities for economic self-sufficiency are neglected for want of adequate educational training.²⁷⁸

As well, the commissioning of new schools was not restricted to areas that were within the bounds of Canadian development. The system continued to grow in exactly those areas where industrial education made the least sense. The Department's first two Quebec schools, opened on James Bay, are perfect examples of that fact.

Criticism of the system along Benson's lines continued as well. As late as 1942, Warkentin, in calling on Hoey to revise school curricula felt the need to return to Benson's sentiments:

It is an open question whether we should even try and teach the children who live in the more primitive sections of Canada according to the formula accepted in the ordinary school. This formula may be acceptable on the reserve, where conditions are slowly but imperceptively approaching that of the whiteman. On the outskirts of so-called civilization it might be enough to teach them to sew, to knit, to use a hammer and saw, to speak English, to avoid infectious diseases, etc.²⁷⁹

The lack of reforming measures, despite the persistent critique from Benson and others, can be attributed to more than just the chronic lethargy of the Department in moving past analysis to action. Departmental officials pointed an accusing finger at the churches and the Department's relationship with them.

The tension between Departmental officials and the churches was not restricted to the issues of building and funding the system. It extended to the curriculum, as well. Benson's and Scott's, complaint that the development of the school system was in fact controlled by the churches, usurping a Departmental right, was accompanied by a suspicion that the churches' purpose was not so much the education of Aboriginal children for assimilation as it was conversion for salvation and denominational glory, that they "strive more to make converts of their pupils than to give them a good english

education and proper manual training."²⁸⁰ In the face of this, the Department, as was the case with incidents of abuse, exhibited its habit of "hesitancy" in challenging and controlling the conduct of the churches. Consequently, there were, particularly among local officials, the same feelings of powerlessness and frustration that Graham had articulated borne of the overriding influence of the church and the belief that that influence was not always a force for good. In terms of the state of education, itself, the conviction that the church had the whip hand and drove the school system down the road of self-interest without due regard for the quality of education and its role in the overall civilizing strategy was best expressed by Dr. T. Robertson, the inspector of Indian agencies in Saskatchewan. He wrote to Hoey in 1939:

I am not at all opposed to religious instruction, in fact I am strongly in favour of it and consider it absolutely necessary. But it makes my blood boil to go out on our reserves and find I can do little to rectify conditions owing to lack of funds, and at the sametime see thousands of dollars spent by our Department under guise of educating the Indians when it is actually being spent on teaching denominational religion. The churches pride themselves on what they have done for the Indians and shout it from the housetops. They advocate higher education and ask the Department to pay for it. They want the spending of the money, but when it comes to placing those Indians, after they have received the higher education, they look to the Department to do it. In their work in the residential schools, they have to a large extent forgotten what Christianity means. They are simply seeking ways and means of taking every opportunity to pay the expense of their missionaries, in order that they may increase the number of their particular denomination. If they were honest with people, a great many of them would openly acknowledge that it is not christianity, but denominationalism, they are teaching, and would substitute the word 'church' for 'God'.²⁸¹

It is not easy to discern whether, in general, Robertson's characterization of church motives was unfair or overblown or whether it was the churches or the Department that was actually in control and thus responsible for the shape and character of the system. There were, after all, church officials who appeared serious about the educational intention of the school system and some of those even shared Benson's ideas. S.H. Blake, when he began to lobby the Department in 1906 at the beginning of the campaign that led to the contracts called for "flexibility in these schools... let them

be so manned as that the time of the student can be turned to the appropriate work for the locality" and so that they could be given training that "will make him an all-round workman in his neighbourhood." Blake was joined by the Bishop of Moosonee who agreed that the church's aim should be "to train them with a view to their future usefulness in ... [their] particular part of the country."²⁸²

What is evident at least in all of this was that what Robertson and other local officials and school inspectors witnessed in the school classrooms would lead many to conclude that the system was simply not operating as intended. Furthermore, a review of the performance of the schools, particularly of the key elements of teaching and learning - instruction in practical skills, the nature of the "literary" curriculum, the quality of the teaching staff and language training - not only substantiates that conclusion but reveals that the many defects were a result of the actions of Department and churches alike.

Benson's critique of the practical curriculum - that it was inappropriate in remote regions or needed to be tailored to local circumstances and employment opportunities if it was to be at all useful - while it was valid on a philosophic level did not address the school system's even more fundamental difficulty with regards to skill training. In general, across the system, the Department and churches did not ensure, even in the industrial schools located in areas of non-Aboriginal development, that all children received the practical training that was such a critical element of the educational strategy. In terms of the time and energy devoted to it, practical instruction probably ranked third in a curriculum comprised also of religious instruction and "literary" subjects.

The schools were not, of course, without merit; there was a degree of educational success. Children received instruction and no doubt inculcated a modicum of the arts and crafts of "civilized" life and some children progressed far beyond that. Paget provided some evidence of this. As well as surveying the physical and financial condition of the schools, he had been directed to consider "whether the methods of education carried out at these schools are consistent with the Department's policy and with the future life of the pupils on Indian Reserves." While he did not devote much attention to this section of his charge, he did, as he travelled from school to school, note accomplishments. At High River the girls were so proficient at needle work that they had "carried off a diploma at the Dominion Exhibition at Calgary." He seems not to have remembered that this was a traditional Aboriginal art. There was, however, what appeared to be unquestionable progress at Red Deer. Students had written essays of such quality that "some of them were published in the local newspaper and might

have brought credit to many white pupils" and at Ermineskin's Boarding School, he encountered a "novelty in the music line ... 15 girls performing on as many mandolins in a most credible manner." Brass bands were the usual order of the day. They could even give the school a presence in the local community making that desirable connection between the students and the non-Aboriginal immigrant community. At Qu'Appelle school Paget enjoyed "an excellent brass band ... which is much in demand at the adjoining towns during the time the fairs are held. They have nice uniforms and dispense good lively music."

After inspecting Battleford Industrial school, Paget came closest to forming a general conclusion on the matter of greatest importance - practical training and its carry over to life after school. He observed that "ex-pupils [are] ... meeting with a fair success and all of them better for their school training."²⁸³ One of them, "Joseph Laronde," (actually it was Louis not Joseph) had gone on and "graduated recently from Manitoba University with highest honours" and became a missionary.

Such a positive conclusion, if Paget meant it to apply to the system as a whole, ran counter to the general tenor of opinion. Bryce, who saw the western schools at almost the same time as Paget, had little good to say about the industrial schools finding that in comparison there was in the boarding schools "some strong essentially vital forces which have enabled them to force their way into their present dominant position" which included a greater success in teaching agriculture and "practical outdoor work."²⁸⁴

Before Paget or Bryce, Benson had provided an even more critical picture of the industrial schools. In his 1897 review, he pointed out that the level of training was well below what might have been expected. Of the 700 boys then enrolled in the 10 western industrial schools only half were involved in trades training. At other schools the record was even worse.²⁸⁵ In all, it was, he claimed, "generally admitted" that the schools were not providing "such education"²⁸⁶ as would equip children with the desirable range of skills and thus, as with Hamilton's Sunday clothes, there was for Benson in the great Industrial school program a pronounced element of duplicity in the conduct of the children's education. "The chief ambition of an Industrial school" he charged, sarcastically,

is to possess a Brass Band and a printing press. Music has charms but enough money has been expended on brass bands to place a musical instrument, such as a piano or organ in every school in this country. The brass band and the newspaper are for

outward show and help advertise the school. More solid comfort and enjoyment could be had with the other kind of music in which all could join.²⁸⁷

The boarding schools and the residential schools after them, even with their less ambitious training regimen - by and large agriculture, carpentry and domestic skills - were not spared critical comment either. Inspector M. Christianson reported in 1923 that the situation at Crowfoot was typical of that he encountered in many schools in the prairie region - an area most suitable, obviously, for this type of training:

By this you will see that the boys on leaving school have had practically no experience along lines of farming or stock raising and are placed upon a reserve where they are supposed to make their living from this source, without any experience.²⁸⁸

Graham, on reading Christianson's report, noted that it certainly applied to Old Sun's whose graduates were "very much less capable as farmers and stockmen than Indians who have not received any school training." It was obvious, he concluded, that "unless Indian boys receive an education which they can put to practical use ... the time spent by them at school represents a waste of time and money."²⁸⁹

Aboriginal parents, who looked to the schools to equip their children with skills that could aid in forging a new life for their communities, were equally critical. "Many parents," the agent J. Markle wrote in 1918, are not pleased with the lack of progress that the children are making."²⁹⁰ and thus they resisted sending their children²⁹¹ Parents protested as well. In 1938, parents from a number of reserves in Manitoba came together to voice their concerns about Birtle school. Their children received instruction in arithmetic, reading and writing but they returned home with neither farming knowledge or any practical skills. They sent forward their complaints through a lawyer who informed Hoey that "it seems to me that these people have real grounds for complaints as to the results of their school education."²⁹²

The problem was not restricted obviously to Scott's period of tenure. His successors, Hoey and P. Phelan, chief of the training division, and other senior staff, faced the fact that children in the 1930s and 1940s were still not necessarily getting training "suitable to their needs after graduation."²⁹³ School by school this meant a range of scenarios from "no systematic instruction has been given in Manual Training",²⁹⁴ to a moderate amount²⁹⁵ to the situation at Moscowequan school in 1932-34. In February 1932, the local agent, J. Waddy, noted in his report under the title "manual training" that

"The boys skate just now. They have beaten all the junior teams within one hundred miles in hockey, including city teams." In May, it changed to "Outdoor sports at present." In June 1933, it was "Soft ball at present." In January, 1934, it was, of course, "Skating just now." When October of that year came, the training changed to "Football at present." And then in December the seasonal round of sport that stood in for practical training went back to "Hockey at present is the main training."²⁹⁶

For Hoey, the state of training was, as he wrote of Alberni school, "on the whole rather disturbing, particularly so, in view of the big investment we have...."²⁹⁷ and he acted, on paper, at least, to rectify it with the support of the Minister, T.A. Crerar, and the churches who also now "stressed the importance of vocational training."²⁹⁸ Crerar was, apparently, quite insistent, constantly reminding Hoey, as he informed Miss Lang of the Women's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, "that the course of study at residential schools must become steadily more practical and vocational in character."²⁹⁹ In 1937, that message was passed on to the Principals. They were told that a minimum of one third of the time set aside for instruction had to be dedicated to vocational training - elementary agriculture, gardening, blacksmithing, carpentry and auto mechanics for boys and hand loom weaving, dress making, fruit preserving, crochet work and other domestic skills for the girls.³⁰⁰ Agents were directed to follow this up by surveying what was actually being done in the schools in their area³⁰¹ and Hoey announced his intention of instituting a "follow up system" designed and adopted "in cooperation with the churches" which would ensure that the students were placed in situations that would enhance their use of the skills and knowledge that they had acquired at school."³⁰²

Most significantly, the failure of the schools to provide high quality training, brought Hoey to re-consider the whole question of education. His first thoughts were a curious mixture - one part re-invention of the industrial school wheel and another a radical new element, a sign of what would come after the war:

It is my personal opinion that the policy of the Government with respect to the education of the Indian population will move gradually toward the multiplication of Indian day schools on reserves, and it is just possible that in future a number of residential schools may be organized to provide vocational instruction for senior pupils.³⁰³

Hoey wanted to prepare the way. He planned to appoint a professional vocational arts teacher at Mohawk, or at another

Ontario residential school, "by way of an experiment."³⁰⁴ This move was stymied owing to that perennial problem - the lack of funds, then made worse by the war. By 1942, interest from school administrators in improving their vocational training, just the sort of development Hoey had hoped for, was met with the dispiriting reply "At the present time, with the Appropriation cut to a minimum, it is impossible for the Department to give favourable consideration to your request." Schools were now expected to do what they had always done - to make due with what they had. At Mount Elgin the Principal's request for funding for a special domestic science course for older girls was turned aside with the curt response - "The Department expects the officer in charge of the kitchen at our institutions to give to the older girls whatever instruction in this that is considered desirable."³⁰⁵

These remarks highlight what had been the most formative reality in this period. More than any other factor, it was underfunding, the actual economic situation of schools, that determined the fate of the practical curriculum. Finance rather than curricular philosophy born of the Davin report, or directives from Ottawa, or frustrated Departmental reform impulses, or even the supposedly narrow religious agenda of the churches was the hand that moulded each school's curriculum. At the most basic level, this meant simply that schools which lacked funds for food, clothes and decent living conditions often, not surprisingly, went without necessary academic equipment and qualified staff. At Brandon school in 1941, for example, the school inspector George Robertson underlined the "need of material for practical work." In Manitoba, he continued, "we are pressing for a program that will direct the work of the pupil along lines of a more practical nature. We can conduct an activity program, only, when there is something with which to work."³⁰⁶

Schools administrators, who became supplicants when they found that their grants did not stretch to cover their requirements for food, clothing and building repairs, had no choice but to add educational equipment of every kind to their begging list. In 1905, one Principal took the unusual approach of speaking through the children sending a letter, clearly dictated by him, to the local agent R. Wilson:

Dear Sir - Trusting in your kindness, that is well known to us by what our kind teacher tells us we take the liberty of asking you a favour today; convinced that in doing so we will not be refused. Garden time is coming and we have neither hoes nor rakes for this purpose, if you could let us have a few, it would render us a great service, and we would work like little men with them. Hoping that our letter will please you, and that you will find

us cute enough to be worthy of this favour. We remain, kind Sir - Yours very respectfully - James Back-Looking and the boys of St. Mary's school, the Blood Reserve.³⁰⁷

Underfunding had a further, more insidious and pervasive impact on education than problems administrators had in acquiring equipment. Practical training had a two-fold purpose. One was educational and the other, as Principal Clarke of Battleford school envisioned it in 1884, was in making "the school in the near future self-supporting by the labour of its pupils."³⁰⁸ Work as education and as a much needed subsidy to the school budget had from the beginning been institutionalized in the half-day system. This division of the educational day was, according to Reed, critical to the success of the assimilative process - "unless it is intended to train children to earn their bread by brain work, rather than by manual labour, at least half of the day should be devoted to acquiring skill in the latter."³⁰⁹ But within the half-day devoted to skill training, any balance between learning and labour was rarely maintained; labour easily overwhelmed education - children were, Benson charged in 1918, "worked too hard and taught too little."³¹⁰ Years later that had not changed as Hamilton's remark about Birtle school in 1936 indicated - "The farm should be operated for the school - not the school for the farm."³¹¹

All too often, the needs of the school rather than those of the children were paramount to the extent that, as Graham wrote in 1930 of the St. Mary's and St. Paul's school farms on the Blood reserve, "the boys are being made slaves of working too long hours and not receiving the close supervision they should have." While he thought it could "not be the intention of the Department to have these growing boys working on the land from morning until night,"³¹² that was the difficult experience of most children. They did, indeed, "work like little men"³¹³ and women. Ironically, for the sake of training, the Department refused to intervene. Graham was told that as there "has been difficulty in having some schools give adequate training in farming" the Department, "therefore hesitates to criticize a school management in this regard without giving very careful consideration to the matter."³¹⁴ The Department did not react either when an ex-student complained that the young boys at Kootenay were made to work so hard and for so long "it makes one think of the days of slavery."³¹⁵

Parents, too, objected to such treatment and they acted. Children at the Kamloops school who had been put to work clearing the fields were removed because their parents preferred "having their children occupied in learning useful trades when not at their lessons," a sentiment shared by the

agent, J. Mackay, who suggested that "it would be advisable to introduce some useful trade among the pupils."³¹⁶ In 1911, the Department faced a delegation from a number of Saskatchewan communities making the same complaint and J.D. McLean had to admit "that in some cases there is foundation for the complaint."³¹⁷

Not only the time devoted to chores but the sheer drudgery of them reduced the educational potential of the children's labour. The Inspector of Schools, H. McArthur, who on the occasion of his first visit took an especially close look at St. George's in 1943, found there what was the case at so many other institutions, that training meant little more than a "rather monotonous and dreary" regimen of "household and farm tasks":

Children, like adults, are not interested in doing work for work's sake. They are not interested in treadmill tasks. And where interest is lacking energy is low and learning is likely to be slow or wholly absent.... This is not mere opinion. It has been established by careful research and is uniformly accepted by informed educationists.

I am not questioning the sincerity, devotion and, in many respects, the competence of the Principal of St. George's and of his staff. But I do question whether the system of vocational training which I saw is likely to achieve more than mediocre results.

McArthur acknowledged the pressure on Principals to make budgetary ends meet and that the necessity of doing so on the backs of the children was so inexorable that they were "unlikely to take any active measures to prevent the submergence of educational aims in considerations of financial and utilitarian expediency."³¹⁸ Children were routinely forced to do chores to the detriment of their education, tasks which "should rightly be done by hired help," Warkentin, told the Department in 1943, and which had little "value ... as educational training." Adequate instruction would, he advised, involve "shop training for the boys and home making for the girls on a full half-day basis under qualified instructors."³¹⁹

"Adequate instruction" never was the norm. Rather, according to a review of the educational performance of the system up to 1950, conducted in 1968 by R.F. Davey, the director of educational services, McArthur and Warkentin were correct, the practical training which had been in place "contained very little of instructional value but consisted mainly of the

performance of repetitive, routine chores of little or no educational value."³²⁰

The negative impact of labour was not restricted to the practical part of the curriculum. The half day devoted to chores too often and too readily swelled to encompass a much greater part of the children's school room time. In 1916, Graham alerted Scott to the situation at Qu'Appelle. When reviewing school records he had discovered that the children were spending little time in the classroom. In a 42-day stretch the boys had only been in class for nine days. For Graham "the main idea and object of the school is being entirely neglected" and the school was coming close to being turned into a "workhouse."³²¹ Across the system, scant progress, or "retardation" as it was termed, in the arts of reading, writing, arithmetic and the other components of the "literary" curriculum was, agents and school inspectors told the Department, all that could be "expected when only a portion of the day is devoted to classroom activities,"³²² when students consistently got "too little time at their studies."³²³

Because of the half day system, progress in learning was, Davey concluded, virtually impossible. In what is perhaps the only statistical analysis carried out by the Department which reflected the situation in the pre-war period, he noted that in 1945, a year in which there were 9,149 residential school students, there were only "slightly over 100 students enrolled in grades above grade VIII and ... there was no record of any students beyond the grade IX level."³²⁴ Research conducted in the 1980s by J. Barman, Y. Hebert and D. McCaskill has added much greater definition to this Departmental sketch. They estimate that in the period 1890 to 1950 at least 60 per cent and in some decades over 80 per cent of children in federal schools, day and residential, failed to advance past grade three. They acquired no more than a "basic literacy." This did not compare at all favourably to the progress of non-Aboriginal children in the provincial school systems. In 1930, for example,

three quarters of the Indian pupils across Canada were in grades 1 to 3, receiving only a very basic literary education. Only three in every hundred went past grade 6. By comparison, well over half the children in provincial public schools in 1930 were ... past grade 3; almost a third were beyond grade 6. The formal education being offered young Indians was not only separate but unequal to that provided their non-Indian contemporaries.³²⁵

Given that the Department's mandate was to prepare children for assimilation - to live in equality with their non-

Aboriginal neighbours - this provincial comparison is particularly apt and illuminating. Moreover, residential schools were to follow "the programme of studies laid down by the various Provincial Department's of Education" and, through agreements with the provinces, were inspected by provincial officials "in an effort" J.D. McLean explained, "to bring the Indian Schools, from an academic standpoint, up to the standard of the public schools."³²⁶

As with almost everything else about the system, provincial involvement was the subject of debate and dissension within the Department. Benson, in this instance supported by Reed, had his critique at hand. The inspection reports, they felt, were of "slight value" for such information had not led to reform, and would not do so, as "improvement can only be looked for from the exercise of vigilance and energy on the part of the Department and its officials not from paid officials over whom the Department has no control." Control was actually the sore point at the bottom of this issue. Benson was exercised in particular by the Ontario government which routinely published its inspection reports much to the embarrassment of the Department whose schools should not be expected, he felt, to be as good as provincial ones. There was a feeling also that the inspectors were outsiders unable to understand the ethos of the residential system and thus their recommendations were "wholly impracticable for Indian schools."

On this issue Benson was unable to move the Minister, T. Mayne Daly. He wanted the provincial tie cut and inspections carried out solely by Departmental employees. He was confident that "any of our agents of ordinary intelligence are competent on hearing the school children go through their exercises to give an opinion as to whether they are deriving any benefit from their attendance or not...." The minister, however, refused feeling "the necessity of our affairs not being conducted as a closed corporation."³²⁷ Scott, when he was deputy superintendent general, concurred believing that the inspections gave the Department the benefit of "independent criticism of our work" and were "productive of good results."³²⁸ Provincial school inspectors remained, therefore, part of the system and thus they have to be added to the list of officials who witnessed not only the defects in the educational program but the substandard living conditions and deplorable treatment of the children.

The fact that the schools did not come "up to the standard of the public schools,"³²⁹ as the evidence of the marked grade "retardation" reveals, was due, in addition to "considerations of financial and utilitarian expediency,"³³⁰ to two further factors: the poor quality of the teachers and the nature of the literary curriculum.

In the overall strategy of the residential school policy, the curriculum, literary and practical, was meant to be that bridge from savagery to civilization over which the children would be led by caring and talented staff. While the efficacy of the practical training was undercut by financial need, the literary curriculum, itself, was the problem. Ironically, in view of Benson's castigation of outside inspectors, it was, in the main, those officials who, with some Departmental employees, recognized that the very nature of that part of the curriculum was the most significant impediment to learning and, therefore, to the much longed for cultural transformation of the children. It was so because while the system's strategy was rooted in an insistence on dramatic cultural difference, the "savage" as opposed to the civilised, the educational process, both in terms of the content of the curriculum and the pedagogy, never in any way addressed that issue. In short, as the Department was told on numerous occasions, because there was "very often a very wide difference in the life experiences of Indian children and white children"... that "difference ...should be reflected in courses of study,"³³¹ in the general curriculum. In this period, it never was nor was there any attempt to introduce reform despite suggestions that "this is a problem that should be given serious study. There should be a clear definition of objectives and a definite appraisal of the means of reaching them."

Inspector Warkentin whose critique of the curriculum was in this period the most extensive, while still representative of the positions taken by others, began with the assumption then current in educational circles that the curriculum had to be child-based. There was, he told the Department, in 1940, "still in progress a considerable revision of [provincial] school curricula." The "basis of this revision seems to be, by and large, the adaptation of the curriculum to the life needs of the child; we seem to have given up the idea of fitting the child to the curriculum."³³² That provincial trend immediately raised for him "the question whether the curriculum as prescribed for white children is at all suitable for Indian children" and suggested to him, just as readily, that the "curriculum in use in the various provinces are not necessarily the courses of study adapted for use in Indian schools, that probably they are anything but suitable for such use."³³³

What Warkentin and others called for was the development of "a curriculum specially aimed at instruction of Indian children"³³⁴ one that reflected, rather than ignored or denigrated, the fact of the children's cultural heritage, one that perhaps even included in its aims "giving the students an understanding of their own tribal law, art and music."³³⁵ There were clear curricular implications which flowed from that cultural fact. School Inspector J. Boyce, in 1923, when

"offering suggestions for improvement" at Old Sun's school, was

mindful of the fact that Indian children have no literary background ... and as a consequence it would not be fair to the Indian children to expect the same degree of attainment in classroom work as in a foreign school of say Finns, Slavs or Ruthenians. These people have a background of literature and an inheritance with regard to school work which is practically lacking among the Indian tribes of Western Canada. The handicap under which Indian children are labouring is therefore apparent.³³⁶

Hamilton, in his 1934 inspection report on Qu'Appelle, had observed similarly that the "experience of the children were not closely related to the learnings which the teachers were endeavouring to impart."³³⁷ And even earlier in the history of the system, in 1914, Markle recounted his experience at St. Paul's where he witnessed "the most advanced class" struggling "to read a poem entitled The Curate and the Mulberry Tree." "It seems a pity", he wrote, "that a book or books, containing subjects of interest, or information, to the Indian youths were not provided for the use of Indian schools."³³⁸

These various reports provided not only comment on the existing curriculum but suggestions for moving the system toward greater success. The cultural "handicap under which Indian children are labouring" could be alleviated through a classroom strategy, books and pedagogy which were relevant to the children's experience, were "adapted to the needs and capacities of the pupils"³³⁹ and would, therefore, make "a stronger appeal to the native interests of the Indian child" resulting in "more enthusiasm for school studies."³⁴⁰ Concrete examples and proposed techniques were brought forward. Inspector Sigvaldason proposed that social studies could be better "taught by a due recognition of Indian background" and by using "story telling," an Aboriginal teaching technique, to "more effectively ... arouse interest."³⁴¹ Christianson took the same tack when he observed, on a visit to Crowfoot school, that "Grade 5 covered the section on Indians in exactly the same way that it is taken up in the public schools. A brief history of the tribe might be substituted here to advantage."³⁴² McArthur thought that interest in learning could be heightened "through a well planned program of craft work - particularly work based on Indian arts and crafts."

McArthur's further recommendation of a wholly new curriculum comprising a "programme partly based on Indian traditions, social life and arts," and his rationale for it, brought to the surface a profound implication that underlay all the

suggestions for curricular reform emanating from provincial and Departmental inspectors - the need for, and effective utility of, tolerating some degree of Aboriginal culture.

On visiting St. George's classrooms, McArthur had been "surprised to observe the absence of teaching of any kind based on Indian life," on what was a "rich store" of "Indian art, and Indian culture generally...." I think, he told the Department,

that those responsible for this omission have made a profound error. All admit that Indians are under severe handicaps in Canada - and indeed in all parts of America. One trait that is traceable to these handicaps is a sense of racial inferiority.... To give confidence to Indian children to enable them to look others in the eye in the knowledge that they, too, are Canadians and that in natural capacity they are not inferior to white children - those should, I think, be the primary aims of all Indian schools. To accomplish these aims I think that they must be given a pride in their racial heritage and a knowledge of their racial history and culture. To cut Indians off from their origins - to try to make whitemen of them - is I believe both futile and undesirable.³⁴³

Most surprisingly, similar proposals had already been made by the churches. In 1938, a "Joint Delegation" submitted to Crerar suggestions for improvement based upon a rather astounding principle:

...nothing in indigenous culture should be destroyed or condemned unless it can be proved that it does in fact obstruct the progress of culture. In so far as the preservation or even revival of Indian culture and customs contribute to a wholesome coordination of their life with the national life of which they must become a part such preservation and revival should be promoted.

While this certainly was a first step away from the traditional church position which gave no quarter at all to Aboriginal culture, it was not quite as radical as it looked on the surface. The aspects of "culture and customs" that were valuable for adaptation to "national life," loyalty to family and friends, deep love of children, generosity and hospitality, courage and admiration of brave leadership and the dignity and serenity of leaders,³⁴⁴ [282] seemed not to be exclusively Aboriginal traits and those that were the core of Aboriginal culture, and were at the heart of the cultural struggle in the schools, language and spirituality, were not

mentioned. And there certainly continued to be voices in the church that would give no quarter to Aboriginal spirituality which "hampers the work of physician, missionary and school. It fosters superstition, degradation, and a certain distrust of the whiteman."³⁴⁵

Of the senior staff of the Department only Hoey made any contribution to these ideas. In a statement, recalled by Warkentin, he suggested that the curriculum should concentrate largely on the "training of his [the child's] hands in a creative and constructive sense" and that such training would "require and produce mental and spiritual qualities and that we need not worry about saving his soul."³⁴⁶

These ideas, in proposing to maintain rather than destroy, for the sake of assimilation, the connection between Aboriginal people and "their origins" even to the extent of facilitating "a pride in their racial heritage and a knowledge of their racial history and culture,"³⁴⁷ were one of the roots of a discourse that would by the 1970s effectively undermine the traditional dichotomy between "savage" culture and what some began, significantly, to term "so-called civilization."³⁴⁸ As that trend progressed from initial questioning to full blown cultural relativism among non-Aboriginal Canadians, it would be a critical factor in changing the long established relationship between Canada and Aboriginal peoples. With respect to the residential school system, however, the revolutionary potential of this discourse was never realized; it never was integrated into the Department's educational philosophy. Even when the government, the Department and most of the churches turned their backs on the schools after the war in favour of a day school system, it was not the hinge upon which that dramatic change in policy turned. The Department did not start from a new educational first principle to fashion a new system. And within the residential school system there would never be any mitigation of the hostile attitude to Aboriginal culture, language, spirituality and traditions.

The significance of this discourse then lays in another direction. It simply indicates that some, including professional educationists, understood and that the Department was told on a number of occasions, though this was another message it heard but did not react to, that any attempt "to make whitemen of them" by methods predicated on the destruction of Aboriginal culture through a wholly non-Aboriginal education was, even if yet "desirable," quite "futile."³⁴⁹ The retention of an unreformed curriculum which reflected that original vision and strategy would only telegraph the school system's failure, so evident in 1944, farther into the future.

The curriculum was education's own worst enemy. But it had its allies. The text books which were no different than those used in provincial schools were, Warkentin noted, "particularly unsuitable." "Devoted teachers with imagination can make some use of them, [but] ... in the hands of uninspired teachers they are deadly."³⁵⁰ Unfortunately, though many teachers were unquestionably inspired by missionary enthusiasm, and some indeed could even be given high marks for "making a good job of adapting ... the curriculum to the needs of their pupils" and for modifying their teaching methods "to suit the type of pupil with which she has to deal"³⁵¹ in general, they lacked full qualifications and were unable to respond to what Scott referred to as the unique "difficulties under which our teachers are labouring."³⁵² And there was a recognition that the challenge posed by the attempt to teach Aboriginal children called for special teachers, men and women of superior skills, the best that teacher training could produce. Provincial Inspector, J. Boyce wrote in 1923,

With regard to the teacher of an Indian school it is quite evident that a special type is required. As I size up instruction for Indian children the problem is very much more difficult than in the average school of foreign speaking children. Normal training, wide experience, broad human sympathy and missionary zeal are very desirable but in addition an investigative and experimental turn of mind is the most necessary qualification in order that special study and special tests be made of the problem of the education of Indian children.³⁵³

In 1948, "a [Departmental] study conducted of the qualifications of the teachers in the residential schools ... disclosed that over 40 per cent of the teaching staff had no professional training. Indeed some had not even graduated from high school."³⁵⁴ This was a long way from the stated official policy of appointing "only those with provincial certificates."³⁵⁵ Realistically, however, the system never could afford such quality. Paget concluded, in his 1908 survey, that churches could not, within the restrictive limit of their per capita grants, easily secure qualified people.³⁵⁶ That situation did not change in this period.³⁵⁷ The isolated location of the schools, the availability of other forms of employment and, most critically, the fact that "the salaries paid are not as high as are paid in other public institutions" added up to "frequent changes of staff,"³⁵⁸ unqualified staff and staff shortages creating poor teacher student ratios³⁵⁹ all of which was "not productive of rapid advancement of the pupils."³⁶⁰

The problem of shortages was compounded by the Department's refusal to train or hire Aboriginal teachers, men and women

who may very well have had an affinity for staffing these schools. Davin had recommended the training of children with the aptitude to be teachers. And the Methodists did, in fact, propose that Mount Elgin school be converted into an Aboriginal residential teacher training facility. But the Department did not think it was "advisable to favourably entertain the proposal" because, it replied mysteriously, "the experience ... with Indian teachers has not been very happy"³⁶¹ Perhaps, the reason was the same as it was in the case of the Rev. Louis Laronde, Paget's example of success. Benson argued against appointing Laronde to the Principalship of McKay school in 1914.

So far as his educational attainments go Mr. Laronde is fully qualified, but it is a question for you [Scott] to decide whether you would be willing to intrust the success of a new school to a half-breed. I think our past experience goes to show that we would be taking great risks in putting a school of this class in charge of a half-breed.³⁶²

Scott appointed Laronde, not because he disagreed with Benson, but because the church, rather than waiting for Departmental approval, had gone ahead and told Laronde he had the job. As ever, Scott was not prepared to contradict the church. Laronde was hired on a trial basis and when the school, like so many others, ran up a deficit because its grant, as even Benson admitted was too small, the church let him go.³⁶³

During the Second World War, the shortages became especially acute. As manpower was drained away by the war effort and employment was nationalized, it was even more difficult "to find exceptionally good and experienced persons"³⁶⁴ to the extent that thought was given to closing some of the schools for the duration.³⁶⁵ The Rev. G. Dorey, secretary of the board of Home Missions of the United Church, wrote with considerable exasperation to Hoey complaining of the requirement of advertising for staff through the National Selective Service system.

I want to say that the results that our principals are getting from this are simply phenomenal in their crass stupidity. You put in an ad. for some kind of assistance and you get possibly for one of our Schools a woman of 65, who is suffering from arthritis and general debility, and in addition has absolutely no interest in the work of the School, and has never had anything to do with children, Indian or otherwise.³⁶⁶

In the face of what was at best in this period a second rate

teaching corps, there was a recurrent litany of complaint which, in the absence of detailed statistical profiles of teacher qualifications, gives some sense of how deplorable the situation was and how resistant it was to calls for reform. The litany came from a predictable cast of characters. J. A. Macrae, the first specially trained Departmental school inspector declared, in his very first report on western schools in 1886, that many of the teachers were not only untrained but were "illiterate persons, ignorant of the first elements of teaching and powerless to impart any ideas that they may have possessed regarding the most simple subjects."³⁶⁷ They were "not as a rule well fitted to the work" Benson charged in 1897.³⁶⁸ Improvement could come, Paget advised in 1908, only by the Department paying "the teachers, over and above the grant" giving, therefore, some assurance of "qualified ones being employed."³⁶⁹

Not only was Paget's specific suggestion ignored but nothing else was done either. Markle complained in 1914 that the Department had not taken the opportunity offered by the 1911 contract negotiations to address the problem, along Paget's or any other line, and that, indeed, when the churches and Department

were arranging terms and additional per capita grants I feared at the time that some of the schools would suffer from the want of efficient teachers if no such provision was made and the result has been about what I predicted.³⁷⁰

Graham made the blanket charge in 1923 that not "some" but the majority of teachers in western schools were not qualified and would not in fact be able to find employment in the provincial school systems. He called as evidence the testimony of provincial school inspectors who "invariably stress the necessity for employing as teachers ... only men and women who have received Normal [school] training."³⁷¹ He was supported in this by Inspector Ditchburn who cast similar aspersions on the teachers in British Columbia residential schools and encouraged Scott to set "a standard for teachers" throughout the system and to no longer tolerate the churches' practise of "sending persons to teach Indians just because they want a position."³⁷²

At the end of Scott's term, the Department's Superintendent of Education, R.T. Ferrier, admitted, in comments he wanted kept confidential, that the churches still exhibited "a proneness ... to assign to Indian work reverend gentlemen and instructors who have not been too successful in other fields of activity" and too often gave in to the "temptation to emphasize religious zeal and business efficiency when selecting principals and instructors."³⁷³ In some of the

western Catholic schools conducted in English by French priests and nuns, classroom work was "greatly handicapped by the fact that the teachers do not speak the English language proficiently and also by their not having had adequate professional training."³⁷⁴ And in many of their schools proper practical training could not be carried out, a senior Oblate priest admitted in 1939, because "the staff is either insufficient or not qualified for this purpose."³⁷⁵

At the end of his 1923 critique, Graham claimed that he was confident that the question of teacher qualifications "will receive earnest consideration from the Department".³⁷⁶ If that was not simply sarcasm, it certainly was naive given the Department's record on reform of any kind. Not surprisingly, the period came to an end without any improvement in sight and thus McArthur's comment on teaching in his 1943 St. George's report stands as its hallmark:

Missionary zeal in a teacher is important, but it is not enough. It should be reinforced by other desirable personality qualifications, and by knowledge and skill. It is knowledge and skill that these teachers appear to lack.³⁷⁷

Obviously poor teachers taught badly and could achieve no more than the poor results set out in the Barman, McCaskill, Hebert research findings. For some Inspectors, L. Hutchinson in 1922 in Alberta for example, what they discovered in that regard shocked them.

These Indian schools are the biggest farce to be called schools I have ever seen. They appear to be all pretty much the same. The teachers who are about the poorest of their class are in charge, and the waste of time is painful to witness. What crime have these children committed that they should be imprisoned from nine o'clock until four with little else to do but suck their thumbs the major portion of the time. Any good teacher should teach these children as much in half an hour as under present conditions they are taught all day. With eight years experience in the normal school in helping to fashion teachers out of every possible variation in the raw material that came to us there, I have seen some very crude teaching; but I think I can safely say that I have never before seen in the finished product anything put forward as teaching that touched quite a low level as that which is to be seen in these Indian schools.³⁷⁸

Referring to British Columbia reports, Hoey identified a

similar situation. There was little in the way of thoughtful, energetic teaching which engaged the children. "The pupils ... are not given responsibility and hence are not developing. Lack of objectives and coordination is very apparent. There seems to be a certain amount of stagnation in classroom activities"³⁷⁹ - a system wide condition in which "there is a tendency for actual teaching by question and answer to give place to telling by the teacher and of hearing lessons rather than teaching them."

In the minds of some inspectors the lack of progress was rooted in the students themselves - in the "nature of the Indian children."³⁸⁰ Not only were they different from non-Aboriginal children but in some ways they were not equal. According to a portrait of the system's student body drawn by many of the same officials who contributed to the collective critique of the curriculum, the children's culture, which on the one hand had to be to a degree recognized and integrated into the curriculum, was, on the other hand, a drag upon their progress in school. Their "home environment" and "inherited racial characteristics produced an attitude in the children not found elsewhere," Warkentin concluded, and he "found them particularly lacking in intellectual curiosity. There seems to be no wish to explore further in the particular subject they are studying."³⁸¹ Sigvaldason, and others, noted a common difficulty with complex math problems and put it down to "native weakness"³⁸² and Hoey, always biased in favour of "practical" work, wondered whether the children had any facility for anything "theoretical and abstract."³⁸³

There were in these characterizations the shadows of the mysterious, brooding, "savage" child, the influence of the tepee, making it "very difficult to impart the rudiments of knowledge" to them.³⁸⁴ These children, it was reported frequently, would not look the teacher in the eye, could not easily be made to answer direct questions and when reading or reciting invariably did so in a "low and monotonous tone."³⁸⁵ They "are not interested. You can't treat them like white children. They are sullen, irresponsible and won't speak up like white children and many others."³⁸⁶ The boys, in particular, were unpredictable having "as a rule ... changeable and variable dispositions."³⁸⁷ A surprising number of officials shared the belief that many children had severely limited intellectual capacity an observation that apparently did not have to be established by any scientific means, according to Boyce, for "as one looks into the faces of children in Indian schools he feels there is a larger percentage of sub-normals than in White schools."³⁸⁸ Such opinions which surfaced in the teachers' lack of "confidence that the pupils have ability to finish the Public School course," helped limit achievement and no doubt re-enforced the negative stereo-typing of the children.³⁸⁹

For other observers, all of this was nonsense. While they recognized cultural differences and differences in the experiences of the children, they rejected the idea of intellectual barriers born of "racial characteristics." The blame for the failure of the system to keep pace with provincial schools was not to be shared between poor teachers and children with supposedly limited potential. The teaching alone was at fault; it was. H. McArthur concluded, "mainly responsible for this condition."³⁹⁰

Experience goes to show that where competent teachers are so employed good progress is made by the pupils. On the other hand, where teachers of mediocre qualifications are supplied, the progress along educational lines is poor.³⁹¹

At St. George's, where the children's progress did not deviate one way or another from the system's norm, McArthur collected a surfeit of evidence in support of that conclusion. He discovered that "none of the persons who are supervising vocational work has had teacher training or seems familiar with modern educational aims and procedures." As a consequence, the already limited vocational value of labour was lost as the instructors "in their eagerness to get the routine work of the institution done, almost wholly lose sight of why it is being done." Rather than carrying out a teaching role they "become mere taskmasters who are interested only in finishing tasks with as little effort, worry and expense as possible." In field, pasture, or orchard, the children worked extremely hard but learned little or nothing at all.

Similarly dismal results were achieved in the classroom setting. In his analysis, McArthur discounted the "racial" factor. He had certainly encountered Aboriginal students who were "comparatively listless, silent and inactive." While he was not prepared to dispute whether "this condition results from certain traits of Indian character" or not, he noted that the same children were "active and communicative when they are outside the classroom" and, more critically, that "even white students show these traits in schools where the teaching is defective."

He had, as well, seen considerable "stagnation in classroom activities" - students "kept sitting silently in their seats" - which curtailed learning and in so doing severely impeded progress towards the transformation of the children - their re-socialization. That process, "socialization," McArthur told the Department, "which is of fundamental importance in an Indian school cannot be carried on by means of a passive program." A pedagogy in which students were lectured at rather than being actively involved in learning or were forced to

"learn" by rote, was not only "relatively ineffective; it is positively cruel."³⁹²

Cruelty, in general, had not, of course, been a rare commodity in the system nor, indeed, was it in the specific form of "ineffective" teaching. The pedagogical norm at the end of the period was apparently not a great advance over what it had been at the beginning. In 1886, Macrae, fresh from his own teacher training courses, found the pedagogical style in western schools "old fashioned" and "useless so far as Indian schools are concerned...."³⁹³ At St. George's in 1943, the teaching was still behind the times. In the gentlest tone, McArthur pointed out that Principal Hives "had no specific training in education," was "slightly out of touch with educational trends" and was "therefore somewhat handicapped in giving guidance to inexperienced teachers and supervisors." It would "be advisable for Mr. Hives and his staff to read a few carefully chosen books on modern aims and techniques in education." They should hold regular meetings "to discuss their particular problems" during which a "discussion of a chapter of a book on education should usually form part of an agenda." Hives indicated how very much adrift he was by asking McArthur "to suggest the names of suitable books."³⁹⁴

Between those two critics, Macrae at the beginning and McArthur at the end of the period, there were others calling for the hiring of knowledgeable teachers and Principals, men and women who could deliver effectively the practical and literary curriculum so that the schools, in Graham's words, could at last "function as they should."³⁹⁵

Macrae's 1886 report had been critical of much more than just the quality of teaching. He cut a wide arc across the whole system - its lax administration, lack of supervision of school classrooms and its failure to set standards for teachers and teaching methods, for student testing and academic reporting. The situation was largely unchanged by McArthur's day. Throughout the lacklustre tenure of Duncan Campbell Scott and thereafter, the educational system drifted without any corrective measures taken to solve obvious problems - the continued spread of the system into inappropriate regions, low teacher salaries, text books that were barriers to learning rather than bridges to knowledge and a half-day system that corrupted both classroom and skill training. After Scott's retirement, senior staff, like Hoey, seemed to take more cognizance of the difficulties but they moved no more quickly to reform them, and realistically, to the extent that some were caused by funding problems, they had no greater resources at their disposal to attend to them than had ever been the case.

Of all the problems that marked the performance record of the

schools and sat unresolved on Hoey's plate at the end of the period none was of greater consequence than language training. The fact that graduates "talk in exactly the same way when they leave schools after eight years' training,"³⁹⁶ could "hardly speak English,"³⁹⁷ and had but "a very meagre English vocabulary,"³⁹⁸ the core of Graham's and Edmison's letters to Scott, in 1923, were charges that resounded throughout the period. In 1938, Inspector Connolly still found it necessary to recommend, after an inspection of Sandy Bay school, that

the imperative thing with these children is much practise in good conversational English. Their own language should not be permitted even in explanations, during classroom periods at least. They will only learn English by using it, and using it as continuously as possible. This could be done on the playgrounds, and at their meals. The young man in charge of the boys during their recreation periods could attend to this as well as seeing that they participate freely and vigorously in the various sports and games.

At that school the problem had been continuous and it continued unrelieved. In previous years other inspectors had concluded repetitively that "the work in English is still not as good as it should be," that the children did not "at play on the playground" or "at meals" speak English, that it was imperative that "more effort be put forth to induce the pupils to express themselves in English and that practice be given in following written and oral instruction in English."³⁹⁹

Not only at Sandy Bay but throughout the system, schools deviated considerably from the initial language strategy. The Department and churches had set out with considerable resolution determined that only English would be employed, that "The native tongue should in no instance be taught"⁴⁰⁰ and that, as at the Carlisle school in Pennsylvania, which in Reed's opinion was the model the Department needed to adopt, "all orders and explanations of the subjects of instruction, from the very first ... [be] given in English, repeated again and again, if necessary, with patience."⁴⁰¹ But almost immediately, certainly by 1890, on the evidence which came from the early western schools, that resolve was weakened and any consistent system wide approach was destroyed by the struggle to meet the challenges inherent in the attempt to follow the system's cultural agenda.

Simply put, given the teaching resources the system had, or more accurately did not have, what was a herculean task, the re-socialization and education of the children, became even more impossible when language was added to the equation. The fact was, as Graham was told by an inspector, "With a half-day

devoted to housework and only half a day in school together with the handicap of having to learn a new language, only the most carefully planned program and the most skilful teaching will show satisfactory results."⁴⁰² Those elements, the "skilful teaching" of a carefully designed curriculum accompanied by a growing language facility on the part of the children, were rarely at hand.

The issue of language, as Macrae and many other Departmental educators stressed, made the task of educating Aboriginal children much more difficult than teaching "white children" for

the English that is necessary to a proper understanding of what is being studied, has to be taught concurrently with other subjects that instruction is being given in.⁴⁰³

There was no parallel here with schools with predominantly non-English speaking immigrant pupils for those children were motivated, encouraged by family and community, to learn English, while Aboriginal children persisted in an affinity for their own tongue. With the opening of a school's doors Principals invariably discovered, as Rev. T. Clarke of Battleford Industrial School reported in 1887, that "In common with other schools of a similar nature, we have experienced a great difficulty in inducing the boys and girls to speak English amongst themselves in everyday life."⁴⁰⁴ They had a stubborn "preference ... [for] their own language in daily intercourse." That preference was, Clarke felt, and other Principals and teachers no doubt agreed, "the greatest difficulty against which I have to contend."⁴⁰⁵

The resistance of the children, their refusal to abandon readily their own language, compounded by the dearth of teaching talent, led to considerable variation in approach being adopted. There were attempts to find ways to induce children to speak English, or French in the case of the Quebec schools, other than by punishment. Gentler inducements were developed by Wilson in the late 1870s at Shingwauk and Lacombe during his first year, 1884, at High River and the Rev. Hugonard at Qu'Appelle suggested in the same year "that it would be an excellent plan if only a few English boys were admitted for a short period so as to give a start" to using the English language.⁴⁰⁶ In the absence, however, of such imaginative measures, or the general replication of the situation at Carlisle where, according to Reed, English served as the popular lingua franca amongst the 600 boys from over forty different dialect groups rendering it "comparatively easy to put down the use of native tongues,"⁴⁰⁷ administrators fell back on what was the most common technique - punishment, or coercion as Lacombe termed it, in an attempt to "exclude

the use of Indian dialects" and to make English "in and about all schools ... the only allowed means of communication."⁴⁰⁸

Only one case appears to have been recorded in this period in which English found a place as it had at Carlisle. Principal Clarke at Battleford explained to the Department in 1887 that he was having some success in the language field because he had a mix of Cree and Assiniboiné pupils and as there was, in his estimation, "no similarity between the languages spoken by these two tribes - the English language therefore becomes, as the knowledge of it increases, the natural, in fact the only medium of communication in daily intercourse: the older pupils all speak English fluently."⁴⁰⁹ No one, of course, despite the difficulties being registered with the Department, pursued this phenomenon, proposed that students be deliberately mixed to achieve similar results at other schools.

In some instances Principals and teachers gave up the struggle altogether or, at least, were accused of having done so. At Qu'Appelle, in 1890, Reed noted "a marked lack of endeavour on the part of the officials to see that they [the children] used English in preference to the vernacular."⁴¹⁰ In other cases this was part of a constructive teaching strategy. Teachers, trying to make a connection with the children that might be the beginning of their journey into Canadian culture were found using the vernacular to give "orders and explanations of the subjects of instruction"⁴¹¹ and some clerics routinely conducted religious services in Indian dialects.⁴¹²

The lack of early success in excluding Indian languages from the schools and making the children unilingual in either of the languages of civilization, French or English, brought some senior staff at least to the realization that their initial position on language could not be enforced. Reed himself gave evidence of what seemed a softening of that position when, in 1890, he compiled a set of proposed regulations for the operation of the schools. "The vernacular is not to be taught in any schools. At most the native language is only to be used as a vehicle for teaching and should be discontinued as soon as possible."⁴¹³ It is difficult, however, to ascertain exactly what headquarters policy was, at that point or thereafter, for Ottawa was silent. Following the first policy pronouncements in the 1880s, there was never again any direct comment on the subject, no recapitulation of the original prohibition, and no reaction to the evidence of deviance, or to the general failure reported by Graham and others. Even the 1911 contract, in which the churches pledged "to support, maintain and educate" the children "in a manner satisfactory to the Superintendent General" and which detailed, in Section 9, educational goals and the principal parts of the curriculum, was silent on the language question.⁴¹⁴

Section 8, which was subsequently opposed by the Catholic church,⁴¹⁵ did mandate that teachers should, within six months of being employed, submit "evidence satisfactory to the Superintendent General" of their being "able to converse with the pupils under his charge in English" and "able to speak and write the English language fluently and correctly." Exactly what standard of fluency was expected was not set out and, as with the accompanying provision that teachers "possess ... qualifications,"⁴¹⁶ there never was any enforcement. There is no record of any of the many teachers who Inspectors charged did not have an adequate facility with English ever being dismissed just as the many unqualified teachers hired by the church were not discharged by the Department.

As with all of the central issues in the school system, which touched on how the children were supported, maintained and educated, there was with respect to language training no concerted, consistent oversight and management by the Department's senior staff in Ottawa and thus the normative policy on language was set in the field, by individual school administrators themselves. As a result, a system-wide picture of language instruction is a patchwork of differing approaches shifting decade by decade, Principal by Principal.

Within that shifting pattern there was, however, at least one arresting constant. Whatever policy was adopted in a school, constructive permissiveness, neglect or, as was all too often the case, violent repression, the result was the same - a level of language proficiency far below the desired standard. This had disastrous consequences for the whole assimilative undertaking. The fact that many in the Department felt that the use of English and French remained at best no more than "a classroom exercise, and quite unnatural to them"⁴¹⁷ was the most profound critique that was made of the educational performance of the system for it revealed that with respect to what was after all the most critical part of the strategy of cultural transformation, the element that was to erase and replace the children's "savage" cosmology, the schools were falling far short of their goal.

Though children were removed from their parents and communities, divorced from direct involvement in their own culture for many years, English and French and thus western culture yet remained quite "unnatural to them." They had not been civilized, Canadianized, when they left school. They had not been prepared to live a new life, indeed, in many cases, as studies in the 1960s would reveal, because of their extended isolation from their families, the persistent denial of their culture and the abuse, many returned unable to lead any sort of productive life, old or new. Many school staff may well have shared the sentiments of Miss Eden Corbett, who resigned her teaching position at the Aklavik Anglican school

in 1944, that the educational process in which they were participating, was not just ineffective but morally questionable. On resigning Corbett was "grieved to think that I must leave these children in the same condition I found them."

I consider that the system as it is now in force, definitely does not meet the requirements of the native. Where, in a ten month academic period, does a child get any contact with its practical life? How is a child, after a four to ten year period in a school, supposed to adapt itself to the environment of its parents, when the language, habits and arts have been severed, for such a length of time. The child is an alien and the situation is pitiful. Is that practical Christianity? A strong indictment you say against my own church, Definitely yes, for I fail to see how the segregation from all family bonds, where language habits and arts are not fostered can be called practicing Christianity. It is contrary to the ideals of Christ's teachings.⁴¹⁸

Senior officials of the Department did not cast their assessments in theological terms but it was obvious to many of them by the Second World War that Graham's 1923 suggestion to Scott was correct - the Department and the churches were "wasting time and spending large sums of money and getting no results."⁴¹⁹ The system as structured, managed, financed and staffed was unable to produce the re-socialized individual who had always been represented as the the key to the progressive assimilation of Aboriginal people. Every aspect of the system's care and education of the children cried out for attention. Reform, according to Hoey, could no longer be delayed. "The time has come for the Churches and the Government," he concluded in the fall of 1944, "to undertake a very careful survey of our whole Indian education setup."⁴²⁰

While on the surface Hoey's conclusion was nothing more than yet another in the long line of reform impulses, it did, in fact, signal not only the beginning of change in the "education setup" but radical change predicated on dismantling the whole residential school project. Tragically, however, as Hoey said on another occasion "The present policy cannot be changed overnight".⁴²¹ Closing the residential school system would be a long process. It would continue for four more decades during which time there would be little progress in reaching it goals and no significant improvement in the way "we are treated."⁴²² The patterns of neglect and abuse rooted in the very bones of the system and the dynamics that animated it, the dearth of financial and moral resources, would not

change throughout those next four decades. There would be hundreds of new stories of neglect and abuse, school by school, but only that one old persistent narrative.

1. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6320, File 658-1, MR C 9802, To F. Mears from D.C. Scott, 11 January, 1924. Edwards letter, dated 14 December, 1923, is attached.
2. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6320, File 658-1, MR C 9802, To Secretary from L. Turner [?] Agent, 23 March, 1921, Report of Travelling Nurse, n.d January, 1925.
3. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6320, File 658-1, MR C 9802, To F. Mears from D.C. Scott, 11 January, 1924.
4. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6452, File 888-1 (2-3, 6-7), MR C 8781, To New England Company from Rev. A. Lett, 10 April, 1923. A copy of this seems to have been sent to the Department.
5. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6320, File 658-1, MR C 9802, To D.C. Scott from Canon S. Gould, 5 April, 1921 and Church Inspection Report, May, 1923.
6. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6462, File 888-1 (2-3, 6-7), MR C 8781, To R.A. Hoey from Rev. C. Hives, 21 June, 1942 and To Rev. C. Hives from R. Hoey, 29 June, 1942.
7. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6262, File 578-1 (4-5), MR C 8653, To Indian Affairs Branch from A. Hamilton, 22 September, 1944.
8. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6462, File 888-1 (2-3, 6-7), MR C 8781, To Rev. C. Hives from R. Hoey, 29 June, 1942.
9. See, for example: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6040, File 160-3A Part 1, MR C 8153, To D.C. Scott from Rev. T. Ferrier, 8 July, 1920.
10. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6041, File 160-5 Part 1, To J. Guy from D.C. Scott, 11 July, 1926. See Appendix A for school list, 1931.
11. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6730, File 160-2 (1-3), MR C 8092, To Dr. Roche from D.C. Scott, 27 June, 1917 and Vol. 6040, File 160-3A Part 1, MR C 8153, To D.C. Scott from Rev. T. Ferrier, 28 March, 1918.
12. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Sir James Loughheed from J.D. McLean, 24 August, 1920.
13. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6040, File 160-3 Part 1, MR C 8153, To D.C. Scott from Rev. T. Ferrier, 6 December, 1921 and Vol. 7185, File 1/25-1-7-1, Memorandum to File, R.T. Ferrier, Superintendent of Education, 5 April, 1932.
14. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6040, File 160-3A Part 1, MR C 8153, To Minister of the Interior from Joint Church Delegation, 7

January, 1921, To D.C. Scott from Canon S. Gould, 23 September, 1924, To C. Stewart from D.C. Scott, 7 March, 1927 and Memorandum to File, 8 February, 1926.

15. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6730, File 160-2 (1-3), MR C 8092, To Canon S. Gould from T. Murphy, 26 April, 1931.

16. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7185, File 1/25-1-7-1, Memorandum to File, R.T. Ferrier, 5 April, 1932.

17. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6041, File 160-5 Part 1, MR C 8153, To Rev. J. Scannell, O.M.I. from H. McGill, 17 February, 1936 and Vol. 7185, File 1/25-1-7-1, Circular from Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 26 March, 1936.

18. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7185, File 1/25-1-7-1, To H. McGill from R. Hoey, 4 November, 1938. In 1936, Indian Affairs was made a part of the new Department of Mines and Resources. The senior civil servant in charge was no longer titled the Deputy Superintendent General but the Director of Indian Affairs.

19. United Church Archives, WMS Fonds, Accession 83.058C. File 3, Memorandum of the Committee of Churches Cooperating with the Department of Indian Affairs in Indian Education, 8 February, 1938.

20. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7185, File 1/25-1-7-1, To H. McGill from R. Hoey, 4 November, 1938.

21. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6041, File 160-5 Part 1, MR C 8153, To Rev. J. Plourde from R. Hoey, 15 October, 1940.

22. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6730, File 160-2 (1-3) MR C 8092, To Rev. T. Westgate from Director of Indian Affairs, n.d., 1940.

23. See, for example: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6475, File 918-1, MR C 8791, To Secretary from Rev. J. Plourde, 21 October, 1941, Vol. 6041, File 160-5 Part 1, To T.A. Crerar from Rev. J. Plourde, 12 June, 1940 and To R. Hoey from Rev. J. Plourde, 11 October, 1940.

24. See, for example: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 1543, [no file number] There are a whole series of letters by the Agent who was constantly struggling to sort out what child should go to which school.

25. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6371, File 764-1, MR C 8722, To General Stewart drafted by D.C. Scott for the Minister's signature, 27 April, 1931.

26. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6040, File 160-3A Part 1, MR C 8153, To Minister of the Interior from Joint Delegation, 7 January, 1921.
27. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6041, File 160-5 Part 1, MR C 8153, To D.C. Scott from Rev. J. Guy O.M.I., n.d. 1925.
28. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6041, File 160-5 Part 1, MR C 8153, To Rev. J. Guy from D.C. Scott, 17 April, 1926.
29. See, for example: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6475, File 918-1, MR C 8791, To Dr. J. Riopel from R. Hoey, 3 November, 1941.
30. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6041, File 160-5 Part 1, MR C 8153, To Charles Stewart from D.C. Scott, 7 March, 1922.
31. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, Memorandum -Impression of the Interview Between Church Representatives and the Superintendent General, 13 April, 1922, by R.F. Ferrier.
32. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6041, File 160-5 Part 1, MR C 8153, To Charles Stewart from D.C. Scott, 7 March, 1922.
33. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6479, File 940-1 (1-2), MR C 8794, To H. McGill from R. Hoey, 16 November, 1942.
34. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6479, File 940-1 (1-2), To Rev. W. Geddes from H. McGill, 21 November, 1942.
35. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6482, File 941-2, MR C 8796, To Rev. J. Plourde from H. McGill, 15 February, 1940.
36. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Charles Stewart from R.F. Ferrier, 12 May, 1922.
37. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6730, File 160-2 (1-3), MR C 8092, To Secretary from Rev. T. Westgate, 29 October, 1931.
38. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6041, File 160-5 Part 1, MR C 8153, To Secretary of Indian Affairs from Bishop J. Guy, 10 October, 1936 and to Father Plourde from R. Hoey, 16 October, 1940.
39. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6462, File 888-1 (2-3, 6-7), MR C 8781, To H. Graham from Dr. P. Wilson, 23 February, 1927 and To Secretary from C. Perry, 6 May, 1927.
40. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8451, File 655/23-5, MR C 13801, To H. McGill from M. Christianson, 25 January, 1925.
41. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6452, File 884-1 (1-3), MR C 8773-8774, Extracts of a Report by C. Perry attached to W. Ditchburn, 16

June 1930.

42. N.A.C. Rg 10 Vol. 6443, File 881-1 (1-3), MR C 8767, To R.H. Moore from C. Pitts M.D., 22 October, 1935.

43. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6041, File 160-5 Part 1, MR C 8153, To D.C. Scott from Catholic Principals, 26 October, 1925.

44. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 160-3A Part 1, MR C 8153, Memorandum of the Convention of the Catholic Principals of Indian Residential Schools held at Lebret, Saskatchewan, 28 and 29 August, 1924.

45. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6015, File 1-1-13, MR C 8141, To Dr. H. McGill from E.L. Stone M.D., 27 November, 1933.

46. See: G.J. Wherrit, The Miracle of Empty Beds, pages 107 and 111-114, for a discussion of these events and INAC File 961/23-5, Vol. 1, To Major D. M. Mackay from G.H. Barry. This Inspection Report notes the opinion of Dr. R.N. Dick who claims that the children's health, at Kuper Island school, is threatened by budget restrictions.

47. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6041, File 160-5 Part 1, MR C 8153, To H. McGill from Rev. U. Langlois O.M.I., 28 April, 1936.

48. INAC File 951/23-5, Vol. 1, To The Secretary from V. Rassier O.S.B., 15 April, 1934.

49. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3918, File 116659-1, MR C 10161, To Assistant Deputy and Secretary from J. Smith, 8 February, 1918.

50. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6327, File 660-1 (1-3), MR C 9807, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M. Benson, 23 December, 1903.

51. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6205, File 468-1 (1-3), MR C 7937, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M. Benson, 26 November, 1902.

52. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6041, File 160-5 Part 1, MR C 8153, To H. McGill from Rev. U. Langlois O.M.I., 28 April, 1936.

53. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6040, File 160-3A Part 1, MR C 8153, To C.E. Manning from Rev. T. Ferrier, 1 July, 1925.

54. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6462, File 888-1 (2-3, 6-7), Mr C 8781, To Rev. C. Hives from R. Hoey, 29 June, 1942.

55. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, Memorandum for the Minister from M. Benson, 3 July, 1897.

56. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6462, File 888-1 (2-3, 6-7), MR C 8781, To New England Company from Rev. A. Lett, 10 April, 1923.
57. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6262, File 578-1 (4-5), MR C 8653, To R. Hoey from D.J. Allan, 4 March, 1944.
58. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6462, File 888-1 (2-3, 6-7), MR C 8781, To New England Company from Rev. A. Lett, 10 April, 1923.
59. N.A. C. RG 10 Vol. 6479, File 940-1 (1-2), MR C 8794, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from H. Grant, 5 February, 1940.
60. INAC File 772/23-5-010 Vol. 1, To Dr. McGill from M. Christianson, 23 March, 1935.
61. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6194, File 463-1, MR C 7928, To Secretary from Rev. P. Bousquet O.M.I., 27 January, 1934.
62. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3918, File 116659-1, MR C 10161, To Assistant Deputy and Secretary from J. Smith, 8 February, 1918.
63. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6451, File 883-1 (1-2), MR C 8773, To Secretary from I. Foughner, 15 June, 1922.
64. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6479, File 940-1 (1-2), MR C 8794, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from E. Stockton, 23 June, 1912.
65. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6262, File 578-1 (4-5), MR C 8653, To D.J. Allan from Chief and Band Council of The Pas and the Half-Breed Association of The Pas, 31 January, 1944 and To R. Hoey from D.J. Allan, 4 March, 1944.
66. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422-5, MR C 10118, To H. Reed from T. Clarke, 8 July, 1891.
67. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6262, File 578-1 (4-5), MR C 8653, To H. McGill from A.B. Simes, 19 October, 1944.
68. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6262, File 578-1 (4-5), MR C 8653, To R. Hoey from Rev. Alderwood, 5 October, 1944.
69. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6262, File 578-1 (4-5), MR C 8653, To H. McGill from A.B. Simes, 19 October, 1944.
70. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3933, File 117657-1, MR C 10164, To D.C. Scott from W. Graham, 10 October, 1914.

71. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6332, File 661-1 (1-2), MR C 9809, To W. Graham from L. Affleck, 15 November, 1929.
72. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6467, File 889-1 (1-7), MR C 8785, To R. Ferrier from F. Ball, 20 July, 1931.
73. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6426, File 875-1-2-3-5, MR C 8756, To Assistant Deputy and Secretary from W. Halliday, 13 February, 1918.
74. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6451, File 883-1 (1-2), MR C 8773, Extract from a Report [on Kitamat school] by Inspector Cairns, 9 April, 1926.
75. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6309, File 654-1, MR C 8685, To W. Graham from J. Waddy, 15 October, 1930.
76. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3917, File 116659-1, MR C 10161, To Department of Indian Affairs from F. Vere Agnew M.D., 18 June, 1918 and To Assistant Deputy and Secretary from J. Smith, 29 March, 1918.
77. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3922, File 116820-1, MR C 10162, To Archdeacon J.A. Mackay from Secretary, 1 March, 1895.
78. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422, MR C 10118, To Father Lacombe from E. Dewdney, 23 July, 1883.
79. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3938, File 121607, MR C 10164, To A. Forget from Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 18 January, 1895.
80. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To J.D. McLean from M. Benson, 15 July, 1897.
81. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422, MR C 10118, To E. Dewdney from Rev. J. Hugonard, 5 May, 1891.
82. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3927, File 16836-1A, MR C 10162, To F. Pedley from J. McKenna, J. Menzies and R. Mackay, 11 March, 1904.
83. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3927, File 16836-1A, MR C 10162, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M. Benson, 30 December, 1904.
84. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 10152, To J. Maclean from M. Benson, 15 July, 1897.
85. See, for example: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3920, File 116818, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M.

Benson, 12 August, 1903 and Vol. 3927, File 116836-1A, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M. Benson, 1 June 1903. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To J.D. McLean from M. Benson, 15 July, 1897.

86. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3918, File 116659-1, MR C 10161, To Secretary from Rev. Carion, 27 June, 1910.

87. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Rev. C. Bouillet O.M.I. from John T. Ross.

88. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6040, File 160-2 Part 4, MR C 8153, To D.C. Scott from Rev. T. Ferrier, 2 July, 1917.

89. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3927, File 16836-1A, MR C 10162, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M. Benson, 17 March, 1904.

90. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 10411, Shannon Box 36, MR T 10068, Circular to Agents from R. Ferrier, 19 January, 1922.

91. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6426, File 875-1-2-3-5, MR C 8756, To Secretary from W. Halliday, 11 June, 1926.

92. INAC File 6-37-1 Vol. 1, Memorandum to Dr. McGill from R. Hoey, 13 February, 1937.

93. INAC File 951/23-5, Vol. 1, To The Secretary from V. Rassier O.S.B., 15 April, 1934.

94. See, for example: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6426, File 875-1-2-3-5, MR C 8756, To Secretary from W. Halliday, 11 June, 1926 and Vol. 6451, File 883-1 (1-2) MR C 8773, To Secretary from I. Foughner, 15 June, 1922.

95. See, for example: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3918, File 116659-1, MR C 10161, To D.C. Scott from J. Salles, 2 April, 1917.

96. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6251, File 575-1 (1,3), MR C 8645, To Rev. W. McLaren from Assistant Deputy and Secretary, 12 February, 1912.

97. INAC File 6-37-1 Vol. 1, Memorandum to Dr. McGill from R. Hoey, 13 February, 1937.

98. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6327, File 660-1 (1-3), MR C 9807, To Rev. J. Hugonard from D.C. Scott, 22 May, 1915.

99. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3930, File 117377-1A, MR C 10163, To Bishop of Rupert's Land from H. Reed, 31 May, 1893.

100. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6327, File 660-1 (1-3), MR C 9807, To Rev. J. Hugonard from D.C. Scott, 22 May, 1915.
101. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To J.D. McLean from M. Benson, 15 July, 1897.
102. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3984, File 167793-1, To A. Vowell from A.E. Green, 2 May, 1905.
103. See, for example: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6309, File 654-1, MR C 8685, Inspection Report on Gordon's school, 14 May, 1930 and Vol. 6479, File 940-1 (1-2), MR C 8794, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from E. Stockton, 23 June, 1912.
104. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6452, File 884-1 (1-3), MR C 8773-8774, Extract of Report by C.C. Perry, 16 June, 1930.
105. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6455, File 885-1 (1-2), MR C 8775, Extract from Report by Inspector Cairns, 9 November, 1922.
106. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6268, File 581-1 (1-2), MR C 8657, To D.C. Scott from J.R. Bunns, 24 September, 1915.
107. INAC File 961/23-5, Vol. 1, To Major D.M. MacKay from G.H. Barry, 27 March, 1938.
108. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6262, File 578-1 (4-5), MR C 8653, To R. Hoey from D.J. Allan, 4 March, 1944.
109. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To J.D. McLean from M. Benson, 15 July, 1897.
110. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3918, File 116659-1, MR C 10161, To Secretary from Rev. Carion, 27 June, 1910, Vol. 8754, File 651/25-1, MR C 9701, To Indian Affairs Branch from R. Davis, n.d. 1943, Vol. 6268, File 581-1 (1-2), MR C 8657, To D.C. Scott from J.R. Bunns, 24 September, 1915, Vol. 6451, File 883-1 (1-2), MR C 8773, Memorandum to File, 27 April, 1926, by R. Ferrier.
111. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8754, File 651/25-1, MR C 9701, To Sir from R.S. Davis, 15 July, 1942.
112. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6451, File 883-1 (1-2), MR C 8773, To Secretary from I. Foughner, 15 June, 1922.
113. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8754, File 651/25-1, MR C 9701, To Sir from R.S. Davis, 15 July, 1942.
114. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6455, File 885-1 (1-2), MR C 8775, Extract from Report by Inspector Cairns, 9 November, 1922.

115. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6426, File 875-1-2-3-5, MR C 8756, To Secretary from W. Halliday, 11 June, 1926.
116. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6262, File 578-1 (4-5), MR C 8653, To Dr. H. McGill from A.B. Simes M.D., 19 October, 1944.
117. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3924, File 116823, MR C 10162, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from E. Dewdney, 17 July, 1888.
118. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6451, 883-1 (1-2) MR C 8773, To Secretary from I. Foughner, 15 June, 1922.
119. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6451, File 883-1 (1-2) MR C 8773, Memorandum to File from R. Ferrier, 27 April, 1926.
120. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6451, File 883-1 (1-2), MR C 8773, Extract from an Inspection Report by Inspector Cairns, 19 April, 1926.
121. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6262, File 578-1 (4-5), MR C 8653, To R. Hoey from D.J. Allan, 4 March, 1944.
122. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8449, File 511/23-5-014, MR C 13800, Inspection Report, Birtle School, by A.G. Hamilton, 4 December, 1936.
123. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422, MR C 10118, Required for the use of the Industrial Schools to be opened in the NW Territories at Qu'Appelle, Battleford in Treaty 7.
124. N.A.C. Rg 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To R. Ferrier from Rev. T. Westgate, n.d. and To Rev. T. Westgate from R. Ferrier, 10 August, 1925.
125. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 160-2 (1-3), MR C 8092, Joint Delegation Submission to T.A. Crerar, n.d. November, 1938.
126. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3918, File 116659-1, MR C 10161, To D.C. Scott from J. Salles, 2 April, 1917 and To Assistant Deputy and Secretary from J. Smith, 8 February, 1918.
127. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6191, File 462-1, MR C 7926, To Rev, John Anderson, from J.D. McLean, 29 December, 1914.
128. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6187, File 462-1, MR C 7926, To Rev. R. McKay from J.D. McLean, 4 June, 1908.
129. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3918, File 116659-1, MR C 10161, To Secretary from Rev. Carion, 27 June, 1910.

130. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3933, File 117657-1, MR C 10164, To W. Graham from C. Stockdale, n.d. July, 1914.
131. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6332, File 661-1 (1-2), MR C 9809, To W. Graham from Mr. Murison, 29 June, 1929.
132. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6332, File 661-1 (1-2), MR C 9809, To W. Graham from L. Affleck, 15 November, 1929.
133. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6262, File 578-1 (4-5), MR C 8653, To H. McGill from A.B. Simes, 19 October, 1944.
134. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8451, File 655/23-5, MR C 13801, To Archdeacon Tims from D.C. Scott [?] 19 October, 1916.
135. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6479, File 940-1 (1-2), MR C 8794, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from E. Stockton, 23 June, 1912.
136. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6431, File 877-1 (1-2, 4), MR C 8758, Extract from Agent Neil's Report, n.d. March, 1910.
137. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6431, File 877-1 (1-2, 4) MR C 8759, To Secretary from A. Vowell, 14 July, 1909.
138. The Davin Report.
139. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7185, File 1/25-1-7-1, To C.E. Silcox from R. Ferrier, 7 April, 1932.
140. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4037, File 317021, MR C 10177, P. Bryce, Report on the Indian Schools of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, Ottawa Government Printing Bureau, 1907.
141. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6431, File 877-1 (1-2, 4), MR C 8758, Extract from a Report by R. Ferrier, n.d 1921.
142. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6462, File 888-1 (2-3, 6-7), To New England Company from Rev. A Lett, 10 April, 1923 and To D.C. Scott from Rev. A Lett, 15 October, 1924.
143. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6462, File 888-1 (2-3, 6-7), MR C 8781, To D.C. Scott from G. Pagnell, 5 November, 1924.
144. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6462, File 888-1 (2-3, 6-7), MR C 8781, To Rev. J. Roper, Bishop of Ottawa, from D.C. Scott, 29 October, 1924.
145. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6462, File 888-1 (2-3, 6-7), MR C 8781, To D.C. Scott from Rev. A. Lett, 15 October, 1924.

146. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6462, File 888-1 (2-3, 6-7), MR C 8781, To H. Graham from Dr. P. Wilson, 23 February, 1927.
147. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6462, File 888-1 (2-3, 6-7), MR C 8781, See correspondence for 1928 on construction of new a building.
148. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6187, File 461-1 (1-2), MR C 7922, A. Grant from Deputy and Secretary of Indian Affairs, 11 April, 1916.
149. See, for example: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6251, File 575-1 (1-3), MR C 8645, To Rev. A. Grant from J.D. McLean, 12 December, 1912 and Presbyterian Church Archives, 1988-7004-7-2, WMS Correspondence with Principal of Birtle School, To Miss Lang from Mary Begg, 25 March, 1940.
150. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol 6255, File 576-1 (1-2) MR C 8647-8648, To Indian Commissioner from J. Semmens, 14 April, 1896.
151. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3921, File 116818, Telegram - To C. Sifton from T. Ross, 21 April, 1902.
152. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6267, File 580-1 (1-3) MR C 8656, To the Commission from Rev. E Bird, 26 September, 1924.
153. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6267. Filw 580-1 (1-3), MR C 8656, Report on MacKay school by J. Waddy, 28 November, 1928.
154. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6255, File 576-1 (1-2), MR C 8647-8648, To J. Semmens from A. Forget, 17 April, 1896.
155. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6187, File 461-1 (1-2), MR C 7922, To J. Edmison from J.D. McLean, 4 August, 1917.
156. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6332, File 661-1 (1-2), MR C 9809, To W. Graham from L. Affleck, 15 November, 1929.
157. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3931, File 117377-1C, MR C 10163, To C. Sifton from A. Gordon, 18 January, 1920.
158. J. Gresko, "Creating Little Dominions Within the Dominion: Early Catholic Indian Schools in Saskatchewan and British Columbia" in J. Barman, Y. Hebert and D. McCaskill, eds., Indian Education in Canada, Volume 1: The Legacy (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1986), page 93.
159. C. Haig-Brown, Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School (Vancouver, Tillacum Library, 1988), page 59.

160. See, for example: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3920, File 116818, MR C 10161, To Indian Commissioner from C. Somerset.
161. C. Haig-Brown, Resistance and Renewal, page 59.
162. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6430, File 876-1, MR C 8759, Report on Ahousaht school, 1936, by G. Barry.
163. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6205, File 468-1 (1-3), MR C 7937, To A. Moore from A. McKenzie, 9 January, 1934.
164. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6452, File 884-1 (1-3), MR C 8773-8774, To Bishop of Westminster from L. Vankoughnet, 17 October and 164.Vol. 3920, File 116818, MR C 10161, To Assistant Commissioner from H. Reed, 28 June, 1895.
165. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6255, File 576-1 (1-2), MR C 8647-8648, To J. Semmens from A.E. Forget, 17 April, 1896.
166. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6348, File 752-1, MR C 8705, Extract from Nurse Ramage's Report, November, 1921 attached to - To D.C. Scott from W. Graham, 3 December, 1921.
167. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6348, File 752-1, MR C 8705, To Rev. J. Rioui O.M.I. from D.C. Scott, 16 December, 1921.
168. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3920, File 116818, MR C 10161, To Assistant Commissioner from H. Reed, 28 June, 1895.
169. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6268, File 581-1 (1-2), MR C 8657, To Inspector of Indian Agencies from Assistant Commissioner, n.d. July, 1907, To Secretary from Assistant Commissioner, 30 June, 1907 and To Secretary from D. Laird, 11 September, 1907.
170. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6268, File 581-1 (1-2), MR C 8657, 28 September, 1907.
171. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6200, File 466-1 (1-5), MR C 7933, To Rev. H. Snell from R. Hoey, 3 September, 1937. Interestingly, Hoey says that a circular on discipline had been sent out a few years previously, but that he could not find a copy to send on to Principal Snell.
172. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3930, File 117377-1A, To E. McColl from J. Ashby, 21 October, 1895. See this letter and attachment for a case of "apparent carelessness which caused the painful death of this child" - Maggie Thomas - who was left unsupervised and died by falling into an unattended rubbish fire.
173. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3920, File 116818, MR C 10161, To Indian Commissioner from D.L. Clink, 4 June, 1896.

174. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3920, File 116818, MR C 10161, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from A. Sutherland, 3 January, 1896.
175. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3920, File 116818, MR C 10161, To Indian Commissioner from D.L. Clink, 4 June, 1896.
176. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3920, File 116818, MR C 10161, To Assistant Commissioner from H. Reed, 28 June, 1895.
177. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3920, File 116818, MR C 10161, To Assistant Commissioner from H. Reed, 28 June, 1895.
178. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6187, File 461-1 (1-2), MR C 7922, To J. Edmison from J. D. McLean, 4 August, 1917.
179. See, for example, N.A.C. RG 85 Vol. 1-A, File 630/119-2, To R. Hoey from G. Castledon, 19 February, 1941 and associated documents in the file which set out the case of a boy at Gordon's school who fled and died of exposure, according to Castledon, because of his "deathly fear" of the Principal. It was, he concluded, a "glaring case of neglect". There are other such incidents in Departmental files.
180. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7194, File 511/25-1-015, MR C 9700, To P. Phelan from R.S. Davis, 1 November, 1951 and To Phelan from R.S. Davis, 25 October, 1951.
181. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6436, 878-1 (1-3), MR C 8762, To Secretary from A. Vowell, 17 March, 1902 and attached sworn testimony. For a fuller discussion of this tragedy see: E. Furniss, Victims of Benevolence: Discipline and Death at the Williams Lake Indian Residential School, 1891-1920 (Williams Lake, B.C., Cariboo Tribal Council, 1992).
182. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6443, File 881-1 (1-3) MR C 8767, See transcripts of interviews, 2 and 3 March, 1937.
183. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6436, 878-1 (1-3), MR C 8762, To Secretary from A. Vowell, 17 March, 1902 and attached sworn testimony.
184. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6443, File 881-1 (1-3) MR C 8767, See transcripts of interviews, 2 and 3 March, 1937.
185. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6443, File 881-1 (1-3) MR C 8767, Confidential To Dr. H. McGill from D. MacKay, 25 March, 1937.
186. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6027, File 117-1-1, MR C 8147, Extract from a Report on Crowstand school, W. Graham, 4 July, 1907.

187. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6027, File 117-1-1, MR C 8147, To Rev. R. McKay from J.D. McLean, 15 July, 1907.
188. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6027, File 117-1-1, MR C 8147, See church investigation report dated, 9 August, 1907.
189. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6027, File 117-1-1, MR C 8147, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M.Benson, 27 August, 1907.
190. Presbyterian Church Archives, 1988-1003-2-1, 1906-1908, Foreign Mission Committee Reports, Vol. XX, 17 September, 1907.
191. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6027, File 117-1-1, MR C 8147, To Secretary from Agent Blewitt, 21 July, 1914, To A. Grant from D.C. Scott, 19 September, 1914.
192. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6027, File 117-1-1, MR C 8147, To D.C. Scott from M. Benson, 21 November, 1914 and To D.C. Scott from O. Grain M.D., 5 November, 1914.
193. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6307, File 653-1, MR C 8683, To Secretary from W. Graham, 4 November, 1912.
194. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6307, File 653-1, MR C 8683, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from D.C. Scott, 11 November, 1912.
195. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6307, File 653-1, MR C 8683, To Accounts Branch from Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 14 November, 1912.
196. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6358, File 758 (1-2), MR C 8713, To D.C. Scott from W. Graham, 25 December, 1919 and attached correspondence: To W. Graham from T. Graham, 1 December, 1919 which forwards the police report.
197. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6358, File 758 (1-2), MR C 8713, To Canon S. Gould from P. Gentleman, 12 January, 1920.
198. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6358, File 758 (1-2), MR C 8713, To D.C. Scott from W. Graham, 25 December, 1919.
199. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6358, File 758 (1-2), MR C 8713, To Canon S. Gould from D.C. Scott, 5 January, 1920.
200. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6358, File 758 (1-2), MR C 8713, To D.C. Scott from Canon S. Gould, 26 January, 1920.

201. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6358, File 758 (1-2), MR C 8713, To W. Graham from D.C. Scott, 18 May, 1920 and To D.C. Scott from W. Graham, 10 June, 1920.
202. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6318, File 657-1, MR C 8692, To Sir from W. Graham, 13 September, 1922. This forwards a report from Nurse LeDrew. See also: Extract of a Report from I.M. Lucas [nurse], 11 August, 1923.
203. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6318, File 657-1, MR C 8692, To D.C. Scott from Cortland Starnes and attached report dated 25 July, 1924.
204. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6318, File 657-1, MR C 8692, To D.C. Scott from W. Graham, 13 August, 1924.
205. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6267, File 580-1 (1-3), MR C 8656, To W. Graham from J. Waddy, 1 September, 1924.
206. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6267, File 580-1 (1-3), MR C 8656, see Graham's comment attached to To Dr. T. Westgate from J. D. McLean, 16 September, 1924.
207. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6267, File 580-1 (1-3), MR C 8656, To D.C. Scott from J. Waddy, 4 November, 1924.
208. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6267, File 580-1 (1-3), MR C 8656, To the Commission from Rev. E. Bird, 26 September, 1924 and To Secretary from Rev. T. Westgate, 28 November, 1924.
209. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6267, File 580-1 (1-3), MR C 8656, To W. Graham from P. Constant, 1 October, 1925 and To W. Graham from J. Waddy, 5 October, 1925.
210. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6267, File 580-1 (1-3), MR C 8656, To Secretary from W. Graham, 12 October, 1925.
211. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6267, File 580-1 (1-3), MR C 8656, To Canon S. Gould from D.C. Scott, 31 October, 1925 and To D.C. Scott from Canon S. Gould, 7 December, 1925.
212. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6267, File 580-1 (1-3), MR C 8656, To W. Graham from J.D. McLean, 16 February, 1926.
213. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6267, File 580-1 (1-3), MR C 8656, To D.C. Scott from W. Graham, 30 November, 1931. Graham's relationship with Scott deteriorated badly over the years; the became bitter rivals -see for a full discussion of this: E.B. Titley, A Narrow Vision, Chapter 10, The Ambitions of Commissioner Graham.

214. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6262, File 578-1 (4-5), MR C 8653, To Indian Affairs Branch from A. Hamilton, 22 September, 1944.
215. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, Memorandum for the Minister from M. Benson, 3 July, 1897 and Vol. 3920, File 116818, MR C 10161, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M. Benson, 12 August, 1903.
216. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6436, File 878-1 (1-3) MR C 8762, To Assistant Secretary and Deputy from A. O'Daunt, 1 August, 1920 and 16 August, 1920. For a full discussion of the event see: E. Furniss, Victims of Benevolence, pages 37-42.
217. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6455, File 885-1 (1-2), MR C 8777, To Secretary from W. Ditchburn, 31 October, 1912.
218. INAC File 951/23-5, Vol. 1, Confidential, To Major MacKay from G.H. Barry, 16 April, 1937.
219. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6041, File 160-5 Part 1, MR C 8153, To Rev, J. Guy, 11 July, 1926.
220. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6309, File 654-1, MR C 8685, Inspection Report on Gordon's school, 14 May, 1930.
221. E.B. Titley, A Narrow Vision, page 105.
222. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6332, File 661-1 (1-2), MR C 9809, To Secretary from W. Graham, 11 December, 1925, To Sir from W. Graham, 8 January, 1926, and To D.C. Scott from W. Graham, 25 September, 1929.
223. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6332, File 661-1 (1-2), MR C 9809, To W. Graham from D.C. Scott, 27 November, 1929.
224. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6332, File 661-1 (1-2), MR C 9809, To D.C. Scott from W. Graham, 11 July, 1930, D.C. Scott note on file, 20 November, 1930 and To Mr. Sutherland from K. Beaton, 2 December, 1936.
225. For other examples, see: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3931, File 117377-1C, MR C 10163, To C. Sifton from A. Gordon, 18 January, 1902 and Vol. 6476, File 919-1, MR C 8792, To Hon I. MacKenzie from E. Corlett, 18 March, 1944.
226. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3931, File 117377-1C, MR C 10163, To Secretary from M. Benson, 24 January, 1902.
227. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7190, File 411/25-1-010, MR C 9698, To D.C. Scott from L. Pinsonault, n.d. July, 1924 and to L. Pinsonault from J.D. McLean, 11 July, 1924.

228. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6264, File 579-1 (1), MR C 8654, To J.D. McLean from J.R. Bunn 21 October, 1920 and To Superintendent, Department of Indian Affairs from J. Ross, 6 October, 1920.
229. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6436, File 878-1 (1-3), MR C 8762, To Secretary from A. Vowell, 17 March, 1902, see attached testimony, and, for another example, see: Vol. 6262, File 578-1 (4-5), MR C 8653, To R. Hoey from D.J. Allan, 4 March, 1944.
230. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6191, File 462-1, MR C 7926, Petition ... to Henry Jackson, 25 September, 1921, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from A. Chisholm 14 January, 1922, and To D.C. Scott from A. Chisholm, 14 January, 1922.
231. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6191, File 462-1, MR C 7926, To A. Chisholm from D.C. Scott, 18 January, 1922 and To D.C. Scott from R. Ferrier, 23 January, 1922.
232. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6191, File 462-1, MR C 7926, To D.C. Scott from R. Ferrier, 23 January, 1922.
233. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6191, File 462-1, MR C 7926, To Rev. G. Prewer from D.C. Scott, 2 February, 1922 and To T. Godfrey from D. C. Scott, 2 February, 1922.
234. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6455, File 885-1 (1-2), MR C 8777, To Secretary from W. Ditchburn, 31 October, 1912.
235. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6436, File 878-1 (1-3), MR C 8762, To Secretary from A. Vowell, 18 March 1902 and 14 April, 1902.
236. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6436, File 878-1 (1-3), MR C 8762, To Secretary from A. Vowell, 18 March 1902 and 14 April, 1902.
237. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6436, File 878-1 (1-3), MR C 8762, To A. Vowell from J.D. McLean, 31 May, 1902.
238. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6436, File 878-1 (1-3), MR C 8762, To I. Odgen from Secretary, 16 September, 1910 and To A. O'Daunt from A. MacKenzie, 5 October, 1920.
239. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6436, File 878-1 (1-3), MR C 8762, See: To A. Mackenzie from R.H. Cairns, n.d, 1920 and To Assistant Secretary and Deputy from A. O'Daunt, 16 August, 1920.
240. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3767, File 33170, MR C 10135, To Assistant Indian Commissioner from G. Mann, 22 October, 1886.
241. N.A.C. Rg 10 Vol. 3984, File 167793-1, MR C 10169, To A.E. Green from Chas. Richards, 27 April, 1905.

242. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6187, File 461-1 (1-2), MR C 7922, Inspection Report on Cecilia Jeffrey school by Inspector Semmens, April, 1916.
243. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6187, File 461-1 (1-2), MR C 7922, To J. Edmison from J. McLean, 4 August, 1917.
244. N.A.C. RG 10 3918, File 116659-1, MR C 10161, To Assistant Deputy and Secretary from J. Smith, 8 February, 1918.
245. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3933, File 117657-1, MR C 10164, To W. Graham from A. Burnett, 19 August, 1914 and Vol. 6200, File 466-1 (1-5), MR C 7933, To Rev. H. Snell from H. Craig, 29 July, 1937.
246. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6251, File 575-1 (1-3), MR C 8645, To Miss J.F. Lang from R. Hoey, 17 November, 1938.
247. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6309, File 654-1, MR C 8685, To Secretary from T. Robertson, 10 November, 1938.
248. J.R. Miller, "Owen Glendower, Hotspur and Canadian Indian Policy" in Ethnohistory, Vol. 37, No. 4, Fall 1990.
249. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 1543, [no file number], MR C 14839, To W. Graham from J. Pugh, 14 December, 1928.
250. See for example: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6307, File 654-1, MR C 8685, To Secretary from M. Christianson, 17 April, 1942, Vol. 6345, File 751-1, MR C 8701, To Secretary from W. Graham, 27 September, 1929, Vol. 6426, File 875-1-2-3-5, MR C 8756, To Assistant Deputy and Secretary from W. Halliday, 13 February, 1918.
251. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6027, File 117-1-1, MR C 8147, To Principal McWhinney from Agent Blewett, 18 March, 1913.
252. G. Manuel and M. Posluns, The Fourth World, page 67.
253. J.R. Miller, "Owen Glendower, Hotspur, and Canadian Indian Policy", page 386.
254. See, for example: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6462, File 888-1 (2-3, 6-7), Mr C 8781, To R.A. Hoey from Rev. C. Hives, 21 June, 1943, Vol. 6200, File 466-1 (1-5), MR C 7633, To Rev. H. Snell from H. Craig, 29 July, 1937 and attached correspondence, Vol. 6187, File 461-1 (1-2), MR C 7922, To Rev. A. Grant from Secretary, 11 April, 1916, Vol. 6342, File 750-1, MR C 8699, To D.C. Scott from J. Pugh, 25 January, 1928 and attached correspondence, Vol. 6309, File 654-1, MR C 8685, To Secretary from T. Robertson, 10 November, 1938 and attached

correspondence and Vol. 6479, File 940-1 (1-2), MR C 8794, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from Rev. H. Grant, 5 February, 1940.

255. United Church Archives, Accession 79.199C, 79.200C, Records pertaining to missions ..., 1876-1923, To Mackay from Moore, 11 March, 1903.

256. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6332, File 661-1 (1-2), MR C 9809, To D.C. Scott from W. Graham, 11 July, 1930.

257. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3879, File 92449, MR C 10155, Memorandum by H. Reed, 1897, see attached Report on Battleford school by Inspector McGibbon.

258. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6462, File 888-1 (2-3, 6-7), MR C 8781, To Rev. C. Hives from R. Hoey, 29 June, 1942.

259. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3930, File 117377-1A, MR C 10163, To Bishop of Rupert's Land from H. Reed, 31 May, 1893.

260. The Davin Report.

261. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To D.C. Scott from W. Graham, 23 March, 1923.

262. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6040, File 160-4 Part 1, MR C 8153, To D.C. Scott from J. Edmison, 17 October, 1923.

263. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7190, File 493/25-1-001, MR C 9698, To Rev. T. Westgate, From R. Hoey, n.d. April, 1942.

264. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3966, File 150000-14, MR C 10168, To J.D. McLean from W. Morrison, n.d. 1909.

265. N.A.C. Rg 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422-4, MR C 10118, To L. Vankoughnet from H. Reed, 20 May, 1891.

266. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6001, File 1-1-1 (1), MR C 8134, To A.J. Hatcher from R. Hoey, 6 August, 1941.

267. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4037, File 317021, MR C 10177, To Secretary from Agent, Birtle Manitoba, 20 December, 1907.

268. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8448, File 506/23-5-019, MR C 13800, Fort Alexander Inspection Report by B. Warkentin, 28 June, 1943.

269. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3925, File 116823-1A, MR C 10162, To Rev. S.P. Matheson from J.D. McLean, 15 February, 1909.

270. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7185, File 1/25-1-7-1, To Secretary from W. Graham, 11 September, 1930.
271. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6430, File 876-1, MR C 8759, To Secretary from M. Benson, 29 November, 1901.
272. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3952, File 134858, MR C 10166, To Secretary from M. Benson, 29 November, 1900.
273. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To J.D. McLean from M. Benson, 15 July, 1897.
274. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6430, File 876-1, MR C 8759, To Secretary from M. Benson, 29 November, 1901.
275. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3753, File 30614, MR C 10132, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from J. Powell, 26 November, 1886.
276. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Reverend and Dear Sirs from F. Oliver, 21 March, 1908.
277. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8453, File 985/23-5, MR C 13802, Agent's Report, Alberni school, 1926.
278. INAC File 777/23-5-007, Vol. 1, Inspector's Report, St Bruno school by E. C. Stehelin, 3 December, 1940.
279. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8448, File 506/23-5-019, MR C 13800, Fort Alexander Inspection Report by B. Warkentin, 15 June, 1942.
280. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3919, File 116751-1A, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M. Benson, 4 February, 1903. See also: Vol. 3952, File 134858, MR C 10166, To Secretary from M. Benson, 29 November, 1900.
281. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8754, File 651/25-1, MR C 9701, To R. Hoey from Dr. T. Robertson, 26 January, 1939.
282. Anglican Church Archives, M.S.C.C., Series 2-14, Special Indian Committee, 1905-1910, Memorandum to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from S.H. Blake, 14 March, 1906 and Memorandum by Bishop of Moosonee, 14 June, 1906.
283. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4041, File 334503, To F. Pedley from F.H. Paget, 25 November, 1908.
284. N.A.C. RG 20 Vol. 4037, File 317021, P.H. Bryce, Report on the Indian Schools of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories.

285. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To J.D. McLean from M. Benson, 15 July, 1897. see also: Vol. 3578, File 548, MR C 10102, Report on Qu'Appelle school, 1882.

286. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3919, File 116751-1A, MR C 10161, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M. Benson, 23 June, 1903.

287. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To J.D. McLean from M. Benson, 15 July, 1897. See also: Vol. 3931, File 117377-1C, MR C 10163, To J. Smart from D. McKenna, 2 April, 1902.

288. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6348, File 752-1, MR C 8705, Report on Crowfoot school by M. Christianson, 1 April, 1923.

289. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6348, File 752-1, MR C 8705, Extract of a Report by W. Graham, 16 April, 1923.

290. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8452, File 772/23-5-002, MR C 13801, Old Sun's Inspection Report by J. Markle, 1918.

291. See, for example: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3918, 116659-1, MR C 10161, To A. Vowell from J. Mackay, 29 May, 1892 and Vol. 3919, File 116751-1A, MR C 10161, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from M. Benson, 23 June, 1903.

292. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6251, File 575-1 (1,3), MR C 8645, To J.F. Lang from R. Hoey, 17 November, 1938 and attached correspondence.

293. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8453, File 985/23-5, MR C 13802, To D.M. Mackay from P. Ashbridge, 9 April, 1945.

294. INAC File 951/23-5, Vol. 1, Inspector's Report on Christie school, by R.H. Cairns 24 August, 1925.

295. INAC File 772/23-5-010, Vol. 1, To Dr. McGill from M. Christianson, 23 March, 1935.

296. INAC File 675/23-5-020, Vol. 1, Agent's Reports on Muscowequan school by J. Waddy: February, 1932, May, 1932, June, 1933, January, 1934, October, 1934 and December, 1934.

297. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8453, File 985/23-5, MR C 13802, To D. Mackay from R. Hoey, 16 July, 1943.

298. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8760, File 901/25-1, MR C 9702, To D.M. Mackay from R. Hoey, 4 December, 1940 and Vol. 8452, File 772/23-5-002, MR C 13801, To G.H. Gooderham from P. Phelan, 5 December, 1938.

299. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8449, File 511/23-5-014, MR C 13800, To F. Lang from R. Hoey, 4 January, 1939.
300. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6251, File 575-1 (1,3), MR C 8645, To C. St. John, K.C., from R. Hoey, 17 November, 1938.
301. See, for example: N.A.C. Rg 10 Vol. 8452, File 772/23-5-002, MR C 13801, To G.H. Gooderham from P. Phelan, 15 December, 1938.
302. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6041, File 160-5 Part 1, MR C 8153, To Mr. MacInnes from R. Hoey 3 March, 1937.
303. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6251, File 575-1 (1,3), MR C 8645, To C. St. John, K.C., from R. Hoey, 17 November, 1938.
304. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8605, File 451/1-13, To Rev. H. Snell from R. Hoey, 8 May, 1938.
305. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6205, File 468-1 (1-3), MR C 7937, To Rev. S. McVitty from R. Ferrier, 14 June, 1942.
306. INAC File 501/23-5-065, Vol. 1, Inspector's Report, Brandon school by G. Robertson, 5 & 6 March, 1941.
307. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 1543, [no file number], MR C 14839, To R.N. Wilson from the Boy Pupils of the Boarding School, Blood Reserve, by James Black-Looking, 25 March, 1905.
308. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422-2, MR C 10118, To Indian Commissioner from T. Clarke, 31 July, 1884.
309. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3818, File 57799, MR C 10143, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from H. Reed, 14 May, 1889.
310. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3933, File 117657-1A, To D.C. Scott from M. Benson, 12 January, 1918.
311. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8449, File 511/23-5-014, MR C 13800, Report on Birtle school by A. Hamilton, 4 December, 1936.
312. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8452, File 773/23-5-003, MR C 14234, To Secretary from W. Graham, 9 June, 1950.
313. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 1543, [no file number], MR C 14839, To R.N. Wilson from the Boy Pupils of the Boarding School, Blood Reserve, by James Black-Looking, 25 March, 1905.
314. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8452, File 773/23-5-003, MR C 14234, To W. Graham from R. Ferrier, 14 June, 1930.

315. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6452, File 884-1 (1-3), MR C 8773-8774), To Indian Affairs Department from E. Stanley, 14 February, 1918.

316. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3918, File 116659-1, MR C 10161, To A. Vowell from J. Mackay, 29 May, 1892. See also: Vol. 1543, [no file number], To J. Pugh from W. Graham, 14 December, 1928 and Vol. 8452, File 773/23-5-004, MR C 13802, Inspection Report, St. Paul's school by L. Waller, January, 1952.

317. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6632, File 661-1 (1-2), MR C 9809, To Rev. R. Mackay from J. D. McLean, 17 February, 1911.

318. INAC File 956/23-5, Vol. 1, General Report, St. George's Indian Residential, by H. McArthur, 12 February, 1943.

319. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8449, File 511/23-5-017, MR C 13800, To Secretary from B. Warkentin, 25 January, 1940.

320. INAC File 601/25-2, Vol. 2, R.F. Davey, Residential Schools Past and Future, 8 March, 1968.

321. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6327, File 660-1 (1-3), MR C 9807, To D.C. Scott from W. Graham, 18 October, 1916.

322. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8451, File 772/23-5-001, MR C 13801, Inspection Reports Crowfoot and Old Sun's, 1940.

323. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8452, File 772/23-5-002, MR C 13801, Provincial Inspection Report, Old Sun's school by W. Frame, 1935.

324. INAC File 601/25-2, Vol. 2, R.F. Davey, Residential Schools Past and Future, 8 March, 1968.

325. J. Barman, Y. Hebert & D. McCaskill, eds., Indian Education in Canada, page 9.

326. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Buffalo Child Long Lance from J.D. McLean, 6 January, 1923. For information on Provincial agreements see: Vol. 3679, File 12046, MR C 10119, Memorandum to Council, from John A. Macdonald, 19 October, 1880, Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, Memorandum for the Minister from M. Benson, 3 July, 1897, Vol. 6014, File 1-1-6 Man., MR C 8141, To Hon. A. Meighen from D.C. Scott, 1 June, 1920, and MG 26A, Macdonald Papers, Vol. 150 Part 22, MR C 1564, To Sir John A Macdonald from L. Vankoughnet, 14 March, 1885.

327. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, Memorandum for the Minister from M. Benson, 3 July, 1897. He quotes for support memorandum written by H. Reed on 13 July, 1895. See

the comment in the margin by T. Mayne Daly.

328. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6041, File 160-5 Part 1, MR C 8153, To Archbishop Sinnot from D.C. Scott, 4 November, 1926.

329. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Buffalo Child Long Lance from J.D. McLean, 6 January, 1923.

330. INAC File 956/23-5, Vol. 1, General Report, St. George's Indian Residential, by H. McArthur, 12 February, 1943.

331. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8448, File 06/23-5-019, MR C 13800, Inspection Report Fort Alexander school by B. Warkentin, 1951.

332. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8449, File 511/23-5-017, MR C 13800, To Secretary from B. Warkentin, 25 January, 1940.

333. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8448, File 06/23-5-019, MR C 13800, Fort Alexander Inspection Report by B. Warkentin, 15 June, 1942.

334. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8449, File 511/23-5-017, MR C 13800, To Secretary from B. Warkentin, 25 January, 1940. See also: similar suggestions from, M. Christianson in Vol. 8451, File 772/23-5-001, MR C 13801, Inspection Report, Crowfoot school by M. Christianson, 1934 and from a Provincial School Inspector, Mr. Sigvaldason in Vol. 8449, File 511/23-5-014, MR C 13800, To R. Hoey from Sigvaldason, 25 November, 1938.

335. INAC File 777/23-5-007, Vol. 1, Inspector's Report, St Bruno school by E. Stehelin, 3 December, 1940.

336. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8452, File 772/23-5-002, MR C 13801, Old Sun's Inspection Report by J. Boyce, 1923.

337. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8451, File 655/23-5, MR C 13801, Inspection Report, Qu'Appelle school by A. Hamilton, 1934.

338. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8452, File 773/23-5-004, MR C 13802, To Sir from J. Markle, 10 February, 1914.

339. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8452, File 772/23-5-002, MR C 13801, Inspection Report, Old Sun's school by W. Frame, 1934.

340. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8451, File 655/23-5, MR C 13801, Inspection Report, Qu'Appelle school by A. Hamilton, 1934.

341. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8449, File 511/23-5-014, MR C 13800, Inspection Report, Birtle school by Mr Sigvaldason, 1939.

342. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8451, File 772/23-5-001, MR C 13801, Inspection Report, Crowfoot school by M. Christianson, 1934.

343. INAC File 956/23-5, Vol. 1, General Report, St. George's Indian Residential, by H. McArthur, 12 February, 1943.
344. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6730, File 160-2 (1-3), MR C 8092, To T.A. Crerar from Rev. T. Westgate, on behalf of the Joint Delegation, 21 November, 1938.
345. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6462, File 888-1 (2-3, 6-7), MR C 8781, To P. Phalen from Rev. C. Hives, 26 December, 1944.
346. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8448, File 506/23-5-019, MR C 13800, To R. Hoey from B. Warkentin, 23 June, 1942.
347. INAC File 956/23-5, Vol. 1, General Report, St. George's Indian Residential, by H. McArthur, 12 February, 1943.
348. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8448, File 506/23-5-019, MR C 13800, Inspection Report, Fort Alexander school by B. Warkentin, 15 June, 1942.
349. INAC File 956/23-5, Vol. 1, General Report, St. George's Indian Residential, by H. McArthur, 12 February, 1943.
350. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8448, File 506/23-5-019, MR C 13800, Inspection Report, Fort Alexander school by B. Warkentin, 15 June, 1942.
351. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8452, File 772/23-5-002, MR C 13801, Inspection Report, Old Sun's school by W. Frame, 1937.
352. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6041, File 160-5 Part 1, MR C 8153, To Rev. F. Blanchin from D.C. Scott, 17 April, 1924.
353. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8452, File 772/23-5-002, MR C 13801, Inspection Report, Old Sun's school by J. Boyce, 1923.
354. INAC File 601/25-2, Vol. 2, R.F. Davey, Residential Schools - Past and Future, 8 March, 1968.
355. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6041, File 160-5 Part 1, MR C 8153, To Archbishop Sinnot from D.C. Scott, 4 November, 1926.
356. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4041, File 334503, MR C 10178, To F. Pedley from F.H. Paget, 25 November, 1908.
357. See, for example: INAC File 956/23-5, Vol. 1, General Report, St. George's Indian Residential, by H. McArthur, 12 February, 1943.

358. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4041, File 334503, MR C 10178, To F. Pedley from F.H. Paget, 25 November, 1908.

359. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4041, File 334503, MR C 10178, To F. Pedley from F.H. Paget, 25 November, 1908.

360. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6358, File 758 (1-2), MR C 8713, To Sir from J. Markle, 20 January, 1914.

361. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6205, File 468-1 (1-3), MR C 7937, To Indian Affairs Department from Rev. T Ferrier, 25 May, 1911 and To Rev. T. Shore from Assistant Deputy and Secretary, 20 June, 1911.

362. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6267, File 580-1 (1-3), MR C 8656, To D.C. Scott from M. Benson, 19 August, 1914.

363. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6267, File 580-1 (1-3), MR C 8656, To Rev. J. Newnham from J.D. McLean, 25 August, 1914, To Rev. J. Newnham from J.D. McLean, 22 September, 1914 and To D.C. Scott from M. Benson, 27 August, 1917.

364. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8760, File 901/25-1, MR C 9702, To Major D. Mackay from G. Barry, 30 September, 1940.

365. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6355, File 751-1, MR C 8711, To Rev. G. Dorey from R. Hoey, 17 August, 1943.

366. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6355, File 751-1, MR C 8711, To R. Hoey from Rev. G. Dorey, 14 August, 1943.

367. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3647, File 8128, MR C 10113, To Indian Commissioner from J.A. Macrae, 18 December, 1886.

368. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, Memorandum for the Minister from M. Benson, 3 July, 1897.

369. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4041, File 334503, MR C 10178, To F. Pedley from F.H. Paget, 25 November, 1908.

370. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6358, File 758 (1-2), MR C 8713, To Sir from J. Markle, 20 January, 1914.

371. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6348, File 752-1, MR C 8705, Extract of a Report by W. Graham, 16 April, 1923.

372. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7182, File 1/25-1-1-1, MR C 9695, To Sir from W. Ditchburn, 12 October, 1920.

373. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7185, File 1/25-1-7-1, To C.E. Silcox from R.T. Ferrier, 7 April, 1932.

374. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8452, File 773/23-5-003, MR C 14234, To Rev. R. Rioux from R.T. Ferrier, 5 November, 1923.
375. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6041, File 160-5 Part 1, MR C 8153, To R. Hoey from Rev. J. Plourde, O.M.I., 30 May, 1939.
376. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6348, File 752-1, MR C 8705, Extract of a Report by W. Graham, 16 April, 1923.
377. INAC File 956/23-5, Vol. 1, General Report, St. George's Indian Residential, by H. McArthur, 12 February, 1943.
378. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8452, File 773/23-5-003, MR C 14234, Inspection Report, St. Mary's school by L. Hutchinson, 5 October, 1922.
379. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7190, File 411/25-1-010, MR C 9698, To Rev. T. Westgate from R. Hoey, 30 April, 1942.
380. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8452, File 772/23-5-002, Inspection Report, Old Sun's school by J. Boyce, 1923.
381. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8449, File 511/23-5-017, MR C 13800, To Secretary from B. Warkentin, 25 January, 1940.
382. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8449, File 511/23-5-014, MR C 13800, Inspection Report, Birtle school by Mr. Sigvaldason, 1939.
383. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8603, File 451/1-13, MR C 14229, To Rev. H. Snell from R. Hoey, 3 January, 1938.
384. INAC File 777/23-5-007, Vol. 1, Inspector's Report, St Bruno school by E. Stehelin, 3 December, 1940.
385. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8452, File 772/23-5-002, Inspection Report, Old Sun's school by J. Boyce, 1923.
386. INAC File 777/23-5-007, Vol. 1, Inspector's Report, St Bruno school by E. Stehelin, 3 December, 1940.
387. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3966, File 150000-26, MR C 10168, To Secretary from C. Thornell [?] n.d. 1916-17 [?].
388. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8452, File 772/23-5-002, Inspection Report, Old Sun's school by J. Boyce, 1923.
389. INAC File 951/23-5, Vol. 1, Inspector's Report, Christie school by R.H. Cairns, 24 August, 1924.
390. INAC File 956/23-5, Vol. 1, General Report, St. George's Indian Residential, by H. McArthur, 12 February, 1943.

391. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7182, File 1/25-1-1-1, MR C 9695, To Sir from W. Ditchburn, 12 October, 1920.
392. INAC File 956/23-5, Vol. 1, General Report, St. George's Indian Residential, by H. McArthur, 12 February, 1943.
393. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3647, File 8128, MR C 10113, To Indian Commissioner from J.A. Macrae, 18 December, 1886.
394. 394. INAC File 956/23-5, Vol. 1, General Report, St. George's Indian Residential, by H. McArthur, 12 February, 1943.
395. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6348, File 752-1, MR C 8705, Extract of a Report by W. Graham, 16 April, 1923.
396. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8451, File 655/23-5, MR C 13801, To D.C. Scott from W. Graham, 17 November, 1922.
397. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To D.C. Scott from W. Graham, 23 March, 1923.
398. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6040, File 160-4 Part 1, MR C 8153, To D.C. Scott from J. Edmison, 17 October, 1923.
399. INAC File 501/23-5-076, Vol. 1, To Rev. O. Chagnon, O.M.I. from P. Phelan, 6 June, 1938, To Rev. O. Chagnon O.M.I. from J.D. Sutherland, 13 May, 1936, To Rev. O. Chagnon O.M.I. from J.D. Sutherland, 30 May, 1934 and To Rev. O. Chagnon O.M.I. from R.T. Ferrier, 23 May, 1929.
400. N.A.C. MG 26A, Macdonald Papers, Vol. 211, MR C 1597, To Sir John A. Macdonald from E. Dewdney, 29 December, 1883. See also: RG 10 Vol. 3647, File 8128, MR C 10113, To H. Reed from E. McColl, 21 March, 1884.
401. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3818, File 57799, MR C 10143, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from H. Reed, 14 May, 1889.
402. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8451, File 655/23-5, MR C 13801, Inspection Report, Qu'Appelle school, 1924.
403. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3647, File 8128, MR C 10113, To Indian Commissioner from J.A. Macrae, 18 December, 1886.
404. Annual Report 1888, page 102.
405. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422-2, MR C 10118, To Indian Commissioners from T. Clarke, 31 July, 1884.

406. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 11422-2, MR C 10118, To Lieutenant Governor from Rev. J. Hugonard, 18 October, 1884.

407. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3818, File 57799, MR C 10143, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from H. Reed, 14 May, 1889.

408. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3647, File 8128, MR C 10113, To Indian Commissioner from J.A. Macrae, 18 December, 1886.

409. Annual Report 1888, page 102. All Hallows School in British Columbia was an interesting variant. There Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal girls, while educated on the same premises, were in fact held separate. See: J. Barman, "Separate and Unequal" Indian and White Girls at All Hallows School, 1884-1920" in J. Barman, Y. Hebert and D. McCaskill, eds., Indian Education in Canada, Volume 1: The Legacy (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1986).

410. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3674, File 11422-5, MR C 10118, To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from H. Reed, 4 August, 1890.

411. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3818, File 57799, MR C 10143, To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from H. Reed, 14 May, 1889.

412. See, for example: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6348, File 752-1, MR C 8705, Extract of Agent G.H. Graham's Report, August, 1923.

413. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3836, File 68557, MR C 10146, Suggestions for the Government of Indian Schools, H. Reed, 27 January, 1890.

414. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Sir from J.D. McLean, 25 November, 1910.

415. For Catholic comment on the contracts see: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To R. Rogers from Catholic Bishops, 24 November, 1911 and 15 November, 1912.

416. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To Sir from J.D. McLean, 25 November, 1910.

417. INAC File 501/23-5-076, Vol. 1, To ... from J.D. Sutherland, 13 May, 1936.

418. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6476, File 919-1, MR C 8792, To Hon. I. MacKenzie from Miss E. Corbett, 18 March, 1944.

419. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-1, MR C 8152, To D.C. Scott from W. Graham, 23 March, 1923.

420. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6262, File 578-1 (4-5), MR C 8653, To Rev. Alderwood from R. Hoey, 13 November, 1944.

421. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6251, File 575-1 (1-3), MR C 8645, To C. St. John, K.C., from R. Hoey, 17 November, 1938.

422. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6320, File 658-1, MR C 9802, To F. Mears from D.C. Scott, 11 January, 1924. Edwards letter, dated 14 December, 1923, is attached.

CHAPTER 4

INTEGRATION and CLOSURE - 1948 to 1986

"It is the firm opinion of this Department that the children will receive better care in their own homes under the guidance of their parents than they would in residence."

In May, 1946, a Joint Committee of the House of Commons and the Senate began an extensive review of Indian affairs for the purpose of preparing amendments to the Indian Act. After two years of public hearings and having considered some "400 briefs from Indian bands, organizations, other groups and individuals" it issued, in June 1948, 12 major recommendations. These revealed a continued loyalty on the part of Parliamentarians to the belief that assimilation was yet an unavoidable and a desirable end to the "Indian problem." But they were also "relatively sympathetic to, and supportive of, Indian aspirations" including making rather surprising proposals for granting a degree of self-government to communities and for the establishment of a commission to investigate treaty violations and land claims.

Most of the recommendations did not, however, live to see the light of any legislative day. The revised 1951 Act, drafted not by the committee, itself, but by Departmental officials and Justice Department lawyers was "rightly criticized as essentially a restatement" of earlier Indian Acts. In the main, it upheld the status quo. It certainly did not reflect Aboriginal "aspirations." What few changes were made in Indian Affairs were "limited to simply revising current practises inherited from the nineteenth century."¹

The education sector appeared, on the surface at least, to be an exception. Here the Department and Parliament were in complete agreement with the committee's central recommendation - "that wherever and whenever possible Indian children should be educated in association with other children."² Thereafter, Departmental efforts and resources were re-directed from the residential system and devoted to a new policy - the creation of a day school system and, more significantly, to integration by "transferring Indian children to provincial schools, and federal schools to provincial administrative school units."³

Integration was both the rationale and the process for ending the residential school system. Yet even when that policy, in concert with the whole spectrum of federal policies, was thrown into confusion by the rejection, led by Aboriginal people, of the White Paper of 1969, the most complete expression of Canada's traditional assimilative intent, progress toward the complete and final dismantling of the residential system continued. There was certainly no place for these educational relics in the evolving system that was to be based on the principles enunciated by Aboriginal people themselves in the National Indian Brotherhood's Indian Control of Indian Education submitted to and accepted by the Liberal government in 1972.⁴

Progress, nevertheless, in closing schools before and after 1969 was difficult and slow. In the integration era, after 1948, the Department had not only to fashion a new future dealing with the intricacies of a program which linked Aboriginal communities with local non-Aboriginal school boards and Provincial ministries of education but it had to deal as well with the past. It had to contend with its old ally the churches all of whom had defended their participation in Indian Affairs and the continuing importance of denominational education in their submissions to the Joint Committee. And the Department had to struggle with the consequences of its assimilative policies and what had been the damaging impact of regional development - dysfunctional families and their "neglected" children who had become, in the post war years, a significant portion of the residential school population.

Integration and closure would be a long and difficult process, nearly four decades long - decades in which children still left their homes and communities bound for a residential school. And as had been the case before the war, many of them would never return and many who did would be unable, because of their residential school experience to contribute to the life and health of their communities.

According to a Departmental retelling of the history of the Joint Committee, its education recommendation was a response to strong representations from some Indian associations for "an end to the policy and practise of segregated education."⁵ Indian witnesses, who, R.F. Davey, the superintendent of education, recalled, "were almost unanimous in their condemnation of residential schools,"⁶ may well have influenced the Committee.

Indian interventions during the Joint Committee hearings were the culmination of the remarkable nation-wide development, beginning in the late 19th century, of modern Indian political organizations. These had a resolute de-colonizing purpose, an "Indian agenda" aimed at regaining "control and authority" over their communities' affairs.⁷ More immediately, the submissions to the Committee that argued for the replacement of church-run residential by day schools, and, despite Davey's recollection, only about half of them did,⁸ were an extension of a wartime campaign which was often powerfully frank about the residential school experience. In June, 1940, for example, the Indian Speaking Leaf, the journal of the Indian Association of America, published an article by the Metis organizer Malcolm Norris which traced the historic refusal of the government to respond to requests from Cree communities in Alberta for day schools. Instead, he wrote, they had gotten

subsidized Religious Institutions as Boarding
Schools.... The conditions prevailing in these

schools are common knowledge throughout the Province. Inferior staffs, inadequate food, constant overwork, military and religious routine, together with genuine cruelty, have caused those who have attended them to term these schools "Penitentiaries." This is the manner in which the provision of Treaty re Education has been provided, and it is to such schools that Cree children are compelled to attend FOR THE CRIME OF BEING BORN AN INDIAN.

Norris was prepared to back up his charges. He told the Department privately that there were a "hundred [ex-pupils] ... he could bring to testify, under oath, [that] there is cruelty meted out to pupils" and ample evidence "that the proper academic education, for which the Indian Department was paying sound Canadian cash had been and still is being neglected."⁹

Whatever the effect Aboriginal lobbyists may have had on the members of the Joint Committee, the Department was not moved by any "Indian agenda," concern over cruel treatment or recognition of the rights of treated communities. And activists like Norris surely cannot be considered at all. In true Departmental fashion, he was written off. He was "hot-tempered," a "Red," a man who was no doubt "reading the wrong class of literature."¹⁰ Rather, the dynamics that moved the Department away from residential schools were, ironically, the persistence of an assimilative strategy and, as always, mundane financial considerations that transformed Departmental thinking during the war years.

R. Hoey signalled that transformation as early as 1943 during an appearance before Parliament's Special Committee on Reconstruction and Re-Establishment. Reacting to statements by one of the committee members - that residential schools as they "segregate the children" from their community "lose a great deal of the value of education" and that if the children were educated in a day school "you would educate the parents and the children together" - he admitted that he too had serious doubts about the efficacy of residential schools in any process of community development. In fact, his personal preference was "to see residential schools slowly and gradually closed."¹¹

Hoey spoke from more than personal preference. He had behind him the support of the senior staff of the Department who agreed, especially in light of the financial facts of Departmental life, that "the time has come when a definite decision should be reached regarding our policy in respect to residential schools." They were equally clear, as H. McGill, the director of the Indian Affairs Branch, had informed the

deputy minister in 1942, what that decision should be. "I hold, and have long held the opinion that the educational requirements of the great majority of the Indians could be met by day schools to the decided benefit of the Indians and to the financial benefit of the taxpayer."¹²

The "financial benefit" of a day school emphasis within a revised educational strategy was the most compelling consideration for the Department. The financial situation of the system had not, of course, improved in the 1940s and officials had come to realize that the system had reached a point of crisis. Hoey had been shocked by a visit he made to the Mount Elgin school in 1942. Imposing from the outside, it was on closer look the most "dilapidated structure that I have ever inspected." Parts of it were "literally alive with cockroaches" and the "odours ... throughout the buildings were so offensive" he "could scarcely endure them." He was certain that "if this was not a government-operated institution ... it would be closed by the municipal health authorities." The school reflected "no credit on either the Department or the United Church." As bad as it was, it was not, however, an exception as the constant stream of negative school inspection reports flowing into Ottawa reminded Hoey and other headquarters's officials. Dr. Cochrane, a medical officer, told Hoey that Mount Elgin was "a model of sanitary perfection when compared with the United Church school at Round Lake, Saskatchewan."¹³ The Simes report soon put Elkhorn in the same category and similar conditions encountered at Alberni tended, Hoey commented, to "shake ones faith in the whole residential school set up."¹⁴

Chronic underfunding was the culprit. As "our vote," McGill told the deputy minister, "has not been sufficient to keep these buildings in a proper state of repair ... a steady deterioration is taking place in our physical equipment." Something had to be done; a decision had to be made whether we should "go forward in developing a residential school system" or "direct our efforts in another direction."¹⁵ In Hoey's mind, the Department had no such choice. Any idea of further development, even any attempt to replace the nine schools that had been destroyed by fire in the last decade, was "sheer folly" in the continuing climate of "economy and retrenchment."¹⁶

The crisis the Department faced was deepened by an additional complicating factor. Demand for education was rising. Increasingly, the churches were lobbying for the beginning of high school education within the residential system for the few children who progressed past grade eight. More critically, the Aboriginal population was beginning to rebound from the shock of tuberculosis. Hoey estimated that there were an additional 300 school age children each year. That translated

into an annual requirement for five new day schools and one residential school.¹⁷

In the face of the pressure to expand education in general and the urgent need to deal with the deplorable condition of so many of the residential schools, the Department determined that day schools, because they were cheaper, were the only realistic solution. In 1941, the Minister, T. Crerar, drew this to the attention of the churches in a preamble to what he proposed might be an acceptable preliminary reworking of the residential school system. In that year there were 8,774 residential school students at a per capita cost of \$159 (and this did not include the outstanding deferred maintenance bills) and almost the same number of day school students, 8,651, at a cost of only \$47 per capita. Crerar held that it would not be possible to keep the newer residential schools "in a high state of repair and efficiency" except

by closing some of the older or more dilapidated buildings if the churches were agreeable to abandoning a limited number of these schools, the savings effected by this policy might be very well used to pay the per capita grants in full at other schools and for the repair and general upkeep of our modern school buildings."¹⁸

For Crerar, no matter how the churches might respond, the days of unrestricted residential school growth were over. The repair and upkeep of the existing residential system could only be accomplished by down-sizing and the demand for additional school places would have to be met by day schools exclusively. In 1942, the deputy minister ordered that "as soon as war regulations regarding building materials permit, the building of day schools and the closing of certain residential schools [should] be proceeded with."¹⁹

The substitution of day for residential schools at the centre of the education program was not the whole compass, nor the most important part, of the Department's scheme. Nor was the Department's internal reasoning the only well-spring. Again, as had Davin in 1879, the Department found a model in the United States where there was also a marked increase in the number of school age children. In 1939, Hoey circulated a report of the Department of the Interior in Washington which outlined progress in closing boarding schools, some of which were set aside for children from "broken and problem homes," and in constructing "community day schools." The most intriguing part of the report, however, noted that most of the new day school places were being found "in public schools, through cooperation with [the] states in Indian education."²⁰ The American federal system of Indian education was being desegregated as children were integrated into schools run by

the States. On financial grounds alone, this was immediately attractive to the Department. Hoey believed that integration "would in the end be substantially less than the cost of establishing" and operating an exclusively federal system of residential and day schools.²¹

Desegregation by integration into Provincial school systems was the full sense of the conversation Hoey had had with the members of the Special Committee on Reconstruction and Re-Establishment in 1943. He left that meeting with the clear impression that there had been a meeting of minds, that committee members opposed continued segregation - "Indians, in the judgement of the members of the Committee, should be encouraged to attend white schools and white vocational schools." To him this seemed to "indicate to some extent and in a small way the policy that governments may adopt in the future."²²

The opportunity to influence future policy in that direction came with the appointment of the joint committee. Departmental representatives did not miss the opportunity; they supported strongly the integration concept. Outside the hearings, the Department took another step toward a day school emphasis by initiating a number of surveys "designed to determine the educational needs of Indians ... and to determine also how these needs can be most effectively met, particularly by the establishment of improved Indian day schools."²³ These surveys would be the basis for a five year program of day school construction begun in the late 1940s which was to concentrate on the "erection of Indian day schools on all reserves upon which our inspectors report that conditions will permit of such schools."²⁴ At the same time, the Department froze residential school enrolments and refused any increase in authorizations solicited by the churches.²⁵

Throughout the joint committee's hearing it was obvious that the Department was prepared to move in the direction of complete integration and was anxious for the consequent closure of residential schools. In his brief history of those days, Davey wrote that when the committee's recommendation was published "the attitude [in the Department] was that the sooner the residential schools were done away with the better."²⁶ The Minister, J.A. MacKinnon, immediately encouraged Cabinet to place integration on the agenda of the next Dominion Provincial Conference. Each subsequent Minister took the position that the Federal Government could "discharge its responsibilities towards the Indian people with respect to education ... only with the full cooperation of the provinces"²⁷ - or as the Liberal Minister, J. Pickersgill, more bluntly informed his senior staff in 1955, it was imperative "that the Provinces take over more of our work."²⁸

Increasingly, however, Pickersgill and other ministers did not mean "more," they meant all. The clear implication of integration was that at some point Aboriginal education would in fact, if not in law, be a wholly provincial matter. To facilitate that an amendment to the Indian Act was prepared "to enable the Department or the parents of Indian children to take advantage of the facilities provided by the Provinces, School Boards and other institutions to white children"²⁹ by authorizing "the Federal Government to participate in the financing of public and private schools in which Indian children would be accommodated." Departmental staff was given the mandate to ensure that in the future the "provision of educational service will be by agencies operating under provincial jurisdiction."³⁰

But for Aboriginal children, their parents and communities what sort of future was it, exactly? Had there been any substantive break with the past; was the intended abandonment of residential schools the end of the campaign of cultural destruction that had animated educational strategy and pedagogy since Davin or was it a matter of "simply revising current practises inherited from the nineteenth century"?³¹ Had there been some new vision, a fundamental shift in the philosophy of Aboriginal education?

The answer is no. While taking what was admittedly a surprising step, turning their backs on residential schools, neither the Department nor Parliament penned any visionary preamble to their proposed integrated system which had been, at least in the Department's case, inspired by financial rather than philosophic first principles. Philosophy there was but it came as an after-thought; it was backfilling; it was vision by default. As such it was incomplete and at times its rhetoric was contradicted by the very details of the new education policy.

Education was assimilation and it continued so. The joint committee held to that course though the operative word, the new hallmark of post war assimilative rhetoric, was "citizenship." Integrated education would, the committee reasoned, "prepare Indian children to take their place as citizens."³² Symbolically, perhaps, the Indian Affairs Branch was transferred to the new Department of Citizenship and Immigration in 1950.

Education for citizenship by integration was in the Department's view a superior assimilative vehicle - "the best hope of giving the Indians an equal chance with other Canadian citizens to improve their lot and to become fully self-respecting, is to educate their children in the same schools with other Canadian children."³³ The desegregated classroom experience, providing the children the "opportunity of

associating with white children during their formative years,"³⁴ would "quicken and give meaning to the acculturative process through which they are passing."³⁵

There were other continuities with the old policy. This supposedly more effective educational strategy remained the servant of the larger Aboriginal policy rooted in the 19th century which still saw enfranchisement, preserved and even expanded by the Act of 1951, as the final confirmation of citizenship. And though the Department might tout its on-reserve or local provincial day school model as a significant and original addition to that policy, the fact was that it was no more than the long delayed acceptance of the concept of community development that had been championed sporadically and unsuccessfully in the Department for decades by men like Smart, Benson and Oliver. They had wanted, in Oliver's words, a return to "first principles" by concentrating the expenditure of funds on "improving conditions on the reserves" rather than the overwhelming and narrow emphasis on education alone.³⁶ Davey now took up the cry, explaining why he opposed increasing enrolments at one Quebec school. "To send all the children to a residential school commits the department to an ever expanding residential school and the neglect of community development, which past experience has proved hinders rather than helps the social and economic development of the Indian."³⁷ Day schools, the Department asserted, would be but one initiative among others that would collectively address those community conditions. The schools would, by training children "in basic skills required by a variety of occupations ... go a long way in solving the economic problems" on the reserves. Deplorable social conditions could be mediated by the schools linked to the "institution of leadership and homemakers courses, the encouragement of 4H clubs and community programmes [that] have been directed towards this end" and that would address the needs of children and their parents simultaneously.³⁸

It was in the connection between Aboriginal adults and children, an inescapable consequence of day schools, and the implications of that for cultural persistence, that the new policy broke radically with one of the central assumptions of the residential school's civilizing logic - the necessary separation of the child from parents and community. This reversal was, however, never directly addressed. Indeed, the Department went forward assigning an active part in education to parents whose dangerously "savage" character and baleful influence appears to have mysteriously and conveniently disappeared.

Parents were no longer a hindrance. They were an asset and thus "rather than separate children from parents we endeavour" declared the Minister, Ellen Fairclough, in 1962, "to assist

parents to improve home conditions and to assume their proper parental responsibilities."³⁹ Progress, the Director of the Indian Affairs Branch, Col. H.M. Jones, asserted in what must be one of the most ironic statements in the history of the residential school system, would only be made when

these people ... assume the responsibility for bringing up their families, for providing decent homes and a good home environment for their children. At present the residential schools relieve them of this responsibility. Day school attendance would give stability to the community without hindering the parent from seeking work.⁴⁰

It was only common sense Chief D. Ahenakew of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians was told in 1970 that the child-parent connection was key, that "there can be no complete substitute for the care and concern of parents and the security which children feel when living at home."⁴¹ Therefore

It is considered that the parents wherever possible should assume the responsibility for the care of their children, and that the interests of the children are best served by leaving them with their parents when home circumstances and other factors are favourable.⁴²

This now valued parental involvement was even given institutional form in Departmental day and residential schools. In 1956, the Department set up a number of "school committees" in order "to stimulate parental and community interest, and to provide experience for the further involvement of Indians in the management of education." The committees, made up of band members, were to act as "advisory boards to departmental staff" and were to be "involved in the operation of the schools" being given authority for the "school lunch program, daily school transportation, repairs and maintenance of school buildings ... and they also present the annual operating budget to the district superintendent of education." While the Department expanded this initiative establishing 184 such committees by 1971,⁴³ there was no increase in their authority. Most noticeably, they were given no control over curricular issues and thus, as the Minister, Jean Chretien, noted in 1972, parents "remained on the fringe, powerless to influence policy ... helpless witnesses to the failure of their children."⁴⁴ Parents and through them the "influence of the wigwam" were still officially marginalized.

That issue, however, - the status of Aboriginal culture within the educational system - was certainly less clear than had been the case with the original vision in which unquestionably it had been given no quarter, whatsoever. Parliament seemed to

put some space between itself and that implacable past by quietly dropping the anti-potlatch and sun dance sections from the 1951 Indian Act and granting the federal vote to status Indians in 1960. Departmental and church correspondence too reflected what seemed to be a more circumspect approach to the issue. The word "savage" was no longer in evidence. A Joint Delegation of protestant churches in 1951 lobbied the Minister, W.E. Harris, for a "Special Indian Curriculum." It had been pointed out frequently, the Delegation asserted

that in the field of education the peculiar and characteristic background of the Indian militates against uniformity of curriculum or academic standard at the primary level. There is therefore need for the development of a special Indian curriculum of studies for primary grades.⁴⁵

Various school inspectors, Warkentin most notably, had taken the same line when calling for curricular reform.

The Department was not far behind in assuming the stance that citizenship and aboriginality were not mutually exclusive. In 1956, Col. Jones, told that year's Regional Inspectors' Conference that integration and community economic development would enable "the Indian ... to take his place as an Indian with other citizens of the country."⁴⁶ It would be "Indian ... individuals and communities", R.F. Davey forecast in 1963, that became "members of the Canadian Federation."⁴⁷

There was, however, very little substance to this discourse, no thoughtful consideration of what "Indian" meant or the implications of that across the face of Departmental policy. Certainly there was little in the way of framing educational reforms to facilitate the movement of Aboriginal people as Aboriginal people into the federation. Responding perhaps to Warkentin's persistence throughout the late 1940s and into the 1950s, there was a recognition of the pedagogical value of a more culturally sensitive curriculum. A "national survey" was undertaken "to identify textbooks that the Indian people considered offensive and steps were taken to remove these books from the schools" operated by the Department and the Provinces. Research was commissioned from a number of universities to address "the absence from the school curriculum of an Indian cultural component."⁴⁸ None of it was of the scope, however, that would ever have met Warkentin's suggestion that a comprehensive "curriculum specially aimed at the instruction of Indian children should be drawn up"⁴⁹ and none of it found its way into the classrooms of residential schools.

The Department did receive one rather special warning about the Saskatchewan curriculum. In 1948, Neary, in a confidential

memo, informed the Director that he had had a visit from Mr. Davis and Mr. Humphries from Prince Albert, delegates to the recent Liberal convention. They

viewed with alarm certain educational policies of the present C.C.F. government.... It was their feeling that there had been a tendency to introduce socialist doctrines, particularly in the teaching of Social Studies in Grade IX.... They were aware of the recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee with regard to the cooperation with the Provinces in the matter of Indian education.

Neary was not willing to dismiss this out of hand. He requested "that a firm direction be given to me by our Minister's office."⁵⁰

Overall, the Department in re-organizing its educational system was, besides its financial preoccupation, focused on pedagogical benefit not cultural preservation. In reality, if not in rhetoric, those two goals were as sharply antithetical as they always had been. Indeed, rather than mitigating the corrosive impact of education on the culture of the children, the integration-day school policy, even though children maintained contact with their families, may well have increased it. That was unquestionably the case for the thousands of children after the war who were consigned to the residential schools. In this, language training was the key.

Again, as with the original vision, the question of language was the essential template on which the shape and character of the pedagogy and curriculum were cut. With regards to integration, the Department realized that "the most formidable handicap that faces the Indian child entering [the provincial] school" was the requirement of being able to function in the English language or in French in Quebec. To that end, it laid the greatest emphasis on the development of a "language arts"⁵¹ programme for day and residential schools and employed regional language supervisors who were to help the children "overcome any language difficulties"⁵² in the belief that "much of the progress in Indian education" was to be realized by these "improved methods of language instruction."⁵³

The Branch Director, H. Jones, was quite explicit about the cultural role of language training:

Basically, our educational policy is to assist the process of acculturation in which the Indian has voluntarily or involuntarily been caught up. Even in the most remote areas the lives of the Indians are influenced, and possibly dominated, by Canadian culture and the technological advances of our time.

Education was, in his mind, the most positive way for Aboriginal people to deal with the dominant influence of Canadian culture. And, "To benefit by such educational services the Indian child needs a sound education in the English language and a great deal of encouragement."⁵⁴ A circular bringing these sentiments before all teachers in Departmental day and residential schools, in 1962 instructed them to devote an additional half-hour each day to language training.⁵⁵ Such additional instruction Davey explained was needed "in order to prepare Indian pupils for the transfer to non-Indian or provincial schools."⁵⁶

As well, the Department moved, in the late 1950s, to introduce kindergarten classes in Indian day schools on the basis that such a development would "greatly improve the chances of Indian children to acquire a good education on terms equal with that of non-Indian children." The rationale was centred in language training. "Earlier school entrance" for children would

ensure a full year of oral English or French, socializing and developmental training that will prepare the child for admission to Indian and non-Indian schools and offset the results of lack of home training.⁵⁷

It is not necessary, however, to infer from such program initiatives that the narrowly assimilative past was still very much in control of chalk and blackboard. The Department was well aware of the fact that integration brought no real change to the educational experience of Indian children. In 1972, when Jean Chretien appeared before the Council of Ministers of Education and reviewed the state of Aboriginal education he admitted that it continued to be "a whitewash ... a process to equip him [the Aboriginal student] with white values, goals, language, skills needed to succeed in the dominant society." There had been "very little recognition of the importance of cultural heritage in the learning process." Children had "had to endure a cookie-cutter education from well-intentioned teachers, who were determined to turn out functional and identical Canadians."

Respect for Aboriginal culture was still a thing of the future. The Department's education program, Chretien continued, would have to "be revised to recognize the unique contribution which Indian culture and language have made to the Canadian way of life ... [to] protect and foster the Indian identity and the personal dignity of each child." As the residential schools had and continued to do, the integrated school "of the whitewash variety ... can serve no purpose in a child's world.... Rather it alienates him from his own people."⁵⁸

In terms of the history of the residential school system, the significance of the introduction of the integration policy was not primarily the retention of the assimilative thrust of the Department's education strategy. Integration was to be, as the joint committee and the Department intended, the beginning of the end. It meant, in the first stage, the repositioning the residential school system. From being the main instrument of that assimilative strategy, it became, as the Department described it, "a supplementary service" for children "who for very special reasons, cannot commute to federal day schools or provincial schools from their homes." The new organizing principle of the policy was "that in educational services, everything possible will be done to enable families to stay together, so children will not have to be separated from their parents needlessly."⁵⁹

The educational system could not, of course, be remodelled overnight to conform to this new dictum. The Department's euphoria on learning of the joint committee's recommendation was immediately tempered by the realization "that there has to be residential schools"⁶⁰ in what would be, necessarily, the long transition to a new system. The integration timetable would be determined more by local circumstances than by the will of the Department - by the need to develop a supportive infrastructure: rural and reserve roads that allowed the busing of children to central day schools, the construction of schools close to communities and the negotiation of local school board and provincial agreements which in turn were predicated on the identification of boards "sympathetic to our Indian people." Davey's 1956 summary of the process gives some idea of how complicated and thus drawn out integration would be:

Starting with children who have had some schooling on the reserve and who are physically able to stand the bus ride to the public school, we enlist the interest of the public school in these children, we watch the experiment closely exploiting our successes and meeting problems as they arise and year by year we expand our integrated programme by sending more children to public school and reducing the grade enrolment at the Indian day school, by building roads on the reserve to improve the bus route, and by educating Band Council members to the benefit of the integrated programme.⁶¹

Departmental determination would not be dampened by those many difficulties. Immediately, in the wake of the joint committee's recommendation "a drive was started to secure the admission of as many Indians to non-Indian schools as possible."⁶² This occasioned a round of Departmental expansion and re-organization. The integration effort was placed in the

hands of a cadre of newly appointed Regional School Inspectors who, under Davey's supervision for much of this period, made the "concerted effort ... to work out a joint educational programme" with local school board and provincial officials."⁶³

Initially, arrangements were made by the Department directly with local school boards. The first agreement, in 1949, provided spaces for children from the South Indian Lake Band in Manitoba.⁶⁴ By 1952 there were 14 more completed⁶⁵ and on the basis of that experience a set of procedures were drawn up for the "Negotiation of Integrated School Programs and Joint Agreements." These set out how to sell integration by stressing the "economic advantages to the school board" and the "cultural advantages to both sides of such a program."⁶⁶

Many boards found this "sell" attractive. B. Neary, the superintendent of education, characterized their cooperation as an indication that board members were conscious of "their duty as Canadians to assist in the assimilation of the Indian population."⁶⁷ It is likely that there existed as well less altruistic motives. Boards found that integration spoke to their self-interests, in particular to the challenge they faced in providing spaces for the increasing post-war non-Aboriginal student population. The Department was prepared not only to pay tuition for Aboriginal students but to contribute through a capital cost subsidy to the construction of wholly new joint schools or the expansion of existing provincial schools.⁶⁸ Through joint school agreements, spaces could be made for non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal students with less recourse to the mill rate than would be the case if the board proceeded on its own.⁶⁹

Joint schools were favoured by the Department, as well, and again the major consideration was budgetary. In 1950, the government raised the financial red flag. Expenditures had to be restrained "in light of defense requirements"⁷⁰ - the Korean War - and they remained restricted through the austerity budgets of the Diefenbaker government in the late 1950s. In these not unfamiliar circumstances, the Department found that it was more economic to share in the cost of provincial classrooms than to build and operate separate Departmental ones. Rather than impeding progress towards integration, budget limitations actually accelerated it. It was ironic, Col. Jones noted in 1963, that cut backs have "resulted in an unprecedented expansion of the integration program."⁷¹

Not surprisingly, the joint school programme option, given its financial utility, became the most popular approach. Indeed, in a summary review of progress to 1961, the Department reported that integration "has been extended largely through the construction of joint schools." There had been 128 contracts signed by that date, 84 of them since 1957.⁷² In the

next 15 years that number grew to 550.⁷³

The proportion of students in provincial schools rose impressively, as well. In 1947, the Department estimated that there were some 137 children in provincial classrooms.⁷⁴ By 1961 there were 10,822 equalling 25 per cent of "the Indian school population" with that "number increasing annually"⁷⁵ reaching "40 per cent"⁷⁶ by 1963. The consequence of such momentum was a dramatic change in the management of the integration program. Provincial governments became directly involved.

In the early stages of the programme, "when there were only a few Indians in each school, the provincial governments paid little attention to it." As it expanded "and as the movement began to attract more public attention," Provincial politicians "began to see the significance of the contracts that were being negotiated between the local school officials and the Indian Affairs Branch" and to take an active interest in integration. And the contracts did have considerable "significance." Through them change was being instituted in an area of undoubted provincial jurisdiction, education, from the bottom up and with little consultation with Provincial ministries of education.⁷⁷

Early in the 1960s, the Department moved to take advantage of provincial interest through "the creation of an overall agreement respecting the education of Indian children in the public schools"⁷⁸ which "would permit the province to accept the responsibility of the integration program in return for certain financial guarantees from the Federal government."⁷⁹ Preliminary talks with provincial ministers of education led to an agreement in principle on integration at a Federal-Provincial Conference on Indian Affairs in 1965 followed by negotiations "with all provincial governments for general agreements outlining the terms under which Indian children may be accepted in provincial schools." In 1968, when Davey reviewed the 20-year history of integration and the current state of the Department's education system, contracts had been signed with British Columbia, Manitoba and New Brunswick and were "under active consideration by provincial governments in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Ontario and Nova Scotia." Additionally, "all field officials in the Education Branch" ... [were] engaged in an active program to transfer educational services to the provincial jurisdiction with the cooperation of Indian parents."⁸⁰

These agreements make it clear that the Department's educational policy was in the vanguard of the Liberal government's general approach to Indian Affairs. In the White Paper of 1969, P.E. Trudeau's cabinet reasoned that the final solution to the economic and social problems that beset so

many communities could only be achieved by the immediate across the board integration of communities into the whole range of provincial services and the concomitant parting of the ways between the Federal government and Indian First Nations - a parting to be signalled by the repeal of the Indian Act and the search for means by which treaties "can be equitably ended."⁸¹ The education agreements modelled just such a jurisdictional transfer. The agreements, a confidential Departmental memorandum explained, would allow "the Department to relinquish the responsibility of actively providing educational services to Indians."⁸²

How complete a relinquishment of responsibility was intended is set out in the agreements themselves. The Saskatchewan agreement, executed in 1969, can stand for the others. By its terms the province would have complete control not only of the "schools in which Indian children are enrolled" and of "the employment and supervision of teaching personnel" but of "all matters relating to the curriculum, methods of instruction and materials used for instruction in such schools." The federal government was pledged to meet the costs of all Indian children enrolled "in kindergarten to grade 12 inclusive." Provision was made for the continuation of the joint school program. Additionally, the agreements made it possible for provinces and local boards "to assume the administration, operation and maintenance of a school building owned by Canada"⁸³ - namely existing Departmental day schools.

Parents and communities were also to be integrated. All the provinces were asked to "broaden the terms of school legislation to give Indian communities representation on public school boards." By 1968, Ontario, British Columbia, New Brunswick and Saskatchewan had amended their legislation not only to permit such representation but to make "provision for the establishment of provincial school units on Indian reserves."⁸⁴

These agreements and legislative enactments mark the high point in the development of the process of integration. In the two decades following the joint committee's recommendation, many children had been moved into Provincial classrooms. As well, as Davey observed in his 1968 review, there had been "a profound effect upon the operation of residential schools." Profound as it may have been, that effect, in terms of the character of individual schools and, more particularly, the rate at which the Department was able to proceed to its goal of shutting down the residential school system was extremely variable and complex owing to the fact that "each region ... [had] its own special features and problems imposed by geography, human relations and the economy of the region." The result was that at any point in time, the system comprised a spectrum of different sorts of residential schools from those

which due to community isolation remained classic residential schools, to those which combined "residential and day school with a preponderance of day students," to those which became hostels or student residences for children who were brought in from distant communities and went daily to provincial schools. There were even some that

combined hostel, residential and day school, providing boarding facilities only for those pupils attending a nearby provincial school, boarding facilities and classroom instruction for others and classroom instruction only for day pupils.⁸⁵

And, of course, schools whose enrolment was undercut by integration were closed with the buildings normally, though not always, being "turned over to Crown Assets for disposal."⁸⁶

The process of transforming the system into a "supplementary service" as the first stage in its eventual closure and the history of each school in that process is much too involved to detail. But it is possible, with examples, to give a general sense of how it worked.

Ideally, the process leading to the closure of a residential school could be straight forward. As students were integrated from their homes into a local Provincial day school, or failing that into a local Departmental school which would eventually become part of the provincial system, the residential school which had served those children became obsolete. That direct and simple chain of events was the case, for example, at the Jesuit-run Spanish school in Ontario. In 1965, the director of education recalled the steps that had brought about its closure.

Because of our acceleration of the Day School building programs ... and the development of a transportation system which enables us to bus children to nearby schools rather than to enrol them in Spanish because of a lack of facilities near their home, the need for the facilities at Spanish have, since 1945, gradually diminished.⁸⁷

The story was the same in Manitoba. Throughout the 1960s the enrolments at Birtle school declined until its September 1970 intake was but five students and it was decided to place the "few students requiring accommodation ... in private homes or in another residence" rather than reopening the school.⁸⁸ Birtle was not the only closure in the province that year. The Regional Superintendent, J. Slobodzian, informed a Manitoba M.P., the Hon. Walter Dinsdale, that

as a result of construction of school facilities on

reserves and in adjacent provincial areas, many students were discharged from residence to attend day school in their local communities. This decrease was so great that it was possible to close residences at Pine Creek and Cross Lake and will result in the closing of Sandy Bay and Fort Alexander at the end of June 1970.⁸⁹

In most instances, however, the process was much more involved combining a number of intermediate steps that prolonged the utility and thus the life of the residential school. While schools might lose their traditional source of students, those from communities relatively close by, the vacancies could be filled with students brought in from remote and distant locations who had not previously been the target of the Department's educational design and where integration or Departmental day schooling was not yet a possibility because of the lack of non-Aboriginal settlement or transportation facilities or because families still spent their time on the land with no permanent village where a day school could be sited. These children would be taken to a residential school where they would board and receive instruction or, preferably, would be transported each day to nearby schools.⁹⁰

Shingwauk and Mohawk schools are examples of that more complex and more common nation-wide scenario. Originally, the Mohawk Institute, located close to Brantford, had operated "solely for the purposes of the Six Nations Indian people." With the integration of children from that community, its student body changed. By 1965, it had "only approximately 15 from that agency and over one hundred from the Province of Quebec." Four years later, "due to the construction of day schools in isolated communities" in Quebec and northern Ontario, its enrolment plummeted and as a consequence it experienced such "an exceptionally high per pupil cost" the "decision was taken to close out the operation."⁹¹ Of the remaining students, 60 were to be returned to the North "where classrooms will be made available, thus permitting them to live with their parents" and 12 would return to Quebec "where classroom accommodation has been located." The school buildings were to be "turned over to the Band."

As a sign of how the educational world had changed, the Department walked away from Mohawk, one of the oldest schools in the system, without the least regret. G.D. Cromb, the director of the education branch, left a note on the Mohawk file:

It is the firm opinion of this Department that the children will receive better care in their own homes under the guidance of their parents than they would in residence.⁹²

Administratively, residential schools which had been held separate not only from each other but from existing day schools, managed in "isolation and independence" was how Davey described it, became "an integral part of our school system" in the post-war period. Schools were to be an element of the larger administrative region, their enrolments no longer in the hands of recruiting Principals but in those of Departmental regional superintendents who were "to ensure that the residential school accommodation is utilized in the most efficient manner" by coordinating "all proposals involving residential schools" with "local school boards, principals, provincial school superintendents, etc."⁹³ To that end, they had in their hands a new recruitment tool, the Family Allowance, which certainly was an advance on those pre-war techniques that had been employed by Principals - gentle reason, threats and bribery.

The Family Allowance, introduced in 1935 (though not directed to Indians until 1945) was a monthly income supplement issued to parents by the Federal government on various conditions including compliance with Provincial education regulations. The Department was quick to appreciate its potential for "encouraging Indian parents to send their children to school regularly" given that it would represent an important supplement for Aboriginal families. It, in fact, recognized and exploited the family's vulnerability. Local staff were reminded in 1947 that failure to attend meant that the Department could suspend the allowance. If the parents subsequently cooperated, the Agents were directed to "recommend reinstatement of Allowances IMMEDIATELY ... as a recognition of satisfactory school attendance."⁹⁴ That, too, would be a valuable lesson.

The effectiveness of this tool, either as a carrot or stick, including the extent to which local officials wanted to use it and did so, is difficult to determine without specific, extensive research. As was the case with so many of the regulations that governed the operation of the schools, there seems to have been no golden mean. Some field staff "were reluctant to cut off Family Allowance because this would only result in an increase in relief costs" which would fall then on the Department's budget. Davey, himself, thought the best approach to parents whose children were not at school was "to explain to the parents the importance of regular attendance." In his opinion officials should resort to suspension of the Allowance only "in particularly stubborn cases."⁹⁵ Others certainly used it as a threat to force reluctant parents to send children to a residential school.⁹⁶ And many parents did have their Allowance discontinued.⁹⁷

No matter what tools regional superintendents used, each residential school was to be tailored by them to evolving

regional requirements until integration provided day places for all students. As early as 1950, and officially by 1956, arrangements were made with the Sault Ste. Marie school board to integrate, through Shingwauk residential school, pupils in grades four, five and six. Eventually, a joint school was constructed and by 1961, 125 Aboriginal students were attending it. As well, through the intervention of Davey and others, Shingwauk took on "a larger role ... as a hostel for high school pupils."⁹⁸ High school, and grammar school children too, were brought in from Sioux Lookout and Moose Fort Residential Schools and when the Shingwauk's capacity was overreached, students were placed in local private homes or "were transferred to homes in North Bay where they continue their [high school] courses."⁹⁹ Indeed, the Department developed a boarding program quite separate from the residential schools which involved the placement of students "in carefully selected homes."¹⁰⁰ This was a popular initiative in the Department because it was of all alternatives the most economic method of educating children who could not be integrated.¹⁰¹ By 1969 when there were 7,704 children in residential schools there were an additional 4,000 students in the boarding program.¹⁰²

The Shingwauk operation was further coordinated with Sioux Lookout. In 1959 "an interlocking system" between the two schools was "established whereby primary school children will be admitted to the Sioux Lookout School, which means that this school will specialize in Grades I, II and III and children from Grade IV up will be admitted to the Shingwauk School and will receive their classroom instruction at the Ste. Marie [joint] school." The Department was particularly pleased with such arrangements which had not only, in its opinion, "greatly improved educational services ... provided for Protestant children living in Northern Ontario...." and, indeed, for children from as far away as the James Bay communities of Waswanipi and Mistassini, but for which the "cost to the Government has been relatively small when we consider that one hundred and twenty pupils are involved."¹⁰³

Throughout the educational system similarly economic arrangements were made linking a number of existing residential schools to each other and to joint schools in urban centres. To those who championed integration, and not everyone did, these arrangements did much "by [the] intermingling of the races socially in the Public schools and in community sport ... to accelerate the assimilation of the Indian people and to contribute to their acceptance in business and society by the 'whites' on an equal basis."¹⁰⁴ There was another, less esoteric, benefit of immediate interest to the Department. Inter-school coordination contributed greatly to moving the overall system closer to final closure. By "consolidating present and future enrolments

in such a way as to ensure maximum utilization of student residences" the "phasing out" of some institutions could be realized.¹⁰⁵ The closure, for example, of Cross Lake, Pine Creek, Sandy Bay and Fort Alexander was made possible in part by the fact that the Department utilized Brandon Residence "for those students from the closed residences and those requiring institutional care."¹⁰⁶

Regional coordination to serve integration and the old goal of assimilation did not preclude the commissioning of new residential schools and thus the system grew marginally on the way to becoming obsolete. In the late 1950s, the Department acquired and renovated, in association with the Catholic church, the Veterans Home in Winnipeg christening it Assiniboia school. This, it was calculated, was more economic than repairing two other schools, Pine Falls and Fort Alexander, which were in "a deplorable condition." The strategy had more to do with integration, however. According to the plan developed by the Department, students of high school age were to be taken from those schools and from residential schools at The Pas and Camperville, boarded at Assiniboia and placed in Winnipeg schools.¹⁰⁷ This initiative, accompanied by the expansion of the day school program, was to allow, in due course, the closure of all of those old residential schools.¹⁰⁸

Wholly new schools were also constructed as the Department moved after the war to extend educational services to "Indians living in areas which are on the 'fringe of civilization'".¹⁰⁹ But these too fell under the shadow of integration. When, for example, it was determined in 1956 that there was a need for a school in the Abitibi agency in Quebec its placement was to be determined principally by "the availability of a provincial school of the kind required which could offer courses of a technical nature for the older Indian boys and girls." As so many local politicians had done throughout the history of the residential school system, the Cochrane mayor lobbied for this potential "asset to our community." La Tuque was not far behind. The town clerk let the minister know that the council looked forward to building such a structure as "work would favour a good number of our jobless people and partly relieve local unemployment." Eventually, La Tuque was chosen because the site selection committee "was influenced considerably by what appeared to be good opportunities for integration." Even the design of the new school reflected the integration priority. Both the Anglican church's Indian School Administration, which was to manage the school, and the Department agreed that the major consideration in planning the school was to have "as many pupils as possible being taught in local community classrooms."¹¹⁰

On balance Shingwauk and Mohawk were more representative of

the history of the system in this period than Spanish or Birtle. The Department found it could rarely achieve the direct and immediate closure of a residential school by day school integration and thus the "tendency" the Department actively "fostered" was the transformation of residential schools from educational institutions to "more and more boarding places,"¹¹¹ hostels as at La Tuque. In 1968, that evolving transformation was given formal expression in the re-organization of the management structure of the residential system. As of 1 August, 1968 the schools were to be called student residences rather than residential schools and as of 1 September of the same year "a policy of a separate administration for residences and classrooms" at the schools which still combined both functions was introduced with "all matters concerning classroom teaching and school room discipline ... under the authority of the [Department's] District School Superintendent" and the school's senior teacher who became Principal. The Residence was to be managed by an "Administrator ... responsible for all aspects of the child care program when the child is not in the classroom or is not engaging in after-school activities directed by the Principal."¹¹²

These administrative changes certainly reflected what Davey in his 1968 review had characterized as the "profound effect"¹¹³ of integration on the residential school system. But he meant more than that. The Department had also managed to reduce the stock of schools despite the tortured administrative path it had to follow in tailoring the old schools to new and regionally variable educational requirements. Indeed, by 1965 when the number of schools in operation had been reduced to 66 there was considerable confidence that the task might be completed soon. "We hope," the director of the branch told the assistant deputy minister, "that most, if not all, of these schools will be closed in the foreseeable future."¹¹⁴ In the next four years with the closure of a dozen more schools his prediction seemed well on the way to being realized.

But accounts of the system by Davey in 1968 and 1969 indicated that overall since the war closures had not kept pace with the rate of integration. In 1948, 60 per cent of the Indian school population was enrolled in residential schools. In 1969, 60 per cent were in provincial schools.¹¹⁵ But the number of residential schools and hostels had only been reduced in those two decades from the 72 schools that were operating in 1948 with 9,368 students to 52 schools with 7,704 students. That the number of schools and students had not fallen proportionately was due not only to those difficult regional circumstances but to two further considerations with which the Department had had to contend - opposition to closures, mainly, though not exclusively, from the Catholic church and the emergence of a new role for the schools, that of social

welfare institutions.

In the years after the war, the "primary role" of many residential schools changed "from one of providing opportunities for academic learning to that of a child caring institution."¹¹⁶ This constituted a serious and stubbornly persistent impediment in the Department's education strategy, a bottle-neck in the process of reducing enrolments towards closure. Senior officials recognized that some parents would not be able to "assume the responsibility for the care of their children" upon which the integration/closure policy depended because of "such things as alcoholism in the home, lack of supervision, [and] serious immaturity"¹¹⁷ Their children would continue to need Departmental supervision of some kind. And there were, in the Department's estimation, many such children "whose family situations were precarious."¹¹⁸

The development of a dominant welfare function in the residential school system was not a completely unforeseen implication of the new integration policy. Hoey had warned the Reconstruction and Re-Establishment Committee in 1943 that there would continue to be a need for residential places for "orphans and children from disrupted homes."¹¹⁹ And the Department realized, after the joint committees' recommendation was published in 1948, that some schools would have to be maintained not only for "orphans and part orphans"¹²⁰ but for children "who come from homes in which competent welfare workers decide that institutional care is needed."¹²¹ Indeed, as available residential school places were reduced through integration, such children were to be given, the Department directed in 1954, "first priority in admission to residential schools."¹²² "Neglected children," "orphans for whom foster homes could not be found" and "children from broken homes" were all given preference in advance even of candidates for integration.¹²³

In order to reflect that preference and at the same time in an attempt to control and reduce residential school enrolments, the Department, beginning in 1959, developed admission regulations "based upon the circumstances of the student's family."¹²⁴ In the most well-developed version, that of 1969, local officials were to assign school-age-children to one of six categories. Those in Categories 1 and 2 were normally to be prevented from gaining admission to student residences as they could be integrated with moderate effort. Children in the other four categories, from those with "a health problem that is controllable within a residential setting" (Category 4), to others for whom "suitable boarding homes are not available" immediately (Category 6) could be given admission but only those in Category 3 had an unquestionable priority. These were "students from a family where a serious problem leading to

neglect of children exists."

Neglect was, of course, measured against non-Aboriginal concepts. Officially, it was to be "understood as defined in the provincial statute of the province in which the family resides." In general, however, Category 3 children "would include children who were abandoned or orphaned and there are no immediate relatives willing or able to provide guardianship" and children whose home circumstances gave "evidence that serious neglect is occurring."¹²⁵ Such "neglect" had to be described briefly on the child's "Application for Admission to Residential School" to justify his or her placement in a school.

Batches of application forms, many thousands of them stored in the Department in Ottawa, paint child by child, miniature portraits of families in crisis - the result, ironically, of generations of congenital Departmental neglect of Aboriginal communities and, probably in many instances, of the impact of residential schools on children who now as parents were represented by Departmental officials as unable to cope - unfit parents who deserved to have their children sent off to residential school where the tragic cycle of official neglect and abuse would begin again with a new generation.

Both parents excessive drinkers - now separated.
Child kept by grandmother who is 64 years of age
and finds she can no longer care for this child.

Father shiftless - parents drink excessively and
child would not attend Prov. school regularly.
Three other children now in Residential school.

Unmarried mother - very poor home conditions. Two
other children now in Residential School.

Mr. and Mrs ... have difficulty getting along with
each other. The mother took off several times last
winter and the children were either left on their
own or taken by relatives. This confusion upsets
the children considerably.

Very large family, father in jail, mother unable to
support children. Very poor home.

Mrs. ... has a chronic heart condition, is
separated from her husband on recommendation of
Children's Aid Society because of abuse. She is not
physically able to look after this child properly.

Mother is mentally incompetent & living with [a

man] who is also of the same calibre. [He] is constantly beating [the child]. This child is quite bright and I strongly recommend [admission].

The mother and two older children were killed in a house fire last spring. The father is unable to care for these children due to ill health. They are staying with relatives as their home was completely demolished.

Mother deserted children. Living common law with another man. Children were being housed in a station wagon, but were recently living with a large family at Father does a great deal of drinking, and the result of the above I consider this an urgent case.

[The mother], unmarried, has four children. She lives with her parents ... along with some of her unmarried sisters and their children, and consequently this home is very crowded - 18 to 22 people at times. Recommend admission.¹²⁶

As suggested by this last description, there were reasons other than neglect for children ending up in the schools. There were economic ones, the result of unemployment, a general lack of opportunity and access to resources, marking the poverty of families which undercut only the material quality of care they afforded their children. In 1965, the Superintendent of the Blood Indian Agency, J. R. Tully, laid out such difficult facts of community life and the implication of them for Departmental policy:

If we are going to do an adequate job of reducing Residential School enrolment, we will have to provide welfare assistance to many families who would otherwise have their children in Residential School. The main reason for the majority of younger children being in Residential Schools here is because their parents just cannot afford to properly feed and clothe them for part of the school year. There are months of the year when these families can adequately provide for their children, but because, for instance, four months out of the ten they cannot adequately provide for them, we place them in Residential School for the full ten months of the year. This does not, in my opinion, make for good administration. Yet, from the practical point of view, it is the only way that we can ensure that the children can be assured of an education. If they were attending school from

home with no welfare assistance, they would be underfed and poorly clothed and as a result, this would have an adverse effect on their education.

His final comment was applicable to many families across the country. "The way matters now stand, large families in the low income bracket ... are discriminated against because there is no alternative but Residential Schools for them...."¹²⁷

This was old news to some in the Department. G.H. Gooderham, Alberta regional supervisor of Indian agencies, had understood all along that integration was imperilled by the poverty of parents and this necessitated intervention by the Department. In 1954, he warned the director of the branch that

It is not easy for parents who have relied entirely on the residential school to clothe and feed their children for ten months, to take over this responsibility.... The Family Allowance helps but it does not, and is not intended to, replace the relief provided by the residential school. They do need some added assistance during this transition period Inasmuch as the success of our efforts to implement day school attendance, thereby strengthening the home and encouraging parental responsibility, is dependent on the ability of the Indian to meet this new situation, I would urge that we give them all the support we can.¹²⁸

Gooderham and Tully may well have been in the minority. Ordinarily, the Department saw the need for welfare and residential placement not as a problem of economics but one of parental shortcomings. Indeed, there seems to have been a feeling that neglect escalated in the post-war years even as economic conditions supposedly improved. N.J. McLeod, the Department's regional supervisor in Saskatchewan, was confident that by 1960 progress had been made in solving "housing and nutrition problems" in his area through the extension of "increased welfare benefits." But in his estimation little advance was evident in the "social and moral ills of broken homes, parental indifference and negligence etc." which indeed "would appear to be on the upswing" exacerbated by a "staggering birth rate" in communities.¹²⁹

Certainly, in southern Canada where the progress of integration was most extensive, effectively redirecting Category 1 and 2 children into day schools, many residential schools became, to a degree alarming to the Department, catchments for these "neglected" children. Increasingly, the schools, the Minister, Ellen Fairclough suggested in 1962, were "operated essentially [for] orphans, children from broken homes and for children remote from day schools."¹³⁰

Establishments like Shubenacadie bore her out. The Department's Maritime Regional Director, F.B. McKinnon, reported in 1967 that "practically all the children now in residence have been placed there mainly for reasons other than to facilitate school attendance." One church official said that the school had become "a welfare institution."¹³¹

As was usual for the Department, there was no systematic tracking of this phenomenon. There was one survey completed in 1953. It disclosed that 4,313 of the 10,112 children then in residential schools were either orphans or came from broken homes.¹³² In subsequent surveys of the composition of the residential school population, similar information was not collected. But some disparate figures do exist in Departmental files that give a sense of the magnitude of the development. An "Analysis of Residential Schools - British Columbia" in 1961 calculated that fully 50 per cent of the children were enrolled "because home conditions have been judged inadequate." It further suggested that that figure was "likely a reasonable guide to the situation in other regions."¹³³ Five years later when there were 9,778 children enrolled in residential schools a confidential report estimated that throughout the system 75 per cent of the children were "from homes which by reasons of overcrowding and parental neglect or indifference are considered unfit for school children."¹³⁴ McLeod's belief that "neglect" was a growing problem in his region, was supported by estimates from Gordon's school. In 1960 some 50 per cent of the children were from "broken homes ... [and] immoral conditions." By 1974, the number had risen to 83 per cent.¹³⁵ The numbers from other schools in the region were also high. Muscowequan registered 64 per cent in 1974¹³⁶ and Marieval in 1975 was at 80 per cent.¹³⁷

In a significant way the character of these Saskatchewan schools, and others across the country, was changed. From educational institutions they became "a sort of foster home which endeavours to cater to the social and emotional needs of the child whose privation of a normal home's security renders him a Welfare problem."¹³⁸ This did not result in the best child care situation. The Principal of one Ontario school confessed in 1956 that he had "qualms of conscience" over children from Walpole Island, who traditionally went to his school, being sent to Mohawk. He had been given to understand that Mohawk was no more than a "welfare shelter" for children "from broken and/or unsatisfactory homes" many of whom had "been in serious trouble" or had had "unhappy experiences." He "worried about the effect of their [the Walpole children's] mixing with those children, who through no fault of their own, are a different type." He did not want the Walpole children "to deteriorate through association with less fortunate children such as constitutes the majority at Mohawk."¹³⁹ A decade later, the Principal at another school expressed

similar concerns. He worried about the impact of his school on his students many of whom "showed signs of being disturbed."¹⁴⁰

Throughout the system there certainly were grounds for concern. The schools, "normally staffed and organized to serve educational purposes" only, now had responsibilities thrust upon them for which they were not equipped. Officials in the Department were well aware that schools, as had reported in the British Columbia study, had "few resources available to identify the problems or to provide remedial services" for the "relatively high proportion of the residential school population [who] are disturbed children who require specialized attention."¹⁴¹ Again Shubenacadie was a particular example of what appears to have been the general system-wide case. In 1967, F.B. McKinnon, the regional director, felt that many children "were exhibiting serious psycho-social problems which require treatment" beyond the capability of the school. It was fitted out, he noted as "an educational facility and not a child caring institution." The school had "neither the appropriate resources nor staff to meet the needs of child caring problems." He was convinced that "suitable foster home care would be more advantageous to the children than the present institutionalized way of life."¹⁴²

In Ottawa, Davey was in complete agreement. It had long been his view that foster "home placement" was "preferable to institutional care for the proper development of the child."¹⁴³ In the case of Shubenacadie, and indeed for schools across the country, he was well disposed to the advice of the Maritime Indian Advisory Council that the Department must "locate good foster homes for those children at the school who are unable to return to their homes."¹⁴⁴ This was easier said than done, however. In every region, "good foster homes for Indian children", as McLeod noted, were "difficult to secure, especially those which will discharge their complex responsibilities fully."¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, the existence of a ready placement for Category 3 children, the school itself, was an enticing alternative which prolonged the problem. In its campaign to close the Alberni Student Residence, the West Coast Council of Indian Chiefs charged that children in need of care outside their homes routinely "were dumped into A.S.R." by the Provincial Department of Human Resources. That Department, the council continued, took no "responsibility for foster placements where these are needed. After all, there is always the good old residence!" Shubenacadie too appeared to be a "convenient dumping ground."¹⁴⁶ There, according to a senior local official, "suitable alternatives for placement were not pursued either before or after admissions to the school were recorded."¹⁴⁷

Provincial welfare agencies who saw in the residences "a resource for Indian children from the reserves in our area,"¹⁴⁸

and who took "the view that once a seriously neglected student is admitted to a residence he is no longer in need of child welfare services"¹⁴⁹ were part of the problem impeding residential school closure but they were also the means to a solution. The Department, in line with its wider assimilative agenda, had since the war looked to the Provinces, and indeed to other Federal Departments, to provide general welfare services to communities. In this way it could avoid both "exclusive welfare services for Indians which would tend to set Indians apart from other Canadians" and the "costly duplication of provincial programs." Through various Federal programmes, "social assistance in the form of Family Allowances, Old Age Security, Old Age Assistance, Blind Person's Allowances and Disability Pensions [were] paid Indians on the same basis as others."

The opportunity for a connection with existing Provincial welfare services came initially through Section 87 of the Indian Act of 1951. It made provision for the general application of Provincial law to Indian people. This made it possible to extend Provincial "legislation for the protection of dependent, delinquent and neglected" children to Indian children and necessitated, in terms of enforcement, "action by child welfare authorities."

The Province of Ontario was the first to respond positively to this opening. Following the report of a Provincial select committee entitled "Civil Liberties and Rights of Indians" and an agreement with the Federal Government in 1956, the Province, with federal funding, established child welfare services on reserves.¹⁵⁰ On the basis of that arrangement, the Minister, Ellen Fairclough, informed the House of Commons in 1960 that it was her intention to enter into negotiations with the other Provinces so as to make all Indians "eligible for the same range of welfare services as any other Canadians." Subsequently, under that aegis, the Department, in its own estimation at least, made "substantial progress ... in the child welfare field", providing all "Indian children the same care and protection as non-Indians."¹⁵¹

For the Department the most critical consequence of these arrangements in relation to the residential schools was that it gained an indispensable partner - provincial Children's Aid Societies. With their cooperation and the strict application by local Departmental officials of the category admission rules,¹⁵² the Department was equipped in the 1960s to dissolve the resistant residue of welfare students in the system and achieve the closure of schools more easily.

There were at least two ways for the Department and the Children's Aid Societies to proceed. "Care and protection" could be provided at the source - in the home and community -

allowing the child to attend a day school. Steps could be taken to "alleviate the situations where children are year in and year out being removed from their homes and the home situations remaining practically the same."¹⁵³ There were some officials, even senior ones, who preferred that approach. The Deputy Minister, H. Robinson, when proposing in 1971 an increase in the Department's financial contribution to Manitoba under the existing Child Welfare Agreement held "that the expenditure of larger sums on services to strengthen families is more constructive than the provision of institutional care for children."¹⁵⁴ In the main, however, children requiring care were referred "to a child welfare agency for foster home service" for adoption or, in the case of "incorrigible" children, for placement by "an officer of a correctional or welfare agency."¹⁵⁵

Davey, using Mohawk as his example, explained how this referral process effected the residential schools:

Several years ago this unit, the Mohawk Institute, was filled to capacity and could not serve all the children who required special care. However, as a result of arrangements made with a number of Children's Aid Societies the needs of these youngsters are met almost entirely through the use of foster home placements. Less than half of the space in Mohawk Institute is required to serve children resident in Southern Ontario.

Fostering was seen as a most effective method of breaking through the welfare bottleneck and ultimately, in tandem with integration, of closing schools. It had, as did the closure of schools themselves, the added allure of a financial reward - freeing up funds in the overall Departmental budget that could be pushed into the day and joint school construction programmes. Children in foster homes, Davey believed, could "be cared for less expensively since the maintenance costs are on the average less than for residential school placement, but in addition the tremendous capital cost of these large institutions is avoided."¹⁵⁶ Admittedly, this was not realized in every instance. One of Davey's successors, D.K.F. Wattie, noted in 1976, that "in some cases closing a residence is a redirection of funds to foster home care or boarding homes rather than a saving."¹⁵⁷ Either way schools could be and were closed.

The Department-Children's Aid Society partnership played a critical role in the campaign to eliminate the residential school system. The Societies were positioned by the Department to be the authoritative first contact with crisis families and in cases of "neglect" they were charged with placing children "from unstable homes ... in foster homes" thus blocking, as

far as possible, the entrance to the schools. The Department took a determined supporting role. In 1969, it directed that even the residential placement of Category 3 children was only to be "considered when all other avenues had failed"¹⁵⁸ and in 1974, it further tightened the admission regulations. From that point on, the fact that there were "such things as alcoholism in the home, lack of supervision, serious immaturity on the part of the parents" did not in themselves constitute "sufficient grounds for admission. These problems must be seen as causes of neglect."¹⁵⁹

The societies were called on again when integration drove a school's enrolment below an economic level. As institutions were broken up, a proportion of the children "were referred to Provincial Welfare."¹⁶⁰ At the closure of Shubenacadie in 1967, some children, the Department determined, "can and will be returned to their homes"; others, however, being the "responsibility of child caring agencies" would be "placed in foster homes."¹⁶¹ In 1970, at Mohawk, in addition to the 72 children who travelled back to their homes in Quebec and northern Ontario, 20 students, the Department announced, "from the immediate area of Brantford will be placed in foster homes."¹⁶²

In the post-war period, the residential schools became way stations on the road either to integration or, for children declared "neglected," to foster or adoptive homes. These latter destinations were even further removed from family and community and perhaps, as a fostered child was isolated even from other Aboriginal children, were more distant from culture than the old residential schools had been. Eventually, those schools, "no longer fulfilling the role for which [they] were originally intended" and no longer needed as an adjunct to integration, could "be entirely abandoned."¹⁶³

With the disappearance of hundreds of children into care and the closure of each additional school, the Department moved one step closer to the goal set for it by the joint committee in 1948. In the meantime, however, as it worked its way through the welfare bottle-neck, it found itself, as it was characterized in 1966, in

the anomalous position of having to administer a group of [residential] schools which have a degree of independence of operation permitting them to pursue policies which are diametrically opposed to those of the Federal Government, particularly with respect to segregation and welfare. The tension created by this internal conflict is damaging to the Indian education program and confusing to the Canadian public.¹⁶⁴

This problematic conflict flowed from opposition to integration - opposition that the Department had, in fact, anticipated from its partner in education, the churches and, to a lesser degree, from "some Indian associations who dislike working with provincial governments, and from individuals, both Indian and non-Indian, who, for personal reasons, wish to keep the federal schools open."¹⁶⁵ There was even a suspicion in the Department that some churchmen and sympathetic officials were arranging the admission of children to residential schools from "so represented unsatisfactory homes" - children who in actual fact were not neglected in any sense - "for the sake of keeping it [a residential school] open."¹⁶⁶

From the inception of the integration policy, senior Departmental officials understood that they would have to deal with the churches and that that could be difficult. Their initial position did not, however, suggest the building of a consensus around the new policy. Rather, it appears a stand would have to be taken against the churches' continuing demands for the expansion of the residential system. In 1949, B. Neary, waved the flag so often run up by Martin Benson. In "the past the various denominations have taken the initiative with regard to the establishment of the residential schools and have pressed the Department into making decisions with regard to their construction." This must change, Neary advised D. Mackay, the director of the Indian Affairs branch. A "new policy should be instituted in which the department decides on the basis of professional surveys and reports, as to the necessity of erecting this type of school."¹⁶⁷

Neary's claim to controlling the future shape of the system would not, of course, be the last word on the subject. The churches would have their say and would make their influence felt in the years to come. But there would not be the traditional conversation in which the insistent voices of the churches carried the day. In the mid-1950s there was a noticeable change in the tenor of the relationship between the Department and the churches. Through the administrative and financial reorganization of the system in 1957, including the development of stricter management controls for individual schools,¹⁶⁸ the Department established itself in the dominant position. It was able to do so for a variety of reasons. Key among them was the fact that the role of the churches was extensively undermined by Parliament's backing of integration which made Provincial educational authorities the more critical partner in the future of Indian education.

After 1948, as the clock ran out on segregated residential education, it ran out too on the old partnership. That their position in Indian affairs was undergoing extensive transformation was readily evident to the churches. In 1959, the Anglican Indian School Administration, responsible for the

management of the church's residential schools, while lauding the Department for many of the recent developments in education, lamented the fact that

The old spirit of co-operation of Church and Government working together for the good of the Indians [sic] children has been lost more and more, Indian Affairs Branch is beginning to control a greater amount of detail in school operations, with the result that our Principals are tending to become simply servants of the Government....

In the church's mind, the partnership was out of balance - "the pendulum," the brief continued, had "now swung too far in the opposite direction." It prayed, in conclusion, for a return to past practice, to the era when it had had "more freedom in the making of decisions as they effect individual schools."¹⁶⁹

There was not in any of this, however, fundamental opposition to the Department's post-war integration strategy. The Anglican church, and the other Protestant churches for that matter, were relatively compliant. There were concerns expressed about whether the children would thrive in the Provincial school world.¹⁷⁰ But it went no further than that. The Anglicans' 1959 brief was blunt and unequivocal. "This practise [integration] has the wholehearted support and approval of the Anglican Church. It aids Indian education and does much to educate the white pupils in tolerance."¹⁷¹ It was, a senior clergyman asserted, "a definite step forward in Indian education and tend[s] to the more speedy assimilation of the Indian into full Canadian citizenship."¹⁷²

In subsequent decades, amidst the shifting character, form and purpose of the residential system, Protestant authorities held firmly to one traditional principle only - sectarianism. They continued to object strenuously "to the assignment of their adherents to schools operated under the auspices of other than those of their own particular denomination."¹⁷³ This insistence, while it did not effect integration directly, worked against the Department's need to consolidate residential school populations as part of any regional closure strategy and thus it was a factor, if a minor one, in slowing progress toward the complete shut down of the residential system.

Major church opposition to integration came almost exclusively from the Catholic church in western Canada where, as the Department noted, perhaps cynically, Provinces "do not provide for separate schools."¹⁷⁴ Cynical or not, there was some sense in this analysis. In Ontario and Quebec where Catholic children could be integrated into Catholic day school

facilities, there was no campaign to block the closure of residential schools. It was also the case, however, in British Columbia where there were "no schools established for Roman Catholic non-Indian children which are supported by the Province"¹⁷⁵ that there was also no opposition to integration. Instead, the church responded to this situation by entering into agreements with the Department for the construction of joint parochial schools. What hesitation there was, and it was slight, was expressed not by the church but by a Departmental official in British Columbia - a worry that "the value of integration to our Indian children would be lessened" because of the likelihood that many of the non-Aboriginal students would be "new Canadians" recent post-war immigrants from Asia and eastern Europe.¹⁷⁶

It was an entirely different matter on the prairies where the Department's attempt to establish "a firm policy requiring all Indian students of any religion to attend Provincial schools" was not at all well received. The church was not helpful; "I can not say" R.F. Battle, the Alberta regional supervisor reported in 1960, "that we have had their cooperation in this matter."¹⁷⁷

The Catholic church on its part claimed that while "the ideal would be an integrated educational system ... local conditions would have to be carefully considered before embarking on such a programme at any particular locality." In the church's view, it was not any lack of cooperation that slowed progress in integration so much as it was geography and settlement patterns. A senior church official in a meeting with Departmental officials

expressed the opinion that in some areas particularly where the Indians are located in areas close to non-Indian communities, it might be possible to proceed fairly rapidly with integrated education whereas in other areas such as are found in many parts of the Prairies where the Indians are far removed from non-Indian communities, the programme would have to be much slower.¹⁷⁸

Isolation might have been a consideration for the church but there were other, more formative, inter-related factors: the question of high school education and opposition in principle to integrated education.

Much of this opposition was mounted by Father A. Renaud, the Director General of the Oblate [O.M.I.] Order. In 1958, he hosted a conference in Ottawa attended by senior church officials and by nearly all of the church's residential school Principals. In a subsequent report, "Residential Education for Indian Acculturation," Renaud argued that separate on-reserve

education in day schools or separate residential school education provided greater educational benefits and had greater "efficiency towards acculturation". The report's attempt to substantiate such a proposition, its characterization of the virtues and vices of integrated and segregated education, was nothing if not self-serving. But there was truth there as well:

Integrated education was, Renaud maintained, a dangerous gamble, a long shot at best. Attendance at a non-Aboriginal school would be effective under certain conditions only. "The members of the "non-Indian school ... must accept the Indians as their equals." Teachers would have to be "acquainted with the Indian mentality and culture" and be prepared "to help the Indian student to understand himself or herself and to interpret for them the culture of our Canadian society." Moreover, the non-Aboriginal pupils "must be ready to accept freely their Indian school mates in their recreational and social activities." If such relationships did not prevail and if the Department did not deal with the fact that integrated classrooms brought into immediate and stark contrast the vast differences in the socio-economic circumstances of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal children, assimilation would in fact be set back as

... the Indian pupil will withdraw within himself and foster feelings of bitterness and hostility towards our Canadian society. He will adhere more closely to his own culture and shun those who deny him understanding, recognition and sympathy. In such a case; instead of favouring the pupils acculturation towards our Canadian society, attendance at the non-Indian school will, on the contrary, add to his sense of separateness.

On-reserve day schools or residential schools, on the other hand, offered "advantages for the acculturation of Indians"; they were superior learning environments. In these schools no child is "a stranger or an outsider," teachers were more likely "to familiarize themselves with the Indian culture and mentality" and thus the school would "cultivate in the minds and hearts of its pupils an enlightened pride in their ethnic decent ... essential to the resurgence of native leadership." Residential schools, in addition, provided

healthier living conditions, more appropriate supervision, better grouping by grades and more vocational training possibilities than the average day school. It is also usually in a better position to offer a wider range of social and recreational activities including those with non-Indians through various recreational, athletic, social, artistic

and religious activities.¹⁷⁹

Laying aside for the moment the fact that residential schools had rarely in their long history lived up to this description, Renaud had put his finger on some of integration's sorer points - points that were known to the Department. The Catholic church was able to claim that "at recent meetings held [by the church] in the West a number of Indians had expressed a strong objection to sending their children to non-Indian schools" for the very reason that their "children did not feel at ease among non-Indians."¹⁸⁰ It had ample evidence that such unease was rooted in the negative social and educational experiences of children in integrated schools. Those experiences, plus loyalty to the Catholic faith, would allow the church in western Canada to add the legitimacy of parental voices to its campaign against the closure of segregated schools.

The Department was certainly aware of that unease and of those critical parental voices. It recognized that integration was not without Aboriginal and even non-Aboriginal critics. But it rarely responded to them or publicly acknowledged the drawbacks of integrated education. Its official position was that integration had "been built up and expanded ... with the willing cooperation and acceptance of the Indian parents." At the sametime it knew that it had "not been accepted in all quarters"¹⁸¹ As well, reports from integrated schools were far from unanimous in praise of the educational performance of those schools. Indeed, the Department, in the course of its educational planning, actually identified areas as being suitable or not for integration. Dauphin, Manitoba, for example, was ideal. There was "a complete absence of racial intolerance owing to the area's "mixed population composed of a large variety of ethnic groups." At Devine, a British Columbia milltown, Indian children were, according to the school Principal, "more popular with the white students than the Japanese, and are treated by them as equals."¹⁸² The Pas was at the opposite end of the spectrum; there was little respect across ethnic boundaries. The Department judged that the "atmosphere of the town ... would be detrimental to the integration of Indian children into the normal Canadian life...."¹⁸³ In 1954, Davey put down the slow progress of integration in Kenora and in other areas to that

historic factor that until comparatively recently and unfortunately still in some districts, the non-Indian community is not prepared to accept the Indian children into their schools.¹⁸⁴

To a certain extent these characterizations were beside the point for the Department had reason enough to know that integration was not an unquestioned success in any area. Even

in places like Dauphin, life in an integrated school was a painful experience, one that would, as the church suggested, work against its assimilative intent by heightening a child's sense of isolation rather than facilitating acculturation. "The child from a poor Indian home" Davey wrote, and it is hard to imagine that that did not cover the vast majority of children, "entering an urban non-Indian school has a severe adjustment to make."¹⁸⁵ That adjustment was not only challenging in itself, it was hampered further by the consequences of a "cookie cutter" curriculum that was as alienating as that of the residential school and by the children's Indianness which to other children might seem synonymous with their poverty: worn clothes, poor school lunches and what was described often as a "personal lack of cleanliness."¹⁸⁶

Perceived and imputed differences were regularized within integrated schools. Behind a facade of acceptance in which Aboriginal children had "adjusted themselves very well to our school", were seemingly "happy and contented ... polite and courteous at all times,"¹⁸⁷ and were "eager to please and amenable to discipline"¹⁸⁸ was, as the Oblates warned, the immutable fact of "separateness" - a fact which sometimes poked through the glossy descriptions of school life forwarded to the Department by integrated school administrators. In 1953, the Principal of a catholic school on Vancouver Island explained to the local Departmental Superintendent that "our Indian students have entered wholeheartedly into the activities and games at the College, and have been accepted by the white boys in the same spirit." He had not "detected the least sign of discrimination." Yet, they were, he acknowledged, still a group apart - "they tend to form their closest friends among their own and to group together at lunch time, etc." and "up to the present ... have avoided the school dances." He had not "the faintest notion how this will work out" but felt "confident that they will figure it out."¹⁸⁹

Other Principals were not so hopeful. In their reports, reminiscent of those of pre-war residential school inspectors, appeared a child firmly bound by Aboriginal culture and circumstance. The children themselves were, somehow, "the chief obstacle to optimum progress." They were "psychologically ... inclined towards inferiority feelings" and were, "temperamentally," "receptive rather than demonstrative" accepting "aid or neglect, praise or blame, and sympathy, apathy, or antipathy with equal apparent stoicism." They lacked "motivation specifically directed toward future vocational activities." And they were "hard to reach."¹⁹⁰

It was obvious, moreover, that these children had been ill-served by their pre-integration schooling. In too many instances they arrived at school from home or residential

school without "adequate preparation for their grades"¹⁹¹ their progress initially "retarded through truancy and sickness and home conditions."¹⁹² As a consequence, a good number of the children were "very much overage for their grades [age-grade retardation] and consequently do not seem as interested as the pupil whose age is more in keeping with the grade."¹⁹³ They dropped out of school in alarming numbers making a mockery of the Department's claim that where integrated education had "taken hold, there is plenty of evidence to show that it has given impetus to education amongst the Indians and has helped to instill respect for the benefits of education amongst Indian children."¹⁹⁴

The worst experience for children was without a doubt the integrated residential school - the hostel. Here they were caught between the past and the future, the old policy and new. Separated from their parents and communities, they were then immersed daily in the demoralizing atmosphere of a non-Aboriginal school. The devastating consequences of such a situation, common throughout the country as the residential system was increasingly tied to integration, was graphically illustrated in what was perhaps the most perceptive report the Department received on integration - a "Report ... on the Experiment with Integration of Indian Students (R.C.)... 1960-61." In this instance, the students, 47 of them brought into an urban catholic run hostel from isolated communities and from another non-integrated residential school, were integrated into Grades VII through XII in grammar and high schools.

According to the report's author, the Principal of the hostel, the "experiment" had gone badly wrong right from the outset. Within the first quarter of the school year, the majority of the children were found to be failing. Initially, it was assumed that this would be temporary, that

time would be required for them to make the emotional adjustment to their new home here at the Hostel, to their new school, to new teachers and an almost totally new environment, as well as the handicap of much subconscious tension and fear arising out of their first experience with life in the White Man's world.

But half way through the year and despite conferences with the day school teachers and an "emergency tutoring program," "very few students had shown any noticeable improvement in their studies." Though many of them were "set back" a grade, it was apparent that they "simply did not have the fundamentals for completing" their year successfully. The consequence of this for the children was devastating:

The deteriorating academic situation presented a grave threat to the very stability and life of our new hostel, causing us much concern. By mid-year the great majority of our students were in a state of profound frustration from their inability to cope with the academic program. They manifested a general dissatisfaction with school and very great insecurity. This seemed to be a dominant factor in aggravating their already deep inferiority complex, hostility and other neurotic tendencies.

This "emotional conflict" caused many children to abandon their education. "Full of misery, discontent and hostility, their presence in the Hostel tended to have an adverse effect on the general morale of all." By the end of the school year "they continued to manifest a lack of interest in school, distaste for study, general apathy and frustration." As Lacombe had experienced at High River in 1884, here too "with the coming of spring [the students'] restlessness increased." Several ran away, one "had a nervous collapse and others requested that they be permitted to terminate their schooling and return home." One young girl "was taken home by her parents in a state of near-collapse from nervous tension bordering on hysteria." Final exams reduced the numbers even further. The school ended the year with only 18 students; 29 had dropped out.

In the summer the Principal had time to reflect, to try to make some sense of the experiment. His conclusions added considerable substance to Renaud's 1958 argument-in-principle: integration was not the way to go. He saw a pertinent message in the high drop out rate of his students "so pronounced after Grade VIII as to represent an almost total rejection of high school academic studies." When placed beside the similar deplorable drop out figures of non-Aboriginal high school students in Canada, which in 1958 saw 50 per cent of non-Aboriginal students dropping out at grade 10, 67 per cent at grade 11 and 86 per cent at grade 12, anyone who

will do some honest thinking, cannot escape the paradox that, in making integration the goal of our efforts, we are leading our Indian youth into a way of thinking and a way of life that is itself rejecting more and more its own traditional system of education. The paradox, over-simply stated, is that we are educating Indian youth for uneducation.

The integration drive, he concluded, had meant that in his region, "despite the expenditure of millions of dollars" and the coordination of educational services among day, residential schools and hostel, "the lot of the ...Indians has

not improved during the past twenty years: it has worsened." At the heart of his analysis was the simple proposition that integrated education was not, as segregated education could be, culturally sensitive and supportive, and thus it was unerringly cruel and, as an assimilative tool, self-defeating. The Department he suggested should return to the drawing board:

Careful research might even reveal that the educational system which has been rigidly imposed on the natives of the North, based largely as it is on American norms and mores is unsuited to the temperament of the Northern Indian and [is] itself a contributing factor in the spawning of sub-conscious tensions, frustrations and inferiority feelings that once adolescence arrives, explode into violent distaste for school, and even hatred of all that the Whiteman stands for - including morality and religion.¹⁹⁵

In the prairie region, this Principal's experience and observations were particularly relevant for there the opposition to integration and closure sprang not only from a debate over the merits and otherwise of segregation, within the context of powerful Catholic sectarianism, but from the question of high school education in residential schools.

After the war the number of high school students increased rapidly. Neary put the increase down to "improvements in our school system," which led "naturally" to more pupils ... reaching the upper grades."¹⁹⁶ He was right that there had been and would be reforms in this period. Additional educational supervisory staff were employed,¹⁹⁷ the half-day system was abandoned officially in 1951 (though it would continue for some years yet at some schools¹⁹⁸) the Department assumed direct responsibility for the hiring and remuneration of teachers in 1954 and, in an attempt to attract more competent staff, teachers were "placed on salary scales which bore some relationship to the salaries paid across the country."¹⁹⁹

In this latter area the Department was able to achieve considerable success quickly. By 1957, the number of unqualified teachers in the residential schools had been reduced by 50 per cent and in 1962 the Department reported that just over 90 per cent of the teachers it employed were fully qualified.²⁰⁰ It was not easy, however, to keep the percentage up so that even in the early 1980s, the Department had to admit that it still had "difficulty in recruiting and retaining educational staff."²⁰¹ There was a congenital problem keeping teachers in the service. Many left within months of

their appointments not even completing a full year. Routinely, teachers were hired without an interview by Departmental educational staff and thus they were, the minister was informed in a briefing note,

appointed to schools without their being fully aware of what our educational work entails. As a result, we have resignations in October, November and throughout the academic year from teachers who are not qualified mentally and physically to face the problems which daily beset an Indian teacher.²⁰²

The frequent turnover of classroom staff and the persistence of many of the pre-war difficulties noted by inspectors placed the Department's claims to improvements, though not unwarranted, in a less positive light.

Nevertheless, the Department could track advances in educational attainment. By 1959, the number of children in grades IX to XIII had increased from none in 1945 to 2,144 and in the next decade it rose even more rapidly to 6,834 or just over 10 per cent of the total school (day and residential) population.²⁰³

There was another factor which contributed to this success but tended to disrupt the connection Neary made between improvements and high numbers and cast doubt upon the implied increase in learning of the children. This was continuous promotion - a practice of "promoting pupils each year irrespective of whether or not their work is of a standard which would justify their advancement." In 1954, Davey saw this as a troubling nationwide phenomenon. While it meant that more "of our youngsters get into high school" it ensured failure for many of them. They found they were "unable to do the work, which results in frustration and disappointment and dropouts which would have been avoided had the pupil repeated a year or more."²⁰⁴

Nevertheless, continuous promotion continued and even became official policy in federal schools in an effort to deal with dramatic age-grade retardation rates. In 1966, the Department calculated that in grades K2 to eight, 55 per cent of the children were overage. In grade five and above the percentage was as high as 76 per cent with some students over the age of 19. Davey, in a circular to school superintendents that year, the purpose of which was "to enlarge on some aspects of the supervision of continuous promotion," now justified it on the basis that it was "a practical and humane approach recognizing pupil effort and removing fear of failure. Non-promotion by weakening learning initiative warps the child's personality development."²⁰⁵ He made no mention of what was likely to happen to the personality development of these children when

they entered an integrated classroom.

No matter how children arrived at high school, whether their promotions were deserved or not, it was a fact that they were there in increasing numbers and that the Department had to deal with them. It might have been expected that the Department's position on high school education, guided by the integration rubric, would have been perfectly straight forward. But it was not. In 1949, the Chief of the Education Division, P. Phelan, in response to the news that a grade nine class had been opened at Old Sun's, issued instructions to W. Pugh, the superintendent of Indian Agencies in Alberta, which were consistent with the new integration strategy:

It is the practise wherever possible, to encourage the attendance of pupils above Grade eight at well organized High Schools rather than to attempt their instruction in residential schools which must necessarily be staffed and equipped with emphasis placed upon elementary education.²⁰⁶

B. Neary, Phelan's successor, was equally unequivocal. "Our policy is of course that these children be educated in provincial high schools." This could be accomplished, he continued, in one of two ways if a daily bus connection with a Provincial school was not possible. Children could be placed in the boarding home programme or some of the old residential schools contiguous to urban centres could be converted to hostels for those children.²⁰⁷

At the same time, however, a second, conflicting message was sent out which actually condoned the evolution of segregated high school education. The Department's Supervisor of Vocational Training in 1949, A.J. Doucet, concerned over the lack of such training generally available to Aboriginal people, adults and children, proposed the formation of a junior technical school at Qu'Appelle Residential School. This was well in line with the post war education-for-development strategy that the Department had adopted. Technical education would, Doucet believed, "fill a need; it could prepare a nucleus for each reserve that could give impetus to progress."²⁰⁸

Davey's response, in 1953, to the technical school proposal and to the church's persistent push for the expansion of the residential school curriculum to include high school training added a third option to Neary's list. It would be possible, he suggested, to "centralize our high school programme at a residential school, and if this can be done in such a way as to enable our high school students to attend in association with non-Indians, so much the better."²⁰⁹ Qu'Appelle, in fact, was nominated to fulfil such a role and went on, with official

sanction, to develop its high school offerings while remaining a purely segregated school as did six other Catholic schools which had independently gone forward adding high school grades to their traditional offerings: Kenora, Kamloops, Fort Alexander, Qu'Appelle, Blood, Crowfoot and Ermineskin.²¹⁰ The last five were western schools.

To this list must be added the Assiniboia Hostel. Despite the original plan, the idea that this establishment would integrate children into Winnipeg schools, the Oblates who operated it, continued to offer, from 1958 on, high school courses in what the Department viewed was "a segregated sheltered educational program."²¹¹ The Department was given to understand that the children were "not yet ready for integration" and that a segregated school would "give better and more personal service to the Indian students."²¹²

The Department justified its sanctioning of these segregated alternatives with the claim that they were stop gap measures forced on the Department by a shortage of Provincial high school places.²¹³ But Col. Jones acknowledged, as well, that he had taken note of the "theory expressed ... [in] ... Residential Education for Indian Acculturation".²¹⁴ Indeed, the Department's apparent ambivalence, which continued throughout most of the 1950s, was reflective of a what might have been a degree of unofficial unease among senior Departmental staff like Davey and some non-Catholic residential school Principals over integration in general and, more specifically, over integrated high school education. At a conference hosted by Davey in North Bay in 1958, which included some of the system's Principals there was support for the boarding home and the hostel approach and, indeed, for the idea of a number of centralized, segregated high school programmes. There was debate as well. Segregationists argued that separate high school education would allow the Department and churches "to cater to [the] special needs of the Indian student and to shelter him from the problem of adjustment to society while absorbing his education." Others feared that such sheltering was an unwarranted prolongation of segregation; it was particularly problematic "during a period when it is necessary for them [the children] to become familiar with and to be integrated with non-Indians to assist with their later adjustments...."²¹⁵

Two competing high school models - hostels/residences like Shingwauk connected to Provincial facilities and centralized separate programs like Qu'Appelle - emerged from the conference. When summing up the proceedings, Davey was unable, or unwilling, to chose one over the other - "we are not in a position at present to make a recommendation" and thus he "advised further study of the situation."²¹⁶

Within a year, in January 1959, the Department ended the confusion. Segregated high schools in residential schools were, indeed, to be temporary. This conclusion had not been reached by the avenue of "further study" but rather, as was so often the case at major decision points in the history of the residential system, financial elements, coated in statements of principle, may have been the decisive consideration. Unease and therein concern for the children was set aside. R.F. Battle, who as assistant deputy minister in 1965 reviewed the issue, noted that Departmental high schools, given available funds, would be but "a pale shadow of Provincial schools and a ... waste of funds."²¹⁷

This decision was taken against a background of growing dissent in the west over integration. A Catholic Indian organization with branches on most western reserves, the Catholic Indian League, at a conference held at Hobbema on August 5th and 6th, 1958 set out its position in resolutions sent on to the Minister, Ellen Fairclough. It called for the expansion of the residential system, the building of at least two new schools. Three of the eight resolutions were of particular interest. Number two requested

that our children receive their education especially at the High School level, in all Indian schools on the reservations, unless the parents desire to send them elsewhere.

And the fifth - "that vocational and technical training be further pursued and facilities be provided in Residential schools." Number 7 asked that Blue Quills Residential school "be granted High School standing."²¹⁸

These resolutions were a warning of the political blaze the church could ignite. Indeed, their worrisome potential was not lost on the minister. Wisely, she took the precaution of bringing the issue before her Conservative cabinet colleagues. On the 22th of January, 1959, the Cabinet reaffirmed the government's loyalty to integration, to the principle that "children receive their education in appropriate non-Indian schools" and stated further that "this policy should apply particularly to high school education." On the fate of the seven Catholic high schools, the cabinet declared that "Such segregated high schools be operated only until suitable joint education can be arranged."²¹⁹

With the cabinet decision a line was drawn in the sand between the Department and the church. An attempt was made at a special "Conference Re High School Education in the Prairie Provinces" in January, 1960 to effect a compromise between the two sides. It failed. Each gave a little. The church conceded that "there should not be a multiplicity of small Indian high

schools." Some of the existing ones, Blood Residential School, Crowfoot and Ermineskin which had average enrolments of only 48, were, according to the Department, "small poorly operated units." In discussions that included Father Renaud, the Department agreed to recognize Assiniboia as a high school for five years while it investigated the possibility of integrating the children into Winnipeg schools. But the main points of contention remained unresolved; neither gave up its basic position. The church, despite an apparent willingness to scale back its demands, the number of high school programs it would operate, still wanted segregated high schools that would offer "academic subjects and ... commercial options," vocational training. The Department, with cabinet's backing, remained adamant; it would in time, Col. Jones asserted, "arrange for joint education" for all school age children. Nevertheless, the two sides parted amicably even agreeing to further studies being conducted by Davey on the issue and Renaud receiving a promise from Jones that there might be a future more inclusive meeting that would include "School Inspectors and Provincial Educationalists."²²⁰

But again it was not study, nor quiet rational consideration and discussion, that dominated the discourse on the western schools over the next decade but political struggles over the fate of each school. The Department was put on the alert. Davey warned G.H. Gooderham, that they must be circumspect in regards to "any change in the organization of a residential school ... As you know, my superiors expect me to keep them informed on all matters of political importance and residential schools are political 'hot potatoes'."²²¹

It would seem from the extant files that the Department saw the church's hand behind every incident of opposition, every protest of a planned closure and saw these as signs of a wider contest over who would control Indian communities. A confidential Departmental report represented the Catholic Indian League as an Oblate puppet whose branches "parrot Oblate policy on education and segregation" exhorting "people to stay on the reserve and resist integrated education." The Oblate Order, the report concluded, has "resisted and continues to resist any curtailment of their authority in Indian education In so many communities, the Oblates have come between the [Indian Affairs] Branch and the Indian people, obstructing our efforts to deal democratically with education."²²²

The Department faced the scrutiny of more than the Catholic Indian League. Fairclough and her successor, the Liberal Minister, John Nicholson, found themselves defending the government's decision on all fronts - against band councils whose petitions for the preservation of segregated high school education were at times drafted openly, it was reputed, by

local Oblate priests,²²³ and against concerned western members of Parliament. Both ministers refused to move holding firmly to the moral high ground of duty to the Indian. Fairclough informed her Conservative colleague, Eldon Wooliams M.P., that

As far as the education of the Indian is concerned, it is evident that the facilities of small, segregated reserve schools cannot be expected to give Indian youth the advanced academic or vocational training they require to become self-supporting, useful citizens. It is essential that we utilize provincial facilities which in some cases we have subsidized by Federal funds.²²⁴

Nicholson, when his time came at the head of the Department in 1965, took the same tact. He assured Prime Minister Pearson, in a briefing note on the situation at Qu'Appelle school, that the Department had "ample evidence to prove" that segregated education "is of a very low standard and merely gives the Indian a false sense of security." The old educational policy now being defended by the church had failed; it "had not prepared the student socially or intellectually for further education in a non-Indian environment."

It was at the Qu'Appelle Residential school, that "last bastion of a very unsatisfactory system of high school instruction" was how Nicholson described it to Pearson,²²⁵ that one of the most virulent political battles was waged. The campaign, headed by the school's Principal, was characterized as the best "example of how far the Catholic church would go in defending the outworn residential school system."²²⁶ It was, at the very least, the most energetic campaign conducted by the church.

The Principal's purpose was not only to defend the existing high school programme but to bring the Department to approve its expansion to include the provincial vocational curriculum.²²⁷ To that end, he left no stone unturned. Indian League branches on reserves served by the school rained petitions down on the minister.²²⁸ He appealed successfully to the Premier of Saskatchewan, W. Ross Thatcher, for support. He kept the newspapers, the Regina Leader Post and others, abreast of the debate and ensured, as he described it, that "flash reports also were heard over radio and T.V."²²⁹

When, in June 1965, Davey announced that the Department would not sanction any expansion of the curriculum and had, furthermore, determined that the high school students should be prepared "for further education in provincial schools,"²³⁰ the Principal worked to galvanize the students and parents for a final fight. They were exhorted by him to "keep

yourself posted on the news, and when asked to give your opinion voice it strongly." This was, he continued in a letter of July, 1965 to all the students, an issue of supreme political importance:

Do you want the Government to dictate to you or do you want a peaceful understanding with the Indian's Nation's rights safeguarded? It is a serious choice. Make sure you decide on what is best for the Nation as a whole.

The approach of one of the Principal's associates in his "Pastor's Message" was even headier. He cast the battle over the school as a religious war -a part of a wider satanic campaign against religion in which the Department and government were allies:

Satan and his legion, making a review of their positions came to the conclusion that they were losing ground the world over and the Indian population was not exempt, therefore they changed their strategy, adopted modern tools and went on the attack seven times stronger. What is this strategy? or, to put it in modern words, what is this policy? To them religion must be done away with in all schools. A formula had to be found to lure the Indians away from denominational schools.... Now what are the tools the devil uses to implement this policy? He hides himself behind the faces and hypocritical views of some whitemen with influential positions within the educational channels of our society.

There was, however, to be no "peaceful understanding" with the devils minions - the officials of the Department. The last act took place on the 14th of September. That evening, John McGilp, the regional director of Indian Affairs, attended a meeting at the school to inform parents that the closure of the high school section of the school was unavoidable and would proceed in phases over the next three years. The meeting ended in a shouting match with parents and students blocking the exits. McGilp effected his retreat only when he promised to contact Ottawa and advise them of the results. All the next day there were meetings with local RCMP officers in Fort Qu'Appelle in response to a rumour that a huge protest of perhaps 500 people was being organized and might bring violence to the streets.²³¹

Not in this case, nor eventually in any of the other cases of church opposition, did Ottawa budge notwithstanding the protests from church supporters, parents and children. Segregated high school education, the Department maintained,

was second rate education. And any suggestion that separate vocational training should be encouraged was equally ridiculous especially when "federal funds are being poured into well-equipped vocational training centres to which Indian students are freely admitted."²³² There could be no defense, no justification for anything but the most temporary continuation of residential schools. The Department remained determined and though each closure of a western school or elimination a high school program was a battle by "pulpit, press and politicians"²³³ they were carried out, school by school, through that complicated process of closing residences with low enrolments and transferring the remaining children to other schools, or to foster homes, all the while carefully retaining the single denominational affiliation of each remaining school.

On 1 April, 1969, any official church roadblock on the road to full integration and the final elimination of the residential system was removed when the government formally ended the partnership with the churches in the management of residential schools effectively secularizing this element of Aboriginal education.²³⁴ Indeed, this event might be represented as a product of growing secularism in western culture in the 1960s and, within Canada, of the particularly anti-clerical tradition of the Quebec wing of the national Liberal party. In fact, while such a spirit of the age may have been the context of this change, the mechanics of it were much more prosaic. The government was in effect forced to take exclusive control of the schools because of a decision of the Canadian Labour Relations Board of 7 September, 1966 that "the domestic employees of the Fort Frances Residential School in Fort Frances, Ontario were employees of Her Majesty in Right of Canada."²³⁵ In line with that finding, the Treasury Board determined that "the employees of the Student Residences were to be brought under the Public Service Employment Act."²³⁶ This necessitated their joining

the Public Service Alliance of Canada, an employees' union which gave them collective bargaining rights with the Government of Canada and which necessitated their becoming public servants. Consequently, the Department of Indian Affairs was obliged to accept the transfer of the residences and to assume direct responsibility for the standard of residential services in terms of child care, health, food, clothing and facilities.²³⁷

The connection between the churches and the residential system, while radically reduced, was not completely dissolved. Churches, if they wished, could retain an advisory role in the hiring of administrators of the residences and could provide pastoral services in residences "affiliated with a religious

organization."²³⁸

The effective passing of the "auld alliance" of church and state, though occasioned by a quasi-judicial decision, was in reality the final consequence of the growing irrelevance of the church as Federal-Provincial education and child welfare agreements were brought on-line. The historic event was marked by kind words from the Minister, Jean Chretien. "I would like to take this opportunity," he told the Anglican Church in the spring of 1969

to extend ... my deep and sincere thanks for the contribution it [the Church] has made over the years to the education of Indian and Eskimo children, particularly through the historic role it has played in the management of Residences for Indian and Eskimo students.²³⁹

These sentiments may not have been fully shared in all quarters of the Department. Relations with the churches had never been easy and they had been particularly difficult with regards to the Catholic church in the last decade. The departure did mean, however, that the Department had finally achieved almost unrestrained control of residential schools and could proceed more expeditiously toward their final elimination. The rate of closures in the next decade bore witness to that. By 1979, the number of schools had fallen from 52 with 7,704 students to 12 with 1,899.

The withdrawal of the churches in 1969 did not completely clear the way forward, however. The defeat of the White Paper proposals in that same year signalled the beginning of new political realities that quickly imposed restraints on the Department's latitude in education. One of the central elements in the new political world was the formation of alliances between the churches and Aboriginal leaders and organizations - alliances made powerful by a growing public sensitivity to the "Indian problem" and sympathy for the goals of self-government and self-determination. While these structural changes took place, the central issue over which the Department and the Catholic church had struggled did not disappear. It was, in fact, magnified. Aboriginal political leaders who had opposed the White Paper naturally rejected "Provincial jurisdiction over Indian education," opposed integrated education as it was in many minds "ill-equipped if not totally unprepared to cope with the special learning problems of native children"²⁴⁰ and saw segregated education under community control as the only hope for Aboriginal children, community development and cultural survival. They would find success where the church had failed - managing to prevent the closure of some of the remaining schools.

With respect to the schools, the goals of self-government and self-determination were articulated in many different demands from bands and political associations across the country - in demands for: consultation when school closures were planned²⁴¹ for the building of separate high school residential facilities, for the use of residences as orphanages²⁴² and for "increased responsibility in the management of student residences."²⁴³ In that latter vein, in 1971, the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) brought forward a sweeping revision of the system wherein "residence services [would] be contracted to Indian groups having the approval of the bands served by the respective residences."²⁴⁴

While this NIB proposal was not adopted generally, some communities pushed hard to realize it with respect to the residential school with which they had been traditionally associated. They were not prepared to lose their school. They saw in it an opportunity to provide to children, who still needed care, "a Home away from Home," and to rescue children from temptations that seemed to come with integration - "alcohol, sniffing and bright lights." With a segregated school, controlled by the community, they were confident they could "ensure a sense of physical well-being and emotional security for our students"²⁴⁵ and combat the astoundingly high drop-out rates.²⁴⁶

One of the first and perhaps the most important of these community campaigns involved the Blue Quills school located at St. Paul, Alberta.²⁴⁷ The 12 communities connected with the school, with the backing of the Alberta Indian Association, not only prevented its closure but forced the government in January, 1971, to turn it over to the people of the Saddle Lake-Athabaska district by means of a contract with the Blue Quills Native Education Council.²⁴⁸

It was a hard fought battle. At stake was not only the school but the integration policy itself. The Council wanted the school "transferred to Indian administration and supervision while still remaining under federal jurisdiction."²⁴⁹ In negotiations that dragged on for over eight months, the Department tried to hold to what was now traditional policy insisting that the transfer would be possible only if the Council became a school board under provincial jurisdiction. Following a stormy meeting at the school in July, 1970 at which that Departmental demand was once again firmly rejected, the school was occupied. The old buildings were ringed with tents, hunting parties were sent out for deer, saskatoon berries and rhubarb and children went fishing. The elders moved into the gym supported over the course of the occupation by perhaps as many as 1,000 people not only from Alberta but from Saskatchewan as well:

There were rarely less than 200 Indians in the school at any given time ... tribal elders led prayer chants ... three Indian-appointed reserve police officers kept order and there were cooking committees, clean-up committees, recreation committees - committees for just about everything.

One week was succeeded by another and what began as a "straight political act" evolved "into an unofficial Indian cultural festival."²⁵⁰ It grew in national notoriety, as well, attracting support from T.C. Douglas and D. Lewis, the leaders of the New Democratic Party, from the National Indian Brotherhood, area tribal leaders and members of Parliament.²⁵¹

Finally, the phone rang at the school. The leader who took the call returned with the triumphant announcement - "That was Ottawa They want to talk. It looks like we've won."²⁵² And they had. Chretien capitulated completely.²⁵³ Indeed, when the transfer agreement was forwarded to the Secretary of the Treasury Board by the Deputy Minister, H. Robinson, in December 1970, he alerted the Secretary to the fact that the Department was "prepared to negotiate the transfer of the management of 23 departmental residences to properly constituted Indian groups during the next two or three years."²⁵⁴ All of the remaining schools could, in that fashion, pass out of the government's control.

After the Blue Quills incident, the Department was to operate obviously under different assumptions. And, with regards to residential schools at least, it did. When the Qu'Appelle Indian Residential School Council²⁵⁵ representing 24 bands assumed "the financial responsibility and care of all the children and staff who live and work in this Residence" on 1 April, 1973 it did so, according to the council, not by "militancy" or "confrontation" but by "negotiation and hard work"²⁵⁶ and with the "generous cooperation" of the Department.²⁵⁷

This "cooperation" had become paramount following two major events which signalled the formal change of the government's educational policy. The first came in 1971 with the Watson Report of the Fifth Standing Parliamentary Committee on Indian and Northern Affairs "which stressed the concept of Indian parental control of their children's education." The second, in 1972, was the government's acceptance of the National Indian Brotherhood's position paper Indian Control of Indian Education which greatly expanded that concept. The government's adoption of the concept of "Indian Control" would "permit," Irvin Goodleaf, a Special Assistant to Jean Chretien, explained, "the transfer in whole or part, of the

administration of education programs ... to band councils or their delegated education authorities."²⁵⁸ There was no suggestion that such band controlled schools would become in any way part of a Provincial education system.

Thereafter, residential school policy proceeded along two tracks - one led to closure through integration or the return of children to band controlled day schools, the other to local control of the residential school itself. In the end many fewer than the proposed 23 were transferred to community administration. Only five schools, all in Saskatchewan, followed the Blue Quills-Qu'Appelle lead. The rest were closed so that besides a continued funding responsibility for locally controlled schools, the Department at that point virtually came to the end of the residential school road by 1986.

From "Stone Age" to "Atomic Age" - Northern and Arctic Assimilation:

Integration, the context for the closure and transfer of the schools, was not the only significant development in the post-war period. As the nation moved north, further penetrating the homelands of Aboriginal communities, a whole new tier of schools was created, beginning in 1955, in the Northwest Territories. The rhetoric that heralded the creation of this system and explained its operation suggested that it had escaped the past, had moved beyond assimilation to a sophisticated and accepting approach to Aboriginal culture. Unfortunately, that proved not to be the case.

Northern Aboriginal people, including the Inuit, had not been untouched by the old residential school system in the pre-war period. Schools in British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Ontario and Quebec had taken in children from far northern communities. Yukon Indians were served by the Anglican school begun at Carcross in 1902 by Bishop Bompas after his initial Forty Mile mission school²⁵⁹ and eventually by the Catholic Lower Post school (opened in 1951) in northern British Columbia, the Anglican residential school at Shingle Point (1927) and, late in the period, a residential school was operated in Whitehorse by the Gospel Mission Society. Schools, primarily for residents of the Northwest Territories, were operated at Fort Providence (Catholic - 1867), Aklavik (a Catholic school was opened in 1925 and an Anglican school in 1936), Hay River (Anglican - 1894) and Fort Resolution (Catholic - 1903). There were, as well, federal and missionary full-time and part-time day schools.

In the 1950s and 1960s, education in the Yukon underwent revisions consistent with the integration program. In 1956, Indian Affairs decided to open two hostels, Courdet (Catholic) and Yukon (Protestant) in Whitehorse to bring children into day schools and thereby to superse the old residential schools.²⁶⁰ In 1968, it made arrangements to transfer the hostels to the control of the Yukon government.²⁶¹

Inuit children, before the war, had been sent to Shingle Point school, to the Roman Catholic and Anglican residential schools at Aklavik and to Fort George on the eastern coast of James Bay in Quebec. Others, however, were placed in the residential schools at Fort Providence, Fort Resolution and Moose Factory and a small number were even sent far to the south to Edmonton, Sturgeon Lake, Portage, Shingwauk, Fort Francis, Birtle and Joussard.²⁶² In 1953, the Catholic church with government cooperation and funding built a hostel, Turquetil Hall, at Chesterfield Inlet especially if not exclusively for Inuit children.²⁶³ It was to be more than a school as it would "tie in with the problem of welfare as an institution ... [it was] needed to take care of indigent and orphan children."²⁶⁴

As in the south, the churches, which were Anglican and Catholic, (with only one exception - the Baptist school in Whitehorse) led the way supplementing their regular mission activity with the introduction of formal education. While day schools were built and maintained throughout the pre-war period, the preference was for boarding establishments because again it was found, for the classic reason - the influence of traditional culture - that day schools would not suffice. The children, it was argued, were so "very irregular in attendance" at day schools that "progress made during the periods of attendance" was "eliminated during the periods when they are away from school." Clearly, as J. Ross, the Yukon Superintendent of Schools, reported missionary opinion in 1904, "no satisfactory work can be done until there is a small boarding school established where the children will be kept during the time that the older Indians are out camping."²⁶⁵

Again following the southern model, the churches looked to the government for a financial partner. No sooner had a church independently built a school and taken in students than it turned to Ottawa for funding. And there, federal funding was forthcoming despite delays caused by the objections of some Departmental officials, on occasion even by Duncan Campbell Scott, that such schools defied logic as no thought was being given to "what sort of education is to be imparted and how this education can be useful to pupils in after life" when that life, in such an isolated region, would be almost exclusively a traditional one.²⁶⁶

There was, in general, throughout this period a considerable

hesitancy on the part of government to intervene in the traditional life of far northern communities. One historian, A. Webster, who has studied this period, which he refers to, significantly, as the "rise of the Reluctant Northern Welfare State," notes that

Until well after WW2 the government was uninterested in eliminating the hunting and trapping lifestyles of Natives in the North. It knew that the fur trade - unstable as it was - was the only insulation against total welfare dependency. The provisions of Treaties 8 and 11 therefore included an annual allowance for subsistence items to help Indians to survive the periodic slumps in the fur trade.²⁶⁷

It was hoped that Aboriginal people would, in part for the sake of the Federal treasury, continue to support themselves. In hard times relief might, perhaps, be had from the RCMP. It was in fact the police who introduced the first Federal social program - a "baby bounty" given in an effort to reduce the incidence of infanticide among the Inuit.²⁶⁸ But even this bounty, a collection of goods that supported hunting activity, was designed to keep people on the land.

Support for social service initiatives and for education, when it existed at all, was at best luke warm and, of course, was not generously funded. Webster ended his study of the Indian Affairs northern ration system with the conclusion that "The actual scale of ration issued varied from the minimal to the deplorable and was well below relief entitlements to non-Indians." Even some local officials were uncomfortable with what was being offered. The joint committee was told in 1947 by an inspector of agencies that

To the destitute Indians we offer rations. We who have the job of handing out those rations were not very proud of the quantities, or the quality either ... rations ought to be more generous, much more generous and varied.²⁶⁹

Aboriginal people during those "periodic slumps" in the fur trade had, more often than not, no alternative but to rely on the credit-relief offerings of the trading companies - credit which of course tied them to those concerns, creating a dependency on private interests which the federal government was reluctant to assume. It maintained, until well after the war, a "leave-them-be approach."²⁷⁰

There was not a great deal more enthusiasm for education. As late as 1950, Northern officials still had to be convinced that education, particularly residential education, was a good

idea. The Sub-Committee on Education of the Northwest Territories Council, considering a Catholic request for financial support for a new school, what would eventually be the Chesterfield Inlet hostel, concluded that

While a year round or long-term residential school education is undoubtedly not the best for native children, arguments could be advanced in favour of a residential school education which provided for the return of the children to the parent and the native way of life for substantial periods.

It might be possible to operate such a school in sessions giving the children six months in residence and six months with their parents. This "would afford maximum utilization of school facilities and adequate contact with the parents and native life."²⁷¹

Funding for the northern schools came in the form of per capita grants provided not only by Indian Affairs but by the Department of the Interior, responsible for the Territories. In the 1930s, it paid \$200 per annum "for Eskimo children who are taken into residential schools"²⁷² and for Metis children who were destitute or orphaned.

The involvement of the Department of the Interior was not limited to such grants. It allocated \$10,000 to the "Eskimo Residential School at Shingle Point" and subsequently found itself the target of building grant requests when, in 1934, the church moved to replace Shingle Point, reputed to be "badly overcrowded," with a new establishment at Aklavik that would also cater to Inuit children.²⁷³

Funding by the Department of the Interior pointed to the fact that the Inuit were a special case and that the jurisdictional responsibility for them was not easily or quickly arrived at. For a brief period in the early 1920s, they were assigned by Parliament to Indian Affairs.²⁷⁴ There was even a question, which began as a squabble between Ottawa and Quebec over Inuit welfare, whether or not the Inuit were a federal responsibility at all.²⁷⁵ That was settled by a reference to the Supreme Court in 1935 which resulted in a judgement that the power to legislate respecting Inuit resided with the federal government - that "the term 'Indians' as used in the British North America Act included Inuit."²⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the responsibility for them was given not to Indian Affairs but to the Northern Affairs Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources which had taken over from the Department of the Interior in 1936. Eventually, in 1953, the responsibility was given to the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. By World War Two, and until 1955, two separate federal establishments, Northern Affairs and Indian Affairs,

were involved in educational services for Aboriginal people - one for Indian and one for Inuit and Metis. They acted in concert sometimes, sometimes not and almost always in cooperation with the churches.²⁷⁷

There was a second notable departure from the southern pattern. These residential schools drew students from Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities. The Department of the Interior, and its Northern Affairs successors, paid a per capita grant not only for destitute Metis but for white children between the ages of seven and 15 who were placed in a school because, as the admission form attested, "said child is a bona fide resident of the North West Territories, that he or she is an orphan, destitute or neglected child and not eligible for admission under the Indian Act." Children could be so assigned, having been "declared destitute by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police."²⁷⁸

It is difficult to give any definite indication of the proportion of total enrolment in this period that was made up of non-Aboriginal children. In 1954, figures pertaining to the Fort Providence, Aklavik, and Fort Resolution schools reveal that there was a total enrolment of 344 of which 55 were white children, 130 Inuit and 159 were Indian. For these same schools, however, there is a 1953 monthly attendance count which indicates that there were, in one month in the last quarter of that year, 236 Aboriginal children and 201 non-Aboriginal children.²⁷⁹

In 1955, this multi-cultural tradition was maintained when the Liberal government of Louis St. Laurent, incorporated these largely church initiated educational developments within a new and comprehensive educational strategy for the North under which the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources alone was charged with the responsibility "for Indian, as well as other, education in the Northwest Territories."²⁸⁰ That approach had been favoured, the Deputy Minister R.G. Robertson explained, because it allowed for "universal education" - "a single system of schools for children of all races," Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal - with potential economic and ideological pay-offs given, he wrote, that it facilitated "greater economy of effort and more efficiency in a region of very sparse and mixed population" and removed "any element of segregation on a racial basis."²⁸¹

There would still be segregation on a religious basis under this scheme.²⁸² It was clear to Northern Affairs in 1955 that the churches did not have the financial resources to maintain satisfactorily their northern schools. This was particularly so in the residential sector. They lacked the funds, the Northern Affairs Minister, Jean Lesage, informed cabinet in

his submission of 4 March, 1955 which brought forward the new scheme, "to replace the worn out facilities" nor were they "remotely able ... to expand the residential facilities to cope with the present or future needs."²⁸³ The condition of schools such as Fort Providence and Resolution which were "in a state of collapse" and the two at Aklavik which were in similar condition, was, Robertson recalled, "one of the major reasons for developing a program of expansion and replacement...."²⁸⁴

A 1947 inspection report on Fort Resolution found that the "building [was] inadequate and should be replaced as soon as possible. It was "a real fire hazard. The foundation is decayed and heaved. The classrooms are small and unhealthy."²⁸⁵

Fort Providence was a particularly stark example of the condition of the system in general²⁸⁶ and the root cause of its decay may well have been what it had always been in the south - a lack of adequate funding. According to John Parker, a member of the Northwest Territories Council, the school was not only in deplorable condition it was extremely overcrowded. The just over 100 children slept in two rooms:

To me this is a little short of appalling. Between the centre of each bed and each neighbouring bed there is a distance of less than four feet. An adult can move between the beds only with difficulty. I had rather thought these conditions disappeared soon after the Industrial Revolution. I feel that we have been remiss in tolerating this situation for so long. A less charitable person than I might infer that the persons running the school were cramming in as many bodies as possible in order to reap the greatest revenue.²⁸⁷

At the same time, however, the churches could not be shouldered aside. In the light "of the vested interest which churches had acquired in the field of education," Robertson continued, "a compromise had to be made in the Northwest Territories between the secular and religious attitudes towards education". The result of such a compromise was not only the continuation of church participation in Aboriginal education but the placing of limits on the degree of "secularization" that Northern Affairs could achieve within the schools themselves. The religious composition of staff, student body and curriculum all remained denominational in significant ways.²⁸⁸ In settling the details of its plan in 1955, Northern Affairs felt it had no option but to set as one objective

... a situation in which it will be possible to provide education for all Eskimo and Indian

children requiring schooling without Anglican children having to attend a Catholic school or Catholic children having to attend an Anglican school.²⁸⁹

In some instances, as at the Fort Simpson residence for example, this resulted in the construction of a most curious contrivance - a "combined school." This was a school composed of a single administrative facility and "two instructional wings" one being Catholic and the other Anglican or non-sectarian.²⁹⁰

The official presumptive scenario of the 1955 cabinet submission for the introduction of a general system of education for northern people, its expressed educational philosophy, its vision and attitudes towards Aboriginal people were much like the southern civilizing logic of the latter half of the 19th century. The premise of this initiative was that regional developments had, in the government's view, brought an anticipated crisis to Aboriginal communities and new opportunities. "Several factors," Jean Lesage explained, had "been at work." In the last few decades, the Indian and Inuit population had grown rapidly, the "natural result of increased medical services and better food and clothing made available for children by family allowances." This increase had placed "a greater demand on the supply of game and fur bearing animals" making it "increasingly difficult for the Indians and Eskimos to gain a living in their accustomed way." Their viability had been further undercut by a "sharp fall in fur prices." Many families had been thrown on relief, the effect of which was "demoralizing" and if their reliance on government aid was "prolonged and extensive" it would, Lesage worried, "become increasingly difficult to make the people self-supporting."

There was, however, Lesage claimed, "at the same time that changing conditions are making it progressively harder for the native population to rely on their traditional way of life" some light ahead. There were, increasingly, opportunities for employment connected with "economic activity" created by the incursion of western resource projects into the region and by "defense activity." In addition, the Department had its own plans "for the stimulation of small industries, such as boat building; local agriculture; etc." Jobs created by these diverse ventures would go to southern migrants, brought in "usually at great cost", unless the Inuit and Indian were "equipped to take advantage of them" by the "necessary training and education." There could be, through "schooling," a prosperous new future for all northern people.²⁹¹ This was in fact unavoidable - an echo of similar sentiments expressed with regard to the old North West in the 1880s - because as

Civilization is now advancing into the Arctic areas at such a rapid pace It is therefore essential that they [Aboriginal people] be assisted in every possible way to face the future in a realistic manner - in a way which will result in their becoming true Canadian citizens while at the sametime maintaining their racial pride and independence of spirit.

That "assistance" was to come, of course, through "an extensive program of schools and hostels to provide better education."²⁹² The 1955 cabinet submission began the process setting out a plan for a six-year construction programme for hostels - mainly at sites in the Mackenzie area where day schools already existed - at Fort Smith, Fort Simpson, Fort McPherson and Aklavik. The only exception to this was the intention of erecting a hostel and school in the Eastern Arctic, initially for 100, "entirely for Eskimos", at Frobisher Bay, Baffin Island. It was calculated that it would meet that areas educational needs for sometime though it was possible that "a further day school and hostel may be required for Anglican Eskimos in the Keewatin area, especially if the D.E.W. line has substantial effect on their way of life."²⁹³ As it evolved, funding for the Frobisher Bay complex was not brought forward for another 10 years when it became an element of a "Five Year Education Plan for the Northwest Territories and Northern Quebec"²⁹⁴ approved by cabinet in November, 1965 specifically for the construction of "pupil residences and vocational and academic high schools to serve the Eastern Arctic." In the intervening years, Inuit children from the Eastern Arctic, who qualified for "secondary level education", up to 180 a year, were flown to and boarded at the "temporary vocational training centre at Churchill, Manitoba."²⁹⁵

The 1955 cabinet submission also set out what would be the financial relationship between the government and the churches. For those of the new residences they managed, churches would receive "per pupil grants established on a basis calculated to cover the full costs of maintenance of children." That was, it was pointed out, "in accordance with the basis on which grants are paid for pupils in residential schools [operated by Indian Affairs] at the present time."²⁹⁶ By 1969-70, as plans were finalized to transfer education to the government of the Northwest Territories, part of a wider process of government decentralization that was to set the Territories on the path to representative and responsible government if not full provincial status,²⁹⁷ Northern Affairs had completed a network of schools that then included, as well as day schools, eight "large pupil residences": Fleming Hall at Fort McPherson, Bompas Hall and Lapointe Hall-Fort Simpson, Breyant Hall-Fort Smith, Grollier and Stringer Halls-Inuvik, Akaitcho Hall-Yellowknife (a Composite High School and

Vocational School), and Turquetil Hall-Chesterfield Inlet. These had a combined average attendance of 1,200 children.²⁹⁸ They were named "Halls" for it was felt that the word "hostel" was routinely confused with "hospital" and "hotel" and that "Hall" was "more euphonius" and had a more "homelike connotation." There was also concern that the "term hostel is very easily prostituted to hostile..."²⁹⁹

There were, in addition, a series of some 12 "small hostels", mainly though not exclusively, in the Eastern Arctic. Some had as few as 11 children with the largest having accommodation for up to 25.³⁰⁰

Small hostels, a unique northern initiative, were not part of the original 1955 plan. Departmental officials credited John Parker with this idea - one that they, too, saw as having "obvious advantages." They could, they reasoned, gather together from 10 to 20 children

at a place where there is a [day] school which is not now fully utilized ... and house them in the care of a female housekeeper or married couple at a low cost for boarding and housing. It would enable them to remain in a small settlement in closer proximity to their parents.³⁰¹

This option was attractive not only because it was inexpensive to construct and thereafter to maintain but because the associated day schools "would operate much more efficiently as regular attendance would be assured."³⁰² Small hostels were also a solution to the limitations placed on the expansion of a boarding program by the lack of available, suitable private homes.³⁰³ The Department claimed that "most Eskimo homes are usually already congested without the addition of extra boarders."³⁰⁴

Further than finance and very much connected to attendance, there was another factor - the attitude of Inuit parents - that may have led to a surprising innovation with regards to the way small hostels were managed. The Department was open to the idea that the housekeeper or married couple in charge could well be Aboriginal people.³⁰⁵ And in some cases, in the Great Whale River hostel in 1960 for example, they were. In that case there was even a suggestion of democratization. The area administrator reported that the woman hired had been "unanimously chosen as the person preferred and best qualified to look after their children by a group of Eskimos who have left for camping."³⁰⁶ Though there was in that case no explanation for why the Department supposedly acquiesced to community wishes, it may have been because of parental opposition to placing their children in the care of outsiders. At Cape Dorset and Frobisher Bay the area administrators

struggled against what was characterized as the "extremely strong and consistent resistance by camp Eskimos towards the hostel program." The Inuit's affection for their children was so strong that they would not, it was reasoned, cooperate unless their children could be boarded with relatives or placed in a hostel run by a housemother respected in the community.³⁰⁷

The continued existence of "camp Eskimo," of traditional life, of "camping" as it was often called, in what was after all still a frontier region and the Department's realization, despite Lesage's prediction otherwise - that there had been no sharp break between the northern past and the present, and indeed, that "camping and "modern" life would co-exist for some indeterminate time - played a significant role in determining the character of the 1955 scheme and the shape it took in subsequent years. Without any doubt, the new system, as had been the case with southern educational strategy, stressed the value of residential complexes as cultural bridges, institutions in-between. Or, as it was explained in a Departmental review of educational plans in 1954, because most of the region's Aboriginal people were "constantly on the move," then the "residential school is perhaps the most effective way of giving children from primitive environments, experience in education along the lines of civilization leading to vocational training to fit them for occupations in the white man's economy."³⁰⁸ And true to residential school logic, the schools' transformative process, the way in which it would make children "fit," would encompass more than classroom education. With respect to Inuit children, for example, the residences would have the advantage of removing children from homes that lacked "all the more desirable habits of sanitation, cleanliness and health since the tents and snow houses in which they live are so small and their way of life is so primitive." In the hostels, it would be possible to carry out "adequate health education programmes" which, with improvements on the traditional diet, would "make them [the children] better able to carry on with their schooling" which would in turn ensure their "orderly integration into the white economy."³⁰⁹

The 1955 scheme seemed to strive, however, to be more than a just a replication of the Indian Affairs system. Northern Affairs was not marching into the future without having gained any wisdom from residential education's history. The old Northwest Territories' residential schools were dreadful monuments; they were cautionary tales to be read and their mistakes avoided. Northern officials were not unmindful of this and they acted upon it. Their policy pronouncements, and even some of their educational strategy and curricular content, bear witness to that fact. Most notably their rhetoric of assimilation was undercut by their understanding

of that past and the continuing realities of the frontier north.

As it prepared the 1955 submission to cabinet, the Department was under no illusions about either the physical condition or the efficacy of the existing residential schools. The discussions with the Catholic church for the Chesterfield Inlet school had been held against a back drop of considerable criticism. The NWT Council's Sub-Committee on Education felt that the old mission residential schools had

up to the moment, been rather ineffective largely because teachers were not qualified, no curriculum was laid down, no standards were set up, and there was little supervision, guidance or inspection by an independent authority³¹⁰

Northern Affairs was determined, in the operation of its new large hostels, to overcome "the deficiencies in the type of education given in the residential schools by the missions."³¹¹ And it intended to treat its wards differently avoiding, for example, "the extensive regimentation of children" which resulted in the "sublimation of the individual personality in the mass." R.A.J. Phillips, the Department's assistant director of plans and policy, cautioned the staff of the education division that they would have to be alert to the "external manifestations" of that kind of discipline, to "such practises as the 'lock step' used when children move from place to place," practises that would have to be "struggled against" continually.³¹²

Symbolically, at least, the Department signalled its intention of separating itself from that past, "of making a radical change in policy with regard to residential schools" by the decision, a part of the 1955 scheme, that the old residences would be "systematically replaced."³¹³

But realistically, it would take more than symbols, the replacement of old residences by new ones, to obviate what had been in the history of residential schools one of the key ingredients in their failure to be either cultural bridges, or to contribute positively to the development of Aboriginal communities - both of which had been, sequentially, the goals of the old Indian Affairs residences. Northern Affairs was alive to this, in particular to the critical question of after life - to what had been the destabilizing conflict between training and socialization for "integration into the white economy"³¹⁴ and the fact that many children on leaving schools would return to an Aboriginal economy. Once at home, they would revert to that culture or find, Northern Affairs recognized, that their "years in a residential school sometimes makes it difficult for them to readjust."³¹⁵

In view of the historic, double-edged failure of southern residential education, its policy, as the Department characterized it in its review of education in 1954, had been and would continue to be in a sense bi-cultural. For example, the approach to the Inuit of "Eskimoland" had been, supposedly, to provide the "degree and kind of education" which allowed them "to live a fuller life in their own environment" and simultaneously to enable them "to take advantage of opportunities which may arise from the encroachment of outside civilization." This approach, with its inherent recognition of the importance of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal training for the children, called for the integration of school and life. Therefore, the review continued, amongst such initiatives as an experiment with itinerant teaching - instructing children in "native camps" - the

school term for both residential and day schools is being revised in order that the children themselves may be free to travel with their parents during the hunting and trapping season in order that that portion of their education may not be neglected In most parts of the world the children look forward to summertime and holidays. School is closed and homework is forgotten. But in some parts of the Canadian North, children beg their teacher to teach school throughout the summer in order that they may learn to read and write. This is not as strange as it may seem, for during the winter time the children attend a different kind of school. They learn to fish, to trap foxes, to hunt walruses, and to make skin garments to keep themselves warm at temperatures far below freezing. All of this may be fun for the children but it is hard on school attendance, so during the short Arctic summer the youngsters attend a more formal kind of school when it is the teacher who goes without his summer holidays.

There was here a recognition of the children's difference and even of the implications of it for pedagogy and curriculum. "The problem of instruction," the review continued, "results from the fact that the learner is finding his way from one culture to another" - a journey that could easily be made even more difficult "if his school environment and his home surroundings differ too widely and if either is too insistent in its demand upon him." Teachers on their part were faced with children who in almost every case had no knowledge of the English language and "with the problems of spanning a period of progress and culture ranging from that of the late Stone Age to that of the present Atomic Age."

For the Department the way forward to achieving its goal of the modernization rather than the elimination of northern Aboriginal culture lay in developing "a new curriculum particularly suited to the needs and conditions of the Northwest Territories." A localized curriculum would require research "on the general features of native life which have a bearing on the educational programme" so that "instruction ... [could] be closely related to the native way of life." Aboriginal children needed, "in their own interests," to know how to read and write, to do simple arithmetic, "to learn how to keep healthy" and "to acquire certain skills which will be of assistance to them in their own native way of life" through vocational instruction, manual training and domestic science," and "to learn to understand the nature of their immediate social world." The end result, the "ultimate aim in the education of the native people," was not to make them "fall into the pattern of the whiteman's way of life but to help them become better Indians and Eskimos."³¹⁶ Progress, assimilation and Aboriginal culture were, apparently, to be balanced and blended.

Lesage championed all these ideas before cabinet: the "special curriculum" and the "mingling of pupils - whether Indian, Eskimo, part-blood or white - in common schools" which would "have important social and psychological advantages in the north." Most critically, not only in terms of the education but of the care of the children, "teachers and curricula would be more completely under government control" (allowing the Department to steer its difficult bi-cultural course) and meaning that "standards could be established and maintained more effectively." Finally, he assured cabinet members that the proposals they had before them

have been discussed fully with Bishop Marsh of the Church of England and Bishop Trocellier of the Roman Catholic Church. Both agree that it is the programme best designed to meet the special needs of the north and to remove difficulties that have been increasing in recent years because of the inadequacy of school facilities in various locations for children of one faith or the other.³¹⁷

Unfortunately, Lesage's plan shared the fate of many of the southern schemes for reforms in residential education. In important ways, it was to be no more than an insightful intention. Certainly, with the construction of the large and small hostels a new and improved infrastructure was created and it can even be argued that small hostels represented an advance on previous models. There was also a continuing interest in tailoring school terms to hunting seasons and in that way to do "everything in our power to maintain the native way of life, provided it does not jeopardize our educational

programme."³¹⁸ And the system was multi-cultural. In 1964 there were, in the eight large hostels, 957 Indian and Inuit children and 195 white and Metis.³¹⁹

But in the operation of the system no effective balance was struck between cultural preservation, the rather ill-defined idea of modernization, of producing "better Indians and Eskimos,"³²⁰ and assimilation - between the goals of making Aboriginal children "true Canadian citizens while at the sametime maintaining their racial pride...."³²¹ Within the northern system, in its classrooms and residence halls, assimilation was the norm. The rhetoric of cultural sensitivity and preservation was not in the end matched by the reality of the system, itself, nor could it ever have been given the wider policy and developmental context in which the system functioned and which it served.

This negative assessment would certainly have been disputed by the Department, itself. Indeed, a decade after Lesage's plan was given cabinet approval, the Deputy Minister, E.A. Cote, in a memo to the Minister, A. Laing, defended the Department's record ticking off its accomplishments. They had developed, he argued, the most "decentralized curriculum" in use anywhere in Canada based upon the belief that "the content of learning is best developed from the local setting where learning takes place." As well, because the "process in learning must involve the learner in some real and meaningful sense to him, and, therefore, should be related to his everyday activities" the standard literary curriculum had been supplemented with courses "in practical fields ... related to the mode of living" of Aboriginal communities: "the care of firearms," "the operation and repair of outboard motors," "resource harvesting," "fur treatment and use," "nutrition and the care of food" and so forth - "all this in the context of the immediate environment." The deputy minister also pointed to advances in the development of a new "Eskimo orthography" based on the Roman letter script to replace the existing Syllabic system. When completed, it would be the means by which the "Eskimo language would be more effectively preserved" and through which "a literature may be developed."

Overall, he was confident that the Department had remained faithful to the Lesage vision uniting "citizenship" with "pride of race." The education being provided was of "use to those people who remain on the land and pursue the traditional activities of their forbearers." Equally, it broadened the "scope for those who seek opportunity elsewhere." He was in no doubt of its value and he had little time for any concerns on the cultural front. His short discourse for the minister on that head, specifically on Inuit culture, suggested, however, that others should be concerned for he revealed an assimilationist iron hand concealed within a culturally

sensitive glove based upon the assumption that the future for all in the North was a non-Aboriginal one:

As attractive and as quaint as any aspect of culture may be, this does not justify an effort of freezing it into a state of perpetuity. It would indeed constitute an anachronism in this age and in this setting if we sought to maintain a stone-age culture, for example, among people who find themselves impinged on every side by wave upon wave of modern technology. Our main hope is to reconcile into one whole an educational offering which reflects on the one hand those aspects of culture which are still a part of the Eskimo way of life and to introduce, on the other hand, those skills that are the common heritage of all mankind. Our efforts in offering training for job opportunity to the indigenous people and our success in placing those trained, lends good support to our view that many Eskimo will in due time be gainfully employed.

There would be, he admitted in concluding, difficulties but the prize was well worth the struggle. "It is inevitable that in the acculturative process there will be upheavals of one kind or another because the path that has been set is an irrevocable one."³²² Those "inevitable... upheavals" would be in Aboriginal culture, of course.

An assessment of the curriculum, based in part upon the Department's own files and particularly on a briefing given the Northwest Territories Council in 1965, leads to the conclusion that the Department's educational system, despite its curricular initiatives, was only a more subtle form of assimilation whether it realized it or not - or, indeed, whether it intended it to be so. "Upheaval" would be, more than just a by-product of this system. It was the main product if the impact of residential education in the North was the same as it was in the south.

Cote's ministerial briefing was, in some ways, overstated. The curriculum in use in 1965, the year of his report, was not a wholly made-to-northern-measure educational suit. It was, depending on the location of the school, based upon either the Alberta, Manitoba or Ontario curriculum. There were, to be sure, "modifications and adaptations to suit the northern environment." These included, as well as the courses Cote had noted, "books, pictures, tapes and other visual aids suitable for northern schools." The adaptations were, however, limited effectively to primary schools. It was pointed out to Council that "The territorial pupils write the Grade XII provincial examinations and therefore, must follow the provincial texts and curricula in much greater detail." This curricular and

pedagogical division between primary and secondary education gives the impression that northern adaptations were loss leaders, educational sweeteners to socialize the children to school for the purpose of introducing them more easily as they grew older to a standard Canadianized education. Certainly, high school students were expected to be capable of passing tests based upon a southern curriculum with its southern constructs.

It has to be remembered, moreover, that the system was multi-cultural, that it had the task of educating non-Aboriginal children too and thus it fell under the scrutiny of non-Aboriginal parents who had cultural expectations of their own and were more likely to move between southern and northern Canada. These facts tended to strengthen the assimilationist elements in the curriculum. The Department admitted that the curriculum could not be wholly northern for it had to connect meaningfully with southern education:

learning must include much content from other contexts and as a consequence many books prescribed for use in southern schools are also prescribed in the north. It is also necessary to keep in mind that the transfer of pupils does occur from time to time and, consequently, the sequence in learning as well as the content needs to bear some resemblance to the situation in southern schools.³²³

Curiously, the issue of language, though the most critical vehicle of cultural transmission, was given almost no attention. Cote went out of his way to congratulate the Department on the work it was doing to preserve the Inuit language. But he failed to underline the fact that the schools were not bilingual and the language of instruction was certainly not Aboriginal. As in Indian Affairs' schools, the children were expected to function in a foreign tongue, one spoken only by the teachers and the minority of non-Aboriginal students in the school. More than any other factor, non-Aboriginal language training would have produced "upheaval", disrupted the children's ontology, and undercut their progress through the school system. To be fair to the Department, it had plans once the Inuit orthography was completed to teach it to adults who would in turn teach it to their children and then in due course to introduce it into the schools. Yet the minister acknowledged that this would already have to be an act of recuperation - placing adults "back in the cultural role of elders teaching the child their own language." There was no plan for the development of similar programs for other Aboriginal languages. He revealed, too, that in his opinion there was not going to be the sort of fusion of the culture of mankind and elements of Inuit culture that Cote had described. "Personally, I feel" that children will "eventually have to

choose their ultimate way of life just as southern children" have to "decide whether they follow the way of their father or choose some other vocation which may take them beyond their home surroundings."³²⁴

The assimilative cast of the educational policy is thrown into even sharper relief when it is seen in its wider policy context. It was nested in a Departmental developmental policy that included not only the encouragement of southern economic interventions into the region but the construction of permanent communities, with schools, to bring the people off the land and into contact with those anticipated industrial developments and job opportunities. In the rationale for small hostels, for example, there lurked the logic of separation even if it was toned down. Children were to be divorced from parents and from their parent's life on the land. Thus through education a people's connection with their culture, which was the land, their physical health and spiritual balance was to be ruptured:

It is now a generally established policy that wherever possible children from ages 6 to 10 years should be kept as close as possible to their parents during their school career. Also, for many years to come many of the families ... will continue to rely for most of their livelihood on hunting and trapping. This means that for a good part of each year these families will be away from the settlement making the regular attendance of their children at school impossible without some means of keeping them in the settlement.³²⁵

As had been the case in the old Northwest in the 1880s, that "means" was a school - a valuable "instrument of colonization." At times indeed, schools led the way being often the "first permanent government presence and ... a central part of federal efforts to encourage settlement life." Despite the rhetoric of "promoting cultural respect"³²⁶ schools became, in the hands of teachers who themselves came from the south, handmaidens of development serving the labour requirements of the new northern economy... if that economy ever fully materialized and if those schools could actually prepare children for such a future.

This criticism of the northern curriculum is more than academic hindsight. No matter what Departmental head office staff might say about the form, content and intentions of their educational strategy, it would appear that in its delivery, once the children were taken inside the classroom and the door closed, it was just as intolerant of Aboriginal culture as old mission and Indian Affairs policy had intentionally been. That, at least, was the position taken by

no less an authority than one of the original partners in the Lesage plan - Anglican Bishop Marsh, Donald of the Arctic.

The bishop's assessment of the northern system's educational performance differed significantly from Cote's. Marsh was willing to credit those in the "upper echelon" with a good deal of sincerity when they claimed that "preservation of the pride of race" was "one of our major tasks." But "this is anything but true amongst those who are teaching the children ... right across the North." Ottawa, he charged, was out of touch for in the schools a quite different ethos operated. "I have been repeatedly told by the teaching personnel, that their aim is to make the children 'white' and able only to take their place in the outside system."³²⁷

Apparently, the teachers in the north were armed with same cookie cutter that was in the hands of teachers in the Indian Affairs system. Marsh was convinced that the text material prepared by the Department reinforced the teachers assimilationist pedagogy. The texts did, he admitted, contain information about "their old way of life" but "nothing which would make a child feel that this way of life was of any value." The cultural information was no more than a preface, a nod to the past as the child was steered toward a non-Aboriginal future. From reading such texts, the child, he thought, would conclude that "this was the past life with which we are now done, and we need a new outlook which we are getting in school and which has nothing to do with our old way." He felt it rather ironic that Departmental efforts to create a written Inuit literature in an effort to preserve elements of culture was proceeding at the very time that the teaching of English in the school was effectively cutting the tie between the children their culture, parents and communities - "the events and the stories of the Eskimo people will have been lost for ever; for almost all young people now simply don't know them...." A language in written form without daily oral use would not survive and certainly would never serve as the vital inter-generational container of culture.

Minority languages could flourish and contribute to the success of a people even if their world was dominated by the language of others. The Department, Marsh advised, could learn from the Welsh experience. It would "give room for thought as to the Eskimo language and its loss or retention":

The Welsh language has been spoken since childhood in almost every family the Welsh language is vitally alive and of importance, for it is not only taught and used in school, but is the language of the people, and they are proud to be Welsh.

The Department's education system was no respecter of race. It

was, simply, assimilation. There was need for fundamental reform. The Department must "emphasize and re-emphasize" to teachers the necessity "of inculcating a pride of race in the children as a most important factor and indeed chief of the problems which they face in teaching."³²⁸ To Marsh, having visited "Eskimo" and Indian children at the Churchill complex in the spring of 1965, it was

obvious that unless they have a pride in their own race and their own people, they will feel themselves second class citizens, and this will be a direct result of the educational system. That they have to live among their own people later is obvious, and there would seem to be no future for them anywhere in numbers. What they have a real need to feel is to be one with and to have a great respect for their parents and elders. It seems to me that we face the task of making the Eskimo feel that the very wonderful quality of their forefathers are things to be treasured and practised. To do this it is vitally necessary that there should be some presentation of their parents qualities and old way of life during school hours and through school channels.³²⁹

In the schools, as they then were, there was little to reinforce the children's culture. They were propelled along a corridor towards a non-Aboriginal destination. Marsh scoffed at Laing's suggestion that children could decide to follow either the way of their fathers or some other vocation. That had not been, he asserted, the historical experience of "our Indian friends and their children" in the south. It was naive to pretend that education was somehow neutral that it was doing no more than preparing children, "giving them a background", so that they could "decide for the best." The Department, he charged, had "already chosen the background that they shall be given by sending them to school and by giving them a curriculum of the white man's way of life."

What he wondered would the Department do with these children now - "what of their future?"

What do you intend to do for them to make sure that they can get a job and live on the standards of a white person? They have been wrested from their way of life, and whether they like it or not, have been thrust into modern life It became to them a compulsory thing, and we as a nation are responsible for having done this, and as such are responsible for the future of these people.

The course the Department was pursuing, Marsh warned, was

unwise, indeed. If the Department held to it "we will have done to them [the Inuit] the same injustice which we practised on all to many of our Indian people, of making them second class citizens."³³⁰ He did well in this to point his accusatory finger at the churches as well. All of them, church, state and industry were part of a colonizing project which had been "thrust" on Aboriginal communities of the North. Not Marsh's gainsaying, nor Laing and Cote's protestations of good intent and respect for the old "way of life" could mask the fact that northern Aboriginal communities were to be forced to the wall in the service of non-Aboriginal interests as had so many communities across the land over the last century. And as a part of that process, their children would continue to be "wrested" away from them and sent off to hostels and schools where they were to be made a useful part of this new world and where they could be pointed to as proof of Canada's concern for the care of its Aboriginal charges.

In this so familiar process there was, tragically, one further factor that drew together the northern and southern school experience. In neither school system in the post-war period was there much evidence of effective concern, concern that moved past intentions and rhetoric, for the care and treatment of children who were taken into the schools. Despite Northern Affairs's determination to eliminate the "deficiencies" in the pre-1955 system and despite a complete reformulation by Indian Affairs in 1957 of the financial structure of its system aimed specifically at improving the level of care in its schools, both would leave behind a sorrowful record of neglect and abuse - abuse that would echo in the lives of the student's, their families and communities. And thus, as the government washed its hands of residential education in the north and in the south, it would not be able to wash away one important fact that, as Marsh had written, "we as a nation are responsible for having done this..."³³¹ and will indeed "rue to our sorrow and in turn to the sorrow of the Eskimo people"³³² and all Aboriginal people.

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2. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8233, File 1/6-1 (1), MR C 14160, Memorandum to the Director from B. Neary, 29 November, 1949.
3. INAC File 1/25-1, Vol. 35, Educational Services for Indians, 24 March, 1969.
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5. INAC File E4974-1, Vol. 3, Historical Trends in Indian Education, 1982.
6. INAC File 601/25-2, Vol. 2, R.F. Davey, Residential Schools - Past and Future, 8 March, 1968.
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8. N. Gull, The "Indian Policy of the Anglican Church of Canada from 1945 to the 1970s", unpublished M.A. Thesis (Peterborough, Trent University, 1992), page 64.
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17. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6205, File 468-1, MR C 7937, To Dr. Dorey from R. Hoey, 29 May, 1944. See also: INAC File 6-21-1, Vol. 2, The Growth of High School Education and Memorandum to the Deputy Minister from H.M. Jones, 22 December, 1958 with attached Progress in Indian Education.
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19. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6479, File 940-1 (1-2), MR C 8794, To Deputy Minister from H. McGill, 25 November, 1942. See the Deputy's authorization in the margin.
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21. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6205, File 468-1, MR C 7937, To the Deputy Minister from R.A. Hoey, 7 June, 1944.
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81. Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, (Ottawa, INAC, 1969), page 11.
82. INAC File 1/25-1, Vol. 35, Educational Services for Indians, 24 March, 1969.
83. INAC File 601/1, Vol. 4, Memorandum of Agreement ... ,15 December, 1969.
84. INAC File 1/25-1, Vol. 35, Educational Services for Indians, 24 March, 1969.
85. INAC File 601/25-2, Vol. 2, R.F. Davey, Residential Schools - Past and Future, 8 March, 1968.
86. INAC File 211/6-1-010, Vol. 6, To Maritime Regional Office from R. Davey, 20 July, 1967.
87. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7190, File 411/25-1-010, MR C 9698, To Assistant Deputy Minister, Indian Affairs, from R. Davey, 9 March, 1965. See, for other examples: Vol. 6859, File 494/25-2-014, MR C 13727, To Regional School Superintendent from D. MacBeath, 12 February, 1962, INAC File 211/6-1-010, Vol. 6, To ... from R.F. Davey, 10 March, 1967 and INAC File 853/25-2, Vol. 1, To Indian Commissioner for B.C. from W.E. Grant, 9 August, 1962.
88. INAC File 1/25-1-7-3, Vol. 2, To ... from J.B. Bergevin, 2 July, 1970.
89. INAC File 501/25-13-083, Vol. 11, To Hon. W. Dinsdale from J. Slobodzian, 19 June, 1970.
90. See for example: INAC File 501/25-1-008, Vol. 1, To J. Slobodzian from R. Davey, 19 May, 1966 and To Director, Education Services from J. Slobodzian, 17 May, 1966.
91. INAC File 451/1-18, Vol. 2, To D.P. Nigra from W. McKim, 18 April, 1972.
92. INAC File 479/1-1, Memorandum to File from G.D. Cromb, 6 March, 1970.
93. INAC File 80-25-2, To H.B. Rodine from R. Davey, 8 March, 1965.
94. INAC File 116/25-4, Vol. 1, To All Indian Agents ..., 23 April, 1947.

95. INAC File 501/25-1-105, Vol. 1, Circular No. 42, To All Superintendents ..., 6 October, 1958.

96. See, for example: INAC File 25-2-764, Vol. 6, 27 September, 1962.

97. For examples of how this was accomplished see: INAC File 501/1, Vol. 1, 18 January, 1968, INAC File 116/23-16-737, 10 February, 1959 and INAC File 773/25-2-004, Family Allowances - Unsatisfactory School Report, 14 November, 1966.

98. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7190, File 493/25-1-001, MR C 9698, To Canon H. Cook from R. Davey, 19 June, 1957.

99. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7190, File 493/25-1-001, MR C 9698, To R. Davey from Regional Supervisor, North Bay, 6 March, 1961.

100. INAC File 1/25-1, Vol. 22, Memorandum on Education, R.F. Davey, 15 September, 1969.

101. See, for example: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7182, File 1/25-1 (13), To Assistant Director, Education from L. Jampolsky, 24 February, 1964 and INAC File 958/25-13, 3 July, 1973.

102. INAC File 1/25-1, Vol. 22, To Mr. Bergevin from R.F. Davey, 15 September, 1969.

103. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7190, File 493/25-1-001, MR C 9698, Memorandum to the Deputy Minister, 26 January, 1959.

104. INAC File 958/25-1, Vol. 1, 13 October, 1950. See also: INAC File 853/25-2, Vol. 1, 9 August, 1962.

105. INAC File 501/25-3, Vol. 4, 16 May, 1977.

106. INAC File 501/25-13-083, Vol. 11, 5 May, 1970.

107. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8621, File 506/6-1-018, MR C 14238, To H. Green, Minister of Public Works, 3 April, 1958, Memorandum to the Deputy Minister from H. Jones, 27 February, 1958 and Memorandum to the Deputy Minister from L. Brown, 19 March, 1958.

108. For the closures see: INAC File 501/1, Vol. 2, To Assistant Deputy Minister from R.F. Davey, 18 August, 1969.

109. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7187, File 371/25-1-021, MR C 9697, Memorandum to the Deputy Minister, 22 October, 1948.

110. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8244, File 377/6-1-006 (1-4) MR C 13842-13843, To Rev. C.C. Robinson from R. Davey, 3 December, 1956 [see attached minutes], To Bishop Robinson from C.

Sunstrum, Mayor of Cochrane, 24 April, 1957, To Minister of Citizenship and Immigration from A. Dupont, Clerk of the Town of La Tuque, 7 November, 1958, To Canon H. Cook from R. Davey, 9 January, 1958 and to R. Davey from Canon H. Cook, 14 January, 1958.

111. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8576, File 1/1-2-2-21, MR C 14215, Regional School Inspectors Conference, 10-11 April, 1958. See remarks by R. Davey.

112. INAC File 1/25-1-5-2. Vol. 1, Circular No. 832, Separation of Classroom and Residence Administration Residential Schools, 29 July, 1968. For Guidelines for Student Residences [Draft] 5 June, 1970, see: INAC File 601/25-13, Vol. 2.

113. INAC File 601/25-2, Vol. 2, R.F. Davey, Residential Schools - Past and Future, 8 March, 1968.

114. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7190, File 411/25-1-010, MR C 9698, To Assistant Deputy Minister from R. Davey, 9 March, 1965.

115. INAC File 601/25-2, Vol. 2, R.F. Davey, Residential Schools - Past and Future, 8 March, 1968 and INAC File 1/25-1 Vol. 35, Educational Services for Indians, 24 March, 1969.

116. INAC File 211/6-1-010, Vol. 6, To All Superintendents 30, January, 1967.

117. INAC File 601/25-1, Vol. 6, To Chief Ahenakew from J.D. McGilp, 24 February, 1970.

118. INAC File 501/1, Vol. 5, 29 April, 1971.

119. Parliament of Canada, Special Committee on Reconstruction and Re-establishment, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, No. 9, 24 May, 1944, page 306.

120. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8576, File 1/1-2-2-21, MR C 14215, Regional School Inspectors Conference, 10-11 April, 1958. See remarks by R. Davey.

121. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8233, File 1/6-1 (1), MR C 14160, Memorandum to the Director from B. Neary, 29 November, 1949.

122. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7190, File 411/25-1-010, MR C 9698, To Rev. L. Burns SJ from R. Davey, 18 May, 1954.

123. INAC File 116/25-2-763, 17 August, 1959.

124. INAC File 601/25-2, Vol. 2, R. Davey, Residential Schools - Past and Future, 8 March, 1968. For the evolution of categories see: INAC File 1/25-2, Vol. 4, To Social Program Division from R. Davey, 10 March, 1965 and INAC File 116/25-2-763, 17 August, 1959.

125. INAC File 577/25-2, Vol. 1968, Circular No. 37, To Chiefs ..., 9 June, 1969, see attached: Admissions Policy for Indian Student Residences.

126. INAC File 501/25-2-065, Vol. 5, See the Application for Admission to Residential School forms on file.

127. INAC File 773/29-1, Vol. 1, To Regional Supervisor from J.R. Tully, 21 May, 1965.

128. INAC File 772/3-6-1, Vol. 1, To Director from G.H. Gooderham, 14 January, 1954.

129. INAC File 675/25-1-018, Vol. 2, To R. Davey from N.J. Mcleod, 8 December, 1960.

130. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8758, File 772/25-1, MR C 9702, To E. Wooliams M.P. from E. Fairclough, 12 March, 1962.

131. INAC File 211/6-1-010, Vol. 6, To All Superintendents from F.B. McKinnon, 30 January, 1967 and 10 March, 1967.

132. INAC File 6-21-1, Vol. 2, 13 December, 1956.

133. INAC File 901/29-4, Analysis of Residential Schools - British Columbia, 8 December, 1961.

134. INAC File 40-2-185, Vol. 1, Relationships Between Church and State in Indian Education, 26 September, 1966. See also: File 671/25-2, Vol. 3, 24 January, 1974 and File 675/25-13, Vol. 2, 16 June, 1975 and from R. Martin 24 March, 1975.

135. INAC File 675/25-1-018, Vol. 2, To Chief Education Division from N.J. McLeod, 8 December, 1960 and File 675/25-13, Vol. 1, 18 January.

136. INAC File 675/25-13, Vol. 1, 29 March, 1974.

137. INAC File 673/25-13, Vol. 2, 30 June, 1975. In 1960 Shubenacadie was at 67 per cent - see: File 201/29-16, Vol. 1, To Indian Affairs Branch from F.B. McKinnon, 15 November, 1960.

138. INAC File 675/25-1-018, Vol. 2, To Chief Education Division from N.J. McLeod, 8 December, 1960.
139. INAC File 13/25-2, To Mr. Matters from [a Principal], 2 August, 1956.
140. INAC File 211/6-1-010, Vol. 6, 10 March, 1967.
141. INAC File 901/29-4, Analysis of Residential Schools - British Columbia, 8 December, 1961.
142. INAC File 211/6-1-010, Vol. 6, To All Superintendents from F.B. McKinnon, 30 January, 1967, To P. Fleming from F.B. McKinnon, 1 March, 1967 and 10 March, 1967.
143. INAC File 501/25-1-075, Vol. 1, To W. Rudnicki from R. Davey, 5 September, 1963.
144. INAC File 211/6-1-010, Vol. 6, To ... from R. Davey, 10 March, 1967.
145. INAC File 675/25-1-018, Vol. 2, To Chief Education Division from N.J. McLeod, 8 December, 1960.
146. INAC File 958/25-13, Vol. 3, To L. Wight from G. Watts, 3 July, 1973.
147. INAC File 211/6-1-010, Vol. 6, 30 January, 1967.
148. INAC File 451/25-2-004, Vol. 2, 26 August, 1968.
149. INAC File 601/25-13, Vol. 1, To Regional Director - Social Affairs, 10 June, 1969 and attached Admissions Policy for Indian Student Residences, Preface.
150. INAC File 6-37-1, Vol. 2, Indian Welfare Services 1952-1957.
151. INAC File 6-37-1, Vol. 1, Memorandum To The Deputy Minister, 4 January, 1962 and attached Notes on Highlights of Indian Affairs Operation 1957 to Date.
152. INAC File 577/25-2, To All Guidance Counsellors, 23 September, 1969.
153. INAC File 671/25-2, Vol. 3, To W. Grant from F. Misiurski, 24 January, 1974.
154. INAC File 501/1, Vol. 5, To Minister from H.B. Robinson, 29 April, 1971.

155. INAC File 601/25-1, Vol. 6, To Chief D. Ahenakew from J. McGillp, 24 February, 1970.
156. INAC File 501/25-1-075, Vol. 1, To W. Rudnicki from R. Davey, 5 September, 1963.
157. INAC File 1/25-1, Vol. 69, To Dr. M. Richer from D.K..F. Wattie, 13 April, 1976.
158. INAC File 577/25-2, To All Guidance Counsellors, 23 September, 1969.
159. INAC 773/25-2-003, Vol. 8, 30 October, 1974.
160. INAC File 1/25-13, 13 April, 1971.
161. INAC File 211/6-1-010, Vol. 6, 1 March, 1967.
162. INAC File 479/1-1, Memorandum to File from G.D Cromb, 6 March, 1970.
163. INAC File 211/6-1-010, Vol. 6, 1 March, 1967.
164. INAC File 40-2-185, Vol. 1, Relationships Between Church and State in Indian Education, 26 September, 1966.
165. INAC File 1/25-1, Vol. 35, Educational Services for Indians, 24 March, 1996.
166. INAC File 42/25-2-464, Vol. 2, To District School Superintendent, Port Arthur, 31 October, 1960.
167. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8621, File 506/6-1-018, MR C 14238, To Director from B. Neary, 29 November, 1949.
168. See Chapter 5.
169. INAC File 6-21-1, Vol. 2, Brief to the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration in reference to a Special Deputation of the Anglican Church of Canada, November 20th, 1959. For similar sentiments from a Catholic church official see: INAC File 1/25-1-7-6, Vol. 1, 4 November, 1954.
170. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8445, File 1/23-5 (2), MR C 13798, Residential School Principal's Conference, 17 April, 1958.
171. INAC File 6-21-1, Vol. 2, Brief to the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration in reference to a Special Deputation of the Anglican Church of Canada, November 20th, 1959.

172. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8754, File 651/25-1, MR C 9701, To R. Hoey from Canon H. Cook, 25 January, 1948.
173. INAC File 6-21-1, Vol. 2, Memorandum to the Deputy Minister, 25 May, 1959.
174. INAC File 40-2-185, Vol. 1, Relationships Between Church and State in Indian Education, 26 September, 1966.
175. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7180, File 1/25-1 (8), Memorandum to the Deputy Minister from H.M. Jones, 12 November, 1959.
176. INAC File 901/25-11, Vol. 1, 22 September, 1956 and 9 November, 1956.
177. INAC File 773/23-5-003, Vol. 2, To Chief Education Division from R.F. Battle, 20 January, 1960.
178. INAC File 1/25-1-7-6, Vol. 1, Minutes of Conference re Indian High School Education in the Priarie Provinces - January 26th and 27th, 1960.
179. Deschateletes Archives, HR 8005, C73R, Doc. 4, Residential Education for Indian Acculturation, Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission (Ottawa, Oblate Fathers in Canada, 1958), pages 4-15.
180. INAC File 1/25-1-7-6, Vol. 1, Minutes of Conference re Indian High School Education in the Priarie Provinces - January 26th and 27th, 1960.
181. INAC File 6-2-21, Vol. 3, Memorandum to the Minister, 16 May, 1963.
182. INAC File 901/225-11, Vol. 1, 8 June, 1953.
183. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8632, File 511/6-1-024, MR C 14247, To R. Davey from R. Davis, 2 July, 1954.
184. INAC File 487/25-1-014, Vol. 1, Memorandum to Mr.C. Fairholm from R. Davey, 23 April, 1954.
185. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 876, File 673/25-1, To H. Chapman from R. Davey, 12 December, 1956.
186. INAC File 901/25-11, Vol. 1, 8 June, 1953, 21 May, 1953 and 23 April, 1953.
187. INAC File 901/25-11, Vol. 1, 26 February, 1953.
188. INAC File 901/25-11, Vol. 1, 25 February, 1953 and 18 February, 1953.

189. INAC File 901/25-11, Vol. 1, 23 February, 1953.
190. INAC File 901/25-11, Vol. 1, 18 February, 1953.
191. INAC File 901/25-11, Vol. 1, 21 April, 1954.
192. INAC File 901/25-11, Vol. 1, 10 March, 1953.
193. INAC File 901/25-11, Vol. 1, 25 February, 1953.
194. INAC File 6-21-1, Vol. 3, Memorandum to the Minister, 16 May, 1963.
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Integration of Indian Students (R.C.) ... 1960-61.
196. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8233, File 1/6-1 (1), MR C 14160, Memorandum to the Director from B. Neary, 29 November, 1949.
197. INAC File 6-37-1, Vol. 2, Notes on Highlights of Indian Affairs Operation 1957 to Date.
198. INAC File 958/25-1, Vol. 1, 13 October, 1950.
199. INAC File 6-37-1, Vol. 2, Notes on Highlights of Indian Affairs Operation 1957 to Date and File 601/25-2, Vol. 2 R.F. Davey, Residential Schools- Past and Present, 8 March, 1968.
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201. INAC File D4700-1, Vol. 2, Economic and Social Development - Indian Education, Discussion Paper, 22 July, 1981.
202. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8596, File 1/1-13, MR C 14226, To Deputy Minister from B. Neary, 13 June, 1950.
203. INAC File 1/25-1, Vol. 22, Memorandum on Education, R.F. Davey, 15 September, 1969.
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205. INAC File 23-16, Vol. 1, To All School Superintendents, May, 1966.
206. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8452, File 772/23-5-002, To W. Pugh from P. Phelan, 9 September, 1949.

207. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8233, File 1/6-1, MR C 14160, Memorandum to Director from B. Neary, 29 November, 1949.
208. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8754, File 655/25-1, MR C 9701, Vocational Training Memorandum from A. J. Doucet, 29 January, 1949.
209. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8754, File 655/25-1, MR C 9701, To J. Warden from R. Davey, 1 December, 1953.
210. INAC File 6-21-1, Vol. 2, Memorandum for the Deputy Minister, 18 July, 1958.
211. INAC File 501/25-1-018, 21, June, 1965.
212. INAC File, 6-21-7, Vol. 1, Confidential, Memorandum to the Minister, 12 March, 1959.
213. INAC File 6-21-1, Vol. 2, Memorandum for the Deputy Minister from H.M. Jones, 18 July, 1958 and Memorandum to Cabinet: High School Instruction for Indian Students from E. Fairclough, 22 January, 1959.
214. INAC File 6-21-1, Vol. 2, Memorandum for the Deputy Minister from H. Jones, 18 July, 1958.
215. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8445, File 1/23-5 (2), MR C 13798, Principal's Conference, 17 April, 1958. See also Deschatelets Archives, HR 8538, C73L, Doc. 44, To J. Melling from A. Renaud O.M.I., 3 February, 1961.
216. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8445, File 1/23-5 (2), MR C 13798, Principal's Conference, 17 April, 1958.
217. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8754, File 655/25-1, MR C 9701, Memorandum to the Deputy Minister from R.F. Battle, 25 May, 1965.
218. INAC File 6-21-7, Vol. 1, 22 December, 1959.
219. INAC File 6-21-1, Vol. 2, Memorandum to Cabinet: High School Instruction for Indian Students from E. Fairclough, 22 January, 1959.
220. INAC File 1/25-1-7-6, Vol. 1, Minutes of Conference re Indian High School Education in the Priarie Provinces - January 26th and 27th, 1960.
221. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8614, File 777/1-13-009, MR C 14234, To K. Gooderham from R. Davey, 29 April, 1964.

222. INAC File 40-2-185, Vol. 1, Relationship Between Church and State in Indian Education, 26 September, 1966.
223. INAC File 6-21-1, Vol. 2, To Regional Supervisor from K.R. Brown, 5 January, 1960.
224. N.A.C. Rg 10 Vol. 8758, File 772/25-1, MR C 9702, To E. Wooliams M.P. from E. Fairclough, 13 March, 1962.
225. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8754, File 655/25-1, MR C 9701, To L.B. Pearson from J.R. Nicholson, 30 August, 1965.
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227. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8754, File 655/25-1, MR C 9701, Memorandum to the Deputy Minister from R.F. Battle, 25 May, 1965.
228. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8754, File 655/25-1, Mr C 9701, See petitions on this file.
229. INAC File 675/23-5-019, Vol. 2, To Deputy Minister from Assistant Deputy Minister (Indian Affairs), 9 July, 1965 and To Assistant Deputy Minister from M. Dube, Insp., 6 October, 1965. See the attached police report.
230. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8754, File 655/25-1, MR C 9701, To the Principal from R. Davey, 3 June, 1965.
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232. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8754, File 655/25-1, MR C 9701, Memorandum to the Deputy Minister from R.F. Battle, 25 May, 1965.
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235. INAC Control Number 300-1, Position Paper - Indian Residential Schools, 1968.
236. INAC File 6-15-3, Vol. 1, To ... from J. Chretien, 24 February, 1969.

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238. INAC File 6-15-3, Vol. 1, To W. Thompson from R. Davey, 20 February, 1969.
239. INAC File 6-15-3, Vol. 2, To ... from J. Chretien, 28 February, 1969.
240. INAC File 779/25-1-009, Vol. 1, Telegram to Hon. John Turner, 20 July, 1970.
241. INAC File 501/25013-083, Vol. 12, 17 April, 1972.
242. INAC File 779/25-1-009, Vol. 1, See notes on meetings with various Indian Associations and Bands on educational issues
243. INAC File 853/25-13, Vol. 3, To ... from J. Chretien, 8 January, 1971.
244. INAC File 601/25-13, Vol. 3, A Proposal to Transfer the Control and Management of Student Residences to Indian People, January, 1971.
245. INAC File S156/66, The Honourable Chretien remarks by the Qu'Appelle Indian Residential School Council on the transfer of the school from DIAND, 1973.
246. INAC File 779/25-1-009, Vol. 1, Wire copy, 22 September, 1970.
247. For details of this event see: D. Persson, "The Changing Experience of Indian Residential Schooling: Blue Quills, 1931-1970" in J. Barman, Y Hebert and D. McCaskill, eds., Indian Education in Canada, Volume 1: The Legacy (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1986). Also see: INAC File 779/25-1-009 for further documentation.
248. INAC File 779/25-1-009, Vol.1 Treasury Board Submission - Authority to Enter into Contract, 14 December, 1970.
249. INAC File 779/25-1-009, Vol. 1, Telegram to J. Chretien, 22 July, 1970.
250. INAC File 779/25-1-009, Vol. 1, Wire copy, 22 September, 1970.
251. INAC File 779/2, Vol. 2, To Hon. J. Chretien from David Lewis M.P., 27, July, 1970, To Hon. J. Chretien from T.C.

Douglas, 24 July, 1970, Telegram to Prime Minister Trudeau, 22 December, 1970, Telex to Hon. J. Chretien, 28 July, 1970, To J. Chretien from D.C. Rowland, M.P, 21 July, 1970 and To Hon. J. Chretien from Paul Yewcuk M.P, 20 July, 1970.

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253. INAC File 779/2, Vol. 2, To ... from J. Chretien, 31 July, 1970.

254. INAC File 779/2, Vol. 2, To A.W. Johnson from H.B. Robinson, 30 December, 1970.

255. INAC File S156/66, 27 September, 1973.

256. INAC File S156/66, The Honourable Chretien remarks by the Qu'Appelle Indian Residential School Council on the transfer of the school from DIAND, 1973.

257. INAC File S156/66, 27 September, 1973.

258. INAC File 1/25-1-0, To ... from I. Goodleaf, 27 February, 1974.

259. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3962, File 147654-1 (2), MR C 10167, To Commissioner Dawson from W. Bompas, 8 November, 1904. See also K. Coates, "Betwixt and Between": The Anglican Church and the Children of the Carcross (Chooutla) Residential School, 1911-1954" in BC Studies, Number 64, Winter 1984-85.

260. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8760, File 853/25-1, To. W. Arneil from M. Jutras, 6 April, 1956 and Memorandum to the Minister from H. Jones, 5 June 1956.

261. INAC File 801/25-1, To Director of Operations from A.H. Friesen, 13 November, 1968. See attached document - General Policy Statement.

262. N.A.C. RG 85, Vol. 222, File 630/110-3 (1B), To Bishop J. Trocellier from R. Gibson, 7 November, 1947 and, Vol. 532, File 600-1-4 (2), Education of Eskimos 1949-1957, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 8 April 1958.

263. N.A.C. RG 85 Vol. 325, File 630/158-9, To Major General H. Young from M. Lacroix, Vicar General Hudsons Bay, 18 April, 1953 and attached correspondence.

264. N.A.C. RG 85 Vol. 532, File 600-1-4 (2), Precis of Sub-Committee on Education for NWT Council - Proposed Residential School, Chesterfield NWT, 9 June, 1950.

265. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3962, File 147654-1 (2), MR C 10167, To F. Congdon from J. Ross, n.d, 1904.
266. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol 3962, File 1477654-1 (2), MR C 10167, To A. Vowell from J.D. McLean, 4 April, 1904 with attached correspondence and To Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from D.C. Scott, 20 February, 1908.
267. A. Webster, They are impossible people, really: Social administration and Aboriginal social welfare in the Territorial Norths, 1927-1993 (Ottawa, [Unpublished] Research Report to The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1993), page 1-8.
268. A. Webster, They are impossible people, really, page 1-9.
269. A. Webster, They are impossible people, really, page 1-16.
270. A. Webster, They are impossible people, really, page 2-1.
271. N.A.C. RG 85, Vol. 532, File 600-1-4 (2), Agenda, Meeting of Sub-Committee on Education, 18 April, 1950. See attached note on Item 5.
272. N.A.C. RG 85, Vol. 1882, File 630/119-3 (2), Memorandum for J. Wardle from J. Lorne Turner, 23 March, 1936.
273. N.A.C. RG 85 Vol. 1881, File 630/119-2 (1), Memorandum by J. Lorne Turner, 5 October, 1934 and Memorandum to J. Lorne Turner, 17 October, 1934.
274. S. Grant, Sovereignty or Security (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1988), page 17.
275. A. Webster, They are impossible people, really, page 1-12.
276. R. Diabaldo, "The Absurd Little Mouse: When Eskimos Became Indians" in Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol. xvi, 1981, page 34.
277. INAC File 630-101-1, Vol. 4, Memorandum for the Minister from R.G. Robertson, 12 August, 1957.
278. N.A.C. RG 85 Vol. 223, File 630-1 (3), Form 77 - Application for Admission to Residential School and To O. Finnie from J. Moran, 4 May, 1927.
279. INAC File 6-21-8 Vol. 1, Memorandum for Mr. C.W. Jackson from F.J.G. Cunningham, 23 February, 1954 with attached

Assistance to Mission Schools and Memorandum to the Minister from L. Fortier, 14 January, 1954 with attached Schools for Indians, N.W.T.

280. INAC File 600-1, Vol. 2, Press Release, New Education Programme in the Northwest Territories, 20 March, 1955. For other relevant northern developments see: S. Grant, *Sovereignty or Security?: Government Policy in the Canadian North, 1936-1950* (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1988), Richard Finnie, *Canada Moves North* (Toronto, MacMillan Co. of Canada, Ltd. 1948), M. Zaslow, *The Northward Expansion of Canada, 1914-1967* (Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1988) and M.J. Macpherson, *Dreams & Visions, Education in the Northwest Territories from Early Days to 1984* (Yellowknife, Government of the Northwest Territories, 1991).

281. INAC File 630-101-1, Vol. 4, Memorandum for the Minister from R.G. Robertson, 12 August, 1957.

282. INAC File 250-9-20, Vol. 1, To J.A. MacDonald from S.M. Hodgson, 18 December, 1968.

283. INAC File 40-2-185, Vol. 1, Memorandum for the Cabinet, Education in the Northwest Territories, from J. Lesage, 4 March, 1955.

284. N.A.C. RG 85 Vol. 1224, File 630/110-3 (6), To J. Parker from R.G. Robertson, 14 November, 1957.

285. N.A.C. RG 85 Vol. 221, File 630/101-3, To Mr. Meikle from J. McKinnon, 9 August, 1947.

286. N.A.C. RG 85 Vol. 1224, File 630/110-3 (6), Memorandum for the Director from C. Merrill, 1 October, 1957 and Memorandum for the Deputy Minister from R.A.J. Phillips, 5 November, 1957.

287. N.A.C. RG 85 Vol. 1224, File 630/110-3 (6), To R.G. Robertson from J. Parker, 19 November, 1957.

288. INAC File 630-101-1, Vol. 4, Memorandum for the Minister from R.G. Robertson, 12 August, 1957.

289. N.A.C. RG 85 Vol. 540, File 630/118-8, Memorandum for Mr. Fraser from R.G. Robertson, 9 February, 1955.

290. INAC File 630-101-1, Vol. 4, Memorandum for the Minister, 12 August, 1957.

291. INAC File 40-2-185, Vol. 1, Memorandum for the Cabinet, Education in the Northwest Territories, from J. Lesage, 4 March, 1955.

292. INAC File 600-1, Vol. 2, Press Release, New Education Programme in the Northwest Territories, 20 March, 1955.
293. INAC File 40-2-185, Vol. 1, Memorandum for the Cabinet, Education in the Northwest Territories, from J. Lesage, 4 March, 1955.
294. INAC File 40-2-17, Vol. 10, Memorandum to Cabinet, A Five-Year Education Plan for the Northwest Territories and Northern Quebec - 1965-70, from the Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources.
295. INAC File 250-22-17, Vol. 1, Frobisher Bay School to Open in 1971 and Treasury Board Submission, 151-2.
296. INAC File 40-2-185, Vol. 1, Memorandum for the Cabinet, Education in the Northwest Territories, from J. Lesage, 4 March, 1955.
297. INAC File 250-9-20, Vol. 1, To J. MacDonald from S.M. Hodgson, 18 December, 1968 and File 1/25-13-2, Vol. 1, To R. Davey from F.A.G. Carter, 24 April, 1968. For a history of these events see: M.O. Dickerson, Whose North - Political Change, Political Development, and Self-Government in the Northwest Territories (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press and The Arctic Institute of North America, 1992), Chapters 4 and 5.
298. INAC File 600-1-6, Vol. 5, Memorandum for the Deputy Minister, 11 October, 1963.
299. N.A.C. RG 85 Vol. 709, File 630/105-10, To W. Booth from D. Wattie, 5 December, 1958 and To Deputy Minister from B. Sivertz, 12 January, 1959.
300. INAC File 600-1-6, Vol. 5, Memorandum for the Deputy Minister, 11 October, 1963.
301. N.A.C. RG 85 Vol. 709, File 630/105-10, To B. Sivertz from F. Cunningham, 19 September, 1957.
302. N.A.C. RG 85 Vol. 709, File 630/105-10, Memorandum for the Assistant Deputy Minister from B. Sivertz, 26 September, 1957.
303. N.A.C. RG 85, Vol. 1261, File 600-1-5, Memorandum for the Commissioner from B. Sivertz, 3 January, 1958.
304. INAC File 600-1-6, Vol. 1, 24 November, 1959.
305. INAC File 600-1-6, Vol. 1, 22 June, 1959.

306. N.A.C. RG 85 Vol. 1375, File 630/302-11, Memorandum for the Administrator of the Arctic, 19 October, 1960.
307. N.A.C. RG 85 Vol 1469, File 630/302-11, Memorandum for R. Kennedy, 8 November, 1963 and To Assistant Regional Administrator from J. Hughes, 17 May, 1965.
308. INAC File 600-1, Vol. 2, Education's in Canada's Northland, 12 December, 1954.
309. INAC File 603-2, Vol. 1, Education of Eskimos, 5 March, 1957.
310. N.A.C. RG 85 Vol. 532, File 600-1-4 (2), Sub-Committee on Education for NWT Council - Proposed Residential School, Chesterfield, 9 June 1950.
311. INAC File 630-101, Vol. 4, Memorandum for the Minister from R. G. Robertson, 12 August, 1957.
312. INAC File 600-1-6, Vol. 1, Memorandum for Education Division from R.A.J. Phillips, 1 October, 1959.
313. INAC File 630-101, Vol. 4, Memorandum for the Minister from R. G. Robertson, 12 August, 1957.
314. INAC File 603-2, Vol. 1, Education of Eskimos, 5 March, 1957.
315. INAC File 600-1, Vol. 2, Education's in Canada's Northland, 12 December, 1954.
316. INAC File 600-1, Vol. 2, Education's in Canada's Northland, 12 December, 1954.
317. INAC File 40-2-185, Vol. 1, Memorandum for the Cabinet, Education in the Northwest Territories, from J. Lesage, 4 March, 1955.
318. N.A.C. RG 85 Vol. 710, File 630/118-8, Memorandum for Administrator of the Mackenzie from R.A.J. Phillips, 7 November, 1959 and subsequent correspondence on this subject in the file.
319. INAC File 1/25-1, Vol. 15, Responsibility for Education in the Northwest Territories, 1964-65. See attached Table Showing Cost of Operating Large Pupil Residences - 1963-64.
320. INAC File 600-1, Vol. 2, Education's in Canada's Northland, 12 December, 1954.

321. INAC File 600-1, Vol. 2, Education in Canada's Northland, 12 December, 1954.
322. INAC File 250-25-23, Vol. 1, To Minister from E.A. Cote, 2 September, 1965.
323. INAC File 1/25-1, Vol. 15, Responsibility for Education in the Northwest Territories, 1964-65.
324. INAC File 250-25-23, Vol. 1, To The Right Reverend Donald B. Marsh, D.D. from A. Laing, 22 May, 1965.
325. INAC File 600-1-6, 24 November, 1959.
326. A. Webster, They are imposssible people, really, pages 2-7 and 2-17.
327. INAC File 250-25-23, Vol. 1, To Hon A Laing from Donald of the Arctic, 10 June 1965.
328. INAC File 250-25-23, Vol. 1, To Hon A Laing from Donald of the Arctic, 10 June 1965.
329. N.A.C. RG 85 Vol. 1444, File 630/500-10, To Hon. A. Laing from Donald of the Arctic, 1 April, 1965.
330. N.A.C. RG 85 Vol. 1444, File 630/500-10, To Hon. A. Laing from Donald of the Arctic, 1 April, 1965.
331. INAC File 250-25-23, Vol. 1, To Hon A Laing from Donald of the Arctic, 10 June 1965.
332. N.A.C. RG 85 Vol. 1444, File 630/500-10, To Hon. A. Laing from Donald of the Arctic, 1 April, 1965.

CHAPTER 5

THE FAILURE OF GUARDIANSHIP: NEGLECT AND ABUSE 1944-1992

The "failure to treat the
children as persons capable of
responding to love...."

The Department of Citizenship and Immigration
Indian Affairs Branch
Norlyn Bldg.,
309 Hargrave St.,
Winnipeg Manitoba
October 21, 1953

Memo to Mr. R.S. Davis

I visited the school on October 19th and 20th and found the following situation:

From the front entrance to the corridor of the basement one was subjected to an unbearable odor. [sic] The floor of the boiler room was covered with a liquid from the sewage system to a depth of 6 to 8 inches, some of this liquid was seeping into the boy's recreation room. At the other end of the building, in the girl's recreation room, there are a number of trap openings on the floor. Upon opening these traps one could see the same kind of liquid containing raw sewage, direct from toilets, almost to the level of the floor.

It looks as if the entire sewage piping under the floor had collapsed and that the sewage piping leading to the outside has been blocked by some obstruction.

On Monday, October 19th, the smell in the building was unbearable and no human being should be asked to live under such conditions. There is no doubt in my mind that such drastic action must be taken to remedy the situation and make sure it does not re-occur in the future. I, therefore, strongly recommend that the school be closed until such time as the necessary repairs are made. Should this condition continue or happen again at a later date, the health of the pupils and the members of the staff can be seriously affected. Furthermore, should there be an outbreak of diseases in a school like this one, the Indian parents would blame the school and refuse to send their children there. This would be a ten year set back in the education plan.

The Principal ... has been made aware of my recommendation and agrees with them. However, he is worried for fear that if the grant is not continued during the period the school would be closed, he would not be able to retain his staff. I further recommend that, if the school is closed, at least part of the grant be continued.

This is respectfully submitted in the hope that the Department be advised of the situation and that immediate appropriate action be taken.

G.H. Marcoux, Regional Inspector of Indian Schools.¹

After the war, as the Department concentrated on its "education plan," directing its attention and efforts to the mandate handed down to it by the Joint Committee in 1948, the often "unbearable" condition of the schools and the neglectful and too often abusive treatment of children which had marked the residential school system's pre-war history was not mitigated. There was, after all, nothing in the process of integration, itself, which would "remedy the situation" and ensure that "it does not re-occur in the future." While the Department concentrated on integration, turning its back as it were on the residential system, thousands of children remained trapped in the web of excessive punishment, poor building conditions, inadequate food and clothing, incompetent or overworked staff and underfunding which together threatened their safety and undermined "the health of the pupils."

There was, moreover, no "immediate appropriate action" taken. Significant measures to address these systemic problems were not adopted until 1957 and these reforms, which involved abandoning the per capita grant system, proved far from effective. The chronic neglect of the fabric of the system which forced children to live in conditions and endure levels of care that too often fell far short of acceptable standards persisted. When, in 1968, the "residential schools" were renamed "residences" there was nothing in the children's surroundings they would have recognized as new further than the change of name. Neglect and abuse, rooted still in those pre-war characteristics of the system - underfunding and administrative carelessness - remained the common reality through to the final closing of the schools.

NEGLECT

In the first decade of this post-war period, through to the reforms of 1957, reports, like Marcoux's, were an all too common barometer of the condition of an aging and poorly maintained system.² R. Hoey's "faith in the whole residential school set up,"³ badly shaken by his own visit to Mount Elgin in 1942, was, in the years that followed, constantly undermined by news from other schools - those referred to by Col. H. Jones, the director of Indian Affairs, in 1954 as "our problem establishments."⁴ And there were many such schools, poorly constructed and neglected in the previous decades, that deserved that tag. Indeed, all of the old voices of critique and dissent could still be heard echoing through the pages of the post-war files. They were amplified in this period by new critics within the system - not only by Aboriginal people and Departmental and church staff at all levels but by dietitians, doctors and nurses employed by other federal agencies. Many

found the system wanting, reported it as such and pushed for reforms.

The roll call of problems, of the "emergency nature"⁵ of the physical plant of schools like that one reported on by Marcoux recalled Paget's 1908 survey of western schools. Classes at St. Michael's, Alert Bay, were, in 1949, being held in a condemned building.⁶ At Fort Vermillion, they were conducted in rooms too small for the number of children who had, moreover, to contend with "stifle or freeze ventilation" and poor lighting.⁷ The children at Round Lake school lived and studied in a building described by Col. Jones as "one of the most dilapidated residential school buildings in existence" - buildings that had been, the year before, in 1949, "condemned by the Saskatchewan Fire Commissioner."⁸ At Morley the problem was with "the pole fire escapes from the dormitories" which an inspector felt were "hazardous for all children." They were, obviously, very high as the "girls are very reluctant to use them and the boys risk broken ankles by dropping down too quickly."⁹ Guy School, in 1951, combined both of those deficiencies. In the opinion of Dr. R.F. Yule, the medical superintendent of The Pas Agency, the school, an old three-storey building with electric wiring that had been "changed and augmented by amateurs," was "a real fire hazard." Its fire escapes, in part constructed of wood, were so few in number and so badly placed that in the event of a fire "the loss of life ... might easily be appalling." J.P. Ostrander, the regional supervisor of Indian agencies, noted that the situation was further complicated by the fact that there were, needlessly, too many children in the school. It would be, he suggested, "difficult to make excuses to parents if this wooden building burned and many children's lives were lost because of the difficulty of evacuating them from the building due to the extreme over-crowding."¹⁰ In the case of some schools the rot was systemic. In 1948, Prince Albert school was, according to a senior official of the Anglican church,

in plain language, a DEPLORABLE MESS and is most distressing to anyone who has the interest of Indian children at heart.... At present the conditions are nothing short of disgraceful.¹¹

St. Anthony's, the Catholic residential school at Onion Lake, was a typical example of such "mess." When a new Principal arrived, he found that it was in need of thorough "rehabilitation." His description of the school is an eerie memory of Rev. Lett's first impressions of the buildings and students of St. George's in 1923. All of St. Anthony's major systems had been condemned by local Departmental officials that spring. Apparently, everything was full of holes. "One of the furnaces was leaking ... all the [hot water] pipes were leaking at all the joints." The staff hung a "series of cans

... at every joint" throughout the school to collect the water. Most of the radiators had burst the previous winter. The firebox of the school's second furnace was so pitted "that only the rust scale at the bottom keeps the water from seeping out all over." It certainly would "not last very long."

The state of affairs in other departments of the school was not much better. Sewer pipes were leaking, toilets were broken and "as for the septic tanks, they are useless." For the last two years "sewerage is coming out of the top of the tanks and flowing down the hill ... something no Health Inspector would tolerate."

A fire inspector would have been equally displeased with the school's electrics. One day the firebells "rang by themselves." An investigation revealed uncovered wires conducting current "through the tin sheeting of the ceiling." The wiring had been installed by amateurs who had run "uncovered wires ... through walls and floors and in some cases without even switch boxes." Fortunately, perhaps, the diesel plant was too small to produce much power. It finally broke down completely and as a result the school had "no refrigeration whatsoever." All the out-buildings, except the forge, "were in need of major repair." And there were innumerable smaller repairs required: "some two hundred panes of glass to replace, just about every storm window to repair, window sills which had rotted to be replaced, etc., etc."

The educational component of the school was in considerable disarray. There was not enough classroom space, and "none of the four teachers have normal school training." There were almost no extra-curricular activities, "sports had been sadly neglected" with "the result that morale was very poor." That, he believed, had been the reason why the year before he arrived "some thirty children had run away from the school within two months."

Despite these conditions, the Principal, like Lett had been initially, remained energetic and optimistic - confident that with "the cooperation from the staff that I have been getting and the wonderful cooperation and approval" of local Departmental officials "we can have a very successful school."¹² He may in the long run have been correct, but in the case of other schools no amount of energy or cooperation could bring effective remedial action. Father Lacombe's and J. Macrae's complaint in 1890 that the newly opened Kamloops school was designed without any knowledge of the requirements of residential education was echoed by J. R. McCurdy, a Provincial school inspector, when he visited Guy school in Manitoba in 1958:

From the outside Guy Residential School is a very

imposing structure. A cursory tour of the building might even leave the same impression about the interior but a serious study of the layout leaves an altogether different impression. I would say frankly that the building being an architect's dream is a nightmare.

His point, or "thesis" as he called it, beyond the fact that there were some of the usual deficiencies - not enough toilet or washing facilities, no library and "unhygienic" practices - was "that, basically, a residential school for boys and girls should be designed to offer instruction in as homelike an atmosphere as is possible under the artificial circumstances." To that end, and therefore undercutting its educational function, the Guy building was "quite inadequate - a defect arising out of poor design and planning." The quarters were cramped and the dining room, the only public room, had to double as a parlour, recreation room and study.¹³

McCurdy missed a rather significant point. Whether they were in good condition or not, schools could be nothing but "artificial." No amount of planning or design could have made them "homelike." Their size and shape, the very bricks and mortar, emphasized the purposeful estrangement of the child from his community and his culture. One young student from Lesser Slave Lake, whose memories have found their way into a Departmental file, recalled her first day in the residential school classroom:

I never saw running water, I never saw electricity and here we were stuck in this class with electric lights. There was no way I could concentrate trying to learn English and look at the light. Its presence there was like, I don't know, a spirit I guess or at least that is what I thought. I thought it was kind of good because at least it was warm.... How was it possible to have that light? So I couldn't learn as I was constantly wondering and looking at the lights for fear that they would blow up and burn the place down....¹⁴

The historian Carroll Van West in a study of the architecture of American boarding schools for Indian children in the western plains termed them appropriately "acculturation by design" - "the introduction of squared and rectangular structures on the landscape was a disturbing intrusion to the shape of the built environment as envisioned by plains people."¹⁵ School buildings for Plains children and for other Aboriginal children (whose image of structures was of human size) were huge and threatening. To cross the threshold was to journey far beyond the boundaries of home.

Leaving home for the residential school was, tragically, still for many a journey into sickness. For many others, it was a journey to death. The past clung stubbornly to the school buildings and the children who entered them. The war years brought no end to the connection between the condition of those structures, the too often poor quality of care given by the staff and the ill-health of the children. The Anglican Old Sun's school in Alberta provides a striking example. It had been condemned out of hand by Paget in 1908 as "unsuitable in everyway for such an institution" and declared "far short of ideal" by Dr. Corbett in 1920 - a sink hole of tubercular infection and scabies, the result of the staff's neglect of the children's hygiene.¹⁶ It was again before the Department "in a very unhygienic condition" in 1956. Once more the staff was at fault. Local nurses had alerted the Indian Health Services (a division of the Department of National Health and Welfare created in 1944 out of the Medical Services section of Indian Affairs) to the "numerous skin lesions occurring in the pupils and their general unclean condition." Some 57 students had been taken to hospital, 32 were admitted for treatment.

Dr. B.J. Orford, who conducted a subsequent investigation, was shocked by what he found:

To be quite frank with you, I cannot recall, ever before, finding a school so unkempt and unclean. The floors were dirty; the dining room was particularly bad; the dormitories were untidy There was a single wash basin in each of the four dormitories and not one was in operation. All were an unsightly mess. There was a toilet cubicle in each dormitory, only one of which was working. All the bowls were badly stained.... The boys' washroom and toilet facilities beggar description. The wash basins give the impression of not having been cleaned in weeks. The toilet room was absolutely filthy and foul smelling. The appearance of the pupils was untidy and unclean.

Orford, charitably, attached some of the blame to the structure itself - "I realize that the physical set up is not ideal" - but in the end "The only conclusion at which I can arrive is that the students lack direction and training which is, after all, an essential part of their education."¹⁷

At Gordon's school, too, what was termed the staff's lack of adequate "organization and management," caused by the all too familiar fact that "while the Principals who have been at the school are Ministers, they are not trained for the work of Principal of a Boarding school," was the road that led to the ill-health of the children. In 1945, "Dr. Golfman ... advised ... that the children he examined were not clean and some had

lice in their hair." Ostrander's and Golfman's follow-up the next year revealed that conditions had not improved: "We found the children's bodies anything but clean and their underwear the same." The school was "very cold," the water supply problematic, the plumbing inadequate and "the whole building was in a filthy, unsanitary condition." They informed the Principal that they were "not satisfied with the meals which the children are receiving and that he must make an effort to improve their meals and provide them with a more balanced diet." It was, they feared, increasingly an unsupportable burden for the new matron, Miss Edwards. She had been, Ostrander reported,

at the school for about three months. I think she has the ability and training to fit her for work of this kind but I believe that the troubles in the last three months in connection with water supply, disease, and uncleanness have almost been too much for her and she appears on the verge of a nervous breakdown.

The whole set up was unacceptable to them, though they contradicted the local agent's recommendation that the school be closed.¹⁸

Tuberculosis, too, the great scourge of the system, was still not just a memory; it remained a significant problem in some of the schools even though the rate of infection had declined nationally in the last two decades. Instructions for "preventative measures" issued in 1948 by Dr. P.S. Tennant, another Health Services physician, to the staff of Kuper Island school, "to avoid the further spread of T.B.," point to the fact that many of the old contributing factors, evident at Gordon's and Old Sun's, were still common in the system. The staff had to provide "more heat and bedding," improve the ventilation and ensure that rooms used by the children were "swept and kept free of dust at all times" so that "dust laden particles" which "carry T.B. germs and contribute towards the spread of tuberculosis" were eliminated.¹⁹

Other physicians chronicled the most classic and pernicious expeditor of infection - "overcrowding" in the dormitories. It was, Dr. Yule reported from Guy school in 1950, a constant "danger to the health of the children." He had found "smaller children ... sleeping two in a narrow single bed." They were, E. Jones, the Superintendent of the Carlton Agency added, "breathing in each others faces."²⁰ An inspection report on St. Mary's in British Columbia carried the same warning - "The distance that the beds are apart is definitely a menace to the health of the boys."²¹

The likelihood of infection was pushed even higher by the fact

that many children were still taken in with "no entrance medical examination" and thus they remained in the school to become ill and infect others. Yule reminded his superiors in the Indian Health Service that "One active case of T.B. can do alot [sic] of damage in crowded quarters such as we have here"[Guy school] and that such damage could be done "in a short time."²² Orford, in 1946, on reporting the death of a boy from meningitis at St. Philip's School, Fort George, gave it as his opinion, as he had "on more than one occasion" that "residential schools in isolated areas constitute a health hazard" not only because of the lack of exams but because of the unavailability of modern medical technology - "no physical examination will discover tuberculosis in a child unless it is a gross lesion." Children would remain at risk "until we can gather sufficient personnel to carry out immunization and an x-ray survey."²³

Higher standards of cleanliness, the proper loading of sleeping areas, stringent application of medical exam regulations, the transfer of infected children to a sanatorium²⁴ and the use of modern diagnostic technology, all of which were predicated on the active care and oversight by the Department, were not the only measures at hand for dealing with the threat of a tubercular outbreak and other diseases. There is some evidence that the more dramatic technique - mass operations carried out in the schools - was still employed. On the 29th of August, 1949, Yule flew to Guy school with his wife and Mrs. Dalman "the usual assistance I have taken in for the last several years to enable me to do any Tonsil work found necessary among the new pupils."

We started this work on the morning of the 30th. After we had done 25 pair we decided to call it a day and left the other five for another time. As there is now a yearly visit by our Dentist, no teeth extractions were done.

The following fall Yule was back at the school for more "T. and A.[adenoids] work." This time he operated on 28 children.²⁵ The routine fashion of his report suggests that such operations were probably a frequent and unremarkable occurrence in the system.

Not everyone, however, was so matter-of-fact about the infectious nature of the system as it was and as it was being managed. In 1948, Departmental Superintendent Neil Walker, newly appointed to the Fort Vermillion area, launched a campaign against all residential schools. In this, he was even slightly in advance of the Joint Committee. For him the introduction of day schools was "the only solution for Indian health and education." He bluntly told P. Phelan, the chief of the Indian Affairs' Education Division, that "if I were

appointed by the Dominion Government for the express purpose of spreading tuberculosis, there is nothing finer in existence than the average Indian Residential School."

For Walker, the Fort Vermillion school readily bore out his contention. When he and the Regional Superintendent of Indian Health Services, Dr. E. L. Stone, first visited the school, they found a "general mess." The school was overcrowded. The part-time doctor, nurses' aids in the local hospital and "many of the children also had tuberculosis." Those conditions, which he felt were "very much the same as in every other Residential School throughout Canada," and the fact that "the death rate from T.B. in Alberta," the province with the greatest number of residential schools, "was the highest in Canada" should lead anyone, he suggested to Phelan, to an obvious conclusion:

If you put two and two together you will find that if all of those schools were discontinued and the Indians given the right to send their children to day schools, that in very few years this dread disease would at least be under control.

In September, the schools were "filled up and overcrowded.... no interest [was] shown as to whether the children are healthy or not. It has been a case of getting them into school...." The result at Fort Vermillion was that, "eighty per cent of the children attending school are sick."²⁶

Walkers's critique took on additional urgency and resolution in the face of the Catholic church's lobbying for the construction of a new school in the region - at Hay Lakes. The whole episode seemed a replay of the way in which the system had been built in the first instance. The request came complete with a supporting petition "for a boarding school for our children and some kind of hospital, right here at Hay Lakes" signed by over 50 members of the band. The rationale provided by the attendant missionary was as old as the system itself. The school would rescue band members from their deplorable circumstances and through the education of their children deposit them in a safe, prosperous, healthy, Christian future:

These [Slave] Indians ... may be the most abandoned Indians of all Canada, poor, dirty, lousy, ignorant.... They make a poor living trapping. During the war, with plenty of fur, and good prices, their needs were not so bad, but now fur-bearing animals are getting scarce. Prices are low, the cost of living going up. It is getting hard for them. Some do not have enough to eat and offer no resistance to T.B. germs.

Reason, he supplemented with obligation. Schools, he noted, had been promised "when on June 23rd, 1900, ... the representation of the Government of Canada signed Treaty with these Indians...."²⁷

Walker was not impressed by any of this. The education these people needed was "very much different than what can be expected from any residential school." It was, as Martin Benson had so often argued with respect to residential schools in isolated areas, out of place and out of time. Band members could benefit most from instruction "along the lines of improving their homes, cleanliness - in short an intensive programme of Health education for children and grown-ups." That could "only be accomplished by a system of day schools." Walker ended with a warning. If the residential school was built and if the parents "allow their children to go ... Indian Health Services, can expect more Tuberculosis, as I feel convinced that this school will (like all other residential schools) be a breeding spot for this dread disease."²⁸

The Department did not share Walker's reservations or refused to heed his warning. Northern Alberta was one of those frontier regions into which the Department was beginning to move after the war and it was yet far too remote and under-developed to be part of the newly consecrated integration policy. The old policy then would be dutifully applied - the school, eventually named Assumption Indian School, was built.²⁹

Walker's other recommendations were not adopted either - that "schools should be closed down at the end of the present term" when "dormitories and classrooms should be thoroughly disinfected" and that "no child should be admitted unless the child is perfectly healthy." Not only was the old policy extended but it would be carried out with the same, often unfortunate, results.

Walker, having met and been defeated by the determination of the church and Department, resigned. He ended his service declaring, as had Dr. Bryce in his pamphlet in 1922, that the schools were "a very sad story and I think the only solution is to get public opinion aroused throughout Canada so that this great injustice will be discontinued."³⁰

When it came to other considerations with respect to the care of children - how well they were clothed and fed - the immediate postwar files saw no diminution of "injustice." There were, in terms of the food and clothes provided, good schools but there was still no guarantee that standards were regularly met across the face of the system. Furthermore, as in the area of health, here too it is evident that the

Department was no more vigilant nor insistent on the proper care and treatment of its wards than had been the case in earlier decades even though it began to receive, at the end of the war, by way of scientific assessments of school diets, an indication of how critically deplorable the situation was and had at its disposal professional advice to remedy it.

Off-hand remarks from concerned local officials and teachers "that the quantity and quality of food served is not very desirable" and even, on occasion, complaints from parents, "up in arms over the treatment of their children,"³¹ continued throughout and after the war without a break. More formally, official school inspection reports by agents highlighted that thick and yet unbroken line of ill-treatment stretching back to the beginning of the system. In his report on Gordon's school in October, 1945, R.S. Davis, then an agent, gave ample evidence of neglect. The children were not well-clothed. They "had no winter coats on hand" and the clothes they did have "do not fit the children well". They were, of course, charity clothes, "things sent in by the church authorities." The boys' shoes were "in terrible condition". He "checked 6 boy's feet and 5 of them had no soles in their shoes at all and their feet were on the bare ground."

Davis attended meals for two days. He watched children "put up their plates for more, but did not get a second helping." At one meal they were served only "one ladle of a mixture of beans, a small sprinkling of corn, potatoes and very little meat, in fact some children did not get meat at all." What bread was served was "on the stale side, without butter or any fats." They received "half a mug of milk, which looked very thin. No dessert whatsoever." In Davis's "opinion these children are not getting a balanced diet ... they are certainly not getting enough meat."

The Department had already received complaints from the children's parents. Our children, they told Dr. Camsell,

do not get enough to eat, when we visit our children they want us to take some food to them, because they are so hungry all the time, all the children are like that. They suffer from lack of food If we, the parents, do not cloth our children ... they would go bare So we, parents, dealing with the school feel that it is really mean to our children and other children as well.³²

Parental protest played a role in another and an even more bizarre episode. The Superintendent of the Abitibi Agency, H. Lariviere, visiting the Mistassini community was told by one of the band's leaders that nearly all of the children who

attended the Moose Fort Indian Residential School "complained of ill-treatment and that all of them came back from the school very thin and hungry." Lariviere reported to R.F. Davey that the children told him about frequent physical abuse and that they got so hungry at school that, in desperation, they "went to garbage can to get food." After moving from "tent to tent" he was able to secure "certain informations" which to him revealed "that the complaints are justified."

School authorities, of course, denied it all - it was "nothing short of ridiculous." It was possible that the children had looked "a little unhealthy on arrival" because they "were all violently air-sick when returning home by Canso." It certainly could not be put down to the food at school. The meals were wholly adequate, indeed, "the amount of food served at each meal has been substantially increased...." Another local Departmental official, W.J. Harvey, concurred. The children went to the cans not to eat but to play. He, himself, had had to chase children away from the dump where they insisted on going in "search of any bits and pieces of materials such as bottle caps and tin cans, for throwing sticks and rocks at." He was amazed that Lariviere would retail such "pure fiction" would "submit such petty information on paper, and further state that the complaints were justified."³³

At All Saints school in Aklavik, an alarm over "the welfare of the Eskimo and Indian children" was set off by a teacher who wrote directly to the minister of Pensions and National Health. She was "appalled at the health conditions" and at the fact that "those in charge of the children did not seem to consider hygienic conditions, as a part of their welfare." To illustrate her point, she recounted the familiar litany of conditions - unsanitary toilet and washing facilities: "the drinking pail, is a container rimmed in dirt and lying anywhere on the playroom floor," "containers were always provided in the dormitories for excretion purposes ... mostly left uncovered and the air became foul, the children breath it in while sleeping," "the toilets were smelly.... At Christmas I saw the children tearing up their paint books in effort to be clean."

She was also troubled by the food. With remarkable industry she had gone through all the invoices and calculated that only \$20.52 per annum was spent on food for each child compared to \$162.19 for the adults. The children were undernourished; the "essential products of milk, butter, eggs and cheese are denied these children." She attached sample menus. For their dinner children regularly had either a "piece of boiled fish," with "beans on a plate" or with "one slice of bread with tallow" and a "cup of water" or they were served a "bowl of soup" accompanied by "1 slice of bread with jam".

The matter was passed along to Indian Affairs who then commissioned the local Department of Health doctor, D.L. Livingston, whose duties included caring for the children and staff in the school, to investigate. The building, he concluded, was unsanitary and it would take considerable reconstruction to make it right. "The food has no doubt been inadequate." This was particularly so with respect to fresh fruit and vegetables. "I am sure that I personally in my own house have at least as much fresh fruit shipped in as they use in the school for about ninety children and a staff of about ten." Interestingly, Livingston, found the staff's diet problematic. "I frequently have had to treat them [the female staff] for neurosis no doubt due to environment and diet." Women, he advised, could not endure such isolation and thus should not be posted to the north for periods over two years.

Neurosis was not Livingston's only medical challenge. He was struggling against tuberculosis and he was using a familiar weapon. In his first year attending the children, there had been "a large number of deaths...." This he attributed "to a large extent to infective tonsils which undermined their general health and also was a source of continuous infection among the pupils." Since then he had "removed the tonsils of most of the children on admission or shortly thereafter."³⁴

There was evidence, as well, that the old practice of separating milk was still carried on in some schools to the detriment of the children's diet and, no doubt, their health. One teacher at Morely school reported that

Last year the authorities of this school began to separate the milk which they gave to the Children. This year, when I came to teach, I expressed some surprise; especially since we of the staff always have whole milk and thick cream on the table. I was promptly told that whole milk is not as good for the children as the skimmed, since it contained too much fat; and that the move was for the health of the children. This piece of medical wisdom is contrary to what I was taught in school; and I would appreciate it very much if you would tell me whether it is a new discovery, or whether our matron is merely misinformed.

I have been quite concerned about the diet of these growing children, who do not get what the staff does either in quantity or quality. I am not a dietitian, and therefore have no right to criticize; but if there is some way that it could be inspected to appear as routine, I would feel more at ease. [sic]³⁵

In the post-war years, if there was not marked improvement in the treatment of the children, there was in the fact that the Department did not have to rely for "wisdom" exclusively on the amateur opinions of field and school staff, nor on those of parents it always tended to discount, for an indication of how "balanced" school meals were - for an appreciation of how serious the situation was in school kitchens and dining rooms. Beginning in 1944, it had access not only to the opinions of doctors like Livingston, Yule, Orford and others but to analysis by nutritionists and dietitians. It had thereby a means by which officials like Davey could steer through conflicting testimony, between "pure fiction" and fact, and arrive at the best interests of the students. In the years that followed, the Department, however, did not in any general or consistent fashion take advantage of that expertise.

The first professional studies of school diets were instigated by Dr. P.E. Moore, the Department's director of medical services. Like Hoey he was troubled by what he observed during the war and by reports that reached his desk. The studies he initiated were carried out in 1944 and 1945 by the Nutritional Services section of the Red Cross under the direction of Mrs. A. Stevenson employing laboratories in Toronto for analysing the food samples collected. It was decided to survey three schools - one Anglican, Chapleau, one Catholic, Spanish, and, not surprisingly as R. Hoey was consulted on the final choice, Mount Elgin, a United Church school. The results at all three were, as Stevenson summarized the Mount Elgin study, for Hoey, "simply appalling."³⁶

St. John's, Chapleau, a school that had a difficult record in Scott's day, was not greatly improved. The Red Cross found "the standard of all food preparation was very low and the meals were distinctly unpalatable." The bread, for example, was "heavy, solid, tough and tasteless except for an unpleasant flavour." Every thing about the kitchen and dining room was dirty and there was a "lack of cleanliness and sanitary care in the handling of the food." The place was full of flies - "it was not uncommon to see the food particularly black with them. One day about forty or fifty flies were counted on one slice of bread. Cockroaches were everywhere."

The results of the laboratory analysis were even more disturbing:

In general it may be noted that during the period of stress when the demand of the body for these nutrients is greatest, the school diet is startlingly low in ascorbic acid and Vitamin A and to a lesser degree is deficient in thiamine, calcium and niacin, and in calories for boys 13-15 years of age.... By mid-winter the value of the

dietary will drop still lower because (a) the supply of home grown vegetables other than potatoes will be nearly exhausted, (b) the commission lists from which all other food is ordered does not include any canned vegetables or tomatoes, (c) ascorbic acid (vitamin c) content of potatoes or other vegetables on hand will be much lower.³⁷

The Spanish school fared a bit better. On the day of inspection the school was very clean. What could not be hidden by any last minute effort on the eve of inspection, however, was the nutritional content of the meals. Vitamin A and ascorbic acid amounts were 25-75 per cent below requirements but the children did receive adequate iron, riboflavin, thiamine and protein from the "unusually large quantities of beans which they consumed every other day." Beans aside, the total calories offered were far less than needed by the older children.³⁸

Unfortunately, the details of the Mount Elgin survey are not in Departmental files in the National Archives. Beside the comment that conditions in general were appalling only one other remark has survived - "no one on the staff had even elementary knowledge of sanitation and hygiene."³⁹

Dr. Moore, and his Medical Services unit, were soon transferred to National Health and Welfare [NHW], becoming the Indian Health Services, but he did not drop his interest in the schools. He enlisted the services of Dr. L.B. Lett, chief of NHW's Nutrition Division, who in 1946 agreed to undertake a wider study to set out "the scope of the problem" and to determine "what type of establishment we would need in order to provide continuous assistance in regard to serving nutritious meals at low costs in different parts of Canada." In the meantime, he was prepared to offer to those schools who requested it a skeleton inspection service made up of two dieticians who had given "similar service to canteens and kitchens in war factories and plants."⁴⁰

A part of Dr. Lett's wider study was a detailed review, in 1946, of eight schools: Kenora, Fort Frances, Sioux Lookout and Macintosh in Ontario, Portage La Prairie Elkhorn and Brandon in Manitoba and Qu'Appelle in Saskatchewan by a nutritionist - Miss A. McCready. Though Indian Affairs, when the results were in, characterized them as "fairly satisfactory" the report itself did not support such a conclusion. McCready found that in Protestant schools "mediocre" salaries secured kitchen staff who were "unqualified (often elderly)," carried out their "work in a careless and uninterested fashion" and thus "the food quality was not good". In Catholic schools, where the staff consisted of unpaid nuns, who were "therefore ... genuinely interested

in their work," the "quality was good, cleanliness was evident." On the whole, however, in all schools poor menu planning in which the nutritional value of certain foods was not fully appreciated", equipment that was "unfit," "antiquated cooking facilities" and bad cooking practices contributed to the "nutritional inadequacy of the children's diet" which lacked sufficient amounts of vitamins A, B and C. The children, moreover, received too little of nearly everything - not enough green vegetables, whole grains, fruit, juices, milk, iodized salt and eggs."⁴¹

Despite the seriousness of the situation revealed by the Red Cross and by McCready's report, and despite Moore's and Lett's enthusiasm and continuing willingness to cooperate, to construct a permanent working relationship with Indian Affairs, there was no reciprocal energy coming from either the Department or the churches. Lett's hope of working out standards for nutritious and affordable meals and a regular rotar of inspections came to nought. In 1954, in a letter to the Department he summarized the history of what had been for him a disappointing, on-again, off-again and largely one-sided consultation over nearly a decade:

During the last couple of years we have almost lost touch with most of the residential schools due to the lack of requests for our services. This highlights a difficulty which I have noted personally and have had reported to me by my staff in visiting these schools. We have never felt that we had the authority to arrange visits to schools on a systematic basis. While there has never been any rudeness from the schools, there have been many occasions when the reception made it clear that our position in relation to the Indian Affairs Branch ... was not sufficient in the eyes of the school to justify our intrusion. In contrast to this when there had been specific concerns brought to our attention usually by your Branch, these have been attended to as rapidly as we could arrange to do it.⁴²

It was not only Principals who paid little heed to Nutritional Services but the Department itself. In December, 1953 a proposal Moore sent along to the Department that he (Moore) would include additional capacity in his plans "to establish dietitians positions to provide a consultation and inspection service to our hospitals" that would enable them to "extend our coverage to include the Indian schools" was not met with great enthusiasm.⁴³ As of old, the Department continued in its pattern of hesitancy - allowing even egregious situations, which were far from "fairly satisfactory", to drag on unresolved for years. Old Sun's, for example, remained a

problem despite Orford's report. Dr. L.H. Mason, the medical superintendent at the Blackfoot Indian Hospital, reported at the end of 1957 that the "burning question" of Old Sun's was even more inflamed. "The children are dirty. The building is dirty, dingy and is actually going backward rather than forward."⁴⁴

It was, however, the situation at the Brandon school in the late 1940s and 1950s that stands as the symbol of the continuation of this pre-war system-wide characteristic - of children too often left by the Department in the insensitive care of school staff under questionable leadership who in turn tried to manage schools that were not properly maintained or funded.

Information that there were severe problems with the care of children at Brandon came to the Department from a surprising source. In December, 1946, the Minister, J. A. Glen, received a letter from T.C. Douglas, the premier of Saskatchewan. Douglas was concerned that children from Moose Mountain reserve, near Carlyle, Saskatchewan, who had run off from the school complaining of the food and of mistreatment, might, if they ran off again, injure themselves. In fact, on Douglas's behalf the RCMP visited the school. Not unexpectedly, perhaps, both the Department and the church lined up behind the school. When the premier's letter was passed on to the Rev. G. Dorey of the United Church's Board of Home Missions, it got far from a sympathetic reception.

If Mr. Douglas accepts the statements of the Carlyle Indians at their face value, without further investigation, all I can say is that he will have plenty to do looking after the Indians of Saskatchewan without being able to give much time to his duties as Premier.

The minister's response was more polite but none the less supportive. Inspection reports, he assured Douglas, proved that the school was well-managed and provided the children a good diet.⁴⁵

Such a statement certainly did not reflect the conclusions of J. Ostrander, the regional inspector of Indian agencies, who visited the school on the heels of the RCMP. He informed the Department, before the minister's reply was drafted, that the runaway problem was real and had to be laid at the door of the Principal: "A residential school under good management does not usually have a great deal of trouble with the boys. Teaching the boys to like the school and the school staff by making their spare time a little more pleasant seems to be the only answer." This apparently did not happen for according to police reports, the children continued to run off over the

next two years.⁴⁶

The situation was brought to a head in 1950 when the local agent, J. Waite, submitted a negative evaluation chronicling continuing deficiencies which, he thought, were rooted, in the character and behaviour of the Principal - "an aggressive type" who stood "a little aloof from the children ... a strict disciplinarian in school." R.S. Davis lent his support and called for a full-scale investigation because that most telltale of signs of mistreatment was there in abundance. "There is certainly something wrong," he told P. Phelan, who had moved up to the position of superintendent of education, "as children are running away most of the time." "Conditions at this school are not what they should be. The sooner we make a change the better."⁴⁷

Change would not come very soon, however, for G.H. Marcoux, the regional inspector of Indian schools, was not dispatched to investigate until the fall of 1951. He did not find it an easy task. The Principal refused to allow him to interview the staff in private and would only let him talk in private to one boy and one girl - hand-picked by the Principal, himself. Nevertheless, Marcoux concluded that the children were not well-treated, they were expected to do too much work, had not enough opportunity to play, their clothing was "much too scanty at times" and the attitude of staff and Principal to the children was not at all positive - in short "drastic changes will have to be made" to solve the runaway problem.⁴⁸

The diet received separate attention. Marcoux was accompanied by Mrs. Anna Swaile, the nursing supervisor for the district. She reported that "the overall picture of the institution is pretty grim." The dining room was overcrowded and dark: "The enamel ware used on the table is battered and chipped, the porridge bowls are stainless steel, the cups and silverware came out of Noah's ark I am sure." The meal she attended was a "serving of cold, badly mashed potatoes, two carrots without either butter or sauce, one small piece of cold roast beef, one slice of greased bread and a serving of cornstarch pudding, and a battered tin mug of milk." It was "unattractive, badly served, and insufficient in quantity for growing children with meal hours so far apart." She went through the menus and calculated that the children received only 1,500 calories a day and most of that was from potatoes and bread. The cook was untrained "knows little or nothing about balanced meals and has not the provisions to prepare them even if she did." Except for the cockroaches, the kitchen was clean.⁴⁹

The Marcoux-Swaile inspection produced no results, whatsoever. Nothing happened. In the spring of 1952 Marcoux inspected the school for a second time. Nothing had really improved and

other than writing to the Principal for information, the Department did nothing. When in 1953, R.F. Davey took over from Phelan, the same man was Principal.⁵⁰

The investigative process began again, however, in the fall of 1953, after Davey received what he termed a "report from a reliable source." Davis was notified that Marcoux, along with "Miss [Nan] Chapman, the Dietitian of the Sanatorium Board of Manitoba," should inspect the school - its third inspection in as many years. This directive came, Davis wrote in reply to Davey, as "no surprise to us" as "this complaint is longstanding."⁵¹

The Chapman report was a replay of Swaile's. The nutritional picture was, she concluded, "not a happy one." Again after recording general observations: that the staff was fed much better than the children, that the food was cold, no seconds were allowed and so forth, she got down to science. In this instance the assessment of the diet came not in the form of calories but cents. She calculated that the Principal was spending "the startling figure" of 14.8 cents a day per child on food rather than what was a more reasonable figure of 34 cents. She ended her report with recommendations for a system of centralized food purchasing to lower the cost of food for schools and for a menu reporting system that would allow the close monitoring of meal quality.⁵²

In his report Marcoux stressed the negative effect the school's reputation was having on educational progress in the region. Parents had heard stories of mistreatment and balked - they would not contemplate education for their children "the minute Brandon Residential school is mentioned." He laid all the blame at the Principal's feet.⁵³

Chapman's report got into the hands of Dr. Moore in Ottawa who let Col. Jones, know that he and the Sanatorium Board were "gravely concerned over these findings." If, he added pointedly, "this deplorable condition is true it will, undoubtedly be reflected in the health and well being of the children." Jones assured him that the Department was "taking steps to correct this very disturbing situation."⁵⁴

The Department did not, however, take any steps on its own. Indeed, it rejected Chapman's recommendations, particularly the centralized purchasing idea as "not workable."⁵⁵ Rather, it reverted to Scott's technique - the one that had driven Graham to exasperation. In December 1953, the Department turned the matter over to the church suggesting that it might contemplate removing or transferring the Principal because he was damaging the school's reputation and that in turn was making the Department's integration scheme, based in part upon the centralization of children, more difficult to execute.

True to the old pattern, the church then defended the Principal. Rev. G. Dorey claimed that the Principal had not been given the opportunity to defend himself against charges which were very likely suspect.⁵⁶

The result - the Principal remained at the school until the fall of 1955 when he left - not fired but transferred. Five years later Davey was writing to him at Edmonton Residential School where he was the Principal admonishing him over the poor diet the children were receiving. The church was concerned as well with his treatment of students there. There were reports of "corporal punishment being meted out with the buckle ends of belts, sever enough to raise welts on bodies." The Principal protested that he had "put a stop to that" but the feeling in the church persisted "that there is too much slapping and physical force in his punishments." The church's new appointment to the Brandon principalship, a man who had been previously Principal at Morley, was made over Davey's objections.⁵⁷

In five years, other than constant inspections and hand wringing by officials, the Department had done nothing concrete about Brandon and nothing improved. In the fall of 1956, Davey on a trip out from Ottawa, visited the school and found that still the food was not adequate. He lectured the new Principal, who had claimed he had not the financial resources to care for the children, that the "welfare of the children should be the primary consideration rather than the financial status of the school." A month later, R. Ragan, who succeeded to Davis's position as the regional supervisor of Indian Agencies, reported that the Principal had not listened, the food had not been increased. "The whole premises as well as the inmates were horribly dirty and certainly something must be done."⁵⁸

Again the report ran up the Department's organizational chart and like so many reports before it throughout the history of the system, it elicited as much worry over the Department's reputation as it did concern for the children. Davey, commenting to Col. Jones, was "disturbed about the serious danger of the adverse publicity which is likely to arise from the unsatisfactory operation of the Brandon school."⁵⁹

The unsatisfactory operation at Brandon, which had been an open and running sore for most of the decade, and similar circumstances in many other schools in the system, attested to by reports from agents, teachers and dietitians, led Col. Jones in 1956 to write what now seems a rather ironic letter to Moore:

As you know it is very difficult for the officials
of this Branch to assess the diet offered in our

residential schools and I believe it would be most desirous to have dieticians make periodic visits to each of these institutions. No doubt you have some such service for your hospitals. Would it be possible for you to extend this service so that we would have regular visits to the residential schools of a frequency not less than once a year.⁶⁰

A year later Indian Affairs, Indian Health Services and the Treasury Board started to put in place a system that would "provide a Public Health Nursing Service which would not only encompass nursing in the schools but the provision of public health instruction for the students" in schools which had 200 or more children. Smaller schools, it was eventually decided, might have nurses' aids or practical nurses for "when pupils are ill, and are placed in the school infirmary they need mothering, ie care and attention similar to that that a mildly ill child would receive in its own home."⁶¹

Departmental hesitancy in the face of church neglect, its persistent failure to act decisively in defense of children in the schools, as at Brandon, was not the only factor that determined the character and circumstances of the children's care. Miss McCready in 1946 laid much of the blame for the conditions she described in her eight school review on "financial limitations" - the same limitations that had in the decades before the war plagued every other aspect of the system and had always led to the neglect of the children. Davey's review of the residential school system, written in 1968, summed up these early post-war years without disguise or apology. Neither the churches or the Department, he charged

appeared to have had any real understanding of the needs of the children.... The method of financing these institutions by per capita grants was an iniquitous system which made no provision for the establishment and maintenance of standards, even in such basic elements as staffing and clothing.⁶²

Underfunding was the universal tag line in descriptions of the system's shortcomings. Churches often claimed that because the per capita grants were too small, they could not compete with Provincial schools and thus they suffered chronic shortages of teachers, along with maintenance staff, meaning that in some schools, despite the abandonment of the half-day system, "the bulk of 'chores' must fall on the shoulders of the few older boys and girls."⁶³

In fact, the residential system did not even compete with other federal Departments. It paid lower salaries for comparable jobs. At NHW's Indian Hospital in one community, for example, in 1956, the cook received twice the salary as the cook at the nearby residential school, cooked for fewer

people and received "a yearly increment plus civil servants benefits [sic]." The school's United Church staff had to work 6 days a week, pay their transportation from Winnipeg ... and face isolation, for much lower salaries than they would be getting otherwise." While they had "a conviction for the work", they also had "financial obligations to meet and security to think of" and thus the "yearly staff turnover" could always "be expected to be high."⁶⁴ It is little wonder that Indian Affairs officials routinely observed that those who were hired were too often of questionable competence - that "the crying need of Residential Schools is qualified personnel."⁶⁵ W.J. Harvey, while siding with school authorities in the dispute over conditions at Moose Fort School, reminded the Department that as he had "previously reported":

the staff at this school is very inadequate in numbers and types. They are usually old, broken down and decrepit, or too young and inexperienced. This same trouble exists in most of the schools under Anglican Administration. They simply get the type of labour they pay for.⁶⁶

Dietitians, too, recognized that funding was often the underlying problem. In 1947, McCreedy, who had extended her school visits into Alberta, drew together the issues of funding, staff competence and student diets. As a general rule, she concluded, "the goodness or badness of feeding corresponds to the quality of management of the several schools in other respects." She rarely found either "goodness" or "quality." In her experience, nowhere did the "diet meet the requirements in respect to vitamin content" and "no school principal has sufficient revenue to enable him to provide a wholly satisfactory diet." The challenge of properly nourishing the children could only be met "by the Department laying down scales of food issues, providing the school with menus, carrying out effective inspection, and paying the cost of food."⁶⁷

Church officials and Principals had no argument with McCreedy in so far as the adequacy of funding was concerned. It had always been the church's position that the responsibility for any neglect could be found in the government's penurious approach to residential education. The issue of proper diets was just another occasion to rehearse that charge. In the opinion of the Anglican church in 1950 the levels of support provided by the annual grant combined with post-war increases in food costs, "the biggest item in the operation" of schools, "makes it physically impossible to come anywhere near making ends meet on the present Per Capita rates."⁶⁸ The church realized that it was performing well below par, that "undernutrition, malnutrition and monotony of diet are becoming prevalent in some of our schools."⁶⁹ The Catholic

position was certainly not very far removed. An official of the Oblate Indian Welfare and Training Commission, carried out a detailed financial analysis of the cost of menus suggested by a NHW dietitian who had visited the Kenora school. He came to "a daily average of 55.5 cents per child." If the school, he concluded, were "to carry out the recommendation of your dietitian" then "a further substantial increase in the per capita would seem quite necessary."⁷⁰ At Cecilia Jeffrey School in 1951, the Principal R.S. MacCallum, found an imaginative if not a wholly appetizing solution - horse meat which he was able to purchase at half the price of beef.⁷¹

The size of per capitas, their adequacy, whether the funds made available by the Department were "used in the wisest manner"⁷² by Principals and the need for increases continued to shape the core of the discussions between the Department and the churches. "Due to war conditions" Departmental appropriations had been reduced and along with them per capitas had fallen and limits were placed on student numbers.⁷³ Almost immediately after the war, the Department managed a series of increases and in 1954 took over the payment of salaries for teachers.⁷⁴

The churches, without exception, maintained that those grant adjustments were never large enough to bring the system into line with prices. The Joint Delegation of Protestant churches which visited the Minister, W.E. Harris, on 23, January 1951, had as its primary purpose delivering just such a message - that "the present system of grants is proving entirely unsatisfactory to the cooperating churches."⁷⁵ Over the decade, the Anglican church was particularly astute in using the Dominion Bureau of Statistics "Price Movement" circulars to monitor the gap between grants and actual school costs.⁷⁶ By 1956, the church's patience had begun to run out. A senior official with the Anglican Indian School Administration, at the end of a long letter responding to Dr. Orford's Old Sun's report in which he acknowledged that conditions were every bit as bad as the doctor suggested, warned R.F. Davey that

a strong feeling now exists in High places in our Church that, unless I.A.B. [Indian Affairs Branch] soon places some of these schools in condition so that we can maintain adequate standards for the pupils and decent working and living conditions for staff, our partnership with Government ought to be dissolved. This is not meant as a threat in any way but I thought you ought to know that such thoughts exist and when some of our Bishops and other senior Clergymen think in such terms it is most difficult to get their aid in recruiting staff members for our schools.⁷⁷

The financial picture sketched by the churches was familiar in other ways too. Inadequate per capita not only meant poor child care but mounting deficits⁷⁸ and the continuance of that traditional method of compensating for grants that were too low - overcrowding - a technique known by the churches and the Department to be directly injurious to the children's health - creating situations where there was, Col. Jones told the Deputy Minister, Laval Fortier, in 1956 "serious hazard in case of a fire or the outbreak of an epidemic." Jones noted further that "for many years the actual enrolment in some of the residential schools has exceeded the authorized enrolment." In that year "some" meant 34 of the 66 schools then operating. Before the war the Department refused to pay grants beyond the authorized number for any school all the while realizing that that

penalized the pupils because the school managements attempted to provide services for a larger number of students than for whom the grant was paid, with the result that some schools got into debt while others adjusted the budget for food, clothing, and staff requirements to fit into the general earnings.

After the war, the Department said it paid for all students irrespective of the authorized number - a policy, Col. Jones explained, which led to over-expenditure and recourse to supplementary estimates.⁷⁹ In the spring of 1956, that policy led, to a mini-financial crisis according to Davey. So many residential schools had been "running over their authorized enrolment," he told one Principal it was inevitable "that it would eventually place me in a difficult financial position. For some time now the per capita grant expenditures have been exceeding the allotment, and this has finally caught up with me."⁸⁰

The Department, despite its over-expenditures, was well aware that underfunding was a fact and that it and overcrowding constituted much more than a potential menace to children in case of "fire" or "epidemic" - that the funds put into the system simply did not allow it to operate up to desired standards. In 1958, at a conference of the Department's regional school inspectors, Paul Dezeil of the Education Division observed that senior staff in Ottawa had "long recognized that the inefficient operation of some of the schools was due to the low paid, unqualified staff employed by the schools." Furthermore, "I might state that the department recognizes that a good many of the residential schools are in a deplorable condition." They had been allowed "during the half-century prior to the Second World War ... to fall into a serious state of neglect and disrepair." The consequences of neglect had been compounded by the churches' routine practice

of undertaking improvements without reference to the Department so that "in many cases the work would not pass engineering standards."

Dezeil closed the first part of his presentation asking that the inspectors, who had so far been told nothing that they had not already told Ottawa over the years, "be patient with us." Headquarters's staff was doing "the best we can" and would do much better in the future as they were initiating "a radical change in a system which has been in effect for sixty five years," ever since the 1892 Order in Council.⁸¹

This "radical change," developed in consultative meetings with the churches in 1956-57 and approved by Treasury Board in October 1957, brought an end to the per capita system and placed the schools on a "controlled cost basis" geared to achieving "greater efficiency in their operation" as well as assuring proper "standards of food, clothing and supervision at all schools." The government was prepared to "reimburse each school for actual expenditures within certain limitations." Those "limitations" were translated into allowances - maximum rates set for salaries, transportation, extra-curricular activities, rental costs, building repairs and maintenance, and capital costs.

In terms of standards of care, the Department strove to make the budgeting process more sensitive to the children's needs and regional cost differentials. In particular, with regards to food and clothing, it attempted "to make special provision for the requirements of older children." Thus in calculating the allowances for food and clothes, the children were divided into two groups, those in or below grade six and those in or above grade seven, with appropriate rates assigned to each.⁸² Across the board, the new allowances represented a 40 per cent increase over the per capita budget. The largest part of that increase, 25 per cent, was devoted to salaries. Parents, the Department thought, should, when they were able, contribute to the cost of their children's clothing.⁸³

In addition, the Department began to issue directives to the schools on issues of care and more detailed monthly and quarterly reporting procedures were developed for Principals to assist them "in keeping track of the finances." And there was an expansion of Departmental staff to administer and more closely monitor the residential system.⁸⁴

The new financial system and associated administrative reforms, which together held the promise of making the residential system more businesslike, were formalized in a new set of contracts, replacing those long defunct agreements executed in 1911. These were negotiated in 1961 by Jones, Davey, S.W. Kaiser, the education Division's finance officer

and J.E. Hodges, a Departmental legal adviser, with representatives of the churches.⁸⁵ The contracts clearly placed Indian Affairs in the commanding position - "the management [the churches] shall be responsible to the Minister...." The churches agreed: to operate the schools and school finances, to "keep records and submit reports," to hire or fire teachers and other staff, to admit, suspend or discharge students, to "maintain the school in an orderly, neat and sanitary condition" and to provide the children the "standard of food, clothing, accommodation, supervision and other requirements and necessities" always in "accordance with such rules, regulations, directives and instructions that may be made or issued by the Minister...." The minister, most critically, agreed, on behalf of the government, "to advance ... such funds which ... are required for the operation and management of the school" and to be "responsible for the cost of repairs, erections, renovations, alterations or additions to the schools." The minister, as well, held the right to "enter and inspect the school" and to "cause the books of account to be audited."⁸⁶

By 1961, Indian Affairs appeared ready and fully equipped to finally and firmly take the system in hand. There seemed to be a new air of professional management in the Education Division brought about by Davey, Dezeil, Kaiser and others. Its authority was renewed and recognized in the lines laid out in the contracts and the government had given it a new financial system that took seriously the duty of child care. It had new partners in National Health and Welfare and the Dominion Bureau of Statistics who could, respectively, set standards and monitor conditions and help cost them realistically.

None of this was enough, however, to prevent a continuation of the problems that were endemic in the system. The post-1957 record of the controlled cost system fell short of its promise; the new financial system did not achieve a significant improvement over the previous decades. There was in fact an underlying contradiction between the policy of closing down the system and that of keeping the schools in peak physical condition. Davey, himself, signalled this when observing that "expenditures should be limited to emergency repairs which are basic to the health and safety of the children" in cases "where closure is anticipated, due to integration."⁸⁷ Budgeting favoured integration which was at the centre of the educational strategy. In a detailed brief to the Department in 1968, the National Association of Principals and Administrators of Indian Residences pointed out that in the allocation of funds the integration program received a much greater proportion resulting in a situation in which "our Federal schools are sadly neglected when compared with the Provincial schools."⁸⁸ Indeed, a report commissioned by the Department from an outside consultant established in 1967 that

the funding level was very "low in comparison with more progressive programs" both in the United States and in the Provincial sector.⁸⁹

The Principal's and Administrator's Association went on in their brief to detail the effect of what they charged was yet another decade of underfunding in a school by school survey - a lengthy system-wide catalogue of deferred maintenance, hazardous fire conditions, inadequate wiring, heating and plumbing and much needed capital construction to replace structures that were "totally unsuitable and a disgrace to Indian affairs." Some Principals had reached the limits of their patience for at school after school "Nothing has been done, and to our knowledge, nothing is planned."

Even some of the newer schools built since the war gave evidence of faulty construction ("cracking and moving walls," bricks "deteriorating in the rain") and inadequate recreation, residence and classroom space. At Assumption School it was reported, amongst other shortcomings, that the Oblates had "spent many hundreds of their own dollars to convert a chicken coop into two classrooms.... This emergency still exists and we have to use these seven foot ceiling classrooms for the third consecutive year." The Department, it was noted, then had a day school in the works for the community and the plans provided facilities far in advance of those of the residence.

In conclusion, the association tried to impress upon the Department the seriousness of the situation. It wanted answers and action; it was not prepared to accept the "old cliché: lack of funds." That was "not an excuse, nor an explanation for we know that funds do exist."⁹⁰

The association found very little disagreement with its views in the Department. In a memo Davey forwarded to Assistant Deputy Minister R.F. Battle along with the association's brief, he concluded that

Although I can take exception to some of the examples given in the brief, the fact remains that we are not meeting requirements as we should nor have we provided the facilities which are required for the appropriate functioning of a residential school system.

It was impossible to do so for there were simply "too many of these units" and the Department was too heavily committed in other areas of higher priority - integration, "the development of the physical aspects of Indian communities" and "giving welfare assistance at provincial rates". Nor did he think it was wise to devote effort to achieving increased appropriations for, with "the best

interests of the Indian children" in mind, it was more sensible to close the system down."⁹¹

Davey, was of course, preaching to the converted. Battle was well aware that the Department's plans for "construction and maintenance needs" that had followed on the adoption of the controlled cost system had been thrown into disarray not only by other priorities but by the fact that it had "never been given the funds to carry out the plans in spite of repeated warnings [to Treasury Board] that the situation is deteriorating." The Department had in fact obtained Treasury Board approval for a five-year programme (1960-65) "to cover major capital renovations, federal and joint school construction." The program was assigned an \$8,000,000 budget but "the [Indian Affairs] Branch was never able to secure all the funds ... because cuts to the extent of \$4,000,000 were imposed."

This had severe consequences for the residential system. Within the five-year plan, it had been estimated by the Department's Engineering and Construction Division that \$1,000,000 a year would have to "be spent to bring the residential schools up to reasonable standards." The cuts meant that the Department had been "unable to allot more than half of this amount in any one year."⁹²

In the official Departmental reply to the association, the Deputy Minister, J.A. MacDonald, did not attempt to defend the Department nor to refute in anyway the association's characterization of the condition of the system. The Department, had failed, he observed, to carry out "necessary repairs and renovations and capital projects." This "has been simply due to financial limitations" which he thought, taking refuge in the "old cliché," might not improve in the future.⁹³

He was correct. Over the next five years at least, the financial situation would not improve. In what was then the current five-year programme (1968-69 to 1972-73), the Department's request for funds for capital projects had been cut by just over 50 per cent. That meant that there was no advance over the funds in the previous program for the Department was left with "only \$512,000 for capital improvements to residential schools" each year, if indeed there were not further reductions. These funds had to be devoted in the main to "Fire Marshall's recommendations." "We can attempt," Battle concluded, "very little in the way of a preventative program and must deal almost exclusively with work that can no longer be postponed."⁹⁴

Amidst a bewildering blizzard of shifting figures - appropriations, estimates, forecasts, cuts, reductions, shortfalls - generated by the discussion in Indian Affairs of

the association's brief, there was one immutable certainty. In the final analysis, as the Principals and Administrators asserted, it was always the children who were "the first to feel the pinch of departmental economy."⁹⁵ This was certainly true in all the other sectors of the system.

The record of Indian Affairs' post-1957 determination to ensure high standards of care in each school was no brighter than its record of repair and maintenance. At the end of the very first year of the operation of the controlled cost system, the Department, on the advice of the churches and NHW, had to amend the food cost estimates - raising rates from 34 cents a day for children in grade six and below and 38 cents for children in grade seven and above to 38 cents for children up to age 12 and 53 cents for children 12 and older. The switch from a grade division to an age division was made because so many older children were in grades lower than their age would suggest. The same sort of division was then introduced with respect to clothing: "\$51.00 per annum per pupil up to 12 years of age and \$75.00 per annum per pupil over 12 years of age." As well, there was to be a supplementary clothing allowance "in those areas of Canada where climatic conditions necessitate special clothing." It was all very scientific.

In order to establish which school should receive this allowance, reference was made to the Isotherm Chart prepared jointly by the National Research Council and the Department of Transport, for use in estimating fuel consumption in a building. For the purpose of applying this allowance, the 12,000 degree-day line was applied, as this most equitably establishes the schools for which it is considered such an allowance is necessary.⁹⁶

Such fine tuning, always preceded by church lobbying and complaints from Principals that "the sums allowed are insufficient,"⁹⁷ became a permanent feature of the 1957 system. It was very reminiscent of the church-Department discourse in the per capita era. Increases were made in 1962, 1966 and again in 1969.⁹⁸

Indian Affairs, however, always seemed to be playing catch-up. The funds it provided or the size of the allowances continually lagged behind increases in cost or were not accurately tailored to local circumstances. Even when Indian Affairs agreed with the churches, when it was, as Davey expressed it in 1962, "concerned at this aspect of our operations," it could not always act for it would find itself hemmed in by the same short budgeting that effected capital expenditures, repairs and maintenance. "Our financial position," Davey continued, "will not permit us to provide a

general revision in the food budget."⁹⁹

Principals were constantly challenged to meet the needs of children with what at times the churches and the Department knew were inadequate resources. It was, one Principal said, "like walking a tight rope. There is no margin of error at all."¹⁰⁰ Though the dietitians' reports now in Departmental files suggest a general rise in the quality of school diets, many erred, unfortunately, and thus the sorrowful consequences for the children in those schools that were to have been resolved by the new budgeting system went unresolved.¹⁰¹ In the dozen years after 1957, years that marked the end of the churches' participation in the system, there was ample evidence of this failure. The list of "problem establishments" was both long and familiar with all of the listed schools having shortfalls either in funds or in the quality of the food or clothing provided to the children.¹⁰²

The reasons for failure at those and other schools were many and many of them were familiar persistent factors: incompetent, untrained staff, lack of funds and, according to some Principals, inherent flaws in the controlled cost system itself. One argued that the food and clothes allowances had been "based on a false premise." In his experience children under 12 ate more than those over 12. And certainly clothing costs for the younger child was higher than that for older ones. "Little boys do not take care of their clothing. The older boys do.... Little boys destroy their clothing with remarkable consistency and are much harder on foot wear." The menus supplied by NHW dietitians he found at times "unrealistic." One menu card recommended 8.5 lbs. of minced meat for 50 children meaning less than 3oz. per child "... and less than 3 oz. is hardly even a good drink of Scotch. One cannot imagine a family of four ordering eleven ounces of meat for dinner."¹⁰³ Others also believed that the "difference in allowance between the under 12 group and the over 12 group ... [was] unrealistic."¹⁰⁴ It was difficult, Miss A. Campbell, a dietitian, concluded after a school visit in the spring of 1969, "to produce interesting meals on a limited budget." She noted "that macaroni or spaghetti was served four times in one week; bologna is mentioned five times."¹⁰⁵

Isolation which engendered higher costs because of long distance transportation also played a role in undermining the diets in some schools. At Norway House, the dietitian found that food purchasing was a "constant problem ... before freeze up they had to have good supplies in." "Mistakes in planning," it was noted by a staff member, "have to wait to the following year for correction."¹⁰⁶ Given that the food allowance was a national figure (there was no differential built in for this item as there was for clothes) these northern schools could find themselves at a disadvantage. They could not easily

offset purchasing requirements by growing much of their own food. At one of the Whitehorse Hostels in 1967, the staff had to restrict what "should be given to the students" in the way of "fresh fruits and juices." They had been brought to that decision by the full range of factors that effected the operation of a far northern school.

In all this we have to consider the fact that the cost of living in the Yukon is considerably higher than the average place in Canada. It is true we have a different budget for freight, but ... food is still very dear on account of freight paid by shippers and the packing involved. There are no farms in the district which could supply us with milk, fresh vegetables and meat. These are the things that are most expensive. In Southern B.C. for example, it is easy to get apples and other fruits at very low prices. In this part of the country we must not think of having our own gardens on account of the land and short warm summer periods.¹⁰⁷

In the face of high freight rates for isolated schools, the Department allowed the use of vitamin supplements to replace costly shipments of citrus fruits and juices. This may not have been a wise policy in terms of the children's nutrition. Col. Jones asked Moore, in 1960, whether, "in view of the prohibitive cost of air freight ... it would be possible to overcome the dietary deficiencies of Vitamin C through the use of vitamin capsules or pills." Even though Moore was not favourable, suggesting that such capsules were "not intended to, and in fact will not, replace normal dietary intake," the Department pushed ahead - but not to a decision. Principals, it was decided, could consult local nurses and decide for themselves.¹⁰⁸

There were other factors which influenced how balanced the diet was that the child actually ate without regard to what was on the menu or what was served. Appropriate foods could be "included in the daily menu, but there was no assurance that the students would eat them and so the purpose is defeated for some students."¹⁰⁹

It was apparent to some Principals and dietitians that in the process of feeding the children, it was necessary to take into consideration cultural factors. Some of these had to do with the culture of childhood. It was much easier to get children to eat foods of "high carbohydrate value," (buns, bread, cookies, jam) "because these are the foods the children like" rather than vegetables. At some schools the staff, according to dietitians, gave up the battle too easily - indeed, one commented, "it may prove harmful to the children to feed them

foods they like and not attempting to teach them new food habits."¹¹⁰ Resignation, in some cases at least, was driven by economic considerations. At the Pensionnat Indien de Sept-Isles one staff member defended such lapses in the menu on the basis that "since everything has to be imported food cost is high so when they serve something to children they want to be sure it will be eaten and not wasted."¹¹¹

That phrase - "new food habits" - was a marker of a much more profound cultural fact. Indian Affairs' assimilative intention insinuated itself into all aspects of life in the school. Food was no exception. The dining room table was every bit as much a site of cultural struggle as was the class room desk. There was order, there was discipline according to non-Aboriginal norms and there was, for the newcomer, strange Canadian food.

At all the schools there was a routine of eating - set times and set places. In February, 1960, Miss K. Ann Feyrer described Norway House dining in her notes:

The dining room is beside the kitchen. Before the children go to school in the morning the tables are set ready for dinner. At each place is a fork, a spoon and a glass. The desserts (butterscotch blanc mange) were set out in saucers at each place by the kitchen staff. Dinner plates and spoons were at the end of the table. Two plates of spread bread are on the table, and a jug of milk.

At each table of 12 or 14, is a "Section Leader" and his assistant, a "little chief." These two pick up the hot food in oblong covered white enamel pans and put it at their table. After grace, the food is served to their group. There were no leftovers to put away. The section leader is responsible for stacking and sorting dishes and delivering them to the dish washing crew.¹¹²

Children came to the school dining room with their language, beliefs and a food culture, too. Davey was aware "that the food habits of the children" were "influenced by food preparation habits at home and that this has a particular effect on their likes and dislikes."¹¹³ Miss S. Saint-Hilaire commented on this in her first inspection of the Pensionnat Indien de Sept-Isles in 1954.

Many of these children had never gone to school up to the opening of this one in September 1952. Native food habits still predominate. Basic diet consists primarily of meat and fish (although they will not eat fish at school). They are very fond of

bread and lard, potatoes and tea. Fruits are well accepted but vegetables are not popular. Many of the children have never seen or heard of vegetables before since no gardening is possible in the area. Most of the children smoke at home and many (among the older ones) still do at school.¹¹⁴

Almost universally throughout the system, children were "fond of lard as a spread" on bannock or bread and were "not used to eating vegetables",¹¹⁵ as non-Aboriginal people knew them, or chicken's eggs or products made from cow's milk. "Bush Indians," Canon H.G. Cook told Davey, "do not like cheese and even though cheese is disguised in the preparation of such items as macaroni and cheese the youngsters leave it on their plates."¹¹⁶ At Lejac school, in 1960, Miss F.E. Latimer, an Indian Health Services dietitian, charted the influence of home on standard non-Aboriginal meals:

The students here prefer stew cooked without the addition of vegetables. Carrots, turnips and cabbage are served raw because most of the children will not eat them cooked. However hot canned corn is well liked and also cold canned tomatoes.

It is also likely because of home food habits that the children want coffee for breakfast, tea for noon, and milk for supper. The group does not seem to care for cocoa.¹¹⁷

The fact that children amended the meals to the extent that they could, or were allowed, cannot hide the fact that second perhaps to leaving home and family what was set before the child - macaroni and cheese, bologna, citrus fruit and juices, peanut butter and so forth - and what was not there, was an absence that was tactile, one that could be tasted and smelled in the same way that the sound of English or French adult voices was a reminder to the children that they were not among parents and elders. G. Manuel wrote of how powerful a memory country food remained for a boy whose main memory was that "every student smelled of hunger." He was to receive a visit from his grandparents:

For weeks before they would come I could not think of anything beside the food they would bring with them. The food always crowded out the people. It was not my grandfather who was coming. It was meat, dried fruit and roots. Hunger like that numbs your mind. That was industrial training.¹¹⁸

By meat he did not mean bologna, the staple of so many school meals - but game. It rarely found its way into school dining rooms. Occasionally at some northern schools, as at Norway

House in 1960, the children got "a great treat" when the cook was "given a beaver or a couple of roasts of moose." "The game laws" the dietitian thought "prevent them from enjoying such delicacies often."¹¹⁹ But the fact was that it was not laws but rules that determined this. The dining rooms were the domain of the Canada Food Rules, of the sacred four food groups, based not upon the old Aboriginal economy but upon western science. The Aboriginal graduates, according to the strategy of the residential system, were to be taken up into that western world equipped with its skills and naturally its "food habits." They were to be not only producers but consumers like all other Canadians.

There were still problems in "the standards of food clothing and supervision"¹²⁰ after 1969, when the government and the churches parted ways and the Department took direct control of the system. Principals and Administrators still found it difficult and at times impossible to live within the allowances set out. A subsequent survey in the Saskatchewan region revealed that allowances were not high enough to provide, on a consistent basis, proper clothes, especially for children in hostels who were attending provincial schools, or food or recreational activities. One administrator reported that he had to serve "more often than we should food such as hot dogs, bologna, garlic sausages, macaroni etc.... the cheapest food on the market and still I can hardly make it. Lack of funds meant that he bought the "cheapest clothes" and kept a seamstress working hard "doing all the mending and unfortunately at times we have to accept to see our children not being too neat at times." Most of the others in the survey, and by statistical implication most administrators and, therefore, most of the children throughout the system, were having the same experience.¹²¹

No matter how widespread or how limited to specific schools problems of care may have been at any particular time, one element remained constant. Departmental oversight of the system after 1957, though it was much more extensive, certainly was not universally effective. There were improvements. Indian Health Service's dietitians inspected the schools more regularly than had ever been the case before. They gave detailed menu planning advice with a view to providing "a standard equivalent to the diet recommended by Canada's Food Rules,"¹²² conducted on-site training for kitchen staff, and taught older girls "basic food handling practises" often starting off their teaching sessions with a viewing of the film "Kitchen Habits."¹²³ Section 132 of the agent's References and Regulations directed agents to make a monthly visit to each school in their agency and, subsequently, to complete a report taking into particular "account the care and well-being of the children."¹²⁴

What did not change however, was the manner in which the Department responded to the recommendations contained in inspection reports. As with the dietary reports of the first half of the century, they were not enforced but routinely passed along to Principals with no more than a suggestion that everything be done "that can be done to live up to the recommendations of the dietitian." Problems were thrown back into the laps of Principals who were to "see what can be done about them in a constructive way."¹²⁵ No one, however, was let go if they could not manage so it was always only the children who felt the consequences of Departmental economy and inaction, staff incompetence and carelessness.

Schools that were part of the Northern Affairs system after 1955 had their own doleful history and were not above the critique made by the Principal's and Administrator's Association even though many of the buildings were generally much newer. A harsh review of the conditions and operation of Fort Providence school concluded with a remark certainly familiar in a southern context: "I would sooner have a child of mine in a reform school than in this dreadful institution."¹²⁶ Also as in the south, the system did not ensure that adequate food and clothing, safe and healthy conditions were provided to all of the children all of the time. There was always, as at a Tent Hostel for example, some considerable distance between intention and reality. One of the teachers there submitted a remarkable report on the "hostel term" during which the staff and Inuit children had had a "satisfactory and happy experience" despite the fact that the accommodation was "very cold because all the heat escaped through the chimneys, there was a constant fire hazard", the children's clothes were "unsatisfactory" and the children received a most non-traditional diet of corned beef and cabbage at the majority of dinners while the staff ate their "monthly fresh food supply" at the same table so as to give "the youngsters an opportunity to model their table manners from those of the staff."¹²⁷

An even more revealing and worrisome report was submitted by a consultant psychologist after a northern tour which began at the Churchill Vocational Centre. It was housed in an "army barracks." "I know what a rat must feel when it is placed in a maze," he commented. When he moved on to two schools in the Keewatin area, he found the buildings equally unsuitable. Had he travelled farther throughout the Northern Affairs system he would have encountered not only similar conditions, but perhaps, as he had already discovered, more children who were being seriously damaged by their residential experience. Having interviewed and tested Inuit students, he concluded that "the educational problems encountered in the Keewatin Area are there because the Southern white educational system, with all its 'hangups' has been transported to the North".

Those educational problems included "a range of emotional problems" including "anxious kids, fearful kids, mildly depressed kids, kids with poor self-images ..."¹²⁸ In this most important way, the Indian Affairs and Northern Affairs systems, despite their different histories, were indistinguishable. They were neglectful in terms of ensuring that appropriate standards of care were maintained without exception and they were, as a review of the issue reveals, abusive to individual children and through those children to Aboriginal communities in general.

ABUSE

In the post-war era, as a part of the reorganization of the residential system marked by integration and the 1957 funding arrangement, Indian Affairs circulated directives on punishment. As early as 1947, guidelines for strapping children were distributed to Principals. These were issued by the Department following an incident at Morley school in which charges were made that "capital punishment was meted out," including beating "pupils on the head." One official, on searching Departmental files for guidance, gave evidence of the faulty corporate memory of the system. He was able to find "no instance of similar regulations having been prepared but from personal experience I feel that in such instances ... the situation can best be clarified by clearly instructing the principal in this matter." These 1947 instructions, similar to those which guided staff in public schools across the country, were the basis for subsequent directives in 1953 and 1962:

1. That corporal punishment will be used only where all other methods of disciplining a pupil have failed.
2. That corporal punishment will be administered only on the hands with a proper school strap. (regulation 15" rubber)
3. That the maximum number of strokes on each hand in no instance exceed four in number for male pupils of over fourteen years of age and in proportion for boys under that age.
4. That all such corporal punishment be administered in the presence of the principal or by the principal.
5. That a Corporal Punishment Register be maintained at the school containing the following headings:
 - a) Date
 - b) Reason for Punishment
 - c) By whom administered

- d) Witness
- e) Signature of pupil punished
- 6. That this register be made available for inspection by all Indian Affairs Branch officials visiting the above.

If a regulation strap was not available, information was provided on which school suppliers stocked them.¹²⁹

Local officials and school staff had to put interpretive meat on those regulatory bones. As one Principal was told when he was sent the above regulations, "it is almost impossible to lay down rigid rules concerning the administration of corporal punishment as so much depends on the personality of the pupil and the teacher concerned," on the circumstances of each situation.¹³⁰

In 1953, the Department expanded its 1947 directive identifying a wide range of unacceptable disciplinary practises:

Any form of punishment tending to humiliate a pupil is to be avoided. This policy applies alike to the use of sarcasm or to the employment of practises calculated to produce distinctive changes in appearance or dress. It is a generally approved practise for teachers to abstain from physical contacts with pupils either in anger or affection. Children's reports of such contacts have sometimes been so exaggerated as to make the teacher's position untenable. In any event there is to be no corporal punishment of a pupil who is suspected to be suffering from any physical or mental ailment which corporal punishment may aggravate. Before resorting to the use of corporal punishment, the principal or teacher in charge must be convinced that no other approved form of punishment will have the necessary punitive and corrective effects.¹³¹

Regulations similar to those of 1947 were issued in the north. J. McKinnon, the superintendent of education in the Mackenzie District added further specificity to them when responding to the case of an Inuit boy who had been harshly strapped in the Anglican school at Aklavik in 1948. When absolutely necessary, resort could be had to strapping according to regulations but, he cautioned, "all such methods of punishment as pulling or boxing the ear, slapping with the hand, striking with a book or pointer, shaking a pupil or hitting him are strictly forbidden." McKinnon's superior, the Deputy Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, R. Gibson, certainly agreed. That sort of treatment he held was not only excessive but counter-productive - "We will certainly get nowhere by condoning the

strapping of native children by teachers who cannot maintain discipline otherwise."

Unfortunately, such intentions, the need as McKinnon expressed it, of maintaining discipline in the manner of a "judicious parent," of avoiding "corporal punishment in all cases where good order can be preserved by milder measures,"¹³² have to be set against a too often contradictory reality, one of abuse - of confinement, deprivation of food, head shaving, group public beatings and even other more cruel and bizarre punishments. These many recurring incidents demonstrate that, consistent with other areas of care, here too those intentions, inscribed in Departmental regulations, were not nearly enough to ensure the humane treatment of the children.

In southern schools, and in the Northern Affairs system too, children continued to be abused in this long post-war period. From Turquetil Hall, Chesterfield Inlet, to Kamloops School and across the country to Shubenacadie, the voices of Inuit, Indian and Metis adults who were children in those or other schools can now be heard describing publicly, in all media, their dreadful experiences suffered at the hands of church or Departmental staff.¹³³ Mary Carpenter, writing in 1974, in Inuktitut Magazine of her time in both Anglican and Catholic schools told what is now a familiar story:

After a lifetime of beatings, going hungry, standing in a corner on one leg, and walking in the snow with no shoes for speaking Inuvialuktun, and having a stinging paste rubbed on my face, which they did to stop us from expressing our Eskimo custom of raising our eyebrows for 'yes' and wrinkling our noses for 'no', I soon lost the ability to speak my mother tongue. When a language dies, the world dies, the world it was generated from breaks down too.¹³⁴

For the Department and the churches these narratives of the 1970s and 1980s were old news. Many of them, or at least ones like them, were already known within the system. They were the painful pulse of abuse that had reverberated, unchanged and unending, through the system and throughout its history.

Many times in any given year, Ottawa was notified of abuse - punishment which did not follow the letter or spirit of the discipline directives and was identified as such by officials. It is impossible, of course, to give here a sense of the considerable volume and gravity of the abuse. But it is possible to establish that the Department and the churches were apprized of it in its many forms.

Reports came from across the system - abuse was not an isolated phenomenon occurring only in the more distant and darker corners. The Departmental inspector of schools in Alberta, recorded parental complaints of excessive strapping at one school. They were, he thought, "not unfounded." Nor according to the regional inspector of Indian schools in Saskatchewan, were reports that at a school in that Province "heads were cropped or clipped," that a "very ill girl" had to be removed from the school and hospitalized, likely as result of punishment by the Principal, and that "certainly bullying [of the children] is quite prevalent."¹³⁵

Across the mountains in British Columbia, the Indian commissioner reported on the behaviour of a Principal which, though "church authorities have disagreed with our evaluation," suggested that he had not "the good judgement to qualify him for this position." "At morning assembly, he strapped thirteen students, 9 boys and 4 girls, giving each "4-5 strokes on their seats." He then "threatened that Christmas holiday privileges might be suspended for all students." This was, the commissioner wrote in conclusion, only one of "the episodes of unusual behaviour" which had come to his notice. At a school further north, the Principal revealed that he disciplined the children in the same way "in which he was disciplined as a child." Therefore, he thought it perfectly acceptable to administer "punishment to a girl in the front of a class." This "had been done by taking down the girls [sic] pants and striking the child across her buttocks."¹³⁶

At another school, the Principal chose to beat girls in private. Two of them, at the urgings of the "Medium Girls' Supervisor" who was too frightened to confront the Principal herself as he "might seek revenge", wrote directly to the Department.

He called me to his room. He says he'd strap me. He went into the other room to get the strap. He told me to take off my jeans and my panty. Instead I pulled it down to the knees. He tells me to kneel down. So I do. He gave me thirteen straps. He also waits a little moment every time I had the strap.... He puts his feet or I should say I had my body between his legs. That was kneeling down. Then he lets me go. He waits a little while after giving me the strap.

First thing Father wanted me to go to his office so I did. He asks me a few questions. And then he brought me to the other office. He told me to kneel and then he pulled my skirt up and then pulled my pants down. He put my head between his legs and he

started to give me the strap. I had the strap a 9:00 p.m. I had around 10 straps or over.¹³⁷

At one western school a Departmental official had to deal with a case in which one of the staff was accused by members of the Blackfoot band council of having

administered corporal punishment to numerous girl pupils and had subjected them to other forms of punishment which were physically harmful to them.... she had shown little or no sympathy and was relentless in the punishment which she administered on little provocation.

One of those "forms of punishment" included compelling "a pupil to eat her own vomit." The Principal denied it all. Band members, he claimed, had nothing better to do but complain:

When the stampedes are in full swing the Blackfoot Indian is happy, he is happy and grumbles not at all; but during the winter when time hangs heavily on his hands ... he is inclined to meditate over his troubles, real or imaginary, and eventually convinces himself that he has a grouch.

The charges were never proven. But the Principal let the Department know that while he would not be "dismissing her summarily" she would be "moved in due course."¹³⁸

A staff member at a Saskatchewan school for some unknown reason burnt two boys on their hands, arm and neck with his cigarette lighter and tried to burn a third boy. The nurse thought the burns were at least second degree and that perhaps six boys in all had been burnt in a similar fashion in the past week. He was relieved of his duties with the local agency office where he also worked but was told that "he may apply for employment to our Regional Offices at Saskatoon and Winnipeg."

Within a month, the agent was sent back into the school to investigate a report received by the regional supervisor, that several children on returning to school after having run away "were punished by having their hair cut very short" and that they "sidle from classrooms with eyes downcast and then quickly put caps on to cover their shorn heads." The report, the agent replied, "was partially correct." No one "sidled" and no one, indeed, had "been wearing caps at the School since early in May of this year." But it was a fact that six children had been shaved. The fault lay with the parents it seemed. The "real cause of the truancy problem ... stems from the parents due to lack of interest, guidance and supervision by the parents." The Principal could not be blamed. "We have

checked the school file containing school regulations and find that this school has not been supplied with regulations regarding discipline in a residential school."

Senior regional staff were not reassured by the agent's report nor did they excuse the Principal. The acting regional superintendent of Indian schools wondered "how many other acts of sadism the students may have been subjected to that went unreported." He was particularly shocked by the hair cutting by "what this form of punishment means to the child, what it says about the person who would authorize it or what the reaction would be if the general public were aware of it." This practice, he noted, had even been abandoned "in penal institutions quite some time ago." Finally, he "respectfully" suggested to the church that the Principal "should be removed from this area of work." The senior regional church official who then conducted his own investigation disagreed. He could not bring himself "to impose upon him [the Principal] a resignation of his office at present." He would be kept on under "close supervision."¹³⁹

It was not just individual acts of abuse by wayward individuals that officials encountered but persistent abuse by chronic abusers that suffused life at the school. At a Manitoba school, for example, an inquiry set off by four girls who "froze their feet" having run away, revealed what local officials felt was a disciplinary reign of terror. "To my mind", one of the officials concluded, "these children are not being treated in a manner in which children should be treated." They had all the evidence they needed for that conclusion from the mouths of staff members who seemed to feel that their actions were wholly within the bounds of acceptable behaviour. As one teacher allowed - "Anyone on the staff is allowed to strap the children." She admitted that she would "pull their hair once in awhile, not as a punishment but more as a reminder." Another woman asserted that "as a staff member on duty I have a right to punish the children." They seemed to be following the matron's lead. She sometimes gave "their hair a pull" but did not think "I hurt them at all" and she told how she "hit the girls on the head with my knuckles."

According to the children, whose testimony local officials considered "true," these admissions were mild approximations of the real situation. The matron "hit us on the head with her fists." While they scrubbed the floors "she stands there with stick or a strap in her hand." One of the officials in fact characterized her as a "slave driver." She also, a student complained, "garbs us by the hair and shakes us. If she sees us smiling at the table she thinks we are talking and hits us on the head with anything she can get a hold off." She "teases the girls and if they get mad she takes them in the hall and straps them." They were locked in their dorm at night in order

to keep the boys and girls apart. That was a standard practice throughout the system, which in the officials opinion constituted "a very dangerous fire hazard." The children were kept separated during the day, too. The matron refused to let them converse with their siblings of the opposite sex - "we only can speak to them when we see them when no one is around." She admitted, although the Principal contradicted her, that "Boys and girls are kept separate and are only allowed to talk in the visiting room."

The Principal, himself, was not above reproach. He refused to keep the mandatory punishment register. One young woman told how he "had cut her hair off last year because I ran away." That charge and another that had him reading all the children's incoming and outgoing mail, (a common practise) he readily admitted. Some of the mail was simply stopped. He was not shy in defending himself. Discipline and supervision had to be strict, he felt, because Indian children were more cunning than white children of the same age - "quick to size up ... anyone of a weak personality" and take advantage of them. The children, in the official's estimation, seemed cowed by the Principal; they "seemed to be afraid to talk." He was not

a proper type of person to run one of these schools. While he may be efficient in some lines, in my opinion, he has no idea of bringing children up and making good citizens of them.

These reports, like those from Marcoux and the dietitians who visited Brandon in the early 1950s, demonstrated that abuse was often nested in neglect and was persistent. On entering this particular school, one of the two officials wrote, "one finds the most dismal and unkempt building, badly in need of repairs and certainly not a place in which children can be cared for and happy."¹⁴⁰

That pattern, the conjunction of neglect and abuse, was repeated at other schools. A report by an inspector revealed overcrowding at a British Columbia school kept clean only because it was "well scrubbed by the pupils" and the continuation of the half-day system long after it had been dispensed with generally throughout the rest of the system with the result that the "academic work" was "just not being done to the degree that it should." One ex-teacher and a staff member, in letters to the Department, began their critique at that point but then went on to paint a much darker picture. The teacher charged that the children were "kept out of class for cheap labor."

But it was abuse she concentrated on, providing the Department with a catalogue of examples:

Corporal punishment. Children's faces are slapped, hit on the head, struck across the nose causing nose bleeds.... One teacher said a boy in her classroom had a swollen face for two days from being slapped. Another teacher reported that one of her pupils was slapped on the face because he couldn't read the small print in the hymn books. One of my grade 8 boys was slapped on the head until he was pale, he staggered, complained of feeling dizzy and his nose bled profusely. This was witnessed by most of the school boys. He fainted five days later in prayers and again in my classroom.

The staff member provided further information. The children were overworked - rightly complaining of being "tired and hungry." "The food was very poor." There was no fruit juice served even to children who were ill and there was a good deal of illness particularly "skin troubles through lack of proper diet." Both women agreed that children were abused mainly by the Principal's daughter "who is rude and domineering toward the children" and by the son-in-law, who "himself admitted that the children were slapped over the ears and head when asked what punishment was given little boys who stole cookies." There was "Therefore no redress made by the Principal."

There was none by the Department either. The situation dragged on for years with more complaints coming from the children, the Principal of the Provincial school where the children attended classes, the teaching and non-teaching staff of the school, a Provincial government social worker and the Department's local staff. They focused, largely, on the Principal - on his "unwholesome attitude towards Indians, improper treatment of the children and failure to cooperate with Provincial School authorities." The minister in a most diplomatic fashion, told a local member of Parliament, who had sought information on the situation, that "because of his [the Principal's] many years of faithful and valuable service the officials of the Education Division have overlooked a number of recent difficulties but it seems from reports that conditions at the school have reached a point where the Department can no longer ignore them." Education Division officials were saved from doing anything by the news that the Principal, a rather elderly man by then, had decided to retire.¹⁴¹

The most powerful testimony about the abuse of children came from six ex-residential school students. Their testimony could not be characterized as some "grouch" from the unemployed meditating on imaginary troubles. These ex-students were men and women of impeccable authority and character with

successful careers in education, public service, broadcasting and the church. In 1965, at the Department's request, they supplied written evaluations of the school system for circulation at what was billed as the first ever Residential School Principal's Conference. None of them had much to say that was positive and two were brutally frank, describing the school experience "as an insult to human dignity."

One of these men, the Principal of a vocational school, described conditions at Brandon during his 7.5 years residence there and experiences that "I and hundreds of others had to endure as children." They ate food "prepared in the crudest of ways" and "served in very unsanitary conditions." It included "bread dipped in grease and hardened," "green liver," "milk that had manure in the bottom of the cans and homemade porridge that had grasshopper legs and bird droppings in it." None of this had ever appeared in dietitians' reports. They endured "cruel disciplinary measures ... such as being tied to a flag pole, sent to bed with no food, literally beaten and slapped by staff."

The second of the two men, a broadcaster and federal civil servant, described the neglect and listed the punishments meted out at the "mushole," the Mohawk Institute at Brantford, Ontario. There "90% of the children" suffered "from diet deficiency and this was evident in the number of boils, warts and the general malaise that existed within the school population." He had seen "children eating from the swill barrel, picking out soggy bits of food that was intended for the pigs." Heads were routinely shaved because of lice - "lice ... was an accepted part of being an Indian at the Mohawk."

Besides the usual beatings, "I have seen Indian children having their faces rubbed in human excrement, ... the normal punishment for bedwetters ... was to have his face rubbed in his own urine." And for those who tried to escape "nearly all were caught and brought back to face the music." They were forced to run a gauntlet when they were "struck with anything that was at hand." "I have seen boys crying in the most abject misery and pain with not a soul to care - the dignity of man!"¹⁴²

Some children did get away, however, and a disturbing number met their deaths in doing so. Truancy, L.G.P. Waller remarked in 1952, "exists at most of our residential schools."¹⁴³ His observation remained apt as the decades passed. Children ran off constantly, sometimes en masse. On the 7th of May 1953 "All 32 boys in the school [a school in Saskatchewan] were truant ... following disciplinary action."¹⁴⁴ In June, 1963 the Children's Aid Society of Fort Frances informed the Department that 12 boys had run away from an Ontario school in May and that on the 15th of that month two of them had been discovered

clinging to "the top of a box car in the middle of the night as the train was going from Fort Frances to Atikokan." The boys had been jailed in Atikokan, retrieved by one of the society's social workers and returned safely to the school.¹⁴⁵

Other children were not so lucky; they did not return at all. In 1967, the Assistant Deputy Minister, R.F. Battle, in a briefing for the minister after the death of a boy, Charlie Wenjack, admitted "that it is not uncommon for Indian children to run away" but he claimed that "rarely do accidents result while they are absent from the schools."¹⁴⁶ In fact, within the last decade, 1957-67, at least four children had died and two more would die within the next five years.

Children had, of course, run off and perished throughout the history of the system. In June, 1941, three boys John Kicki, Michel Sutherland and Michel Matinas left St. Anne's school at Fort Albany during the spring break up. They took a little food - bread they had hoarded. But one had his bow and arrows and "he was reported by his brother to have said: I do not care to take much grub; I have my arrows and I will kill birds on the way." Months later, when they had still not been located, the RCMP concluded they had "drowned or perished from starvation." It was likely, the deputy minister was told, that their bodies had been "carried into Hudson Bay."¹⁴⁷

In another instance, at the Round Lake school in Saskatchewan in 1935, three young boys ran away. Two made it to their homes; the third lost his way in a blizzard and froze to death when the temperature dropped to 25[f] below zero. His body was found four days later:

His foot tracks could be followed into the bush where he had lay down, he then had crawled on his hands and knees for about 15 yards into some willows. Here the snow had been partly scraped out and he lay in the hollow, face down. His hands were held up under his face with his mitts off under his hands. He was frozen solid. He was dressed in a pair of blue bib overalls, black and red sweater, fleece lined underwear, one pair of grey socks, gum rubber boots size six, and no overcoat. The rubbers appeared to be too large for him and the snow had packed in around the tops of them, making his feet wet.

The boy's father retained an attorney who wrote the minister, soliciting a third party inquiry to determine whether there had been "any culpable or criminal negligence involved" especially since this was "the fourth death to have taken place on the ... Agency since 1918" - none of which had been investigated. Noting that the RCMP and the local Indian agent

had made inquiries, the minister determined that "no further action is considered necessary." A subsequent appeal to the minister of justice, met with a similar reply.¹⁴⁸

The first deaths of run aways in this post-war period came in January, 1959 when two sisters (the Department could not quite figure out their names), who had fled Kuper Island school, were found drowned. The "accident was particularly regrettable" the Indian Commissioner, W.S. Arneil, telexed Ottawa "as tone [sic] management ... tremendously improved in last year."¹⁴⁹

Later that year, on 2 September, 1959 two brothers, Rocky and Joseph Commanda, ran away from Mohawk. The next day Rocky was caught. Nothing was heard of Joseph until the 5th when the Toronto Metro Police contacted the school. They had a body. There was a number on the undershirt - 60, Joseph's number. He had been struck by a train as he was being chased by some police officers. In the article in the Globe and Mail published the next day, the school was referred to as "a juvenile detention home." According to the Globe, the "engineer ... saw what he thought was a man running north across the train tracks by the Sunnyside Station." He told the police "he saw the figure stumble and fall between two sets of tracks, get up and continue running directly into the path of his engine." The figure, a boy of 13 rather than a man, "did not appear to hear the three-car Railiner bearing down on him."¹⁵⁰

The death of 12 year old Charlie Wenjack in 1966, made famous by the coverage it received in the Maclean's Magazine article "The Lonely Death of Charlie Wenjack," was a much more private act. He left Cecilia Jeffrey Residence bound for his home community, Ogoki Post on the Martin Falls reserve, and "collapsed and died of hunger" beside the railroad tracks he thought would lead him home. "He was lying on his back ... his thin cotton clothing ... obviously soaked." He had no identification; he was carrying nothing but "a little glass jar with a screw top. Inside a half dozen wooden matches." From where he lay, "he had more than half of northern Ontario to cross." The Department shipped his body home accompanied by his three little sisters who had also been students. The writer, Ian Adams, commented that "Charlie was 12. He was an Indian. He died as the white world's rules had forced him to live - cut off from his people."¹⁵¹

On the 28th or 29th of November, 1970 two more boys ran off. They were from the Kenora school and both of them died. Their death, a coroner's jury determined, was caused "by exposure to cold, when the children ran away from school and became lost trying to walk home." The jury members did not become involved in any inquiry into the boys' motivation. They took a rather

more practical bent refusing, in effect, to cross the line of Departmental authority. They recommended "The residences initiate survival courses for all students." It was a recommendation that G.D. Cromb, then the director of the education branch, thought had considerable merit.¹⁵²

As a result of this incident, the Department did develop, in 1971, a policy on running away directed, in the main, to reducing the possibility of injury and fatalities. Ways were explored of improving cooperation between school, field staff and community officials that would lead to more effective search capabilities. Regional directors across the country were directed to notify "Residence Staff to be very alert during times of severe weather and to take immediate emergency steps when a student is missing." They were also to emphasize "the need for discussion of the problems of runaways ... as part of in-service-training for counsellors, administrators and child care workers." And finally, staff were "urged to consider the implementation of a regular program of survival training for students who must live away from home to attend school."¹⁵³ Chronic runaways could be and in some cases were discharged. In at least one case, a very different and perhaps dangerous technique was adopted. Three children from the Fort Frances school who were "constantly running away" were "transferred to residential schools which are further away from home."¹⁵⁴

These directives, as important as they undoubtedly were, were also very much by way of closing the school door after a child had bolted. The phenomenon of running away, itself, of what pushed children into a decision that could prove fatal, was not the subject of any in-depth study. The Department came closest to an investigation of the issue after Charlie Wenjack's death. R.F. Battle announced that he would be "making an immediate check covering all residential schools and hostels across Canada to determine accurately the incidence of accidents causing injury during the interval between their running away and the time they are returned to the schools or to their parents."¹⁵⁵ No such "check," which might have been an instigator of more in-depth probing, seems to have been carried out and thus the Department proceeded on the basis of what might be called institutional common knowledge. Children ran off because they were lonely, because they were encouraged to do so by their parents, because of peer pressure - it was a "popular" thing to do and "those who do not are ridiculed and referred to as teacher's pets."¹⁵⁶ One Principal put it all down to intelligence:

It is a fact that all of our truancy and most of our troubles, comes from the pupils who are very dull and are clearly not going to get anywhere in class. In talking with some of these children; most

of them come from very poor homes; it is clear that they feel frustrated because they realize that they are poor students, and I think this frustration fosters an attitude of rebellion since they are constantly in hot water with their teacher.¹⁵⁷

An Anglican bishop laid some of the blame at the door of integration which in its implementation, as a "Mass ... rather than a Selective" process, had not been careful in "dealing with children who have been wrested from a cultural background and security and forced into one that they do not understand nor appreciate." He noted the escalation of incidents of running away soon after the residential school with which he was most familiar was connected to a Provincial day school. That development, he felt, represented

something deplorable in the policy ... in dealing with children who have been thrust into a departmental experiment in the nature of "guinea-pigs" and who have not been able to accept the terms governing the experiment. It is a very difficult situation for the children, many of whom are without recourse to anyone who is to them a "confident".

Truancy would have been even higher, the bishop claimed, had not school authorities resorted to the preventative measure of expelling those who looked like they "could not accept the rigour of Integration in Schools."¹⁵⁸

And, of course, some would admit, children fled schools in fear of further abuse. L.G.P. Waller in his 1952 discussion of truancy concluded that it would persist for only "Improved conditions within the schools ... can do something to rectify the situation."¹⁵⁹

Some children tried to find escape from those "conditions within the schools" in death itself. In 1920, nine boys had attempted suicide by eating hemlock. One had died.¹⁶⁰ In 1930, two boys had "died after ten days of sickness, of which the doctor could not find the symptoms." It was "only after they had passed away that the other boys told that they had seen them with HEMLOCK in their hands."¹⁶¹ In this period, in June 1981, at Muscowequan Residential School, "five or six girls between the ages of 8 and 10 years had tied socks and towels together and tried to hang themselves." Earlier that year, a 15 year old at the school had been successful in her attempt.¹⁶²

The many violations by school authorities of the 1947, 1953 and 1962 regulations were not necessarily met by stern

reference to Departmental directives. As in the pre-war period, the Department remained reluctant to act in the face of transgressions by school staff, despite the authority given to it by the 1961 contracts. Nor did it abandon its tendency in the face of allegations of mistreatment to move to the attack to protect the reputation of the system over and against the welfare of the children. Actions then, even those clearly beyond the disciplinary pale, would be recognized as such - that had been the case in all the examples above and was so in many more incidents on file - but in the end disciplinary action against the staff would not be taken. At Birtle school two boys were beaten by the Principal leaving "marks all over the boys bodies, back, front genitals etcetera." Sweeping aside confirmation by a doctor, the Department's regional inspector of schools for Manitoba, conceded only that such punishment had "overstepped the mark a little" but as the boys had been caught trying to run away "he had to make an example of them."¹⁶³

The old Departmental habit of attacking the messenger which had been such a prominent style of defense in Scott's days was still in evidence in this period. In 1949, a mother complained about the nuns at her daughter's school whipping the children, slandering their parents and, specifically, that a staff member, an Aboriginal woman, had grabbed her daughter "by the back of her hair and kept bumping her face against the wall till her nose was bleeding and her face was all bruised up." The response was not an investigation but the marginalization of all of the women involved. The regional supervisor of Indian agencies concluded that "... as in all cases of Indian women having rows, truth is thrown out the window and the row reaches a low level."¹⁶⁴

Another woman, an employee of a school in British Columbia in 1960, having reported on abusive treatment, poor conditions and an inadequate diet, was fired by the Principal "on the charge of 'not being loyal to the school.'" Boys, she reported, would come to the dispensary at night wanting aspirins for headaches "because they were hungry." As there were no drinking taps in any of the dorms, children would "drink out of the toilet bowls and tanks when thirsty enough." None of this was to be believed because she "had become quite active in leftist organizations and 'peace movements.'"¹⁶⁵

In 1965, the motives of Ian Adams, who the next year wrote the Charlie Wenjack article for Macleans, became the target of a particularly pointed commentary on his character and motives. The occasion was an article he published in the Weekend Magazine - "The Indians: An Abandoned and Dispossessed People" - which dealt with the discrimination faced by Aboriginal people in the Kenora area. Within it was a frank critique of the operation of Cecilia Jeffrey school which, he wrote, "has

an atmosphere of unutterable loneliness, desolate enough to stop time in a child's heart." Children, he charged, who ran away were brought back "locked in a room with just a mattress on the floor, left only their underclothes, and put on a bread-and-milk diet." Two girls had been "humiliated by being made to come down and eat in the dining hall dressed only in their underwear." The Principal, S.T. Robinson, on being questioned admitted, according to the article, (though he subsequently claimed in a letter to the Kenora Miner News, 14 August 1965, that the children had been locked away with their parents permission), that he had employed such disciplinary measures in his battle against runaways.¹⁶⁶

Despite Robinson's admission that he had violated the punishment regulations, local officials saved their ire for Adams in what seemed to be an attempt to undercut the article by questioning his experience and motives. He was referred to as a "cub reporter" allied with a known Aboriginal "political activist" who had written the article "to create sensationalism".¹⁶⁷

The Charlie Wenjack article in Maclean's was the occasion for a most interesting defense of the Department and the school system. As soon as the article reached the newsstands, a briefing text was provided for the minister's office in anticipation of questions in the House. The note found neither blame nor mystery in the tragic event - certainly none that would attach to the Department or to the school which like the 58 other schools then operating "served the Indian people with care and concern." "That Charles Wenjack became lonely and ran away is not exceptional, for other children regardless of their origin, have the same feelings and reactions when separated from family and familiar surroundings...." It was in fact all so unnecessary:

Had he confided in his Principal or the counsellor he could have been returned home. The residential schools are not detention institutions. They are operated for the welfare and education of Indian children.

The Department was not, however, "satisfied or complacent about the operation of these units." Every year conferences of Principals and supervisors were held "to exchange views on successful experiments in dealing with institutional problems" and "to develop improved services for children...." In this vein, the minister should inform the House that "at the request of the Department, a study was begun nearly a year ago by the Canadian Welfare Council to ensure that the best possible care should be given to these young people."¹⁶⁸

Standing back from this sketch of a caring and carefully

managed residential school system, which would be thrown into sharp relief in 1967 by that Welfare Council report and by the Principal and Administrators' brief of 1968, it is evident from the incidents of abuse that are embedded in Departmental files, and the testimony of ex-students that multiply those exponentially, that the pattern of neglect and abuse that was inherent in the building and operation of the system from its earliest days was not disrupted in the decades immediately before the final closure of the schools. Father Lacombe's dictum - the necessity of "Coercion to enforce order and obedience" - to the degree that it constituted a reign of disciplinary terror, punctuated by incidents of stark abuse, continued to be the ordinary tenor of life in many schools throughout the system. There can be no better summary comment on the system and the experience of the children than the rather diplomatic description of an Ontario school given by an Anglican Bishop in 1960:

The ... [school] has over the past years suffered a somewhat unhappy household atmosphere. Too rigid regimentation, a lack of homelike surroundings and the failure to regard the children as persons capable of responding to love, have contributed at time to that condition. Children unhappy at their treatment were continually running away.¹⁶⁹

As this description implies, and other evidence attests more directly, the Department and the churches knew something else about the system and again they knew it years before the voices of ex-students made the schools, their history and consequences, such a part of the public discourse on Aboriginal-government relations. They knew that the record of the school system comprised more than the sum of innumerable acts of violence against individual children. There were in addition, pervasive and equally insidious consequences for all the children - for those who had been "marked," like the two boys beaten at Birtle for attempting to run away, and for those whose scars were less visible but, perhaps, no less damaging.

From early in the history of the school system, it was apparent that the great majority of children on leaving school, unlike those few successes the Department was able to consult in 1965, rarely fit the vision's model of the enfranchiseable individual. In some manner, the educational process, an integral part of which was the system's overweening discipline, the "regimentation" so often noted, was counter productive, undercutting the very qualities which were the prerequisites for assimilation - "individual acting and thinking," the development of "individuality and self control" so that "children are prepared to take their place in our democratic way of life."¹⁷⁰

There was at the sametime darker hues to this phenomenon. Local agents gave notice that not only did children not undergo the great transformation, but they became stranded between cultures, deviants from the norms of both. One agent, in 1913, reviewing the record of children who had come home from Crowstand school commented that there were "far too many girls graduates ... turning out prostitutes, and boys becoming drunken loafers." Another agent in 1918, opposed the schools because a much greater number of ex-students than children who had remained in the community were "useless" unable to get on with life on the reserve, and fell foul of the law. It would be, he concluded, "far better that they never go to school than turn out as the ex-pupils ... have done." Davey himself held the view that students who were "problem cases", uncontrollable, habitual transgressors of school rules, were "victims of the residential school system." He thought it unlikely that keeping them in school would have any remedial value. "Can we", he wondered, "reasonably expect any improvement in their behaviour or attitude by giving them more of the treatment which has brought about their condition?" [r389] In 1960, a Catholic bishop informed the Department that the "general complaint made by our Indian Youth brought up to court shortly after leaving school for various reasons is that they cannot make a decent living nor have a steady job because they have not education to compete with their white neighbours."¹⁷¹

Whether the bishop was correct, that those youth ended in trouble because they did not have enough education, or because it was the wrong sort of education and a severely debilitating experience, was not normally a matter for enquiry. However, in the late 1960s, the Department and the churches were forced to face the fact that there were severe defects in the system. Those ex-students consulted in 1965, were unanimous in the opinion that for most children the school experience was "really detrimental to the development of the human being."

The one woman in the 1965 group, then a guidance counsellor and later a leader in Aboriginal education, underlined how corruptive the school experience was. The size of schools which necessitated rigid, authoritarian management led, she argued, to "the most detrimental aspect of a residential school program" - the fact that children were not "given the opportunity to make choices." There was, springing from that single source, a range of problems. "Responsibility for self-discipline and decision making [was] not exercised by students," they did "not learn personal care of clothing," and thus "take little pride in personal belongings and "tend to feel nothing is really theirs." "Everything is done in mass, therefore it is difficult for any student to exercise individualism." The system did not prepare children for life after school. Isolated from both the Aboriginal and non-

Aboriginal communities, schools were "inclined to make robots of their students" who were quite incapable of facing "a world almost unknown to him."¹⁷²

This ex-student perspective was amplified by George Caldwell's Canadian Welfare Council report. In 1967, Caldwell submitted a scathing evaluation of nine schools in Saskatchewan:

The residential school system is geared to the academic training of the child and fails to meet the total needs of the child because it fails to individualize; rather it treats him en masse in every significant activity of daily life. His sleeping, eating, recreation, academic training, spiritual training and discipline are all handled in such a regimented way as to force conformity to the institutional pattern. The absence of emphasis on the development of the individual child as a unique person is the most disturbing result of the whole system. The schools are providing a custodial service rather than a child development service. The physical environment of the daily living aspects of the residential school is overcrowded, poorly designed, highly regimented and forces a mass approach to children. The residential school reflects a pattern of child care which was dominant in the early decades of the 20th century, a combined shelter and education at the least public expense.

Not surprisingly, Caldwell's central recommendation was that Indian Affairs should concern itself "primarily with the education of Indian children and remove itself from the operation of children's institutions such as the present residential schools."

While the preponderance of the report looked at the failure of the schools to achieve the goal of socialization, Caldwell did devote some attention to the consequences of that failure for children after they left school. Therein lay an even more "disturbing result." Caldwell confirmed what those agents had observed decades before - that not only were children ill-prepared for life and work in Canadian society but that they were unable to deal with the unique reality that faced an ex-student. A product of both worlds, they were caught in "the conflicting pulls between the two cultures" - the "white culture of the residential school" and subsequently "the need to readapt and readjust to the Indian culture." Central to the "resolution of the impact of the cultural clash for the ... child is an integration of these major forces in his life." Unfortunately, "few children are equipped to handle this struggle on their own"¹⁷³ though they would be left to do just

that - to deal alone with the trauma of their school experience. He did not say, and the Department did not ask, how that struggle might be, or had been for generations, playing itself out in the lives of children, the families they returned to, the families and children they gave birth to, and their communities. What Caldwell's did venture was that his Saskatchewan findings could be replicated in schools throughout the system.¹⁷⁴

On its part, the Department, far from being prepared to dispute Caldwell's conclusions, welcomed and even amplified them in what amounted to its own serious critique of the system. Finally and categorically, it closed the door on Davin, on the belief in the importance of separation. Officials in the regions and in Ottawa declared authoritatively, sometimes referring to "the belief of social workers and others who deal with children" that "more injury is done to the children by requiring them to leave their homes to attend Residential schools than if they are permitted to remain at home and not receive formal education."¹⁷⁵ There can be "no question but that the admission of a child to such an institution, when he does not need to be there, is harmful to both the child and the family from which he is withdrawn."¹⁷⁶ It "is a proven and universally accepted fact that institutional living for adolescents is to be discouraged."¹⁷⁷ Cast in more positive phrasing, these sentiments became the official Departmental position. In 1968, the Minister, Jean Chretien, wrote to the G.R. Baldwin MP indicating that Assumption school, in his riding would continue, like the 62 other schools still operating, to experience enrolment reductions as the introduction of welfare services in communities and integration progressed. This, the Department considered, was all for the best as

It has been found that for the average Indian child, remaining a member of the family unit can be more beneficial than the best residential school care.¹⁷⁸

Such a position was all suspiciously self-serving, however, for the Department, pushing integration, used Caldwell's view that the schools were not an "environment to foster healthy growth and development," as a counter-weight against those who argued for the retention of a particular school or, more broadly, for the continuation of separate and residential education. In what is perhaps the darkest irony in the history of the school system, the Department acted vigorously on its failure never having acted vigorously in the past to prevent such a failure inscribed in the decades of "injury ... done to children by requiring them to leave their homes".¹⁷⁹ Soon, however, the Department and the churches, had to begin to face the issue of "injury" - the product of the long unbroken

history of abuse, mistreatment and the neglect of children and of the sustained attack on Aboriginal culture. It is, tragically, that "injury" that lives on beyond the closure of the schools.

1. INAC File 501/25-1-019, Vol. 1, Memorandum to Mr. R.S. Davis from G.H. Marcoux, 21 October, 1953.
2. Most of 72 schools operating in 1948 had been built prior to 1908.
3. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8453, File 985/23-5, MR C 13802, To D. Mackay from R. Hoey, 16 July, 1943.
4. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8754, File 651/25-1, MR C 9701, To D. Knight from J. Jones, 27 October, 1954.
5. INAC File 671/25-1-025, Vol. 1, 2 April, 1952.
6. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6426, File 875-1-2-3-5, MR C 8756, To Indian Commissioner from R.F. Davey, 15 October, 1949.
7. INAC File 775/23-5-005, Vol. 1, Inspection Report, Fort Vermillion School, 16-17 January, 1953.
8. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8757, File 673/25-1-010, MR C 9701, Memorandum to Deputy Minister from Director, 24 October, 1950.
9. INAC File 772/23-5-010, Vol. 1, Inspection Report, Morley Residential School 31 October, 1952.
10. INAC File 501/25-1-088, Vol. 1, To Director from Robt. F. Yule, M.D., 11 September, 1951 and To Indian Affairs Branch from J.P. Ostrander, 7 January, 1952.
11. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8754, File 651/25-1, MR C 9701, To B. Neary from Canon H. Cook, 20 December, 1948.
12. INAC File 671/25-1-025, Vol. 1, 2 April, 1952.
13. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8774, File 501/25-8 (1-3), MR C 9708, To the Department from J.R. McCurdy, n.d., 1958.

14. INAC File 701/25-1, Vol. 16, See transcript of interview with Louise ... 1975-76.
15. Carroll Van West, "Acculturation by Design - Architectural Determinism and the Montana Indian Reservations, 1870-1930" in Great Plains Quarterly, Vol. 7 No. 2, Spring 1987, page 91.
16. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 4041, File 334503, MR C 10178, To F. Pedley from F.H. Paget, 25 November, 1908 and Vol. 4092, File 546898, MR C 10187, To W. Graham from Dr. F.A. Corbett, 7 December, 1920.
17. INAC File 772/25-1-002, Vol. 1, To Director Indian Health Services from W. Falconer, M.D., 13 March, 1956 and To R.F. Battle from B.J. Orford, 14 June, 1956.
18. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6309, File 654-1 (3), To Indian Affairs Branch from R. Davis, 17 October, 1945 and To Indian Affairs Branch from J. Ostrander, 5 March, 1946.
19. INAC File 961/25-1, Vol. 1, 24 September, 1948.
20. INAC File 501/25-1-008, Vol. 1, To Director, Indian Health Services, from Robt. F. Yule, M.D., 4 September, 1950 and To J. Ostrander from E. Jones, 3 January, 1952.
21. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8596, File 1/1-13, MR C 14226, Inspection Report on St. Mary's school, 15 November, 1948.
22. INAC File 501/25-1-088, Vol. 1, To Director, Indian Health Services, from Robt. F. Yule, M.D., 4 September, 1950, To Director, Indian Health Services, from Robt. F. Yule, M.D., 10 September, 1949 and File 116/25-2-763, To Indian Commissioner for B.C. from P. Phelan, 23 July, 1952 which reiterates the necessity of a health check prior to the admission of a child.
23. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6054, File 350-23 MR C 8159, To Dr. Moore from B. Orford, M.D., 16 February, 1946.
24. INAC File 501/25-1-088, Vol. 1, 3 January, 1952.
25. INAC File 501/25-1-088, Vol. 1, To Director, Indian Health Services, from Robt. F. Yule, M.D., 10 September, 1949 and To Director, Indian Health Services, from Robt. F. Yule, 4 September, 1950.
26. INAC File 775/25-1-005, Vol. 1, To P. Phelan from Neil Walker, 20 June, 1949.
27. INAC File 775/25-1-006, Vol. 1, To Minister of Landes [sic] and Mines from ..., 17 July, 1948 and Extracts from a letter from ... [the] Missionary at Hay

Lakes.

28. INAC File 775/25-1-006, Vol. 1, To Dr. E.L. Stone from Neil Walker, 19 April, 1949.

29. INAC File 775/25-1-006, Vol. 1, To ... from H. Jones, 5 Janaury, 1954.

30. INAC File 775/25-1-005, Vol. 1, To P. Phelan from Neil Walker, 20 June, 1949.

31. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8754, File 654/25-1, To Indian Affairs Branch from V.M. Gran, 10 November, 1953 amd To V. M. Gran from J. Davis, 7 November, 1953.

32. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6309, File 654-1 (3), To Indian Affairs Branch from R. Davis, 17 October, 1945 and To Dr. Camsell from [parent], 24 September, 1945.

33. INAC File 486/25-1-001, Vol. 1, To R.F. Davey from H. Lariviere, 13 July, 1956, Confidential to W.J. Harvey from [the school], 25 July, 1956 and To F. Matters from W.J. Harvey, 30 July, 1956.

34. INAC File C8792 V6476 919-1 Part 1, To The Honourable I. A. Mackenzie from [a teacher] 13 March, 1944 and To H.W. McGill from D.L. Livingston, M.D.C.M., 22 May, 1944.

35. INAC File 1/25-1-4-1, Vol. 2, To W.L. Falconer, M.D. from [a teacher] 14, October, 1953.

36. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6033, File 150-44 (2), MR C 8149, To Mrs. A. Stevenson from R. Hoey, 15 September, 1945 and To R. Hoey from Mrs. A. Stevenson, 8 March, 1946.

37. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6033, File 150-44 (2), MR C 8149, Red Cross Survey, St. John's, Chapleau, Mrs. A. Stevenson, October, 1944.

38. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6033, File 150-44 (2), MR C 8149, Report of Food Survey at Spanish school, 11-15 March, 1945.

39. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6033, File 150-44 (2), MR C 8149, To R. Hoey from Mrs. A. Stevenson, 6 March, 1946.

40. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6033, File 150-44 (2), To Dr. Moore from L.B. Lett, M.D., 1 March, 1946 and To Dr. Moore from, L.B. Lett, M.D., n.d. 1946.

41. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6033, File 150-44 (2), MR C 8149, Health Aspects in Relation to Food Service, Indian Residential Schools, November, 1946.

42. INAC File 1/25-1-4-1, Vol. 2, 7 January, 1954.
43. INAC File 1/25-1-4-1, Vol. 2, 8 December, 1953 and 23 December, 1953.
44. INAC File 772/25-1-002, Vol. 1, To Zone Superintendent from L.H. Mason, M.D., 4 December, 1957 with attached correspondence.
45. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6258, File 576-10, MR C 8650, To J.A. Glen from T.C. Douglas, 11 December, 1946, To J. Ostrander from A. Hamilton [?], 24 December, 1946 see attached note on police visit to the school by W. Kerley, To B. Neary from Rev. G. Dorey, 27 December, 1946 and To T.C. Douglas from J.A. Glen [Draft], 2 January, 1947.
46. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6258, File 576-10, MR C 8650, To Indian Affairs Branch from J. Ostrander, 28 December, 1946. See also Police Reports: 3 September, 1949 and 6 November, 1949.
47. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7194, File 511/25-1-015, MR C 9700, Agents Report, Brandon School, by J. Waite, 1950, To P. Phelan from R.S. Davis, 1 November, 1950 and To P. Phelan from R.S. Davis, 25 October, 1951.
48. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7194, File 511/25-1-015, MR C 9700, To R.S. Davis from G. Marcoux, 12 October, 1951.
49. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7194, File 511/25-1-015, MR C 9700, To R.S. Davis from Mrs. A. Swaile, 6 October, 1951.
50. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7194, File 511/25-1-015, MR C 9700, To P. Phelan from G. Marcoux, 2 May, 1952 and To [the Principal] from P. Phelan, 10 June, 1952.
51. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7194, File 511/25-1-015, MR C 9700, To R.S. Davis from R.F. Davey, 18 September, 1953 and To R.F. Davey from R.S. Davis, 23 September, 1953.
52. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7194, File 511/25-1-015, MR C 9700, N. Chapman Report, 8 October, 1953.
53. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7194, File 511/25-1-015, MR C 9700, To R.S. Davis from G. Marcoux, 5 November, 1953.
54. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7194, File 511/25-1-015, MR C 9700, To Col. Jones from Dr. P. Moore, 22 October, 1953 and To Dr. Moore from H.M. Jones, 29 October, 1953.
55. INAC File 1/25-1-4-1, Vol. 2, To Dr. L.B. Pett [sic] from R.F. Davey, 7 January, 1954.

56. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7194, File 511/25-1-015, MR C 9700, 3 December, 1953 and 22 February, 1954.
57. United Church Archives, Board of Home Missions Fonds, General Files, [Section II] Box 110, File 17, To [the Principal] from R. Davey, 27 January, 1960, Box 112, File 17, To Joblin from Powell, 25, November, 1960 and N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7194, File 511/25-1-015, MR C 9700, To Director from R. F. Davey, 12 December, 1956.
58. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7194, File 511/25-1-015, MR C 9700, To P. Dezeil from R.F. Davey, 15 November, 1956 and To R.F. Davey from R. Ragan, 6 December, 1956.
59. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 7194, File 511/25-1-015, MR C 9700, To H. Jones from R.F. Davey, 12 December, 1956.
60. INAC File 1/25-1-4-1, Vol. 2, To Dr. P.E. Moore from H.M. Jones, 17 August, 1956.
61. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8576, File 1/1-2-2-23, MR C 14215, Memorandum to File from R.F. Davey, 1 August, 1958 and Vol. 8795-6, File 1/25-13 (10), Mr C 6917, To J. Gordon from Dr. P. Moore, 23 November, 1963.
62. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6033, File 150-44 (2), MR C 8149, Health Aspects in Relation to Food Service, Indian Residential Schools, November, 1946 and INAC File 601/25-2, Vol. 2, R.F. Davey, Residential Schools - Past and Future, 8 March, 1968.
63. INAC File 772/25-1-002, Vol. 1, 22 October, 1956.
64. INAC File 501/25-1-105, Excerpts from Letter ... dated Dec. 3rd, 1956.
65. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6041, File 160-5, Part 1, MR C 8153, To P. Phelan from A.J. Doucet, n.d. [November?], 1945.
66. INAC File 486/25-1-001, Vol. 1, To F. Matters from W.J. Harvey, 30 July, 1956.
67. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6033, File 150-44 (2), MR C 8149, To Director from E. Stone, M.D. n.d. March, 1947.
68. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-2, Part 4, MR C 8152, To B. Neary from Canon H. Cook, 5 July, 1950.
69. Anglican Church Archives, M.S.C.C., Series 2-15, Superintendent's Report to the Executive Committee, 20 November, 1951.

70. INAC File 487/25-1-015, Vol. 1, To The Secretary ..., 27 February, 1948.
71. Presbyterian Church Archives, 1988-7004-15-1, Correspondence with Principal, Cecilia Jeffrey School, To F. Matthews from R.S. MacCallum, 12 December, 1951.
72. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8576, File 1/1-2-2-21, MR C 14215, Regional School Inspectors Conference, 10-11 April, 1958. See the remarks of P. Dezeil.
73. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6041, File 160-5, Part 1, MR C 8153, To Bishop Jennings from P. Phelan, 10 December, 1941.
74. INAC File 6-37-1, Vol. 1, Memorandum to Deputy Minister from D. MacKay, 31 December, 1948. See attached: Important Developments - Indian Affairs Branch Since April 1, 1947. See also for funding information: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-2, Part 4, MR C 8152, To Director from Canon Dixon, 26 March, 1951, Vol. 6041, File 160-5, Part 1, To J. Birch O.M.I. from P. Phelan, 6 April, 1951, To Rev. A. Renaud O.M.I. from P. Phelan, 29 February, 1952 and Vol. 8795-6, File 1/25-13 (10), MR C 6917, To Minister from H. Jones, 1 May, 1956.
75. INAC File 6-21-1, Vol. 1, Memorandum for presentation to Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, 23rd January, 1951.
76. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-2, part 4, MR C 8152, To B. Neary from Canon Cook, 5 May, 1950 and To B. Neary from Canon Cook, 5 July, 1950.
77. INAC File 772/25-1-002, Vol. 1, 22 October, 1956.
78. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6039, File 160-2, Part 4, MR C 8152, To Director from B. Neary, 4 May, 1950, Vol. 8795, File 1/25-13 (10), MR C 6917, To Deputy Minister from H.M. Jones, 17 April 1956 and INAC File 772/25-1-002, Vol. 1, Memorandum to the Deputy Minister, 2 January, 1957.
79. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8795-6, File 1/25-13 (10), Mr C 6917, To Deputy Minister from H.M. Jones, 17 April, 1956.
80. INAC File 961/25-13, Vol. 1, To [the Principal] from R. Davey, 13 March, 1956.
81. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8576, File 1/1-2-1-21, MR C 14215, Regional School Inspectors Conference, 10-11 April, 1958. See remarks of P. Dezeil.
82. INAC File 116/25-13, Operation of Government-Owned Residential Schools on a Controlled Cost Basis, April, 1958 and INAC File 1/1-18, Vol. 1, To The Secretary from L.

Fortier, 25 November, 1958.

83. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8576, File 1/1-2-2-23, To Deputy Minister from H.M. Jones, 27 May, 1957 and Minutes of Meeting with the Churches, 31 May, 1957.

84. INAC File 600-1-6, Vol. 1, Meeting with Church Representatives RE Operation of Government Owned Residential Schools, May 11, 1959 and File 87/23-5, Vol. 1, 29 April, 1957.

85. See for example, INAC File 6-15-3, Vol. 1, Meeting with Church Representatives Re Operation of Government Owned Residential Schools, May 1, 1961.

86. See, for example: INAC File 501/25-13-065, Vol. 2, Memorandum of Agreement ... 22, June, 1962.

87. INAC File 601/25-2 Vol. 2. R.F. Davey, Residential Schools - Past and Future, 8 March, 1968.

88. INAC File 6-21-1, Vol. 4, The National Association of Principals and Administrators of Indian Residences, Brief Presented to the Department of Indian Affairs ..., 1968.

89. INAC File E4974-1, Indian Residential Schools - A research study of child care programs of nine residential schools in Saskatchewan, [The Caldwell Report]. The Canadian Welfare Council, G. Caldwell, Project Director, 31 January, 1967, page 91.

90. INAC File 6-21-1, Vol. 4, The National Association of Principals and Administrators of Indian Residences, Brief Presented to the Department of Indian Affairs ..., 1968.

91. INAC File 6-21-1, Vol. 4, Memorandum on the Brief - National Association of Principals, R.F. Davey, 11 January, 1968.

92. INAC File 6-21-1, Vol. 4, To Deputy Minister from R.F. Battle, 8 January, 1968. See attached Comments on the Brief of the National Association of Principals and Administrators of Indian Residences.

93. INAC File 6-21-1, Vol. 4, To ... from J.A. MacDonald, 28 May, 1968.

94. INAC File 6-21-1, Vol. 4, To Deputy Minister from R.F. Battle, 8 January, 1968. See attached Comments on the Brief of the National Association of Principals and Administrators of Indian Residences.

95. INAC File 6-21-1, Vol. 4, The National Association of Principals and Administrators of Indian Residences, Brief Presented to the Department of Indian Affairs ..., 1968.

96. INAC File 1/1-18, Vol. 1, To The Secretary from Laval Fortier, 25 November, 1958. For information on age grade distribution see: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8576, File 1/1-2-2-23, MR C 14215, To R. Davey from Canon H. Cook, 27 August, 1958.

97. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8576, File 1/1-2-2-23, MR C 14215, To R. Davey from Canon H. Cook, 27 August, 1958. See also: Vol. 8799, File 511/25-13-017, MR C 9718, To R. Davey from E. Joblin, 20 September, 1962 and INAC File 600-1-6, Vol. 1, Meeting with Church Representatives Re Operation of Government Owned Residential Schools May 11, 1959.

98. INAC File 1/25-13, Vol. 12, Treasury Board Submission, Food and Clothing Allowances, 25 July, 1966 and 1/25-1-4-1, Vol. 2, To R.F. Battle from H.A. Proctor, M.D., 5 May, 1969.

99. INAC File 501/25-13-065, Vol. 2, To [a Principal] from R.F. Davey, 20 November, 1962.

100. INAC File 961/25-13, Vol. 1, To R.F. Davey from [a Principal], 6 December, 1961.

101. See, for example: INAC File 501/25-13-067, Vol. 3, Memorandum to File from Mr. Chapple, 11 May, 1967, File 1/25-13, Vol. 12, To R.F. Davey from ... 28 September, 1966 and Treasury Board Submission, Food and Clothing Allowances, Indian Residential Schools, 25 July, 1966 and File 676/75-13-005, Vol. 2, Food Services Report, Beauval School, 20 September, 1962.

102. INAC File 961/25-3, Vol. 1, 6 December, 1961, File 44/25-2, 10 July, 1964 and File 501/25-1-065, To Regional Supervisor from R.F. Davey, 28 June, 1961. See File 1/25-1-4-1, Vol. 2, for a good selection of Food Service Reports.

103. INAC 961/25-13, Vol. 1, 6 December, 1961.

104. INAC File 501/25-1, Vol. 1, 1 March, 1960.

105. INAC File 1/35-1-4-1, Vol. 2, Report of Visit of Regional Nutritionist [Miss Anges L. Campbell] April 29 & 30, 1969.

106. INAC File 501/25-1-105, Vol. 1, To Colonel H.M. Jones from P.E. Moore, M.D., 1 March, 1960 with attached Norway House Indian Residential School operated by the United Church of Canada and To Miss C. Hoey from [a staff member], 10

November, 1959.

107. INAC File 853/25-13, Vol. 3, To R.F. Davey from [staff member], 16 February, 1967.

108. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8798, File 371/25-13-019 (2), MR C 9717, To Dr. Moore from H.M. Jones, 20 September, 1960 and To H.M. Jones from P.E. Moore, M.D., 11 October, 1960.

109. INAC File 501/25-13-067, Vol. 3, 31 October, 1969.

110. INAC File 676/25-13-005, Vol. 2, Food Services Report, Beauval School, 20 September, 1962.

111. INAC File 1/25-1-4-1, Vol. 2, Inspection of Food Service Indian Residential Schools [Pensionnat Indian de Sept-Isles], May 18 to 20, 1954.

112. INAC File 501/25-1-105, Vol. 1, To Colonel H.M. Jones from P.E. Moore, M.D., 1 March, 1960 with attached Norway House Indian Residential School operated by the United Church of Canada.

113. INAC File 965/25-13, Vol. 1, R.F. Davey, 11 July, 1960.

114. INAC File 1/25-1-4-1, Vol. 2, Inspection of Food Service Indian Residential Schools [Pensionnat Indian de Sept-Isles], May 18 to 20, 1954.

115. INAC File 501-25-1-104, Vol. 1, Inspection of Food Services, Cross Lake Indian Residential School, n.d. [1962].

116. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8798, File 371/25-13-019 (2), MR C 9717, To R. Davey from Canon H. Cook, 4 July, 1960.

117. INAC File 965/25-13, Vol. 1, Narrative, Survey of Food Service - Le Jac Residential School, F.E. Latimer, 9 June, 1960.

118. G. Manuel and M. Posluns, The Fourth World, page 66.

119. INAC File 501-25-1-104, Vol. 1, Inspection of Food Services, Cross Lake Indian Residential School, n.d. [1962].

120. See, for example: INAC File 501/25-13-065, Vol. 2, Memorandum of Agreement ... 22, June, 1962.

121. INAC File 601/25-13, Vol. 2, To I. Robson from ... 17 November, 1969. For a similar situation see: File 1/25-1-4-1, To J. Boys from R.F. Davey, 15 August, 1969.

122. INAC File 501/25-13-075, Vol. 2, To ... from R.F. Davey, 6 November, 1962.

123. INAC File 1/25-1-4-1, Vol. 2, To R.F. Battle from H.A. Proctor, M.D., 2 January 1969, File 501/25-1-105, Vol. 1, To R.F. Davey from [a staff member], 10 January, 1963 and To Colonel H.M. Jones from P.E. Moore, M.D., 1 March 1960.

124. INAC File 956/25-1, Vol. 1, To W.S. Arneil from P. Phelan, 24 June, 1954.

125. INAC File 701/25-1-4-1, Vol. 1, To ... from R.F. Davey, 7 March, 1966. For other examples see: File 799/25-13-012, Vol. 1, To Dr. P.E. Moore from H. Jones, 30 October, 1961, File 772/25-1-002, Vol. 1, To ... from R.F. Davey, 19 June, 1961. File 775/25-1-006, Vol. 1, ...from P. Dezeil, 13 July, 1961.

126. N.A.C. RG 85, Vol. 1224, File 630/110-3 (6) To R.G. Robertson from ..., 19 November, 1957.

127. N.A.C. RG 85 Vol. 1338, File 600-1-5, Report on ... Tent Hostel, 1 August, 1959.

128. INAC File 1/25-1, Vol. 22, To R.F. Davie [sic] from ... Consultant Psychologist, 10 April, 1969. See attached Report on Psychological Consultation Trip to Keewatin Area, January 8-22, 1969.

129. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6355, File 757-1, MR C 8711, To Indian Affairs Branch from G. H. Gooderham, 29 January, 1947 and To R. Hoey from B. Neary, 5 February, 1947 with attached To G.H. Gooderham from B. Neary, 5 February, 1947. See also: INAC File 501/25-1-067, Vol. 1, To ... from A. Hamilton, n.d., 1949 and Manual of Instructions for Use in Government-Owned and Operated Student Residences, 1 January, 1962.

130. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol 8757, File 673/25-1-010, MR C 9701, To J. Card from B. Neary, 7 February, 1950.

131. Presbyterian Church Archives, Women's Missionary Society 1988-7004-19-5, To All Teachers ... 14 April, 1953.

132. N.A.C. RG 85 Vol. 1881, File 630/119-2 (Vol.2), To Mr. Meikle from J. Mckinnon, 4 December, 1948 and To Mr. Meikle from R. Gibson, 22 December, 1922.

133. There is an ever-increasing number of works published which are memoirs by ex-students or are based on interviews with students. For a representative selection of these see: C.

with students. For a representative selection of these see: C. Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* (Vancouver, Tillacum Library, 1987), I. Knockwood, *Out of the Depths* (Lockeport, Roseway Publishing, 1992), B. Johnson, *Indian School Days* (Toronto, Key Porter Books, 1988), G. Manuel and M. Posluns, *The Fourth World* (Don Mills, Collier-Macmillan Canada Ltd, 1974), L. Jaine ed., *Residential Schools: The Stolen Years* (Saskatoon, University [of Saskatchewan] Extension Press, 1993), *The Assembly of First Nations, Breaking the Silence - An Interpretive Study of Residential School Impact and Healing as Illustrated by the Stories of First Nations Individuals* (Ottawa, First Nations Health Commission, 1994). See also the transcripts of the Royal Commission which contain the most disturbing testimony from ex-students on their school experience and subsequent lives.

134. Mary Carpenter, "Reollections and Comments: No More Denials Please", *Inuktitut* (74: 56-61, 1991).

135. INAC File 773/23-5-004, Vol. 2, 22 February, 1954 and File 675/25-018, Vol. 2, 12 July, 1957.

136. INAC File 959/1-13, Vol. 1, 17 January, 1964 and File 906/1-13-011, Vol. 1, 27 March, 1962.

137. INAC File 774/25-1-016, Vol. 2, 24 May, 1965.

138. INAC File 772/25-1-002, Vol. 1, 18 February, 1950 and attached correspondence.

139. INAC File C9805 V6324 659-1.

140. INAC File 501/25-1-067, 4 March, 1949 and attached investigation report.

141. INAC File 956/1-13, Vol. 1, 8 August, 1958 and attached correspondence.

142. INAC File 1/25-20-1, Vol. 1, To Miss ... 16 February, 1966 and attached correspondence. The student opinions were circulated at the Conference in an unpublished pamphlet - *Indian Viewpoints Submitted for the Consideration of the Principals' Workshop*, Elliot Lake, Ontario. Copies of this exist in Church Archives.

143. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8452, File 773/23-5-004, MR C 13802, Inspection Report St Paul's School, January, 1952.

144. INAC File 772/23-16-010, Vol. 1, 2 May, 1953.

145. INAC File 485/25-1-001, Vol. 1, 27 August, 1963 and attached correspondence.
146. INAC File 487/25-1-014, Vol. 1, To The Acting Minister from R.F. Battle, 26 January, 1967.
147. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6186, File 460-23, Part 1, 14 June, 1941 and attached correspondence and police reports.
148. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6332, File 661-1 Part 2, MR C 9810, To Sir from J. Ostrander, 19 January, 1935 and attached correspondence.
149. INAC File 961/25-1, Vol. 1, Attention Indian Affairs ... sgd W.S. Arneil.
150. INAC File 451/25-2-004, Vol. 2, 9 September, 1968 with attached correspondence and the Globe and Mail, 6 September, 1968.
151. Macleans Magazine, Vol. 80, no.2, February, 1967.
152. INAC File 377/25-13, Vol. 1, Verdict of Coroner's Jury, 17 December, 1970 and To Regional Director from G.D. Cromb, 6 January, 1971.
153. INAC File 377/25-13, Vol. 1, To H.B. Cotnam, M.D. from J.B. Bergevin, 1 March, 1971.
154. INAC File 116/25-2-763, 18 November, 23 September, 15 November, 8 November 1954, and 11 August, 1953 and File 431/25-2-485, 25 February, 1965.
155. INAC File 487/25-1-014, Vol. 1, To the Acting Minister from R.F. Battle, 26 January, 1967.
156. INAC File 485/25-1-001, Vol. 1, Runaways - Fort Frances, I.R.S., 27 August, 1963.
157. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8754, File 654/25-1 [ATIP], To J. Cairns from Rev. A. Southard, 2 June, 1956.
158. INAC File 494/25-1-014, Vol. 2, To R.F. Davey from [an Anglican Bishop], 12 December, 1961.
159. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8452, File 773/23-5-004, MR C 13802, Inspection Report St Paul's School, January, 1952.
160. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6436, File 878-1 (1-3), MR C 8762, To Assistant Deputy and Secretary from A. Daunt, 1 August, 1920.

162. INAC File E4974-2018, Vol. 1, To G. Sinclair from H. Lammer, 22 June, 1981.
163. INAC File 501/25-1-064, Vol. 1, To D. Neild from R.F. Davey, 19 November, 1953 and attached correspondence.
164. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8754, File 655/25-1, MR C 9701, Memorandum to Indian Affairs Branch, 20 June, 1950.
165. INAC File 959/1-13, Vol. 1, 3 March, 1960 and attached correspondence.
166. Weekend Magazine, 31 July, 1965 and Kenora Miner News, 14 August, 1965.
167. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8799, File 25-13-014, MR C 9718, To Head of the Secretariat from Regional Supervisor, 9 August, 1965.
168. INAC File 487/25-1-014, Vol. 1, Maclean's Story of Death of Charles Wenjack, 26 January, 1967.
169. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6859, File 494/25-2-014, MR C 13727, To F. Foss from [Bishop], 31 October, 1960.
170. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6205, File 468-1 (1-3), MR C 7937, To A. Moore from A. Mackenzie, 9 January, 1934 and INAC File 777/23-5-007, Vol. 1, To ... from P. Phelan, 24 April, 1945.
171. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6027, File 117-1-1, MR C 8147, To the Secretary from R. Blewett, 21 May, 1913, Vol. 3933, File 117657-1, MR C 10164, To Assistant Deputy Superintendent General from the Agent, Blood reserve, 18 July, 1918, Vol. 8614, File 777/1-13-009, MR C 14234, To K. Gooderham from R.F. Davey, 29 April, 1964 and INAC File 853/25-1, Vol. 2, To the Honourable J.W. Pickersgill from a Catholic Bishop, 12 November, 1956.
172. INAC File 1/25-20-1, Vol. 1, To Miss ... 16 February, 1966 and attached correspondence. Copies of this exist in Church Archives.
173. INAC File E4974-1 Vol. 1, The Caldwell Report, 31 January, 1967, pages 151 and 61.
174. INAC File 1/25-13-2, Vol. 1, To ... from G. Caldwell, 18 July, 1967.
175. INAC File 81/25-1, Vol. 1, To T.A. Turner from G.S. Lapp, 28 August, 1964. See also: File 1/25-1, Vol. 35, Memorandum on Education for J.B. Bergevin, 15 September, 1969.

175. INAC File 81/25-1, Vol. 1, To T.A. Turner from G.S. Lapp, 28 August, 1964. See also: File 1/25-1, Vol. 35, Memorandum on Education for J.B. Bergevin, 15 September, 1969.

176. INAC File 1/25-1, Vol. 35, Memorandum on Education for J.B. Bergevin, 15 September, 1969.

177. INAC File 501/25-13-083, Vol. 11, Role of Brandon Student Residence, 19 June, 1970.

178. INAC File 775/25-2-006, Vol. 3, To G. Baldwin from Jean Chretien, 4 October, 1968.

179. INAC File 81/25-1, Vol. 1, To T.A. Turner from G.S. Lapp, 28 August, 1964.

EPILOGUE

BEYOND CLOSURE, 1992

"like a disease ripping through our communities"

In December, 1992, Grand Chief Edward John of the First Nations Task Force Group forwarded to the Minister of Justice, Kim Campbell, "a statement prepared and approved by B.C. First Nations Chiefs and Leaders." In it they pointed out that

The federal government established the system of Indian residential schools which was operated by various church denominations. Therefore, both the federal government and churches must be held accountable for the pain inflicted upon our people. We are hurt, devastated and outraged. The effect of the Indian residential school system is like a disease ripping through our communities.

The Chief's conclusion was not a rhetorical flourish; it was literally true. By the mid-1980s, it was widely and publicly recognized that the residential school experience in the north and in the south, like smallpox and tuberculosis in earlier decades, had and continued to decimate communities. The schools were, with the agents and agencies of economic and political marginalization, part of the contagion of colonization. In their direct attack on language, beliefs and spirituality, the schools had been a particularly virulent strain of that imperial epidemic sapping the children's bodies and beings. In after life, many adult survivors, the families and communities to which they returned, all manifest a tragic range of symptoms emblematic of "the silent tortures that continue in our communities."¹ A Chief of the Albany First Nation told the Minister, Tom Siddon, in 1990 that

Social maladjustment, abuse of self and others and family breakdown are some of the symptoms prevalent among First Nation Babyboomers. The "Graduates" of the "Ste. Anne's Residential School" era are now trying and often failing to come to grips with life as adults after being raised as children in an atmosphere of fear, loneliness and loathing.

Fear of caretakers. Loneliness, knowing that elders and family were far away. Loathing from learning to hate oneself, because of repeated physical, verbal or sexual abuse suffered at the hands of various adult caretakers. This is only a small part of the story.²

What had finally broken the seal on the residential school system affixed by Duncan Campbell Scott and made the story of neglect, physical and cultural abuse, public, was ironically, the deepest secret of all - the pervasive sexual abuse of the children. The official files efface the issue almost completely. What explicit references exist focus on the sexual behavior of the children, on a concern for intercourse among

the children - boys sneaking into the girls' dorm or, with greater frequency, reports of homosexual behaviour among the boys.³ In many quarters such a concern emanated from a belief that Aboriginal children were sexually abnormal. A report, for example, in 1948, that at Prince Albert school three small boys had to be accommodated in the girls' dorm included the notation - "the behaviour patterns of primitive people in respect to sex are unfortunately too predictable to make this arrangement a wise one." For one Principal Indians were simply "unmoral" - "nature is very strong in them." "The problem of course is that these people with regard to sex mature much earlier than the whites." Therefore, it was necessary "to guide that part of their emotional make-up along sound and safe channels."⁴

In contrast references regarding the behavior of non-Aboriginal staff were encoded normally in the language of repression that marked the Canadian discourse on sexual matters. An agent at Red Deer commented that the "moral aspect of affairs is deplorable," others wrote of "questions of immorality," of "the breaking of the Seventh Commandment." Only very occasionally is there a reference to a charge or to a conviction of a staff member for sexual molestation.⁵

This dearth of recorded information became, when the issue of sexual abuse emerged, the first block in the foundation of a Departmental response. In 1990, the director of education in the British Columbia region formulated an answer to perspective questions about past sexual abuse:

The sad thing is that we did not know it was occurring. Students were too reticent to come forward. And it now appears that the school staff likely did not know, and if they did, the morality of the day dictated that they, too, remain silent. DIAND [Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development] staff have no recollection or record of reports - either verbal or written.⁶

None of the major reports, Paget, Bryce or Caldwell, that dealt critically with almost every aspect of the system mentioned the issue at all - that fell to Aboriginal people themselves. Responding to abusive conditions in their own lives and in their communities, "hundreds of individuals have stepped forward with accounts of abuse in at least 16 schools."⁷ Women and men - like Phil Fontaine, the leader of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs who attended the Fort Alexander school - "went out on the limb to talk ... because they wanted to make things better."⁸ They did more than just talk, more than just speak their pain and anguish; they and their communities acted. Steps were taken to form support groups and healing circles. Beginning in 1989-90, abusers,

including ex-residential school staff were exposed, taken into court in British Columbia and in the Yukon, and convicted in each case of multiple counts of gross indecency and sexual assault. This set off a chain reaction of police investigations and further prosecutions.⁹

The trials, though far from being the first acts of resistance, may have had their greatest impact in validating the general critique of the system. In the long history of the schools, protests from parents and communities about conditions in the schools and the care of children had not been uncommon. Many parents who were silent were so because they were unaware, deceived by men and women they trusted; many others, realizing the dangers to their children, had struggled to protect them, to prevent them being taken to schools or petitioned for their return. More often than not, however, they had been brushed aside by the churches and government. Even those initiatives which secured an immediate goal, securing better food or calling for an inspection of the school, for example, never amounted to a serious challenge to the manner in which the system operated and thus they fell on stony ground.¹⁰

Times changed, however. In the 1980s, that public ground was well-watered by a growing concern for the safety of women and children in Canada and was harrowed by reports of sexual abuse of non-Aboriginal children at orphanages like Mount Cashel in Newfoundland and at the Alfred reform school in Ontario. Reflecting such concern, the government set up a Family Violence and Child Abuse Initiative allocating funds for community-based projects dealing with sexual abuse and family violence.¹¹ Non-Aboriginal Canadians found that Aboriginal revelations and their attack on the schools, and on the disastrous consequences of federal policy in general, fell within the parameters of their own social concerns and thus non-Aboriginal voices joined the chorus of condemnation.

"Experts" working for government and Aboriginal organizations confirmed the connections made by Aboriginal people between the schools' corrosive effect on culture and the dysfunction in their communities. Experiential testimony combined with "professional" analysis that charted the scope and pathology of abuse put that reality beyond any doubt or dispute. In 1990, the Globe and Mail reported that Rix Rogers, the special advisor to the minister of National Health and Welfare on child sexual abuse, had commented at a meeting of the Canadian Psychological Association that the abuse revealed to date was "just the tip of the iceberg" and that "closer scrutiny of past treatment of native children at Indian residential schools would show 100% of children at some schools were sexually abused."¹²

Sexual abuse was not simply visited on the individual child in school; it spilled back into communities so that even after the schools were closed it echoed in the lives of subsequent generations of children. A 1989 study sponsored by the Native Women's Association of the Northwest Territories found that eight out of 10 girls under the age eight were victims of sexual abuse and 50 per cent of boys the same age had been sexually molested as well.¹³ The cause was no mystery to social scientists. Researchers with the Child Advocacy Project of the Winnipeg Children's Hospital, who investigated child sexual abuse on the Sandy Bay reserve and other reserves in Manitoba, concluded in their report, "A New Justice for Indian Children," that while the "roots of the problem are complex" it is "apparent that the destruction of traditional Indian culture has contributed greatly to the incidence of child sexual abuse and other deviant behaviour."¹⁴ Consultants working for the Assembly of First Nations amplified this behaviour detailing the "social pathologies" that had been produced by the school system:

The survivors of the Indian residential school system have, in many cases, continued to have their lives shaped by the experiences in these schools. Persons who attended these schools continue to struggle with their identity after years of being taught to hate themselves and their culture. The residential school led to a disruption in the transference of parenting skills from one generation to the next. Without these skills, many survivors had had difficulties in raising their own children. In residential schools they learned that adults often exert power and control through abuse. The lessons learned in childhood are often repeated in adulthood with the result that many survivors of the residential school system often inflict abuse on their own children. These children in turn use the same tools on their own children.¹⁵

A central catalyst of that cycle of abuse were those powerful adults, men and women, employees of the churches and of the Department. In the years after 1969, when the church-state partnership in education was dissolved, the churches boxed the political compass so that at the highest levels and in most public forums, they supported Aboriginal aspirations. In 1975, the Catholic, Anglican and United churches formed Project North (the Aboriginal Rights Coalition) to coordinate their efforts in Aboriginal campaigns for justice and were later joined by the Presbyterian church and other denominations. All of them, however, continued at community levels their historic missionization within a new-found but still limited tolerance for Aboriginal spirituality.

By 1992, most of the churches had apologized, and would continue to do so in various forums, regretting, in the words of one of the Catholic texts, "the pain, suffering and alienation that so many had experienced."¹⁶ However, as they told the minister in a joint communication through the Aboriginal Rights Coalition in August 1992, they wanted it recognized that they "share responsibility with government for the consequences of residential schools" which included not only individual cases of physical and sexual abuse" but also "the broader issues of cultural impacts":

... the loss of language through forced English speaking, the loss of traditional ways of being on the land, the loss of parenting skills through the absence of four or five generations of children from Native communities, and the learned behaviour of despising Native identity.

They ended with an offer of fellowship, a recreation of the old alliance. "We as churches encourage you, Mr. Siddon, to address the legacy of residential schools with greater vigour." In any such undertaking, they assured him their "moral support and ... any experience we gain in responding to this legacy as churches."¹⁷

Having only just brought an end to the residential school era, the federal government found that the "disclosures, criminal convictions and civil actions related to sexual abuse" forced it to consider that "legacy" and to "determine a course of action."¹⁸ It was not lacking advice on the direction it should take. From all quarters, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, it was encouraged to institute a public enquiry. A private citizen warned the minister that a refusal would be an "indication of your gross insensitivity to the staggering effect on its victims of the crime of sexual abuse." He went on to argue passionately that more so than in the case of other crimes

sexual abuse of children thrives on the unwillingness of society to deal with it out in the open. So long as we as a society permit "past events" to remain buried, no matter how painful, we cannot hope to halt the shocking epidemic that we are facing.¹⁹

In the House of Commons, R. Murphy, the member for Churchill, rose in November, 1990 to "urge the government to commission an independent inquiry" which, he was confident, would "assist the healing process for the victims of this abuse." R. Belair, the member for Cochrane-Superior, in a letter to the minister, struck the same note. "How can the healing process begin without those who were responsible for these injustices publicly acknowledging the wrongs that were done to these

children?"²⁰

Within the Department, Mr. Murphy's sentiments and the call for an inquiry found no apparent support. There was certainly no suggestion that full public disclosure would have any therapeutic value. It would appear from correspondence that circulated among officials in the years 1990-92 dealing with the facts of abuse and the possible range of Departmental responses that the Department, in some unofficial discourse, accepted the basic premise that the schools' extensive record of abuse meant that "many young innocent people have suffered," that the system had contributed to the "loss of culture and familial disruption," that the "serious psychological, emotional and social sequelae of child sexual abuse are well established" and that now "there was a need to address these problems among former victims ... their families and communities." On the question of how that should be done it was first suggested that "Although much of the abuse has happened in the past, the Department must take some responsibility and offer some solutions to this very serious problem." This was superseded by the more characteristically cautious "framework to respond to incidence[s] of abuse and the resultant effect on Indian communities". On what "is a major issue for DIAND ... It is important that DIAND be seen as responding in a way that liability is not admitted, but that it is recognizing the sequelae of these events."²¹

By December, 1992 when Tom Siddon replied to the August communication from the Aboriginal Rights Coalition, the government had for sometime developed fully its response. It would not launch a public inquiry. Suggestions that it do so were met with a standard reply. "I am deeply disturbed by the recent disclosures of physical and sexual abuse in the residential schools. However, I do not believe that a public inquiry is the best approach at this time." If the letter was being sent to an Aboriginal community it would have the additional sentence. "Instead we would like to work closely with First Nations to address this problem at the community level and to begin the healing process."²²

Nor did the government follow the churches' lead in extending an apology for the residential school system. To anyone who might suggest such a course, the Minister was prepared to point out that in June, 1991, at the First Canadian Conference on Residential schools a former Assistant Deputy Minister, Bill Van Iterson, had "expressed on behalf of all public servants in the Department a sincere regret over the negative impacts of the residential schools and the pain they have caused to many people." There would be no Ministerial apology, no apology on behalf of Canadians. And there were no plans for compensation.²³

The strategy the government appeared to take was a simple one. Essentially, it tried to externalize the issue throwing it back on the shoulders of Aboriginal people themselves. Under the guise of being "strongly committed to the principles of self-government", as Tom Siddon informed the Aboriginal Rights Coalition, in December 1992, the government would concentrate its efforts on "enabling First Nations to design and develop their own programs according to their own needs."²⁴ It was committed "to working with Indian and Inuit communities, to finding ways to address this problem at the community level and to begin the healing of these wounds."²⁵ Money and effort could be put into psychological counselling, healing circles and so forth. To facilitate such programs the government, in 1991, supplemented its Family Violence and Child Abuse Initiative with provisions and funds directed specifically to Aboriginal concerns.²⁶ In what was an echo of the old per capita debates, the Coalition, when it reviewed the funding, informed the minister "that the amounts are still relatively modest when looking at the deep and widespread nature of the problems."²⁷

The approach to legal issues, particularly the identification and prosecution of purported abusers, was equally diffuse. There was no consideration that the system, itself, was a "crime." Rather, the focus was placed on individual acts that violated the criminal code. Again, the government would not take the lead. There would be no inquiry, no search of Departmental files. "DIAND will not without specific cause, initiate an investigation of all former student residence employees."²⁸ It would be the task of those who had been abused to take action. They would be directed to "the appropriate law enforcement agency, and DIAND will continue to cooperate fully with any police investigation."²⁹ The assistance they might receive from the Department would be "as open as possible" with due respect to "the privacy rights of individuals."³⁰

Such policies may well have been dictated by the norms of the criminal justice system and may even be appropriate in terms of community demands for funding and control. But there is in this a cynical slight of hand. Along with the refusal to apologize or to institute a special public inquiry came a focus on the "now" of the problem, Aboriginal people now "sick," not savage, in need of psychological, rather than theological, salvation. Having at the inception of the system, in the 1880s, plotted to take control of Aboriginal peoples' future by securing their children, the government seemed in the early 1990s, determined to kill the past. Conscious or not, this constituted an attempt to efface the history of the system, the "then" which, if it were considered, would inevitably turn the light of inquiry back onto the source of the contagion - on the "civilized" - on Canadian society, on Christian evangelism and on the racist

policies of its institutional expressions in church, government and Department. Those are the sites which produced the residential schools. In thought and deed this school system was an act of profound cruelty rooted in non-Aboriginal pride and intolerance and in the certitude and insularity of purported cultural superiority.

Rather than attempting to close the door on the past, looking only to the future of communities, the terrible facts of the residential school system, along with its companion policies - community removal, the Indian Act, systemic discrimination in the justice system - must be made a part of a new sense of what Canada has been and will continue to be for as long as that record is not officially recognized and repudiated. Only by such an act of recognition and repudiation, an act which must entail a realization that Canada and Canadians need to consider transformations in their society in an effort to discover ways of living in harmony with the original people of the land, can a start be made on a very different future.

That future must include making a place for those who have been affected by the schools to stand in dignity, to remember, to voice their sorrow and anger and to be listened to with respect. With them Canada needs to pursue justice and mutual healing; it must build a relationship, as the Manitoba leader and much decorated veteran Thomas Prince encouraged the government to do in his appearance before the Joint Committee of the House of Commons and the Senate in 1947, that will bind Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people "so that they can trust each other and ... can walk together side by side and face this world having faith and confidence in one another."³¹

1. INAC File E6575-18-2, Vol. 01 (Protected), To the Honourable K. Campbell from Grand Chief Edward John, 18 December, 1992 and the attached First Nations Leaders in B.C. Call for Specific Actions Following the Bishop O'Connor Case.
2. INAC File E6575-18-2, Vol. 4, To the Honourable Tom Siddon from [a chief], 15 November, 1990.
3. See for example: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3711, File 19850, Mr C 10125, To L. Vankoughnet from E. Dewdney, 12 July, 1888 and INAC File 1/25-20-1, Vol. 1 To L. Jampolsky from [ex-student], 24 December, 1965.
4. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 8754, File 651/25-1, MR C 9701, 4 November, 1948 and Vol. 6462, File 888-1 (2-3, 6-7), MR C 8781, 26 December, 1944.
5. N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 3920, File 116818, MR C 10161, 4 June, 1896, Vol. 3922, File 116820-1, MR C 10162, 25 February, 1905, Vol. 6251, File 575-1 (1-3), MR C 8645, 1 February, 1915, Vol. 6318, File 657-1, MR C 8692, Crime Report, 25 July, 1924 and Vol. 6309, File 654-1 (3), Police report and affidavits, 6 February, 1947.
6. INAC File E6575-18, Vol. 10, To J. Fleury, Jr. from J. Tupper, 19 June, 1990.
7. INAC File E6575-18, Vol. 13, House Response, 24 April, 1992. This was a Departmental estimate.
8. "Abuse report too hot, shelved - Author says study revealed epidemic", Winnipeg Free Press, 24 July, 1992. The story refers to a report, A New Justice for Indian Children, compiled by the Child Advocacy Project of the Children's Hospital, Winnipeg. It studied conditions on Manitoba reserves.
9. See for example: INAC File E6575-18-2, To C. Belleau from R. Frizell, 1 June, 1989 and attached correspondence, To J. Cochrane from M. Sims, 16 April, 1993, To D. Mullins from R. Frizell, 2 June, 1989 and File E6575-18, Vol. 10, To H. Swain from N.D. Inkster, 10 December, 1990 and attached correspondence, To J. Bray from H. McCue, Communications Strategy and Press Line, 20 July, 1990 and attached Frappier Case in the Yukon and Memorandum - Examples of First Nations Communities Responding to Residual Effect of Abuse in Residential Schools, 21 June, 1990, "Anglican Priest faces sex counts in new trial", The Vancouver Sun, 29 May, 1989.
10. See for example: N.A.C. RG 10 Vol. 6262, File 578-1 (4-5), MR C 8653, To R.A. Hoey from D.J. Allan, 4 March, 1944 and attached correspondence and Vol. 6451, File 883-1 (1-2), MR C

8773, To the Secretary from I. Foughner, 15 June, 1922 and attached correspondence.

11. INAC File E6575-18, Vol. 10, Press Line - Child Sexual Abuse in Indian RESidential Schools, 20 July, 1990.

12. "Reports of sexual abuse may be low, expert says", Globe and Mail, 1 June, 1990.

13. The report is noted in INAC File E6575-18, Vol. 10, Communications Strategy, Child Sexual Abuse in Residential Schools n.d.

14. INAC File E6757-18, Vol. 13, A New Justice for Indian Children, Child Advocacy Project, Children's Hospital, Winnipeg, 1987, page 24.

15. INAC File E6757-18, Vol. 13, Memorandum for the Deputy Minister, 6 June, 1992 and the attached First Nations Health Commission - May 1992 - Proposal Indian Residential School Study Draft No. 4. For a further discussion of the effects, see also: L. Bull, "Indian Residential Schooling: The Native Perspective", in the Canadian Journal of Native Education, Vol. 18 Supplement (Alberta, University of Alberta Press, 1991) and N.R. Ing, "The Effects of Residential Schools on Native Child Rearing Practises", in the Canadian Journal of Education, Vol. 18 Supplement.

16. The Canadian Conference of Bishops, Let Justice Flow Like a Mighty River (Ottawa, The Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1995), page 16.

17. INAC File E6575-18-2, Vol. 4, To The Honourable Tom Siddon from John Siebert et al. Aboriginal Rights Coalition, August, 1992.

18. INAC File E6575-18, Vol. 10, 21 June, 1990.

19. INAC File E6575-18-2, Vol. 04, To Mr. T. Siddon from ... 1 November, 1990.

20. INAC File E4974-1, Vol. 1, Unedited Transcripts, Statements by Members - R Murphy (Churchill), 19 November 1990 and File E6575-18-2, Vol. 04, To S. Martin from R. Belair, 8 February, 1991.

21. INAC File 6575-18-2, Vol. 01 (Protected).

22. INAC File E6575-18-2, Vol. 04 To ... from Tom Siddon M.P., 14 December, 1990 and To Chief Ed. Metatawabin from S. Martin, 23 January 1991.

23. INAC File E6575-18, House Response, 24 April, 1992.
24. INAC File E6575-18-2, Vol. 04, To John Siebert from T. Siddon, M.P., 15 December, 1992.
25. INAC File E6575-18, Vol. 10, Briefing Card - Will the Minister of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development call an inquiry into sexual abuse of Indian children by teachers and clergymen at boarding schools?
26. INAC File E6575-18-2, Vol. 04, To R. Belair, M.P. from S. Martin, 12 March, 1991.
27. INAC File E6575-18-2, Vol. 18-2, Vol. 04, To the Honourable Tom Siddon from John Siebert, et al., Aboriginal Rights Coalition, August, 1992.
28. INAC File E6575-18, Vol. 10, Communications Strategy Child Sexual Abuse in Residential Schools, Draft, 1990.
29. INAC File E6575-18, Vol. 13, House Response, 24 April, 1992.
30. INAC File E6575-18, Vol. 10, Communications Strategy Child Sexual Abuse in Residential Schools, Draft, 1990.
31. Canada Parliament, Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons appointed to continue and complete the examination of the Indian Act, Minutes and Proceedings of Evidence, No. 30, Select and Standing Committees of the Senate and House of Commons, Ottawa, 1947, page 1609.

Appendix A - Residential Schools
1931

NOVA SCOTIA:

Shubenacadie (RC)

ONTARIO:

Albany Mission (RC)
Fort Frances (RC)
McIntosh (RC)
Mount Elgin (UC)
Spanish (RC)

Cecilia Jeffrey (Pres)
Fort William (RC)
Mohawk (CE)
Shingwauk Home (CE)

Chapleau (CE)
Kenora (RC)
Moose Fort (CE)
Sioux Lookout (CE)

MANITOBA:

Brittle (Pres)
Elkhorn (CE)
Norway House (UC)
Portage la Prairie (UC)

Brandon (UC)
Fort Alexander (RC)
Pine Creek (RC)
Sandy Bay (RC)

Cross Lake (RC)
MacKay (CE)

SASKATCHEWAN:

Beauval (RC)
File Hills (UC)
Lac La Ronge (CE)
Onion Lake R.C. (RC)
St. Phillips (RC)

Cowessess (RC)
Gordon's (CE)
Muscowequan (RC)
Qu'Appelle (RC)
Thunderchild (RC)

Duck Lake (RC)
Guy (RC)
Onion Lake C.E. (CE)
Round Lake (UC)

ALBERTA:

Blood (RC)
Edmonton (UC)
Lesser Slave Lake (CE)
St. Albert (RC)
St. Cyprian (CE)
Sturgeon Lake (RC)
Wabasca R.C. (RC)

Blue Quills (RC)
Ermineskins (RC)
Morley (UC)
St. Bernard (RC)
St. Paul's (CE)
Vermilion (RC)
Whitefish Lake (CE)

Crowfoot (RC)
Holy Angels (RC)
Old Sun's (CE)
St. Bruno (RC)
Sacred Heart (RC)
Wabasca C.E. (CE)

NORTHWEST TERRITORIES:

Aklavik (RC)
Providence Mission (RC)

Fort Resolution (RC)

Hay River (CE)

BRITISH COLUMBIA:

Ahousaht (UC)
Cariboo (RC)
Kamloops (RC)
Kuper Island (RC)
St. George's (CE)
Squamish (RC)

Alberni (UC)
Christie (RC)
Kitimaat (UC)
Lejac (RC)
St. Mary's Mission (RC)

Alert Bay (CE)
Coqualeetza (UC)
Kootenay (RC)
Port Simpson (UC)
Sechelt (RC)

YUKON:

Carcross (CE)

St. Paul's Hostel (CE)

There were in that year 44 Catholic (RC), 21 Church of England (CE), 13 United Church (UC) and 2 Presbyterian (pres) schools. These proportions amongst the denominations were constant throughout the history of the system.

In Quebec two schools, Fort George RC and Fort George CE, were opened before the Second World War. Four more were added after the war: Amos, Pointe Bleue, Sept Isles and La Tuque.

NOTES on SOURCES

Research on the school system was conducted in a number of archives: The National Archives in Ottawa, the Presbyterian, Anglican and United Church Archives in Toronto and the Deschatelets Archives of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in Ottawa. These represent the most significant public documentary collections for the history of the school system. There are, however, other records in regional, provincial, diocesan archives and private holdings throughout Canada.

Research was also conducted at the Department of Indian Affairs on approximately 8,000 residential school files which are held by the Department. The Royal Commission secured access to this documentation only after protracted and difficult negotiations which, while in the end successful, seriously delayed the completion of the project. Only one member of the research team was allowed to review the material and then only after signing an agreement setting out a detailed research protocol and obtaining an "enhanced reliability" security clearance.

Information which the Department determined fell within the bounds of Solicitor-Client Privilege or Confidences of the Queen's Privy Council within the last twenty years was not made available. All other files, including those carrying access restrictions ("Confidential" or "Protected", for example) were to be made available. Most critically, access to the Departmental collection was granted under the provisions of the Privacy Act which stipulates that no disclosure of personal information, in the meaning of the Act, may be made in a form that could reasonably be expected to identify the individual to whom it relates. The foregoing text and endnotes have been written to comply with that stipulation.

Another research restriction which has determined the form and character of this study was taken by the research team and staff at the Commission involved in the planning of the project. It was decided not to organize an oral history component - not to conduct interviews with ex-residential school students because it would have been impossible to provide interviewees with any post-interview support. To have done so without such support was felt to be unethical.

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RG 10 Indian Affairs [held by the National Archives - N.A.C.]

RG 85 Northern Affairs [held by the National Archives]

MG 26A The Macdonald Papers [held by the National Archives]

MG 27I The E. Dewdney Papers [held by the National Archives]

INAC-Diand Files [stored at the Department's Headquarter's in Hull, Quebec] which come under the Privacy Act Restrictions.

Anglican Archives.

Presbyterian Archives.

United Church Archives.

Deschatelets Archives.

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