

Abt Associates of Canada

Social Research Consultants



Project Report

**A SUMMARY OF FINDINGS FROM
DEPARTMENTAL FILES AND SELECTED
SECONDARY SOURCES RELATED TO
INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL POLICY**

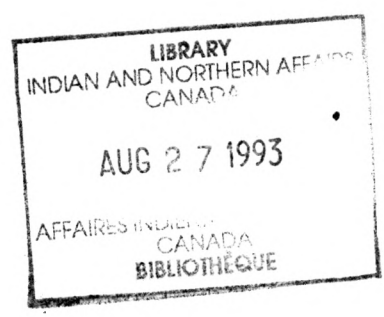
Prepared For

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

E97.5
H63
c.1

E97.5
H63
C.1

**A SUMMARY OF FINDINGS FROM
DEPARTMENTAL FILES AND SELECTED
SECONDARY SOURCES RELATED TO
INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL POLICY**



by

David Hoffman
Vice President
Abt Associates of Canada

June 11, 1993
Ottawa

This study was prepared under the terms of a contract with the
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, Ontario.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Section	Page
A. THE SCOPE AND PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT.....	1
B. METHODOLOGY FOR THE REVIEW OF DEPARTMENTAL FILES	3
C. NUMBER AND LOCATION OF INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS.....	10
D. GENERAL POLICY TOWARDS RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS: CHANGING OBJECTIVES TO 1950.....	12
1. The Management Regime to 1920	12
2. The Management Regime to 1950	15
E. DEPARTMENTAL MONITORING OF RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS TO 1950.....	18
1. Monitoring of Indian Residential Schools to 1900.....	18
2. The Scope of Monitoring to 1950.....	21
F. POLICY IN ACTION: POLICY AND PROCEDURES FROM 1950.....	27
1. The Management Regime to 1970	27
2. New Departmental Guidelines.....	28
3. School Inspections.....	33
4. Inspections by Health and Welfare: Applicants, Residential Food and Physical Conditions	35
5. Admissions and Discharges	37
6. Incidents Involving Reports of Excessive Punishment, Runaways and Deaths.....	40
G. REDUCING THE SCOPE OF THE INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL SYSTEM.....	46
H. DEPARTMENTAL POLICY: AN OVERVIEW.....	49

Appendices

Appendix A	A Brief Chronology of Indian Residential School History: Policy Aspects
Appendix B	Bibliography
Appendix C	Religious Affiliation of Indian Residential Schools, Dates of Opening and Closing

A SUMMARY OF FINDINGS FROM DEPARTMENTAL FILES AND SELECTED SECONDARY SOURCES RELATED TO INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL POLICY

A. THE SCOPE AND PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT

This report presents information on the federal government's policy on Indian residential schools, with a focus on the years from 1920 to 1975. A brief chronology of policy aspects of the history of Indian residential schools is presented in Appendix A. Information for this paper was drawn primarily from files on residential schools still held by the Department. These sources were supplemented by secondary materials where necessary.

The objective of the study was to describe as accurately as possible the policy of the federal government towards Indian residential schools as revealed by the departmental files. Two aspects of policy are of significance: statements of objectives or rationale for various policies; and indications of the way things were actually done. In this respect, the report adopts a perspective of "policy in practice" and describes departmental policies as much from the point of view of what was done as from what was said should be done.

This study does not purport to be a description or analysis of conditions in Indian residential schools. Information in this report relates to both school conditions and church management, but richer sources for these subjects are available in the testimony of former pupils and in church archives.

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) has made the issue of Indian residential schools an important priority and has indicated that it will ask to see departmental files as part of its major research study. In anticipation of this, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) undertook a review of its files pursuant to existing federal legislation dealing with the release of government records, given that certain information is legally protected and cannot be readily disclosed. Summary sheets describing the contents, prepared by those who reviewed the files, assisted our selection of files for careful study.

We posed a number of key questions relating to departmental policy and practice to guide our search for information:

- What were the general objectives of departmental policy with respect to Indian residential schools? Why, in other words, did these institutions exist and what ends were they intended to serve?
- Were the residential schools inspected frequently? Did the Department obtain feedback from these inspections?
- Did Indian Affairs officials try to obtain improvements in conditions whenever they found problems?
- Did departmental policy support the forcible separation of some children from parents by residential school administrators?
- Did departmental officials learn about excessive punishment and other abusive behaviour in the residential schools?
- What did they do when they heard about such cases?
- Did departmental officials take action in response to reports of deaths, serious outbreaks of disease, runaways, employment of under-age pupils, etc?
- Were officials aware of any sexual abuse of pupils by residential school administrators (principals or staff)?

These seem to us to represent some of the principal concerns about Indian residential schools and the policy of the Department towards them. Throughout the report we attempt to answer all these questions from the **written** record: in keeping with our terms of reference, we have not conducted interviews with residential school pupils, school administrators or departmental officials.

It is important, therefore, to appreciate the scope of the contents of the files reviewed for this study. Extensive as they are, they do not begin to cover all the material ever available on Indian residential schools. The files assembled were those still in the possession of the Department. Thousands of files going back to the 19th century had earlier been turned over to the National Archives for microfilming (and storage of originals). Some documents relating to residential schools may have been filed under any one of a number of other subject categories and thus may not have been part of the departmental file collection.

The information in this report up to 1920 is drawn largely from secondary sources. From 1920 to 1950 the report depends on the relatively small number of departmental files available for this period and the relatively limited secondary sources that also exist on this period. From 1950 on the report is based on a much larger volume of departmental files, supplemented by some secondary sources.

B. METHODOLOGY FOR THE REVIEW OF DEPARTMENTAL FILES

The departmental files assembled to assist the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples numbered approximately 2,200. Reviewers, working under contract with the Department, read the contents of every file and created brief summaries of the major items contained in each. Their summaries noted, among other things, whether the files contained references to pupils' living conditions, standards of education and food, and treatment by school administrators. Reports of inspections and statements of policy with respect to Indian residential schools were noted. The summary sheets also identified whether the files contained reports submitted by the schools, such as Principals' reports on admissions, attendance and discharges. In addition, the summaries indicated instances where information could not be disclosed, as outlined in federal legislation related to the *Privacy Act* and the *Access to Information Act*.

Our first task was to review all 2,200 summary sheets to identify the files containing material most directly related to the key questions relating to departmental policy that were to guide our research. Once we identified these files we selected ten files for careful study. Our purpose was three-fold:

- To assure ourselves that the reviewers had accurately assessed and described the contents of the files that were noted in the summaries.
- To determine whether relevant items had been missed.
- To assess the usefulness of the information on different subject matters as identified in the summaries.

Our review of the ten files satisfied us that the reviewers had been thorough. It also established the importance for our study of **school files** and **headquarters files** that contained exchanges of correspondence between departmental officials and the schools, reports by Indian agents and school inspectors, and departmental memos relating to these reports. These types of files actually represented only one-quarter of all the files in the collection: the majority were not correspondence files but contain regular reports — Principals' Quarterly Reports or Monthly Reports — submitted by school administrators. These types of files generally contained monthly and quarterly statistics that did not significantly add to our understanding of the key questions. Others contained engineering studies and cost data relating to residential schools or miscellaneous matters similarly not relevant to the subject of this report. As a result, we decided to focus our efforts on the school correspondence files and headquarter files, beginning with those that contained any items in the summary sheets relating to the key questions. As our research progressed, we reviewed files beyond those whose summary sheet indicated an item of interest. We extended our file review to:

- Cover all available school correspondence files for the period prior to 1950. Correspondence files for only 29 schools were available covering the period before 1950, so we wanted to be sure we covered everything available.
- Follow-through with a matter arising in the file (noted in the summary as an item of interest) to see whether there were any further related developments recorded in another file (relating to the same school) or in another school file or headquarters file.

In the end we reviewed 300 correspondence files — an estimated 50,000 pages — and examined a sample of a dozen Principals' Quarterly Reports and more than 1,000 admission and discharge forms.

Table 1 shows the school correspondence files that were available, from which we reviewed 300. The table shows that the volume of correspondence varied from school to school, but the main point is that for most schools there is good coverage from the early 1950s to the closing of the schools. The table shows that for two schools -- Sturgeon Lake and St. Joseph's Boarding School -- no general correspondence files were available (although there were attendance reports) and for another -- Squamish -- no files were retrieved at all. We have no explanation for the absence of files for these three schools.

As a further methodological note, a word on "departmental" policy is in order. As shown in the brief chronology of events in Appendix A, the responsibility for Indian affairs never resided with a single department after Confederation. The Indian Affairs Branch moved about, sometimes joined with Mines and Resources, sometimes with Citizenship and Immigration. Only in 1966 was the Department as we know it today established. For convenience we refer to "the Department" throughout this report, even though its name varied, depending on the period under review.

To set the scene for the detailed discussion based on the file review, the next two sections provide background on the number, location and church affiliations of the residential schools and discuss general policy objectives towards residential schools based on a wide variety of studies and departmental annual reports. The overview of departmental policy towards Indian residential schools up to 1920 is heavily dependent on secondary sources. We reviewed a number of Ph.D. and M.A. theses and articles in learned journals, books and the Annual Reports of the Department. Most of the work of historians covers the early period of Indian residential schools prior to 1920, reflecting the greater availability of archival materials for their research.¹

¹Appendix B presents a bibliography of the materials that are the source of much of the information in Section C.

TABLE 1 Availability of Departmental Correspondence Files¹ on Indian Residential Schools

School ²	Number of Departmental Files Available Prior to 1950	Number of Departmental Files Available After 1950	Period for which Departmental Files are Available
Atlantic			
Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia	1	18	1946 to 1971
Quebec			
Amos (St. Marc de Figuerly)	N/A	8	1957 to 1973
Fort George	-	7	1957 to 1977
La Tuque	N/A	7	1956 to 1981
Pointe Bleue	N/A	9	1956 to 1974 and 1978 to 1980
Seven Islands	N/A	8	1958 to 1973
Ontario			
Albany Residential School	-	6	1955 to 1981
Cecilia Jeffrey (Kenora)	1	9	1938 to 1990
Fort Frances	4	11	1931 to 1974 and 1978 to 1978
Fort William	-	3	1950 to 1970
Kenora (St. Mary's)	1	15	1929 to 1977
McIntosh	1	15	1923 to 1990
Mohawk Institute (Brantford)	-	10	1955 to 1972
Moose Fort (Horden Hall)	-	2	1951 to 1967
Shingwauk (Sault Ste. Marie)	-	4	1953 to 1971

¹The rest of the files contained reports from school administrators on admissions, attendance and discharges.

²Many of the schools were known by more than a single name. This list contains the alternate names for those that were still in existence in 1969.

N/A: The schools did not exist prior to 1950.

TABLE 1 Availability of Departmental Correspondence Files on Indian Residential Schools (cont'd)

School	Number of Departmental Files Available Prior to 1950	Number of Departmental Files Available After 1950	Period for which Departmental Files are Available
Sioux Lookout	-	13	1950 to 1981
Spanish Residential School (closed 1960)	-	2	1952 to 1962
St. Joseph's Boarding School**	-	-	-
Manitoba			
Brandon	2	19	1923 to 1989
Birtle	-	9	1952 to 1980
MacKay (Dauphin)	-	14	1958 to 1987
Norway House	-	6	1950 to 1968
Portage la Prairie	2	14	1936 to 1987
Assiniboia (Winnipeg)	-	10	1958 to 1975 and 1982 to 1983
Cross Lake	-	5	1951 to 1971
Fort Alexander (Pine Falls)	1	5	1936 to 1960
Guy (Guy Hill)	1	17	1901 to 1985
Pine Creek (Camperville)	2	7	1895 to 1970
Sandy Bay (Marius)	2	2	1909 to 1971
Notre Dame	-	1	1964 to 1966
Saskatchewan			
Beauval	2	10	1908 to 1968 and 1973 to 1991
Cowessess Residential School (Marieval Student Residence)	2	4	1913 to 1991

TABLE 1 Availability of Departmental Correspondence Files on Indian Residential Schools (cont'd)

School	Number of Departmental Files Available Prior to 1950	Number of Departmental Files Available After 1950	Period for which Departmental Files are Available
Duck Lake	1	11	1948 to 1992
Gordon's (Pennichy)	1	11	1912 to 1968 and 1972 to 1992
Muscowequan (Lestock)	2	8	1930 to 1967 and 1972 to 1980
Onion Lake (Lloydminster)	1	2	1913 to 1969
Prince Albert	1	15	1913 to 1991
Qu'Appelle (Lebret)	-	11	1957 to 1992 (except 1974 and 1975)
St. Philip's (Kamsack)	-	2	1965 to 1968
Alberta			
Edmonton	-	6	1960 to 1971 and 1980 to 1987
Morley	1	5	1894 to 1969 and 1973 to 1975
Old Sun (Gleichen)	-	5	1950 to 1971
St. Paul's (Cardston)	-	4	1957 to 1975
Wabasca	1	4	1948 to 1967
Assumption	-	3	1951 to 1977 (except 1974)
Blood	-	6	1958 to 1974 and 1980 to 1987
Blue Quills (St. Paul)	-	9	1953 to 1990
Crowfoot	1	2	1937 to 1969
Desmerais	1	8	1948 to 1989

TABLE 1 Availability of Departmental Correspondence Files on Indian Residential Schools (cont'd)

School	Number of Departmental Files Available Prior to 1950	Number of Departmental Files Available After 1950	Period for which Departmental Files are Available
Ermineskin (Hobbema)	-	4	1963 to 1980
Fort Chipewyan (Holy Angels)	1	3	1939 to 1970
Fort Vermilion	-	6	1950 to 1971 (except 1968 and 1969) and 1980 to 1987
Joussard	1	6	1948 to 1978 (except 1969)
Grouard	-	1	1952 to 1953
Sacred Heart	-	2	1958 to 1961
St. Cyprian	1	4	1944 to 1962
Sturgeon Lake (closed 1960)**	-	-	-
British Columbia			
Alberni	-	5	1950 to 1989 (except 1963 and 1964)
Alert Bay	-	7	1952 to 1986
Cariboo (Williams Lake)	1	5	1948 to 1973 and 1985 to 1989
Christie Residential School	2	13	1947 to 1993 (except 1975)
Kamloops	-	8	1951 to 1977
Kootenay	-	3	1966 to 1971
Kuper Island (Chemainus)	1	5	1946 to 1992
Lejac	-	3	1952 to 1973
Lower Post	-	2	1962 to 1966 and 1971 to 1983

TABLE 1 Availability of Departmental Correspondence Files on Indian Residential Schools (cont'd)

School	Number of Departmental Files Available Prior to 1950	Number of Departmental Files Available After 1950	Period for which Departmental Files are Available
Mission	1	11	1910 to 1979 and 1981 to 1989
Sechelt	-	4	1951 to 1976
Squamish (closed 1960)*	-	-	-
St. Eugene (Cranbrook) (closed 1970)	-	2	1951 to 1971
St. George's (Lytton)	-	6	1951 to 1967 and 1980 to 1990
Yukon			
Carcross	-	3	1957 to 1970
Coudert Hall (Yukon Student Residence)	-	2	1974 to 1990
Whitehorse Hostel	-	3	1965 to 1971
Total 74	40	490	

*No files are available for either period.

**No correspondence file was available, although some admission and discharge files were available.

C. NUMBER AND LOCATION OF INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS

Indian residential schools were essentially phenomena found in Ontario and the West. No Indian residential schools existed in Quebec between 1867 and 1933, and for the entire period since Confederation there has been only one school in the entire Atlantic Region.

As shown in Table 2, the number of residential schools increased rapidly to 1920, stabilized over the next 50 years and then began a rapid decline in the 1970s. Up to the early 1920s, departmental references distinguished industrial schools from boarding schools, but after that time both became known simply as residential schools. The distinction between boarding schools and industrial schools was one of curriculum. In both types of schools the children lived in residences away from their families. Boarding schools provided the basic curriculum of the day; industrial schools were the contemporary equivalent of trades schools in which pupils spent less time learning reading, writing and arithmetic and more in farm or kitchen work.

TABLE 2 Number of Residential Schools in Canada, 1898 to 1993

Year	1898	1911	1920	1946	1950	1958	1965	1969	1979	1986	1993
Industrial Schools	22	19	16	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Boarding Schools	32	31	58	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Total Schools	54	50	74	76	69	67 ¹	66 ²	52	15	11	7

*A distinction between boarding school and industrial school was not made in the recordkeeping after 1920.

¹Includes two hostels.

²Includes one federal government hostel.

Table 3 shows the number of pupils enrolled in residences for selected dates since 1898. The table illustrates that the growth pattern in numbers of pupils reflects the pattern shown in the number of schools. Enrolments increase to a peak in the 1950s, hold steady at a little more than 10,000 pupils until the mid-sixties and then decline.

TABLE 3 Enrolments in Indian Residential Schools 1898 to 1986

	Year					
	1898	1920	1950	1958	1970	1986
Total	3,150	4,719	9,316	10,082	7,066	1,475
Ratio of girls to boys	.85	1.08	1.13	1.04	.99	Not available

Information presented in the table on the ratio of girls to boys shows that there has been virtual equality in numbers in Indian residential schools over the years since 1900.

Data on the proportion of Indian children of school age who attended residential schools have never been assembled systematically across the country and over the full time period. James Redford, who studied the situation in British Columbia from 1890 to 1920, concluded that "there is evidence that a considerable proportion of young Indians — probably a majority — never entered a boarding school."¹ Annual Reports for the Department show the following pattern of enrolments in Indian residential schools compared to other schools attended:

- In 1891, the number of pupils attending residential schools was 1,352 compared to 6,202 attending day schools.
- The figures reported for 1911 show 2,269 pupils in boarding schools, 1,573 in industrial schools and 7,348 pupils in day schools.
- In 1920, total enrolment was 3,081 in boarding schools, 1,638 in industrial schools and 7,477 pupils in day schools.
- In 1946, the numbers were 8,865 for residential schools compared to 7,573 in day schools.
- In 1968, the total enrolment of Indian pupils was 68,386, of whom 9,071 were in residential schools.
- In 1973-74, the enrolment in departmental schools on reserves and Crown lands was 32,553, with an additional 42,022 registered Indian students

¹James Redford, "Attendance at Indian Residential Schools in British Columbia, 1890-1920." *B.C. Studies*, No. 44, 1979-80, p. 42.

enrolled in provincial schools. In this year, total enrolment in Indian residential schools was 4,490.

Except in 1946, then, the reports cited show larger enrolments of day school pupils than of Indian residential school pupils.¹ The proportion of Indian children in residential schools declined significantly after 1946.

D. GENERAL POLICY TOWARDS RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS: CHANGING OBJECTIVES TO 1950

Governments followed different philosophies with respect to the objectives of residential schools over the long history since 1867. However, one common element persisted until 1969: the federal government provided financial support to the churches that, in turn, actually administered the schools. In 1946, there were 76 Indian residential schools; 45 were affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church, 19 with the Anglican Church, 10 with the United Church and 2 with the Presbyterians.² In that same year, 27 of the 76 schools were actually church-owned; the rest were under the administration of the various denominations but owned by the federal government.³ The most complete listing of schools available can be found in Appendix C. The religious affiliation of each school, and its opening and closing dates where known are outlined. In the next sections the major features of the policy towards residential schools are briefly described.

1. The Management Regime to 1920

For many years following Confederation, successive governments supported the church-administered approach to residential schools in large measure because they believed that to do so was less expensive than the alternative of direct responsibility.⁴

Although the *British North America Act* made education a provincial responsibility, it gave the federal government legislative authority in the matter of Indians and lands reserved for Indians. The Department's role in education was further reinforced by clauses in the Western treaties committing the federal government to the support of schools and

¹Sources: Annual Reports of the Department for relevant years. Some pupils enrolled in a day school in one year might still have attended a residential school at some time during the course of their lives.

²No listing of the actual 76 schools was provided with this statistical information contained in the Minutes and Proceedings of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons, 1946.

³We have found no complete list of government-owned and church-owned schools covering the full period of Indian residential schools and have relied on specific statistics reported from 1946 for this statement.

⁴Barman, *et al*, *Indian Education in Canada*, Vol. 1, p. 8.

teachers on reserves.¹ To fulfill its educational obligation, the Department of Indian Affairs (created from the former Department of the Interior) relied on the major Christian churches. Federal officials realized that building on existing church institutions would be more economical than creating a separate educational system. "They also believed that the dedication and moral suasion of missionaries would be vital elements in the venture's success."²

A similar view was expressed by N.F. Davin in a report submitted to the federal government in 1879 in which he endorsed the development of "industrial schools" for educating Indian children in Canada.³

The model for industrial schools which Davin reported back on from his observation in the United States, offered both academic subjects and instruction in cattle raising, agriculture, and trades such as carpentry, blacksmithing and shoemaking (for boys) and instruction in household skills for girls. He believed that a similar approach would be worthwhile in Canada. Davin also pointed out that the appointment of principals through religious affiliations had worked well in the United States: "The advantage of calling in the aid of religion is that there is a chance of getting an enthusiastic person with, therefore, a motive power beyond anything pecuniary remuneration could supply."⁴

Although Davin himself had felt that no more than four industrial schools should be established at first, departmental officials were so supportive of the model that, by 1891, 19 Indian industrial schools were in existence. In their order of priority "as levers in the social and moral education of the Indian youth of the country," industrial schools were regarded as most important, followed by boarding schools, followed again by so-called semi-industrial schools (in which some trade skills were taught).⁵ Last in priority were day schools. The "problem" with the latter, in the view of the officials of the day, was a concern that the Indian child's education was "obstructed" by their proximity to parents.⁶

Education was seen by contemporary policy makers as the major instrument of assimilation -- the principal mechanism by which the values of white, Christian society would be transferred. Industrial schools, in particular, provided what were considered to be the joint benefits of relevant training and separation from home influences. As Professor Barman had noted, governments of the day never questioned the assumption that

¹See Brian Titley, "Indian Industrial Schools in Western Canada," *Ethnicity, Women and Class*, p. 134.

²Titley, p. 134.

³N.F. Davin, *Report on Industrial Schools 1879* (A Confidential Report to the Minister).

⁴N.F. Davin, *Report on Industrial Schools 1879* (A Confidential Report to the Minister), p. 15.

⁵*Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs (AR)*, 1891, p. xiii.

⁶*Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs (AR)*, 1891, p. xiii.

all Indian children should receive a basic education.¹ To quote the words of the head of the Indian Affairs Department in 1873, the church-run schools served: "...to render those who were cruel and intractable savages orderly and useful members of society and to teach them, among other things, the useful employments of civilized life, and by the introduction of industrial schools train them for occupations for which their natural ingenuity eminently fits them."²

According to a departmental paper on Indian education, in 1892 an Order-in-Council was passed promulgating financial regulations governing the operation of boarding and industrial schools.³ The buildings were to be the joint responsibility of Government and Church management. Books and educational supplies were to be provided from government appropriation, whereas maintenance, salaries and other operating expenses were to be paid by the Church management, with government subsidies based on per capita enrolment grants.⁴ The rate of the grant was fixed for each school and adjusted periodically. The Department developed standards of instruction and domestic care and appointed inspectors to enforce these standards.⁵

In 1894 the *Indian Act* was amended to provide powers to the Department to enforce attendance more strictly. The *Act* was amended to provide that the Governor-in-Council may make regulations to see to the compulsory such of children at residential schools.⁶ However, we were unable to determine if such regulations were ever enacted.

Before the end of the century, with a change in government, enthusiasm for the industrial school model faded. In 1897, the savings-conscious government favoured allowing some time for the absorption of the rapid expansion of residential schools of the earlier period and articulated a go-slow policy — one in which the day school was conceived of as a preparation for the residential school. For a while the aim of immediate assimilation through residential schools was questioned by senior officials.⁷

By the end of the century, however, the value of the boarding school as an instrument of assimilation was revived. Government policy now stated that boarding schools

¹Barman, *Indian Education in Canada*, Vol. 1, p. 6.

²AR, 1873, p. 5.

³*Indian Education Paper: Phase 1*, 1982, p. 5. The Order-in-Council itself was never found.

⁴*Indian Education Paper: Phase 1*, 1982, p. 5.

⁵The *Indian Education Paper: Phase I*, 1982, refers to these standards as being enforced via regulations. These regulations, though, were not found.

⁶Statutes of Canada (S.C.) 1894, C.32, s.11.

⁷Barman suggests that the policy reassessment was influenced both by the awareness of the health risks for children arising from the primitive conditions in boarding schools (deaths were "wasted investments") and the feeling that "to endorse a situation in which the survivors competed with whites for jobs did not make sense." (p. 8)

should be built on reserves to “mitigate the sense of separation” that more remote locations created. The growth of boarding schools took place at the expense of industrial schools, whose growth rate essentially stalled and then declined into the early years of this century.

In 1910, the Department developed a new policy “to fit the Indian for civilized life in his own environment.”¹ The result was a simplified curriculum in which the school work became more similar in industrial schools and boarding schools, and the teaching of broader trades was no longer to be pursued at the industrial schools: instead, “carpentry and agriculture [were] the chief practical subjects for boys, and general housewifery for girls.”² At the same time the Department began its “ex-pupils” policy, the modern equivalent of which is a placement service to assist former pupils to obtain employment off reserves.³

In the next year the Department began to bring the churches’ administration of the residential schools into the framework that was to last essentially unchanged for five decades. In return for increased appropriations, the government placed greater demands upon the management of the boarding schools; soon, the upkeep of the buildings, pupils’ diets and classroom administration were to conform to standards established by the Department. Agreements were established between churches and the government specifying enrolment limits for each residence. The Department expected this to result in “greater efficiency.”⁴ As World War I placed heavy fiscal demands on the federal government, it was not disposed to invest more money in industrial schools. A number of industrial schools that were in poor condition were shut down between 1911 and 1920.

2. The Management Regime to 1950

In 1920 an important amendment to the *Indian Act* was passed by Parliament. Besides clarifying the application of the *Act* to both residential and day schools, the amendments gave the Superintendent General (of the Department) power to make regulations “prescribing the standard for the building, teaching and discipline of and in all schools and for the inspection of such schools.”⁵ We have no evidence that these regulations, which applied to day schools as well, were ever made before 1950.

¹Barman, p. 9.

²AR, 1910, p. 274.

³AR, 1910, p. 275. In the 1890s the Department had supported the “outing system” which was promoted by Hayter Reed, who became deputy head of the Department in 1893, Titley, p. 145.

⁴AR, 1911, p. xxvi and p. 21.

⁵Statutes of Canada, 1919-20, C.50, s.1, Clause 4.

Provisions to enforce attendance of pupils, now specified in 1920 as children between the ages of 7 and 15 years, were also elaborated:

Children from 7 to 15 to attend school.

Proviso as to religions.

Truant officers and compulsory attendance.

Power to investigate cases of truancy.

Notice to parents, guardians, etc.

Penalty for guardian, parent or others failing to cause child to attend school, after notice.

Exemptions from penalties.

10. (1) Every Indian child between the ages of seven and fifteen years who is physically able shall attend such day, industrial or boarding school as may be designated by the Superintendent General for the full periods during which such school is open each year. Provided, however, that such school shall be the nearest available school of the kind required, and that no Protestant child shall be assigned to a Roman Catholic school or a school conducted under Roman Catholic auspices, and no Roman Catholic child shall be assigned to a Protestant school or a school conducted under Protestant auspices.

“(2) The Superintendent General may appoint any officer or person to be a truant officer to enforce the attendance of Indian children at school, and for such purpose a truant officer shall be vested with the powers of a peace officer, and shall have authority to enter any place where he has reason to believe there are Indian children between the ages of seven and fifteen years, and when requested by the Indian agent, a school teacher or the chief of a band shall examine into any case of truancy, shall warn the truants, their parents or guardians or the person with whom any Indian child resides, of the consequences of truancy, and notify the parent, guardian or such person in writing to cause the child to attend school.

“(3) Any parent, guardian or person with whom an Indian child is residing who fails to cause such child, being between the ages aforesaid, to attend school as required by this section after having received three days’ notice so to do by a truant officer shall, on the complaint of the truant officer, 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 by the truant officer. Provided that no parent or other person shall be liable to such penalties if such child, (a) is unable to attend school by reason of sickness or other unavoidable cause; (b) has passed the entrance examination for high schools; or (c) has been excused in writing by the Indian agent or teacher for temporary absence to assist in husbandry or urgent and necessary household duties.¹

¹Statutes of Canada, 1919-1920, C.50, s.1. This section was amended in 1932-33 and again in 1952 and 1956, but the main thrust of this section of the *Act* was not changed. Another clause in the *Act* gave the chief and council of any band that had children attending a school the right to inspection of the school.

The Annual Report explained the effect of the changes in the *Indian Act* as follows.

If a day school is in effective operation, as is the case on many of the reserves in the eastern provinces, there will be no interruption of such parental sway as exists. Where a day school cannot be properly operated, the child may be assigned to the nearest available industrial or boarding school. All such schools are open to inspection and must be conducted according to a standard already in existence. A regular summer vacation is provided for, and the transportation expenses of the children are paid by the Department.¹

For children with families that could look after them on a continuous basis, residential school attendance was necessary only when no day school was available. For orphans or children whose parents were migrants, however, attendance at a residential school was necessary, even if a day school existed near their home.

After World War I, boarding schools were placed on a sounder financial footing. A new grant structure and increasing willingness of the Department to contribute to the capital costs of boarding schools blurred the distinction between the boarding schools and their industrial counterparts. By 1922 the terms "boarding" and "industrial" had been phased out of administrative terminology to be replaced by "residential."

Few changes in the government's education policy on residential schools occurred in the next 30 years. In 1930 an amendment extended the required age of attendance at residential schools to 16, and to 18 if discharge was considered detrimental to a child.² A further amendment in 1932-1933 to the *Indian Act* empowered the RCMP and "any special constable appointed for police duty on a reserve" to serve as truant officers under the *Act*.³

Financial cutbacks as a result of the depression reduced per capita grants in the early thirties, but by 1935-36 the 1931 level had been regained. In the 1930s and early 1940s both day and residential schools followed the curriculum of the province in which the Indian school was located with certain modifications. "In order to make the Indian educational program more practical," during the Second World War the Department encouraged vocational or trades training for both boys and girls.⁴

¹AR, 1920, p. 13. According to Brian Titley, "In the early years [which we interpret to be before 1920] the Department tended to discourage any leave as it involved the expense of transportation over long distances, and it brought the young Indians into contact with "undesirable influences" at home. When parents realized that with no holidays and the distant location of the schools, they might not see their children for several years, they were naturally reluctant to part with them."

²S.C. 1930, C.25, s.3.

³S.C. 1932-33, C.42, s.1.

⁴*Report of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons*, 1946, p. 14.

Responsibility for the administration of the Indian residential schools rested with the churches throughout this period, subject to the Department's authority to prescribe standards for physical plant, teaching, discipline and inspection. Principals in these years were clergymen who hired teachers and residence operational staff, established the rules and ran the residential schools. Evidence of one letter seen in a microfilmed file from the 1930s indicates that a senior departmental official was consulted on the appointment of a principal. It is not clear whether the church would have gone ahead with an appointment if the departmental official had not approved. Nor do we know if this case represented the usual practice of obtaining the Department's approval.

The history of the relationship between the churches and the government is a more involved story than was revealed by the files, and more complex than can be covered in this report, considering that this subject is not the central focus of this report. Historians have touched on small parts of the record, but much remains to be written.¹ In the next section we look at one aspect of the issue by focussing on departmental monitoring of the residential schools to 1950.

E. DEPARTMENTAL MONITORING OF RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS TO 1950

Two of the questions we posed to guide our research dealt with the issue of the mechanisms the Department established to monitor what was happening in the Indian residential schools and what practices were pursued if the Department discovered difficulties. We draw heavily on two sources for the situation to 1900: studies by scholars of the 19th century history of industrial and boarding schools; and our review of the Department's Annual Reports to Parliament. Our own review of the relatively small number of school correspondence files for 29 of the schools and the headquarters files available provide the basis for much of the discussion of departmental policy between 1920 and 1950.

1. Monitoring of Indian Residential Schools to 1900

It is evident from the files, annual reports of the Department and secondary sources that Indian agents did provide feedback to Ottawa on general conditions at the industrial and boarding schools. Indeed, it became customary for the annual reports of the Department to include detailed reports by both principals and agents on these schools. The principal's

¹See particularly, Norman Gull, *The "Indian Policy" of the Anglican Church of Canada from 1945 to the 1970s*; Eric Porter, *The Anglican Church and Native Education: Residential Schools and Assimilation*; and Kenneth Coates, "Betwixt and Between": *The Anglican Church and the Children of Carcross (Chooutla) Residential School, 1911-1954*, in *B.C. Studies*, No. 64, Winter 1984-85, pp. 27-47.

report, in particular, tended to stress the positive features of the situation, but problems, particularly those related to the epidemics of the flu (or la grippe as it was referred to then) were often mentioned. In fact, epidemics among other factors, led to the Department's reappraisal of its policy of expanding residential schools, as noted earlier.

The historian Brian Titley has observed that Indian Commissioner Hayter Reed visited the Mohawk and Mount Elgin institutions in 1889.¹ The head of the Department's school branch, who also visited the Mohawk Institute in 1895, "observed that the boys were organized into military units and were drilled with wooden muskets.² Far from being critical of such an approach to education, the Superintendent General, Edward Dewdney, reported to Parliament in 1889: "The importance to the Indian child of such instruction cannot be overestimated; as innate to him ... is an utter disregard of time, and ignorance of its value."³

Departmental officials were aware of the residential school administrations' assimilationist approach to curriculum and training in western industrial schools and concurred with it:

When A.W. Vowell [a departmental official] visited Kuper Island Industrial School in 1891, he discovered that the older Indians in the community were opposed to the school's band as they feared that it would do away with their own music. Vowell admitted to Lawrence Vankoughnet, who served as deputy superintendent of Indian Affairs between 1874 and 1893, that this was precisely the intention. "Modern standards of music would," he asserted, "do away with the potlatch practice and the barbarous dances and so-called music that accompanied them." Cricket, baseball, soccer, marbles and skittles were other forms of recreation that were encouraged in the schools. After a visit to the Battleford school in 1889, J.A. Macrae observed that the games played there were "thoroughly and distinctly white." Boys played at boxing, cricket and football "with great interest and truly Anglo-Saxon vigour....From all their recreation Indianism is excluded."⁴

The Department was informed from time to time, through reports by Indian agents and other means, of incidents of mistreatment of pupils in some residential schools. For example:

¹B. Titley, "Indian Industrial Schools in Western Canada" p. 158. Titley's report on this period is drawn from National Archives files which we did not view ourselves and from Annual Reports which we did consult.

²Titley, p. 141.

³Quoted from 1889 AR in Titley, p. 141.

⁴Titley, p. 142.

In 1893, when the Committee of the Anglican church responsible for the Rupert's Land school complained of the persistent low enrolment, [Indian] Commissioner Reed felt obliged to point out that the institution had a reputation for harshness:

I have been particularly impressed when visiting the institution with the depressed bearing of the pupils, who seem to lack the cheerful demeanour and alacrity of friendly response met with in kindred institutions.

Reed went on to state that the local agent had reported in August 1891 that the school's problems were largely due to the severe thrashings administered to its pupils. Some parents had removed their children as a result. The agent had described the beatings as "a remnant of the dark ages." And a recent report had commented unfavorably on the hard labour inflicted on both boys and girls of a tender age.¹

Officials also apparently knew at first hand of the poor conditions of some schools in the late 19th century:

"[W]hen Commissioner Reed visited Battleford Industrial School in 1891, he found a general lack of cleanliness. Slops had not been taken out, and there were foul smells in the toilet rooms. The hospital rooms were also in an unacceptable state, and sick students were not receiving adequate attention.²

The Department did not collect attendance/truancy statistics for most of late 19th century,³ but the records of the schools examined by Redford show that, during the schools' first years of operation, children frequently remained away without official permission; school authorities simply discharged pupils who did not return voluntarily. Departmental policy gradually changed that.

By about the turn of the century ... some schools were beginning to assert their legal authority over truants. In February 1896 Donckele [the school principal] acknowledged receipt at Kuper Island of a Department "circular" which instructed him to compel the attendance of pupils, according to the terms of their signed contracts. To prevent the Indians from thinking that "the law governing Indian schools is but a mere letter," Donckele went to considerable length in succeeding years to enforce it. The Lytton School, with its even more serious truancy

¹Titley, p. 144. The Annual Report of the Department for 1911 indicates that the Rupert's Land Industrial School had been closed by this date.

²Titley, p. 145.

³Redford, *B.C. Studies*, p. 51.

problems, made extensive use of constables to bring errant students back to school.¹

By 1894, departmental officials wished to see pupils in Indian residential schools stay up to 10 years. The amendment to the *Indian Act* of 1894, cited earlier at length, to enforce attendance through stricter enforcement of truancy rules was the major evidence of this concern.

The historian James Redford has written that, in British Columbia at least, parents were required to sign “contracts” at the time of the children’s enrolment forbidding children “to leave temporarily or permanently, without the authorization of the Department.”² It is not clear what these “contracts” amounted to beyond the admission form itself (as we have not seen an example in the files we reviewed).

2. The Scope of Monitoring to 1950

The files covering the period up to 1950 examined for this report show that before the First World War, departmental Headquarters in Ottawa received reports from Indian agents or the Indian Superintendent on many aspects of the operations of residential schools. These reports covered:

- Attendance.
- Punctuality.
- Whether the teacher’s register was properly kept.
- Whether a timetable was posted.
- The program of studies followed.
- Discipline.
- Care of school material.
- Care and arrangement of school furniture.
- Cleanliness of the school.
- What “industries” were taught.

There was also provision for general comments, and under this heading, agents could give their opinion on the condition of the schools: its management, improvements or deterioration, and any other matters of interest regarding the school. From the available files we cannot tell whether the inspections occurred at all schools to the same degree. Some of these schools were in quite remote locations, and hence regular inspections were problematic.

¹Redford, p. 52.

²Redford, p. 51.

The focus of the Indian agents' concern, as reflected in their reports which we reviewed in the school correspondence files, was clearly the quality of the teaching in the residential schools. A single agent was responsible for inspecting a number of day schools and residential schools. For residential schools inspections were generally on a monthly basis. Apart from observing strengths and weaknesses on the teaching, agents' reports provided commentary on the extent of illness and quarantines,¹ and observations on any difficulties with heating of classrooms. Early reports made no references to the dormitories or to the procedures governing them, other than occasionally to comment on the physical condition of the buildings.

By the 1920s, Superintendents of Indian Education existed in each western province (the files are not clear with respect to Ontario in the 1920s). Superintendents, in turn, hired inspectors to supplement the Indian agents' observation and reporting on teaching.

Where inspections were conducted, school inspectors hired by the Department on a fee-for-service basis visited schools twice a year, usually in September and then later in the school year. The files show considerable gaps in inspection dates for some schools, but for others there was an almost continuous stream of reporting throughout the 1920s, with agents filling in visits between those of the school inspectors. No reason for the inspection gaps is evident.

In 1929 the reporting form for agents changed. More detail was required, and the scope of the inspection was broadened to include:

- Hygiene.
- Health.
- Sanitation.
- Vocational training.
- Meals.
- Existence of fire drills, fire escapes (including the dormitories).
- Numbers of students absent (whether in the infirmary or truant).

For the set of 29 schools whose files were available for the 1930s, these topics were quite regularly the subject of reports. However, even within a single school file major gaps in the reporting dates appear for no apparent reason.² The files also show that

¹In their reports, agents referred to cases of smallpox in the 1920s. Agents' reports for the months of February and March were often not submitted because agents were prevented by quarantines of schools from visiting them.

²Indian agents reports on St. George's School in B.C., for example, run from February 1926 to May 1934 and then end until 1940. In this year St. George's again received a thorough inspection by the Inspector of

not all schools were inspected. It was not until 1949, for example, that the Department in Ottawa learned that the remote Holy Angels School, established at least by 1920, may never have been inspected. The oversight was discovered when the Chief Superintendent of Schools in Alberta wrote to the Superintendent of Education in Ottawa commenting on a list of schools sent from Ottawa:

I noticed that the Holy Angels Mission and School are located at Fort Chipewyan which is a little difficult to reach. Apparently this school has been in operation for some time but, as far as I know, our inspectors have never visited it. May I please have your views in respect to our sending someone up there by air? It would be a rather expensive trip.

Without question the issue that received the most attention from agents and inspectors visiting residential schools in the first half of this century was the quality of the classroom teaching. Concern was expressed about underqualified teachers and an imbalance between chores and schooling in industrial schools. On these and other issues, the seriousness of the situation varied from school to school, but inspectors' reports were forwarded to principals in an effort to bring about improvements in the standards of teaching. The issue was taken seriously by inspectors as expressed in their opinions of their concerns, and reports of major inadequacies were taken seriously at Headquarters, as evidenced in their treatment of the concerns.

Details from files of the Cowessess (Marieval) School are used here to illustrate the point:

- From June 1913 to May 1932 sporadic reports on the quality of the schooling provided are generally positive. Reports indicated that vocational training was being provided to boys and girls according to the model of the day.
- In 1932, a critical report was submitted by the Inspector of the Saskatchewan Inspectorate (Department of Education) on the quality of teaching: "There is no evidence of anything in the way of 'motivation' or 'self-activity' -- the key word in education today."¹
- The Secretary of the Department wrote to the principal in October, 1932, suggesting that "If you do not consider the present teachers to be capable of

Indian Schools (B.C.). In 1940 he reported some weaknesses in the school administration, some poor teaching and a deficiency of butter in the diet.

¹This type of complaint on the progressiveness of the educational system was not uncommon. Such comments occasionally gave rise to sharp rebuttals from school principals.

improving the classroom work, it would be appreciated if you would make arrangements to secure competent teachers.”

- In November 1933, the next inspector’s report showed progress, but the Superintendent of Indian Education continued to press the principal for improvements.
- The Inspector’s report the next November found that “there has been improvement in the methods used by the teachers.” Headquarters sent the favourable report to the principal with the suggestion that it be distributed to all teachers.

The close scrutiny of teaching and the responsiveness of the Department to the identification of problems revealed in this particular case between 1932 and 1934, was mirrored in many other similar situations across the 29 residential schools for which the pre-1950s files were reviewed. But the number of files was limited, and there were significant gaps that make it hard to generalize to all schools. Further research would be required to establish the complete pattern.

After teaching quality, the major concern as reflected in inspectors’ reports and Ottawa’s response was overcrowding of residences. Files for some schools -- Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, Pine Creek, Manitoba, and McIntosh, Ontario, are good examples -- suggest a running battle between the church-appointed principal, intent on increasing the enrolment of the school, and departmental officials who resisted the expansion of numbers in the name of overcrowding of residence conditions. Principals would often claim that they were trying to accommodate needy children. Departmental officials would point out that conditions for those already resident in the school would be made worse by overcrowding. This debate carried on largely because funding was a function of enrolment numbers.

This type of situation is illustrated by the Pine Creek Students’ Residence file. It begins with correspondence in February 1932 over the principal’s request to increase enrolment. This was denied by the Department on grounds that “the requirements as to air space in the dormitories are for 500 cubic feet per pupil. The grant allowed your school is for 85 pupils and we will be unable to increase this number.”

In February 1938, a letter from the Superintendent of Welfare and Training to the Indian agent noted that the principal had provided two new dormitories, one for the boys, another for the girls. The official noted: “I trust that there are proper means of ingress and egress to the rooms that have been converted into dormitories. The Department does not wish any further fire hazards created in any of our residential schools.” And later in the

same letter: "While the Department realizes that it is difficult for the principal to refuse children when their parents request them to accept them as pupils, at the same time I will point out that it would be preferable if principals would consult the Department before increasing their pupilage."

In the case of the Portage la Prairie residential school, the situation began in 1936 with an Indian agent writing to Headquarters to head off any effort by the principal of the school to increase the number of pupils. The Indian agent stated that the increase was not recommended as, with the 73 pupils, the school was fairly full. The next year, the principal wrote to the Department to request an increase from 90 to 100, claiming that he had already accommodated up to 99 students, for which he received no funding for the coverage. The next month the Department wrote back, refusing the request to the principal: "I do not approve of overcrowding as the ventilation is poor. I think [the principal] is over anxious to increase the number of pupils."¹

A letter from the Deputy Head of Indian Affairs to a lawyer who raised a complaint on behalf of a client, illustrates the fine policy line the Department was following in the mid-'30s with respect to monitoring the treatment of family members visiting residential school students. The letter dated March 14, 1935 is produced below in its entirety because it reveals a number of interesting points about the authority of the Department and the responsibility of the school administration:

I have been directed to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 6th instant, relative to the complaint of an Indian woman, regarding the action of the Principal of the Birtle Indian Residential School and the local Indian agent in curtailing accommodation privileges for parents who visit their children.

The Department has no information regarding this matter but is communicating with the local Indian agent, requesting him to forward full particulars.

I may add that the matter of visiting hours and accommodation at Indian residential schools is left in the hands of the Principal and staff of the schools. It is necessary, in the interests of the work at the school, that regulations be made, setting forth the time when parents will be permitted to visit their children and also regarding the accommodation that can be provided for them. As you may be aware, Indian parents have the habit of visiting schools, indiscriminately, at any time and remaining for indefinite periods. While they have the right to see their children, it must be at the time stated by the principal of the school.

¹The file shows a continuation of the exchange of correspondence through to 1941, at which date the Department is still resisting the principal's attempt to expand the number of students.

The Department is asking the agent to report specially on the accommodation provided for the parents when they visit the Birtle school. On receipt of his reply, you will be further advised.¹

Clearly, the Department did not try to avoid responsibility for the matter altogether, but its action in this case was to obtain a report on the circumstances rather than to suggest a solution. The file does not show whether further action resulted from the request to the Indian agent to report on the accommodation provided to visiting parents.

The school correspondence files indicate that inspectors were concerned with the dangers of fire in residences. Whereas the ultimate control over funding gave departmental officials some direct influence on overcrowding (control of total numbers) the files show that their ability to effect rapid change with respect to fire drills and locked residence doors, could be much slower. For example, the report of the Indian agent on Morley Industrial School, in August 1933, indicated that "I spoke to the principal about the fire escapes being padlocked on the inside. He explained that it was necessary to take a chance on the fire or moral offenses." According to an Indian agent's report in 1945 the doors were still locked. This fact launched a series of exchanges between Headquarters and the Indian Agency Office; in February 1946 the agent was told that such procedures were "strictly contrary to departmental instructions" and that the agent should bring the departmental circular to the attention of the principal. Later, school files indicate that in the mid-'50s Headquarters was still pressing the administrator of the Morley Industrial School to improve the fire safety situation with a better fire escape and improved fire drill procedures.

Although the list of items to be inspected by Indian agents, in particular, included matters such as discipline and the quality of food — issues that are of great significance in the history of the residential schools — there are very few references to either subject in the school files up to 1950 that we reviewed. In the main, if there were any negative references to food in Indian agents' reports they were centred on the inadequate supply of fresh milk and juice. The direct reports of Indian agents — and school inspectors — in the correspondence files up to the end of World War II, provide no evidence with respect to excessive punishment. If either inspectors or agents commented on discipline it was invariably in positive tones about the "good moral tone" to the school or the like. Otherwise they ticked the appropriate response category on the Inspector's report form. References to the kind of harsh punishment reported later by pupils of many of the residential schools (and for which we found some evidence in the later period) were not present in any of the correspondence files covering years up to 1945.

¹This letter can be found publicly in the National Archives, Record Group 10, File 575-1 part 3 (Vol. 6251).

Apart from two or three references to the moral behaviour of pupils in the residence, there are no references by Indian agents, nurses, inspectors, or medical doctors in the pre-1950 files relating to sexual abuse of residents by school staff or administrators. Nor is there any evidence in the files of departmental policy statements, regulations or circulars relating to abusive behaviour in the pre-1950 files. Our reference to an absence of sexual abuse is not meant to indicate that sexual abuse did not occur. The reference is a statement about the information contained in the departmental files we reviewed.

F. POLICY IN ACTION: POLICY AND PROCEDURES FROM 1950

This section of the report on departmental policy draws heavily on departmental files covering nearly all the residential schools in existence in the post-1950 period. Departmental manuals, *Annual Reports* and Parliamentary Committee reports were used as well. In the post 1950-period, however, the *Annual Report* of the Department is not the information-filled document typical of the period 1872 to 1920. References to Indian residential schools are limited and detailed reports by agents and school principals had long disappeared from the annual reports altogether.

1. The Management Regime to 1970

In 1950, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration took over responsibility from Mines and Resources for the Indian Affairs Branch. The *Indian Act* in 1951 authorized the Governor-in-Council to authorize the Minister, in accordance with the *Act*, to “establish, operate and maintain schools for Indian children.”¹ Our research has established that Orders-in-Council were routinely used for matters relating to the funding of schools, the acquisition of sites and, in general, the maintenance of residential schools.²

The *Act* also authorized the Minister to “provide for and make regulations with respect to standards for buildings, equipment, teaching, education inspection and discipline in connection with schools.”³ Orders-in-Council do not appear to have been used for establishing guidelines for teaching, inspection and discipline in schools. Although no actual signed Ministerial regulations were found, the files do provide evidence that regulations were drafted, the Minister’s approval was requested and received in one case, and “regulations” were distributed to affected parties. Given this lack of conclusive

¹Statutes of Canada, 1951, C.29, s.113.

²An index of Orders-in-Council is the principal source of evidence in this regard.

³Statutes of Canada, 1951, C.29, s.114.

evidence, the “regulations” from this point on will be referred to as “departmental directives.”

The *Act* was amended in 1952 to require that any pupil turning 16 during the term should have to continue to the end of the school term. It also clarified the role of the truant officer in taking a child into custody: “A truant officer may take into custody a child whom he believes on reasonable grounds to be absent from school contrary to this *Act* and may convey the child to school, using as much force as the circumstances require.”¹

Despite the fact that a Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons that sat between 1946 and 1948 had heard a great number of complaints from Indian groups with respect to the quality of education in residential schools, the law relating to the schools was unchanged in its essence. The churches remained responsible for operating the schools and the government continued to lend the force of law to maintain attendance, for example, though the power given to truant officers, mentioned above, and the treatment of an Indian child “expelled or suspended from school or refusing to attend school regularly” as a juvenile delinquent.²

Changes in departmental policy became evident, however. In the early 1950s, the more interventionist approach characteristic of the times and the need for better information on what was happening in the residential schools combined to increase the extent of departmental monitoring of residential schools.

2. New 1953 Departmental Directives

One of the Department’s first actions was to deal with the problem of over-admissions to residential schools that had so plagued Headquarters administrators in the 1930s and 1940s. According to a memo in the file, from July 1951, the Department would not allow a per capita grant for any child whose admission had not been previously approved.³ The Department in Ottawa also advised schools that “all questions on the applications form must be accurately answered and signed by the parent.”

¹Revised Statutes of Canada (RSC), 1952, C.149, s.115 and s.118.

²Statutes of Canada, 1951, C.29. s.119.

³Over-enrolment problems persisted into the late 1960s, however. Correspondence between the Department and residence administrators haggling over capacity limits was very similar to that mentioned earlier for the 1930s and 1940s. A departmental circular (number 253) December, 1967, described the problems encountered when principals accepted children whose admission had not been authorized (as when there was no one to care for the child or the child arrived at the school unaccompanied). The circular noted that “the department has been reluctant to apply any financial penalty against the religious denomination where a principal admits unauthorized children.” It went on to suggest that unless there was improvement, a pro-rata cost of such children would no longer be accepted by the department. The problem was worse for government-owned schools as there was “no individual grant as such which can be withheld....”

In 1952, the Indian Affairs Branch began to draft the departmental directives for residential schools under authority of what was then section 114(a) of the *Indian Act*. Our knowledge of the departmental directives at that time is based on various drafts available in the file we reviewed. The file shows that the 1953 directives were sent to the schools, Indian agents and others and that, with amendments, remained in force in the department until 1969.¹ No final version of these directives was attached to the transmittal letter, although one appears to exist in the files.²

The author of the first draft of what we prefer to call departmental directives indicated that they were “designed to be applicable to schools that are church-owned and to schools that are government-owned.” He also observed:

Certain other differences among residential schools have had to be considered. In some schools some members of the staff are on the Departmental pay list. Some residential schools have little control over the classroom function. Some residential schools serve pupils other than Indian boarders. Differences in location of schools may likewise limit the extent of regulations having general application. I have attempted to allow for all the foregoing differences that any particular school may adjust itself within the general framework.

From our review of the files and the various drafts of the proposed new departmental directives, we have concluded that the sections subject to the most redrafting were those clarifying the costs of the transportation of pupils and another on “patriotic exercises and observances” such as flag days (ultimately deleted from the directives as too contentious). Early drafts also contained a section on corporal punishment, but this too was dropped from the final version. The issue of corporal punishment was handled by a departmental circular that was distributed before the directives appear to have been put in place.³

¹Education Division Letter, No. 56, May 29, 1969.

²Regulations with Respect to Teaching, Education, Inspection, and Discipline for Indian Residential Schools, Made and Established by the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs Pursuant to Paragraph (a) of Section 114 of the *Indian Act*. Draft in file signed by Deputy Minister. This is the source of all references to the departmental directives in this section.

³In a school file for 1953, we found a note from a departmental official to the Indian agent asking him to obtain a copy of the record of corporal punishment administered at the school. “This record will be found,” the letter said, “in a special book for the purpose as described in the last paragraph of a circular letter on corporal punishment dated April 14, 1953 ...” (This circular would have appeared more than a month before the regulations were distributed.) The only reference to discipline to make its way into the new directives was Section 16(1), which stated that “the Principal in every school shall assume the responsibilities of parent or guardian with respect to the welfare and discipline of the pupils under his charge.”

Section 13, dealing with "Standards Required", stated that an Indian residential school shall maintain standards acceptable to the Department in respect of the following aspects of organization and administration:

- a) adequacy in numbers and qualifications of the staff employed;
- b) number of pupils served by the institution;
- c) diet and all phases of food preparation and service;
- d) clothing and laundry service;
- e) dormitory accommodation;
- f) heating and ventilation;
- g) cleanliness, sanitation and water supply;
- h) lighting and interior decoration;
- i) safety precautions;
- j) instruction in all subjects of the curriculum;
- k) recreational activities;
- l) counselling and guidance function;
- m) home and school relationships;
- n) services to the community;
- o) maintenance of records;
- p) accounting for funds, stock and equipment.

No definition of the standards was provided.

Section 14 referred to inspection of the schools, stating that "any Indian residential school shall be subject to inspection by officials of the Government of Canada and by such other persons as the Superintendent may authorize."

Section 15 contained a list of items for which the Principal was responsible:

- (a) the maintenance and operation of the school buildings, grounds and equipment;
- (b) the assignment of duties to the staff and the supervision of the performance thereof;
- (c) the preparation and dissemination of rules relating to the functioning of the school;
- (d) the provision and supervision of measures to ensure the health, safety, welfare and educational progress of the pupils;
- (e) the submission of reports and returns required by the Superintendent;
- (f) the prompt submission of reports to the Regional Director of Family Allowances concerning the admission and discharge of pupils to and from the school;

- (g) the prompt and accurate entry of receipts and expenditures in the Cash Receipt and Expenditure Book; and
- (h) the practice of fire drill not less than once a month.¹

The Department also indicated that residential school pupils were expected to remain at the residential school unless home conditions were sufficiently good to permit the return of the pupils to their parents. This intent was captured in the following words: "Except on medical advice a pupil shall remain in school [i.e., during July and August] unless permission for his absence is granted by the Superintendent of the Indian Agency to which the pupil belongs." The Department had the sole authority to determine whether the pupil's home conditions justified the pupil's release for the summer vacation. This clause ensured that children were not released from school unless the Department judged the home conditions to be "sufficiently good." Its effect was to improve the chances of assuring pupils' continued attendance, to reduce costs to the Department, and to reduce contact with family members.

After the 1953 directives were distributed to schools, the Superintendent of Education in Ottawa sent a clarifying memo in response to criticisms by the Anglican Church's Superintendent of Indian School Administration (Missionary Society). The Church pointed out that section 118 of the *Act* did not make the principal a truant officer. "This does not imply that the principal should act as a truant officer," the Department explained, "but requires that he should take precautions promptly to safeguard the children who have been placed in his care and, within his powers, to see that truant pupils are returned to school. The principal is, of course, unable to compel parents to return children to school if the parents refuse to do so. Such incidents should be reported to the Superintendent, Indian Agency, who could determine the most appropriate exercise of authority under the *Indian Act*."²

The Department also clarified that the 1953 directives did not authorize the Superintendent, Indian Agency, to interfere with the normal operation of a residential school by approving the return of children to their homes at times other than the usual holidays. "When parents ask for permission for students to be permitted to go home during the school year, it is expected that the Superintendent and the principal of the school will confer before any authorization is issued."³

¹This clarification responded to the concern, noted earlier, that agents might have to repeat the request for years before principals would take action.

²Letter from Superintendent of Education to Indian Commissioners, Regional Supervisors, Regional Inspectors, Superintendents and Principals of Residential Schools, July 16, 1953.

³*Ibid.*

In 1954, the Department increased its methods to control the overcrowding issue by substituting a per capita grant for the indefinite grant (i.e., lump sum payment) previously allowed church-owned schools for building and equipment maintenance. That is, even if churches exceeded their authorized enrolment, no additional per capita funds would be provided. In addition, the Department in 1954 obtained -- over considerable opposition from the churches¹ -- more direct control over teacher quality in many residential (and other) Indian schools. The Department hired full-time teachers in government-owned residential schools on behalf of the churches. The teachers remained employees of the churches, although they were allowed to contribute to the Public Service Superannuation Fund.²

Further amendments were made to the residential school directives in 1955, but none of them affected matters relating to the key questions of this study, such as inspection and discipline. Many of the changes related to the fact that by this date teachers at government-owned residential schools had acquired the same status as teachers in Indian day schools. The 1955 version repeated the 1953 directives that every pupil in a residential school shall receive classroom instruction for the number of hours weekly as required by the curriculum.

By 1956-1957, the Branch engaged senior teachers to assist residential school principals. Under the direction of the principal they were responsible for the conduct of the classroom and development of an improved school program.³ Their responsibilities were confined to the classroom. In addition, the principal's authority over the whole school, including the residences themselves, was unchanged. Reports emanating from the senior teachers did on occasion raise concerns about excessive punishment or otherwise poor treatment of students.

¹"The members of our Commission view with alarm a general trend in the administration of educational services towards secularism, divorcing purely academic instruction from character-training based on religion. Whilst your department is not committed to foster the adhesion to any Christian faith in particular, it has always acknowledged the necessity of integrating religion in the acculturation process of the Indians; hence the wide share given to the churches in the implementation of the educational programme of the Branch, as legally provided for in Paragraphs 117, 120 and 121 of the *Indian Act*. For these reasons, we wish to denounce as ill-advised and harmful the present trend." This statement was cited by the Director of Education from a letter written by the Vicar Apostolic of Labrador, December 7, 1954.

²AR, 1953-54, p. 58.

³AR, 1956-57, p. 56. The report indicates that there were some 262 teachers in residential schools in 1956-57.

3. School Inspections

School inspectors reports continued to flow to Headquarters as in the earlier years. Regional School Superintendents and inspectors working under them as departmental employees were required to visit residential schools as well as day schools and provide reports on deficiencies in the classroom. As time went on, inspectors who were experts in reading skills joined regular school inspectors in observing and commenting on the work of teachers and the progress of pupils. The school files from 1950 on contain repeated entries of this type, and the follow-up evidence in the file shows clearly that the reports were sent to Ottawa for review.

Follow-up from Headquarters on educational matters was evident when problems were discovered. Inspectors were directed to return to schools to explain their concerns and follow-up reports on the outcome were required. In one case an official stayed over night in a school to observe the scene, at a residence in which the Minister responsible for Indian Affairs had taken an interest. After this visit, the principal received very detailed advice from the departmental official:

When I visited your school last week there were a couple of things I had intended discussing with you but unfortunately time did not permit: [after suggesting improvements in a room]: This little room should have a small desk and chair to go with it along with a couple of comfortable chairs which could be used when the house mothers have to interview girls privately. I noticed that the one small window was fitted with iron bars presumably because it had been used at one time for storage purposes. I also noticed that the top half of this window had apparently been broken and patched with a piece of cardboard. Would you kindly have the iron bars removed and the window replaced?

With respect to the boarding schools with provincial curricula, the inspectors made few comments on departures from the standard subjects. The curriculum content was similar to that in schools in the province and the level of achievement set for teachers was similar. The files indicate more deficiencies reported in the curriculum of those residential schools founded on the industrial school pattern. The major problems were the following:

- Absence of a program of industrial arts, home economics, farming or manual training, because of a shortage of trained teachers.

- Complaints about children doing chores during the day at the expense of classroom time.¹
- Complaints that the “training” consisted of simply doing chores.

School inspectors were still reporting on shortened classroom time for pupils in the 1950s. In a lengthy report on the Mohawk Institute which covered the condition of the dormitories, bathrooms, clothing and bedding and medical care, the inspector also dealt with an educational matter:

I do not like the practice of the grade 7 girls being absent practically all morning in order to do kitchen work. This practice has been commented on, but apparently the principal thinks he cannot do without this help. The loss of the whole morning is too great to be overcome and the education of the child in this grade is very adversely affected by this practice. Manual training is taught to the boys and the girls get a measure of domestic science for their work in the kitchen; although this is very nebulous. Most of the kitchen experience is hard work. In addition to manual training, the boys get training in farm work; many of them have profited very much by their experience in handling machinery, cattle and doing farm work.

The requirement of school administrators to report to Headquarters in Ottawa increased significantly in the aftermath of the new directives described above. From 1953 to March 1963, through the newly designed Principal's Monthly Report form, administrators were required to provide details on enrolments, numbers of cases of truancy and number of cases of corporal punishment. The emphasis here was purely quantitative: there were no names of the pupils punished or of those administering or witnessing the punishment. The enrolment figures were carefully checked at Headquarters, but there is no evidence in the files of a routine follow-up on the sections of Principals' Monthly Reports dealing with corporal punishment² and truancy.

¹A few file references show that the Department, when dealing with complaints, preferred to suggest that chores were done without expense of class time.

²We have examined all the Principals' Monthly Reports for more than a dozen schools for the full period for which reports of corporal punishment were required (1953 to 1963). The review showed that some principals did not complete this part of the form, in the sense that they left the relevant section blank. Some principals report a “nil” or “none” or “0” while others regularly provided counts by quarter. There is no evidence in the file of follow-up with principals who did not complete the corporal punishment part of the Report.

4. Inspections by Health and Welfare: Applicants, Residential Food and Physical Conditions

The departmental files also provided evidence that nurses and doctors would occasionally submit reports to the Department on schools and would comment (either positively or negatively) on conditions in the dormitories, ventilation, recreation facilities and hygiene in general. We found some nurses' reports that commented on the inadequacy of clothing or their dirty condition. We found only one file in which a nurse referred explicitly to a check on physical abuse. This file shows that a registered nurse visited a student residence in the 1940s and examined all of the children for head lice. She also reported that the arms and ears of all the children were examined for physical abuse and that she found no bruises or scars. This case is not mentioned to suggest that there were no cases of physical abuse in the schools. Nor does it confirm that other nurses examined other pupils for signs of physical abuse. It merely represents the one case we found.

In September 1953, the Department changed its procedures on admissions to Indian residential schools so that Indian Health Services (Health and Welfare Canada), not the schools, were to conduct medical examinations of the students at the schools when the child was enrolled.

Doctors occasionally commented on more than the health of pupils. In 1953, for example, Health and Welfare passed on a doctor's observations on general conditions at Alert Bay Students Residence:

Fire hoses were not connected. Three out of four boys' toilets were without seats and the same is true in one out of four of the girls' toilets. Bedsheets laundered once a month. No soap in evidence in boys' washrooms.

The Indian Affairs Department responded to the information saying that "it would be advisable to tactfully suggest to [the doctor] who has always been most helpful to us that matters outside his own field should not be the subject of reports to his head office."

In the 1950s, Health and Welfare also undertook inspections of the diet of pupils at a number of residential schools. The reports were sent to the Indian Affairs Department for transmission to the schools. We cannot be sure from the files whether the practice of dietary inspections extended to all schools in the early 1950s. For a short time this activity was quite intense. When the Indian Affairs Department concluded that the dietitian's report indicated that schools were not spending enough on food, principals were told to increase their budgets. On the other hand, Indian Affairs did not always agree with complaints about food inadequacies made by third parties such as school employees or parents.

Indian residential schools that had not been visited for some time or where Indian Affairs was, for one reason or another, unhappy with the administration of the school, were frequently cited for dietary inspections by Health and Welfare in the 1950s. Two methods often used were: repeated requests that principals send sample menus to Ottawa; and surprise visits made by Health and Welfare dietitians to keep the pressure on principals whose administration was suspect.

Headquarters was not always successful in using visits by Health and Welfare dietitians as a substitute for more direct intervention. One case in point is a situation in which the Department tried to use the visit of a dietitian as a way of gathering information to respond to reports of "ill treatment of children enrolled in the school." Because dietitians spent at least a day at the school, they could prove useful as sources of information in general. Although the Indian Affairs Branch first made the request for a visit to Health and Welfare in 1952, the dietitian did not get to St. George's Residential School until 1959.¹

The scope of inspection increased again in 1961 when dietitians were sent out for a second major round of visitations. Perhaps because the files are more complete for the 1960s, the volume of inspection of food appears much greater than in the 1950s.² Reports on the "food service" for each Indian residential school assessed the quality against the 1961 Canada Food Rules and commented on such matters as:

- Freshness of produce.
- Amount of milk, fruit juices.
- Temperature of dishwashers.
- Cleanliness of sinks.
- Frequency of the cycle of menus.
- Differences in amounts served for different ages of pupils.

As earlier, the amount of milk and, in some cases, the absence of fresh vegetables were the most frequent deficiencies noted.

Several files contain very elaborate studies conducted by Health and Welfare on water supply, sewage disposal, and related matters for residential schools. Indian Affairs Branch undertook engineering studies to suggest modifications in water supply and sewage

¹A report on the Mohawk Institute in 1960 indicates that a first visit from Indian and Northern Health Services had only recently been arranged at this school.

²We reviewed dietitian's reports for the following schools (1953-1971): Portage I.R.S.; Sechelt; Cariboo; Alert Bay; St. Mary's B.C.; Kuper Island; St. George's; Desmarais; St. Mary's Alberta; Jousard; Assiniboia; Onion Lake; Muscowequan; Gordon's; Fort Chipewyan; Blue Quills; Assumption; Lebre; Crowfoot; Ermineskin; Edmonton; Carcross; Lower Post; Whitehorse; Yukon Hall; Fort Albany; Fort George; Birtle; Fort Alexander; Pine Creek; Portage la Prairie; Brandon; Norway House; Cross Lake; Macintosh; St. Mary's; Kenora; Fort Frances; Cecilia Jeffrey.

treatment. Expenditure proposals for the government-owned schools and the follow-up reports contained in a few of the files of this type that we examined indicate that the studies resulted in physical improvements at many of the schools in the late 1950s and in the 1960s.

5. Admissions and Discharges

a) Admission Policy and Practices

Admission to residential schools, with a small number of exceptions, began at age seven. The Department was prepared to allow the occasional exception on compassionate grounds, but was generally opposed to the admission of older students into the residences because of their potential for disrupting the younger pupils. There is evidence in one file dating from 1939,¹ that the Department also did not like the idea of admitting non-Indian children, but as was the case when the Whitehorse Council requested permission in 1963, admission could be granted:

- On April 25, 1963 the Whitehorse Council passed the following motion: "It is the opinion of Council that native children of white status and other children who are in need of hostel educational facilities be allowed to use the facilities of the Whitehorse hostels whenever room is available." This position was supported by the Indian Superintendent in a letter to the Indian Commissioner for B.C.
- To this the Headquarters response was as follows: "The admission of non-Indian children should be on the same basis as for the Indian population and the operation of the unit should not be jeopardized by admitting non-Indian cases which would not be acceptable if the applicant were of Indian status. In particular it should be made clear to the territorial authorities that these hostels are not schools of correction."

In 1954 the same Headquarters official had described the residential school admission policy of the Branch in response to an enquiry from the public as follows:

Rarely are parents compelled to send their children to this type of school [a residential school] and this is only done after a report has been received from a social worker concerning the home conditions and only on direction from head office. Usually the children are brought to the school by the parents, although in some cases the

¹A letter from the Superintendent of Welfare and Training in Ottawa, dated September 1939, referred to existing regulations which made "neither white nor half-breed children ... eligible for admission to residential schools." He indicated that the Department would have no objection to a temporary arrangement that would be cancelled as soon as Indian children were available to occupy the space.

superintendent of the agency or the principal of the school arranges for the transportation.¹

In correspondence with the Regional Supervisor of Indian Agencies in Northern Ontario six months later, the Headquarters-based official offered the following explanation:

Our policy is to make agency superintendents responsible for the recruitment of pupils for residential schools in their respective agencies.

Literally hundreds of applications in the files for the period after 1953 were reviewed. The application forms were printed documents with spaces for "comments of social worker or children's aid official" and a place for the recommendation of the Superintendent of the Indian Agency connected with the school. The reasons for admission almost invariably fell into two categories:

- No day school was available on or near the reserve.
- A home problem existed (child was an orphan, drunken relative, abuse at home) if there was a day school.

There is no way of knowing from the files whether the real reasons for admission were those given on the admission form. The files do not provide evidence one way or the other on the issue of whether agents essentially "dragooned" children for the residential schools, although there are complaints to this effect from some parents in the files. The admission records in the files indicate only that reasons for admission of the kind mentioned above were very often given by a variety of people (doctors, school principals, social agency officials, agents, for example).

Quite often the applications contain elaborate explanations of why the pupil should be admitted; many times only a code for the relevant reason was entered. Not all admission applications reviewed contained a signature of a parent or guardian, but that, in itself, is not conclusive evidence of forced "recruitment." There may have been no guardian available to sign the form when children were suddenly orphaned. It is our conclusion that the application files are not a definitive source on this issue: they do not provide clear evidence on the Department's admission policy in practice. Certainly there is no way of estimating

¹The response continued: "The chief reason why Indian children are separated from non-Indian children is because in many cases they live in areas remote from non-Indian communities, but, of course, there is the historical 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 [provincial/territorial] schools."

from the contents of the admissions files the extent to which forced separations of children occurred.

All the applications were sent to Headquarters for review, but we saw no evidence of admissions being challenged or refused for the reasons given. The basis of refusal to admit was typically on grounds that the enrolment limits of the residence had been exceeded. Especially in the 1950s there were exchanges between some principals and Ottawa over whether specific individuals would be admitted and, when overcrowding was likely, the Department refused.

In its 1965 Policy Manual, the Department set out its basic rationale for the residential school at that time:

The Indian residential school is maintained to provide for children from broken homes or whose parents are unable to provide the proper care and direction, for the children of migrant hunters and trappers whose way of life makes day school arrangements impractical and for high school students unable to attend school as day pupils. Schools and rehabilitation centres for both children and adults are operated by the Branch at hospitals functioning under the Indian and Northern Health Services. For the children of migrant parents who return to a summer settlement each year, seasonal schools provide an abbreviated school program.¹

With statements of this kind the Department signalled the beginning of a policy that would lead to the rapid demise of most Indian residential schools by 1970. From this time on, policy was aimed mainly at educating Indian children in provincial schools. Residential schools looked like the exception to the rule.

b) Discharges from Residential Schools

Principals were required to report on the discharge of any pupils prior to the end of the school year. The reasons they gave for releasing pupils were numerous, but the following were typical:

- Moodiness, lonesomeness.
- Poor grades.
- Parents sent children to another (day) school.

¹1965 *Manual of Instructions for Use in Government-Owned and Operated Student Residences*, Chapter 11, section 11.12, Financial Instructions Effective January 1st, 1962. No similar policy statement was found for the pre-1950 period. It is our interpretation, based on previous policy, that these instructions would have applied in church-owned schools as well.

- Pregnancy (“continued presence of a poor example to other pupils” - suspended).
- Repeated truancy (runaways).
- Preference to be with other sibling (at another school).
- Poor behaviour.
- Immoral behaviour.
- General dissatisfaction with school.

Thus, the files for the period after 1950 indicate a policy in which discharges were generally allowed from residential schools if the pupil was unhappy and some schooling alternative existed.

The author, Ken Coates, explained the situation with respect to discharges at Carcross Residential School, for the period up to 1954, as follows:

Children left the school at different ages and for a variety of reasons. Many stayed until graduation, leaving at age 16. Others departed much earlier. Several students were deemed incapable of learning, often because they entered the school at an advanced age or maintained regular contact with their families. Such students were returned to their parents. Similarly, students who could not be contained by the institution’s strict disciplinary standards were hurriedly shipped out for fear that they would set a bad example for other potential malcontents. A sizeable number of parents attempted to pull their children out of school, either because they had heard and believed several of the rumours circulating about the institution or because the children were needed at home. The school’s administrators and the government typically rejected the first reason, believing that they were acting in the child’s best interest by keeping him or her in school. Those requests involving demonstrable need were more often accepted, particularly if the children were needed to assist an invalid or ailing parent. Students leaving before graduation were in the minority, however, as most returned home only after completing their schooling.¹

6. Incidents Involving Reports of Excessive Punishment, Runaways and Deaths

a) The Management Regime

Amendments to the *Indian Act* in 1956 and revision of the numbering of sections of the statute in 1970 did not change the legislative basis of the Department’s authority with respect to discipline: the latter continued to be one of a number of subjects (along with

¹Coates, *B.C. Studies*, pp. 41-42.

buildings, equipment and teaching) over which the "Minister may provide for and make regulations with respect to standards...."¹

As already noted, in the section dealing with 1953 departmental directives, the Department developed corporal punishment directives that were sent to administrators in the form of a circular. By 1962, the directives on corporal punishment were elaborated further, with conditions added to the departmental Policy Manual to limit the circumstances under which corporal punishment was to be used or to keep its administration within standardized bounds:

In any event there must 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. The educator must be sure that the pupil was aware of doing wrong. The presence of such a factor as premeditation, deliberate repetition or heedlessness of consequences may sometimes justify a more serious view and the use of corporal punishment.

The principal or teacher in charge of a school will decide whether corporal punishment is to be used and will personally administer it in the presence of a witness or witness its administration at a time selected to avoid disturbing the school program. The witness should be a staff member of the same sex as the pupil who is to be punished; the matron at a residential school should witness the corporal punishment of a girl. Only the strap as issued to the principal or teacher in charge will be used. It will be applied only to the palm of the hand.

In a special book reserved for the purpose a record will be kept of every occasion of corporal punishment. This record will show the date, the name of the pupil, a description of the offence, the number of strokes on either hand, and will be signed by the person who used the strap and by the witness.

The principal or teacher in charge may suspend any pupil guilty of persistent truancy, or persistent opposition to authority, habitual neglect of duty, the use of profane or improper language, or conduct injurious to the moral tone of the school, and will notify the parent or guardian of the pupil and the Superintendent of the Agency of the suspension, but the parent or guardian of any pupil suspended may

¹Revised Statutes of Canada 1970, C.I-6, s. 115. This section was unchanged from the 1951 version of the *Act*.

appeal against such action to the Superintendent, Indian Agency who shall have the power to remove, confirm or modify the suspension. All cases of expulsion must be referred by the Superintendent, Indian Agency to the Chief of Education or his representative.¹

The directives on corporal punishment, by indicating that the strap was to be applied only to the palms, explicitly prohibited punishment such as bare bottom strapping, strapping on dormitory beds or in front of the entire school — methods that some principals were reported to have used.² Although departmental officials knew that hair cropping, head shaving, confinement and bread-and-water punishment had been reported for some schools, the directives on corporal punishment did not specifically condemn these practices. The Manual also did not indicate what action would be taken if the directives were not followed.

b) Incidents Noted After 1945

The files for the period 1946 to 1973 reveal some 35 incidents involving allegations of harsh punishment and poor nutritional standards, as well as reports of deaths, some involving runaways.³ Allegations included the breaking of a child's arm by a school supervisor, the strapping of boys and girls in front of the entire school, beatings, the shaving of heads, abusive name-calling, and the serving of spoiled food to pupils. The pattern of incidents was not concentrated in a few schools or regions. However, we do not consider that these 35 incidents represent the actual number of such incidents that might have taken place in Indian residential schools. Again, the figures only reflect the contents of the files on these issues.

What was departmental policy when charges of excessive punishment or other forms of ill-treatment were made? Did officials take the reported incidents seriously? Did they follow through with corrective action?

From the review of the files, incidents of excessive punishment and ill-treatment were normally reported quickly to the Department at Headquarters in Ottawa. Remarks by officials in their correspondence indicate that they often made note of schools with repeated problems. This awareness had a bearing on the follow-up.

¹1965 *Manual of Instructions for Use in Government-Owned and Operated Student Residences*, Chapter 11, section 11.12, Financial Instructions Effective January 1st, 1962. A Departmental memo dated January 11, 1960 from the Superintendent of Education indicated that "the regulations for residential schools have been superseded by Financial Instructions."

²We do not have data to show how often, but files show that it did occur.

³The 35 incidents were those turned over to the RCMP by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. See press release dated April 2, 1993.

The typical departmental response was, first, to investigate. In the normal case of reported excessive punishment, an Indian agent, the Regional Supervisor of Indian Agencies or the Inspector of Schools would visit the school. Complainants and school officials would be interviewed at length, with full written reports transcribed in some cases. Senior officials from Headquarters would occasionally visit the schools in the most serious situations.

The incomplete nature of the files makes it difficult to be definitive on departmental follow-up. Once the investigation was completed, departmental action often took different courses. In some cases, even when the excessive punishment complaint appears to have had a basis in fact, one cannot tell from the file whether the matter received further attention (even when other possible files were examined and no further record was found).

Some cases were investigated by the Department and found to be unfounded in that they were perceived to involve school staff disgruntled with the school administration for one reason or another.

In some cases, especially those involving the punishment of runaways, files show a tendency for the incident not to be taken as seriously. Runaways were common (the truancy reports confirm this), and Indian agents or regional inspectors tended to conclude that principals had to make an example of runaways to control the situation or they did not believe that the injuries reported had been inflicted prior to their leaving the school.

In most cases when departmental investigation confirmed excessive punishment, and especially when a record of complaints had been accumulated, departmental officials used one, or a combination, of the following approaches:

- Remove the student from the school.
- Release staff, especially when employees of the school other than the principal were involved.
- Check up on the principal and the whole administration of the school through inspections of classroom or diet (or both). This was to collect more information on the overall performance of the principal on which to take action or to try to pressure administrators into changing their behaviour.
- Try to convince church officials to have principals released (which also could and did sometimes mean that they were moved to another residential school).

Officials appear to have tried to walk a fine line: on the one hand, Headquarters and Regional officials of the Department tended to give the benefit of the doubt to principals on incidents involving reports of excessive punishment. This may have been because they had found on investigation that other charges had not been substantiated. But, at the same time, they would launch an investigation. While sometimes expressing their own doubts about the veracity of the plaintiffs, departmental officials would instruct inspectors or agents in the field to try to determine the facts. In some cases the reported complaints were verified.

Even if no action was taken directly by the church to censure the principal when he was implicated in cases of excessive punishment, there was usually some general response from the Department:

- Proper staff training might be recommended.
- Directives on corporal punishment would be sent to the principal with a reminder that they be distributed to all staff.
- Supplementary advice would be given, such as recommending that positive methods of discipline produce better results.
- In the case of incidents arising from runaways, Headquarters would issue directives requesting that reporting procedures (for runaways in severe weather conditions) be instituted or checks be introduced at all residential schools to determine the number of accidents that happened between the time of leaving the school and apprehension.

Our review of the files has identified several situations in which departmental officials acted when other types of irregularity in the residential schools were reported. Headquarters officials urged Regional Superintendents to take action in the following cases:

- In 1963, Headquarters learned of a complaint that a principal of a residential school was employing girls under the age of 16 to work in the school. In this case, Headquarters sent a firm instruction to the Regional Supervisor asking for a report (within two weeks) on the action that had been taken with respect to the girls. When Headquarters received no response they sent off another note, although — perhaps because of incompleteness — the files show no final resolution of the issue.
- In 1967 the Department intervened in a situation in which the principal was refusing to let some children take their glasses with them when they left for their holidays. Headquarters warned:

It has been brought to our attention that a residential school principal refused to permit some children to take their eyeglasses

with them when they left the school during vacation periods. His excuse was that some children deliberately break their glasses because they do not like the frames supplied by the Department of National Health and Welfare.

Under no circumstance are students who have been supplied with glasses to be prevented from taking them with them when they leave the school during vacation periods. You are requested to bring this to the attention of the principals of the residential schools in your region.

Correspondence files on the Indian residential schools show that for decades school administrators typically called the police (RCMP or provincial police) to try to apprehend runaway students or even to hold pupils in custody to prevent them from running away. Beyond the authority of the 1932-33 amendment to the *Indian Act* cited on page 17, no statements on procedures involving runaways were found in files until 1971. In that year, the Department wrote a Supervising Coroner (in a case involving the death of a truant pupil away from the school) to state that the policy was: "In each case, if they are not immediately located, [i.e., runaways] the provincial and municipal police are to be notified and every effort made to get in touch with the parents or guardians."

There is also evidence that the Department was prepared to use probation officers and the Children's Aid Society to deal with a situation in which a parent tried to keep his/her children out of the residential school (for alleged bad treatment). Rather than discharge the pupils, the Department's advice in 1968 was to keep the children in the school and "place this case in the hands of a probation officer who would be able to handle it in conjunction with the Children's Aid Society."

Reports of some eight deaths of residential school pupils are to be found in the files for the period after 1946. The cases involved loss of life due to various causes (drowning, being hit by a train, exposure). Most involved runaways; others were the result of illness. Our review of the files shows that in all cases, when deaths occurred, some type of investigation was carried out at the time, either by an internal board of enquiry, a coroner, the police or a doctor. Any time deaths occurred at the school, autopsy reports were sent to Headquarters. Only in one case (1968) did the attending doctor suggest that the child's death may have resulted from a poor standard of child care in the institution. None of the other reports we reviewed suggested that deaths were the result of school administrators' actions. This 1968 incident resulted in a decision to undertake an "immediate study of the system of supervision and recording that is practical to [the school's] needs." No evidence of the study was found in the file, perhaps because the file was incomplete or because the outcome was recorded in another file which was not found.

In the files reviewed, we found no specific cases of child sexual abuse by school principals and staff -- unlike the incidents of excessive punishment, no specific individuals were referred to. There are reports of situations that by today's standards would be considered to be sexual abuse (bare bottom spanking of girls by male principals, for example). In instances where bare bottom spanking occurred, no references of a sexual nature were raised by the students in their testimony or by the departmental officials reviewing the cases.

Only one file contains a general reference to significant sexual immorality in an Indian residential school. In a long rambling defence of his administration of a residential school, a principal who was later released for behaviour that included shaving of heads and bullying, argued that his strictness was justified:

I am certainly strict, both with myself and staff. Had [the School Superintendent who made the complaint] access to all the past history of immorality within this school, pregnant pupils and pregnant teachers and teachers sleeping with pupils, he would surely agree that strictness was necessary.

In the same file, no comment was made on the principal's references to "past history of immorality." There was no suggestion of sexual impropriety in connection with his own forced resignation, and there was no apparent follow-up in the file with respect to the immorality to which he referred.

G. REDUCING THE SCOPE OF THE INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL SYSTEM

Although the monitoring processes described above continued throughout the 1960s, 1970s and into the 1980s, in 1961 the Department began to move away from supporting a policy of separation of Indian children in residential schools and in the direction of a policy of integration. As early as 1949, the integration of day and residential schools had begun to take place in Manitoba. Experiments in what later was to be called the "Integration Policy" continued — and were commented on favourably by departmental Headquarters officials — elsewhere during the 1950s.

Part of the departmental strategy was to try to prevent the establishment of grade nine in residential schools, preferring instead to send pupils to provincial schools for the higher grades. Correspondence in the files shows that some churches opposed the move and often elicited band support for the expansion of the grades beyond elementary levels. Data on grade levels show that the Department's attempt at limitation was not entirely

successful; for example, in 1957, 5% of all the pupils enrolled in residential schools were in grade 9 or above.¹ By this time, however, older pupils who were still residents of these schools were attending classes at provincially run secondary schools.

The major thrust of the Department's strategy was to increase the provinces' role in the education of Indian children. The tone for such a policy was established by the Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons when it concluded its 1961 report on education and development of human resources. Without explicitly referring to residential schools, the Committee "is of the opinion that the key to the full realization by Indians of self-determination and self-government and mutual self-respect for the heritage and culture of Indians and non-Indians will be found in the field of education." Later: "We look forward to the day, not too far distant, when the Indian Affairs Branch is not engaged in the field of education, except insofar as sharing in the costs."²

"Between 1956 and 1970," a departmental report found in the files indicates, "there was a dramatic rise in Indian enrolment in Provincial school systems." There was also much experimentation in integration. The federal government's intention was to facilitate Indian attendance in provincial schools through agreements. Increased parental involvement in education followed government encouragement of the formation of School Committees. In 1963, the Department provided for the organizing and minimal funding of these Committees. By 1971 there were 215 such Committees in existence, with greatly increased areas of responsibility."³

In 1966, the Department began the winding down of Indian residential schools in earnest. The "Caldwell" Report, produced for the Canadian Welfare Council in 1967, was critical of conditions in Saskatchewan Indian residential schools, particularly the number of welfare cases in the schools. The Report provided extra impetus to further changes in the Department's policy. The number of children in residential schools for welfare reasons had been a concern to the Department for some time; it had been in agreement with the Caldwell Report's recommendation that provincial welfare services be made available to residential school children on the same basis as those provided to non-Indians. However, by 1967 the Department had not yet been able to negotiate such agreements with the provinces.⁴

¹"Distribution of Pupils Attending Residential Schools. "A Statistical Report, 1957," Table 16.

²Proceedings in Evidence, Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Indian Affairs, 4th Session, 1961, 252 and following.

³*Indian Education Paper, Phase I*, p. 7. The Department's *Annual Report* for 1958 show that 14 teachers in residential schools at that time were of Indian origin. *AR*, 1958, p. 61. The total number of teachers is unknown.

⁴Letter from Deputy Minister, Nov. 10, 1967, p. 1. The Caldwell report was based on a study of the effect of the Saskatchewan Indian Residential Schools on the adaptation and adjustment of Indian children.

As late as 1966, the Churches were still guarding the principal's role in staff hiring. A correspondence file from that year shows that departmental policy required approval by principals of all staffing in residential schools even where the department did the actual hiring. The file indicates that when a departmental official went ahead and advertised positions for assistant-senior teachers, the principal of the school complained and the department confirmed to both church and departmental officials in the field that departmental policy required that all staffing in residential schools must have the principal's approval.

In September 1968, the Department implemented a policy of separate administration for residences and classrooms at residential schools. Where separated, after this date, the person in charge of the student residence was to be known as the Administrator and the person known as the Senior Teacher would be known as the Principal, reporting to the District School Superintendent. As the Department became more involved, the nature of the staffing changed as well. By September 1968, 370 child care workers were employed in residential schools and courses were funded by the Department to upgrade their training.

In 1969, as a result of a Supreme Court decision¹ that approximately 1,600 employees in the residential schools must be considered public servants and hence employees of the Department, the Department in effect took over management of the residential schools. Against resistance in some cases from the churches and bands, the Department began to cut back the numbers accepted in residential schools, setting up their eventual closing. In some cases the schools had expanded beyond their authorized capacity and the cutbacks were at first conducted as part of a policy of bringing enrolment in line with capacity. By 1969, the residential schools were being described as "a supplementary service provided by the Department to Indian children who, for very special reasons, cannot commute to federal day schools or provincial schools from their homes."²

Once the administration of the classroom portion of the former residential school had been separated from the residence portion, the classroom was considered a day school. The administrative procedures governing the residence were the "Financial Instructions" described above in the 1965 Policy Manual, as re-issued on April 1, 1969.³

Researchers looked at the institutions from the standpoint of physical condition, methods of discipline, programs and administration.

¹Reference from departmental file; no Supreme Court case citation is known.

²"Admissions Policy for Indian Student Residences." June 1969, p. 1.

³Education Division Letter No. 56, May 29, 1969. As noted earlier, the previous regulations governing residential schools were cancelled by the Minister in May 1969.

When the Department replaced the churches in the administration of the schools after 1969 -- and in this sense were more involved than previously in their operations -- it began at the same time to reduce the number of schools it had to administer. In 1973, the Department went a step further. It formally accepted the principle of local control and parental responsibility espoused by the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) in a position paper entitled "Indian Control of Indian Education." At the same time, the Minister informed the NIB that "officials of my department are ready to work out procedures for effective transfer including Band training if required."

Between 1969 and 1974, the Anglican Church-run residential schools declined from 14 to 9 and the Catholic Church-run schools declined from 30 to 17.¹ The next few years saw the closure of most of the rest of the longest standing residences including: Lejac, Kamloops, Lower Post, Sechelt and Kuper Island. By 1979, the Department was left with some 15 schools. In that year, St. George's closed its doors, to be followed in short succession by many of the remaining old schools.

The monitoring of classrooms, kitchens and the health of pupils² characteristic of the earlier inspection of church-run schools continued without interruption.³ But the scope of the Department's responsibility for both policy development and operational procedures had, by the late 1980's, contracted substantially. By 1993, only 7 Indian student residences were in operation, all in Saskatchewan. One was administered by the Department at the request of First Nations, the rest by Bands with departmental funding.

H. DEPARTMENTAL POLICY: AN OVERVIEW

This report does not purport to cover the history of Indian residential schools. Rather, its objective is to describe as accurately as possible the policy of the federal government towards these schools, as revealed by departmental files still held by the Department. The coverage of these files was concentrated in the post-1950 period, and even for this period there were gaps for some schools. To provide some overall structure

¹The 1973/74 *Annual Report* indicates that the following schools had been taken over by bands: Blue Quills, Alberta; Fort Alexander, Manitoba; Qu'Appelle Indian Residential School, Saskatchewan; and Mount Currie, British Columbia.

²In 1969, DIAND asked Health and Welfare to make available to school administrators health records for all Indian residential students and to provide advice on clinical problems that could concern school administrators.

³In 1988, a technical assessment of the seven student residence facilities in the Saskatchewan region was conducted. The study showed that "All residences will require major expenditures in the next few years to keep the facilities at or bring them to a suitable level of service by present day standards. All residential facilities with the exception of the Prince Albert facility would require major renovation projects to provide more suitable accommodation for students."

to the account of departmental policy since Confederation, we drew on Annual Reports of the Department and secondary sources.

In our review of the materials, we looked for **statements of departmental policy** towards Indian residential schools as well as **indications of how policy was put into practice**. We found that after 1920, the Department tended not to make statements of its objectives for Indian residential schools. Of necessity, our account of departmental policy has relied greatly on the actions taken by the Department as indicated in the Headquarters, regional and individual school files. As a consequence, the description of departmental policy cannot be definitive in situations in which the files are silent, either because there are no files for a particular school for a certain period or the files contain no evidence of follow-up actions. With these reservations, the following generalizations emerge from this study.

Government supported church-run residential schools until the late 1960s implicitly as a means of assimilation through education separate as much as possible from home influences. Education for both male and female Indian children was a key policy feature, and for the greatest period of time residential schools served those for whom there were no convenient day schools or whose family situation (orphans or migrating parents) did not allow them to attend a day school (or later provincial school) if one existed. With time, in some cases, residential schools became extensions of the social welfare system.

From the 1920s, the residential school system displayed some features of the regulatory system characteristic of many Canadian social institutions. Monopolies — in this case the churches — were given exclusive rights to offer educational services in specific Indian residential schools across Canada, whether the buildings were owned by the churches or by the federal government. Federal government appropriations financed the schools on the basis of per capita enrolment grants. The Department tried to control the numbers of students living in the residences by establishing upper limits to enrolment. It also established standards for the buildings, equipment, education and discipline in the schools and provided for the inspection of teaching, health and nutrition in the schools. The shift from *laissez-faire* to greater state intervention was reflected within Indian residential schools in increasingly explicit departmental directives after 1950.

The file review shows that the Department kept itself informed through Indian agents and inspectors on what was going on in the classroom, the kitchen and (later) the infirmary. Feedback obtained by regular inspections led to ongoing efforts to correct deficiencies, although the “moral suasion” directed at school administrators could sometimes take a long time to yield results when weaknesses were identified. Officials had

some effect in controlling overcrowding in the residences — because they could ultimately limit numbers through per capita grants — but they had to rely a great deal on the cooperation of principals to achieve standards in other areas, and these were not always fully achieved. Some files indicate situations in which the extent of the follow-up is not known, based on the file information available.

This file review is not a definitive source of information on the question of the extent to which departmental policy supported the forcible separation of some children from parents. The *Indian Act* itself provided strong support to church officials and departmental officials to keep Indian children in school, regardless of the wishes of their family. (This applied to day schools as well.) Family members did visit the schools, but the correspondence files indicate that the extent to which visitors were allowed varied over time and from school to school. Situations were reported in which parental/guardian opposition led to pupils leaving residential schools. In addition, although the *Indian Act* provided for paying for the transportation of pupils to their homes for annual vacations, a departmental directive in the 1950s limited vacations by requiring Indian agents' approval, except where medical advice dictated students should return home.

Discipline in the schools was a matter which explicit policy directives addressed, from our evidence, at least by the early 1950s. When officials learned of incidents of excessive punishment through reports from parents or staff in the schools they generally investigated the situation. There was some tendency, however, to approach reports especially when runaways were involved, with an element of doubt about the validity of the charges. Complaints by official inspectors were taken much more seriously and often led to very detailed investigations. When deaths of pupils occurred from various causes (either in or away from the residence), some type of investigation was always carried out at the time, either by an internal board of enquiry, a coroner, the police, or a doctor.

From the file review we have determined that sexual abuse was not a subject on which anyone in the Department wrote explicitly with respect either to policy or to practice. This is not to say that some of the situations described in the files would not be considered sexual abuse today or that these few cases represent all the incidents that occurred. Our review shows only that no allegations of sexual abuse against an individual ever were made in the files we reviewed.

Departmental policy towards residential schools was mainly revealed in the actions of a relatively small group of departmental officials who tried through inspections and directives to school administrators to influence the operation of residential schools in a

positive fashion. With time their actions were increasingly directed at getting the churches and then the Department out of the business.

**APPENDIX A A BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF INDIAN
RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL HISTORY:
POLICY ASPECTS**

- 1867 - 1 industrial school: Mount Elgin Institute (in 1872 = 36 pupils / 2,261 total in all Indian schools, day and residential)

- 1879 - Davin report endorses U.S. industrial school model

- Both sexes to receive training

- Churches administer education in residential schools; government pays for the service

- 1880 - Department of Indian Affairs created (formerly Department of the Interior)

- 1891 - Industrial schools regarded as more important than boarding schools; and last in priority were day schools

- 19 industrial schools (1045 pupils) 18 boarding schools (307 pupils) equal to 18% of all pupils in school at the time

- 1892 - Per capita grant method of financing residential schools set up

- 1894 - Amendments to the *Indian Act* to secure compulsory attendance at school

- 1897 - New government adopts go slow policy with respect to residential schools

- use day school as preparation for residential schools

- Industrial schools: 22 schools with a total of 2,034 pupils

- Boarding schools: 31 schools with a total of 1,180 pupils

- 1899 - Department concludes that boarding schools should be built on reserves to “mitigate [the pupils’] sense of separation”—seen as better than day schools)

- Department gives in on earlier opposition to summer holidays

- Growth in funding for boarding schools rather than for industrial schools

- Education ranked lower in priorities of subjects treated in the annual departmental report

- 1910 Trades subjects no longer generally offered; carpentry and agriculture stressed more in industrial schools
- Beginning of policy of “placement service” for ex-pupils in residential schools
- 1911
- Increase in funding by Parliament
 - Higher standards set with respect to classroom conditions, teaching quality
 - Agreement now between government and Churches—enrolment limits set
 - Boarding schools: totalled 54
 - Industrial schools: totalled 19
- 1914-19
- Government not disposed to invest in industrial schools during war
- 1920
- *Indian Act* amended to strengthen provisions enforcing attendance
 - Provided for regular summer vacation for pupils (money for transportation paid by Department) and for regulations prescribing standards for buildings, equipment, teaching and discipline and for inspection
 - Terms “boarding” and “industrial” were phased out of administrative terminology and were replaced by “residential.”
 - After World War I, boarding schools, were placed on a sounder financial footing. A new grant structure and increasing willingness of the Department to contribute to the capital costs of boarding schools blurred the distinction between the boarding schools and their industrial counterparts.
- 1930
- Per capita grants to residential schools reduced—effect of depression
- 1935
- Budget cuts restored
- 1936
- Department of Mines and Resources responsible for Indian Affairs Branch
 - Curriculum of schools that of the province in which residential school was located—encouraged vocational training for boys and girls to make education more practical
- 1945
- Special allowance for pupils increased
 - Indian Health Services transferred from Department of Mines and Resources to National Health and Welfare

- 1946 - Parliamentary Committee (Joint Senate and House of Commons) learns of substantial hostility to residential schools (not unanimous, but substantial) of representatives of Indian Bands and organizations
- Residential schools totaled 76 and enrolment has risen to almost 9,000
- 1949 - Integration of day schools/residential schools begins in Manitoba (soon residential school boarders are attending day schools)
- 1950 - Department of Citizenship and Immigration responsible for Indian Affairs Branch
- 1952 - Revision of *Indian Act* to enforce attendance more strictly
- 1954 - Department opposes establishment of grade 9 in residential schools: prefer sending pupils to provincial schools
- 1958 - Department enters into agreement with churches on a controlled cost system: grant to each church with Treasury Board authority
- 1961 - Health and Welfare Canada extends food inspections—enforcing National Food Rules and Health Standards
- Effort to get Indian students into provincial schools begins as part of the “integration policy”
- 1966 - Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development established
- Pursues policy of provincializing education responsibility for Indians
- 1967 - Hawthorn Report—recommends integration of Indian pupils with rest of the school population
- “Caldwell” Report for the Canadian Council on Welfare is critical of conditions in Saskatchewan Indian residential schools
- 1969 - Department takes over management of the residential schools—approximately 1,600 employees are brought into the public service as a result of a Supreme Court decision
- Churches retain only pastoral (non-denominational) basis rather than specific religious training
- Government White Paper advocates that all educational services be provided by provincial agencies

- Department supports policy of day schools, boarding homes and group homes and a reduction in the number of residential schools
 - Residential schools now considered "a special service to enable Indian children who, for special reasons, cannot attend federal day schools or integrated schools from their homes"
 - In all cases the parent or guardian must give written consent to residential placement for their child
 - Parents represented on school committees
 - Cutting back on numbers: enrolment down to 6,059
- 1971 - Department indicates willingness to transfer management or control of a residence to a group (band/tribal council)
- 1973 - Minister formally indicates acceptance of the principles of the National Indian Brotherhood's paper: Indian Control of Indian Education; i.e. local control and parental guidance
- 1979 - 15 residential schools in operation
- 1993 - 7 student residences in operation, all in Saskatchewan (6 under control of Indian bands and 1 administered by the Department at the request of First Nations).

APPENDIX B BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barman, Jean; Hébert, Yvonne; and McCaskill, Don, eds. *Indian Education in Canada, Volume 1: The Legacy*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986.
- Boswell, Marion Joan, "Civilizing" *The Indian: Government Administration of Indians, 1876-1896*, University of Ottawa, 1977.
- Caldwell, George. *Indian Residential Schools, A Research Study of the Child Case Programs of Nine Residential Schools in Saskatchewan*, The Canadian Welfare Council, 1967.
- Coates, Kenneth. "Betwixt and Between: The Anglican Church and the Children of Carcross (Choooutla) Residential School, 1911-1954," *B.C. Studies*, No. 64, Winter 1984-85, pp. 27-47.
- Davin, Nicholas F. *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds*. Ottawa: 14 March 1879. RG 10 Vol. 6001 File 1-1-1, Pt. 1.
- Departmental Annual Reports, 1864, 1865, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1878, 1887, 1891, 1892, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1910, 1911, 1920, 1950, 1952, 1953, 1956, 1958, 1961, 1967.
- Furniss, Elizabeth, *A Conspiracy of Silence: The Care of Native Students at St. Joseph's Residential School, Williams Lake, B.C.*, 1991.
- Gull, Norman. "The "Indian Policy" of the Anglican Church of Canada from 1945 to the 1970s" Trent University, M.A. Thesis, 1991.
- Haig-Brown, Celia. *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School*. Vancouver: Tillacum Library, 1987.
- Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, Indian Education Paper. Phase 1, 1982.
- King, A. Richard. *A Case Study of an Indian Residential School*. Thesis (Ph.d.). Stanford University, 1964.
- Leighton, James Douglas. *The Development of Federal Indian Policy in Canada 1849-90*. Thesis (Ph.d.). University of Western Ontario, 1975.
- Porter, Eric. *The Anglican Church and Native Education: Residential Schools and Assimilation*. Thesis (Ph.d.). University of Toronto, 1981.

Redford, James. "Attendance at Indian Residential Schools in British Columbia, 1890-1920." *B.C. Studies* No. 44, Winter 1979-1980.

Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons, Minutes and Proceedings, 1946.

Surtees, Robert J. *Indian Reserve Policy in Upper Canada, 1830-1845*. Thesis (M.A.). Carleton University, 1966.

Titley, Brian. "Indian Industrial Schools in Western Canada," *Ethnicity, Women, Class*.

**APPENDIX C RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF INDIAN
RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS, DATES OF
OPENING AND CLOSING**

	Open	Closed
Operated by Roman Catholic Church		
Amos, Quebec	1956	1973
Assiniboia, Manitoba	1915	1973
Assumption, Alberta	1934	1973
Beauval, Saskatchewan	1932	Open
Blood, Alberta	1887	*
Blue Quills, Alberta	1899	1976
Cariboo, B.C.	*	1981
Coudert Hall, Yukon	*	*
Cowessess Residential School/Marievale Student Residence	1898	Open
Cross Lake, Saskatchewan	1939	1969
Crowfoot, Alberta	1912	1969
Desmerais, Alberta	1938	1974
Duck Lake, Saskatchewan	1880	Open
Ermineskin, Alberta	1954	1975
Fort Alexander, Manitoba	1905	1970
Fort Frances, Ontario	1902	1974
Fort Vermilion, Alberta	1933	1968
Grouard, Alberta	*	1958
Guy, Manitoba	*	1972
Holy Angels (Fort Chipewyan), Alberta	*	1974
Joussard, Alberta	*	1969
Kamloops, B.C.	*	*
Kenora, Ontario	1905	1972
Kootenay, B.C.	*	*
Kuper Island, B.C.	*	1975
Lejac, B.C.	1910	1976
Lower Post, B.C.	*	1975
McIntosh, Ont.	1925	1969

* No information was found in the sources used for this report.

	Open	Closed
Operated by Roman Catholic Church (cont'd)		
Mission, B.C.	*	1984
Muscowequan, Sask.	*	Open
Notre Dame, Alberta	*	1967
Onion Lake, Sask.	1926	1974
Pine Creek, Manitoba	1902	1969
Pointe Bleue, Quebec	*	1980
Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan	1888	Open
Sacred Heart, Alberta	1926	1962
Sandy Bay, Manitoba	1905	1970
Sechelt, B.C.	1920	1975
Seven Islands, Quebec	1952	1971
Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia	1930	1967
Spanish, Ontario	1913	1960
St. Cyprian, Alberta	*	1962
St. Joseph's Boarding School, Ontario	*	*
St. Philip's, Saskatchewan	1927	1969
Whitehorse Hostel, Yukon	*	*
Operated by Anglican Church		
Alert Bay, B.C.	1929	1974
Carcross, Yukon	*	1969
Fort George, Quebec	1933	1975
Gordon's, Saskatchewan	*	Open
La Tuque, Quebec	1962	1978
MacKay, Manitoba	*	*
Mohawk Institute, Ontario	1859	1970
Moose Fort, Ontario	*	*
Old Sun, Alberta	1924	1971
Prince Albert, Saskatchewan	1890	Open
Shingwauk, Ontario	1874	1970
Sioux Lookout, Ontario	*	*
St. George's, B.C.	*	*
St. Paul's, Alberta	1924	1975
Wabasca, Alta	*	1966

	Open	Closed
Operated by United Church		
Alberni, B.C.	1920	1973
Brandon, Manitoba	1896	1972
Edmonton, Alberta	*	1968
Morley, Alberta	*	1969
Norway House, Manitoba	*	1967
Portage la Prairie, Manitoba	1911	1975
Squamish	*	1960
Sturgeon Lake	*	1960
Operated by Presbyterian Church		
Birtle, Manitoba	1931	1970
Cecilia Jeffrey, Ontario	1903	1976
Religious Affiliation Not Known		
Albany Residential School, Ont.	*	*
Fort William, Ontario	*	*
Christie Residential School, B.C.	1970	1983

These data are not complete. They are a compilation from departmental records and reports and information obtained from the file review.



Information

A Summary of Findings from Departmental Files and Selected Secondary Sources related to Indian Residential Schools Policy

This report was commissioned by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) following an extensive review of some 2,200 files remaining in the possession of the department on the residential school system. Abt Associates was asked to describe the policy of the federal government towards Indian residential schools as revealed by these departmental files. Thousands of additional files held by the National Archives and the various church archives were not reviewed for this purpose.

Consequently, other information of relevance to federal government policy on residential schools will likely come to light with additional research of these and other sources.

It is important to outline what this study does not intend to do. It is not a description or analysis of conditions at Indian residential schools nor does it describe how these schools were managed by the various churches. There is information in this report which has a bearing on both of these topics but richer sources are available including recent individual testimonies and church archives.

Work is now underway by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples on residential schools. The departmental file review, and this report, were undertaken to assist this endeavour.