



***Mohawk* (Institute)**

Indian Residential School

Brantford, Ontario

Six Nations of the Grand River

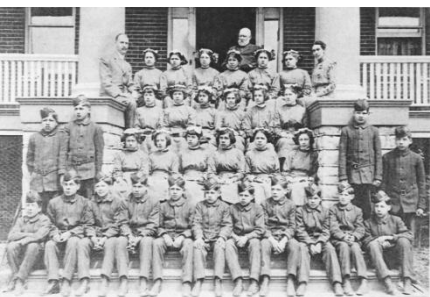


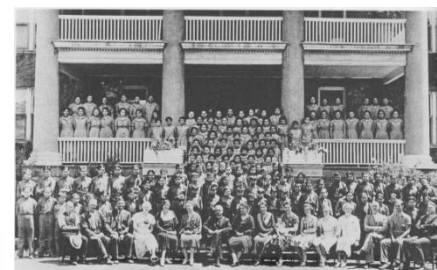
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Produced by the
Residential School Research, Archive and
Visitor Centre & The Shingwauk Project

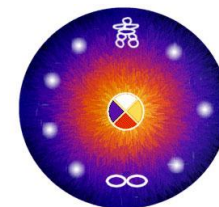
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AHF



The Shingwauk Project



NRSSS



The Shingwauk Project and Residential School Research, Archive and Visitor Centre

The Shingwauk Project is a cross-cultural research and educational development project of Algoma University College (AUC) and the Children of Shingwauk Alumni Association (CSAA). It was founded in 1979 by its current Director, Professor Don Jackson, in collaboration with Dr. Lloyd Bannerman of AUC, Chief Ron Boissoneau (1935-2000) of the Garden River First Nation and Shingwauk Alumnus and Elder Dr. Dan Pine Sr. (1900-1992) of the Garden River First Nation. Along with many others they recognized the profound importance of the commitment to the Shingwauk Trust and the relationship with First Nation Peoples that Algoma University College assumed upon its relocation in 1971 to the site of the former Shingwauk Indian Residential School.

The Shingwauk School, or "Teaching Wigwam", was originally envisaged by the great Ojibway Chief Shingwaukonse (1773-1854) as a crucible for cross-cultural understanding and synthesis of traditional Anishnabek and modern European knowledges. Commissioned in 1832 in co-operation with Canadian Government and Anglican Church partners as part of St. John's Mission to the Ojibway, the first Shingwauk School was opened in Sault Ste. Marie in 1833, relocated to Garden River (1838-74), and to the current site as the Shingwauk (1874 - 1935) and Wawanosh (1900 - 1935) Industrial Homes and the Shingwauk Indian Residential School (1935-70). As part of a new Anishnabek strategy of Indigenous Peoples rights, self-determination and modern community development, the cross-cultural project of the Teaching Wigwam was also regarded as essential to the restoration of cosmological balance and of social harmony between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians generally.

Inspired by Shingwauk's Vision, the Shingwauk Project and the Children of Shingwauk Alumni Association (former students of the Shingwauk School, and staff, descendants, families and friends) are partnered with AUC, the Anglican Church, the Dan Pine Healing Lodge, the National Residential School Survivors' Society (NRSSS) and others to research, collect, preserve and display the history of the Residential Schools; develop and deliver projects of "*sharing, healing and, learning*" in relation to the impacts of the Schools, and of individual and community cultural restoration; and to accomplish "*the true realization of Chief Shingwauk's Vision*" through the establishment of Shingwauk University.

The Shingwauk Project and Residential School Research, Archive and Visitor Centre

Recently, the Shingwauk Project, CSAA, NRSSS and Algoma University have partnered to expand their Residential School work through the creation of the Residential School Research, Archive and Visitor Centre. The work of the Centre addresses the Residential School legacy not only regionally but also nationally and internationally. The Shingwauk Project undertook many activities since its founding including reunions, healing circles, publications, videos, photo displays, curriculum development and the establishment of an archive, library and heritage collections, as well as a Shingwauk Directory and website (www.shingwauk.auc.ca). The Centre combines the resources and networks of all of the partners to work to accomplish more broadly and comprehensively what has been done locally.

The Shingwauk Project and the Residential School Research, Archive and Visitor Centre are very grateful to all of the Indigenous and non-Indigenous governments, churches, organizations and individuals that have been so generous in their support. They hope that the circle of “*sharing, healing and learning*” continues to grow until happiness, harmony and health are enjoyed by all.

Donald A. Jackson
Director, The Shingwauk Project and
Residential School Research, Archive and Visitor Centre

May 2006



Introduction and Acknowledgements

This *"Remember the Children"* pilot project is an initiative of the Children of Shingwauk Alumni Association (CSAA) and the Residential School Research, Archive, and Visitor Centre that is attempting to identify the individuals and events that are depicted in historic photographs of First Nations, and Indian and Inuit Residential Schools.

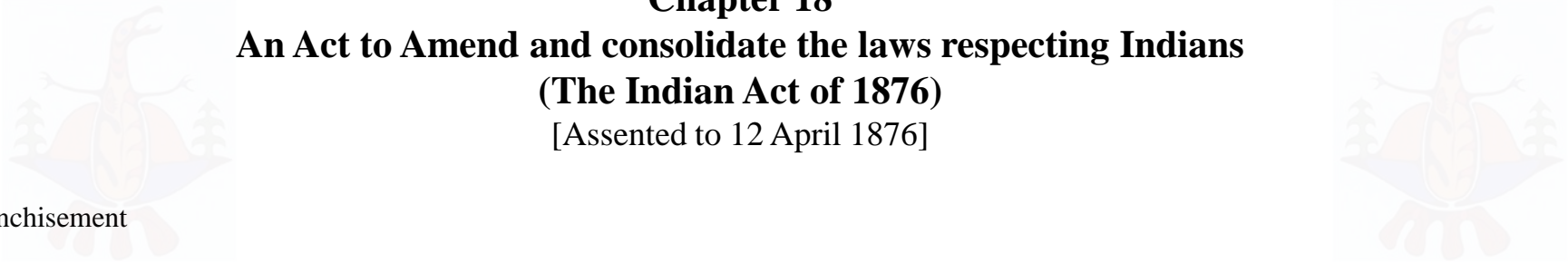
The Shingwauk Project has been collecting photographs and documents about Indian and Inuit Residential and Day Schools for a number of years. Recently, originals and copies of photographs and documents regarding First Nations and Indigenous Peoples were made available to the Project Archive. The Project Archive has put together a series of Photo Albums that attempt to represent a photographic history of these Indian and Inuit Residential and Day Schools once located in the Bond Head Treaty (1836), Robinson-Huron Treaty (1850), Robinson-Superior Treaty (1850), Manitoulin Island Treaty (1862), Treaty #3 (1873), Treaty #5 (1875), and the James Bay - Treaty #9 (1905 - 1930) Territories.

The information and photographs contained herein are constantly being updated and revised. Every attempt was made at the time of publication to ensure the accuracy of the information that is being presented in these Photo Albums. Please contact us if our information contains any errors or omissions. If you have additional information or photographs that you would like to add to the *"Remember the Children"* project, please do not hesitate to contact us:

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Edward G. Sadowski
Editor
Sault Ste Marie, Ontario
(November 2008)



Chapter 18

An Act to Amend and consolidate the laws respecting Indians (The Indian Act of 1876)

[Assented to 12 April 1876]

Enfranchisement

Indians admitted to degrees in Universities, &c..

86 (1.) Any Indian who may be admitted to the degree of Doctor of Medicine, or to any other degree by any University of Learning, or who may be admitted in any Province of the Dominion to practice law either as an Advocate or as a Barrister or Counsellor or Solicitor or Attorney or to be a Notary Public, or who may enter Holy Orders or who may be licensed by any denomination of Christians as a Minister of the Gospel, shall *ipso facto become and be enfranchised under this Act.*

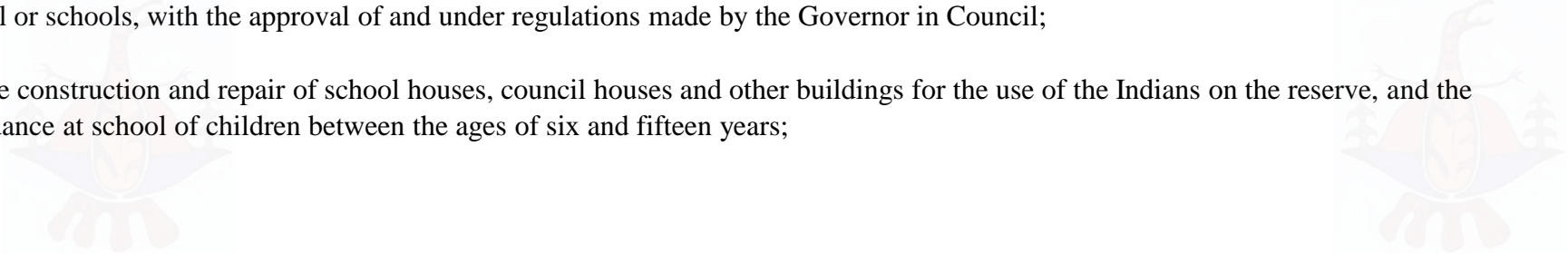
Chapter 44

The Indian Advancement Act [1886]

10. The council may make by-laws, rules and regulations, which, if approved and confirmed by the Superintendent General, shall have force as law within and with respect to the reserve, and the Indians residing thereon, upon all or any of the following subjects, that is to say;-

a. The religious denomination to which the teacher or teachers of the school or schools established on the reserve shall belong, as being that of the majority of the Indians resident on the reserve; but the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the reserve may also have a separate school or schools, with the approval of and under regulations made by the Governor in Council;

g. The construction and repair of school houses, council houses and other buildings for the use of the Indians on the reserve, and the attendance at school of children between the ages of six and fifteen years;



Chapter 18 - The Indian Act [As amended 1886]

11. *The Indian Act is hereby amended by adding the following sections thereto:-*

Powers as to establishment of industrial or boarding schools

137. The Governor in Council may make regulations, either general or affecting the Indians of any province or of any named band, to secure the compulsory attendance of children at school.

2. Such regulations, in addition to any other provisions deemed expedient, may provide for the arrest and conveyance to school, and detention there, of truant children and of children who are prevented by their parents or guardians from attending: and such regulations may provide for the punishment, upon summary conviction, by fine or imprisonment, or both, of parents and guardians, or persons having the charge of children, who, fail, refuse or neglect such children to attend school.

138. The Governor in Council may establish an industrial school or a boarding school for Indians, or may declare any existing Indian school to be such industrial school or boarding school for the purposes of this section.

2. The Governor in Council may make regulations, which shall have the force of law, for the committal by justices or Indian agents of children of Indian blood under the age of sixteen years, to such industrial school or boarding school, there to be kept, cared for and educated for a period not extending beyond the time at which such children shall reach the age of eighteen years.

3. Such regulations may provide, in such manner as to the Governor in Council seems best, for the application of the annuities and interest moneys of children committed to such industrial school or boarding school, to the maintenance of such schools respectively, or to the maintenance of the children themselves.

The Indian Act [1927]

Schools

- 9.** The Governor in Council may establish (a) day schools in any Indian reserve for the children of such reserve; (b) industrial or boarding schools for the Indian children of any reserve or reserves or any district or territory designated by the Superintendent General.
- 2.** Any school or institution the managing authorities of which have entered into a written agreement with the Superintendent General to admit Indian children and provide them with board, lodging and instruction may be declared by the Governor in Council to be an industrial school or a boarding school for the purposes of this Act.
- 3.** The Superintendent General may provide for the transport of Indian children to and from the boarding or industrial schools to which they are assigned, including transportation to and from such schools for the annual vacations.
- 4.** The Superintendent General shall have power to make regulations prescribing a standard for the buildings, equipment, teaching and discipline of and in all schools, and for the inspection of such schools.
- 5.** The chief and council of any band that has children in a school shall have the right to inspect such school at such reasonable times as may be agreed upon by the Indian agent and the principal of the school.
- 6.** The Superintendent General may apply the whole or any part of the annuities and interest moneys of Indian children attending an industrial or boarding school to the maintenance of such school or to the maintenance of the children themselves. 1920, c. 50, s. 1.
- 10.** 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.
- 2.** Such school shall be the nearest available school of the kind required, and 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.
- 3.** 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 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.
- 4.** 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.
- 5.** 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. 1920, c. 50, s.1.
- 11.** The Governor in Council may take the land of an Indian held under location ticket or otherwise, for school purposes, upon payment to such Indian of the compensation agreed upon, or in case of disagreement such compensation as may be determined in such manner as the Superintendent General may direct. 1914, c. 35, s. 2.

ESTABLISHMENT AND OPERATION OF INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS



Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Life on the Land

The Cree and Ojibwe have lived in this country since time immemorial. They lived off the land by killing animals, birds and fish, and by collecting roots, fruits and berries from a wide variety of plants. They built their homes from trees and the bark of trees secured with the roots of certain trees, and from the hides of large animals. Much of their clothing was also supplied by the hides from animals. Medicines were collected from various trees, shrubs and plants. Trees supplied them with firewood for heat and with tools and implements to assist them in their daily chores. The land provided them with everything they required to survive.

The Cree and Ojibwe lived in close-knit kinship (family) groups. These kinship groups were like an extended family, often consisting of a man and his wife, or wives, along with the man's brothers and sisters, the wife's brothers and sisters, their parents, children, aunts, uncles, grandparents, and sometimes, close friends. All economic, social and spiritual activities were carried out within these kinship groups. Economic life was based upon sharing — sharing of food, tools, and equipment; and sharing of chores, tasks and activities. This was necessary to their survival, but was also necessary to cementing kinship ties and creating new relations with other people (non-kin). Everything was connected and what happened to one person or group of people affected everyone who was close to the person, or within the kin-group. The overarching idea was the good of the group - there

was little attention paid to individuals and group rights always took precedence over individual rights. Every person was viewed as providing a unique contribution to activities and therefore played an essential role in all activities, whether economic, social, or spiritual.

Indian people used an informal method of education which was a part of everyday life and completely integrated with the rhythm of the adult community. In this model the children learned from all of the activities they participated in whether it was playing, helping or doing chores. They learned by assisting adults with their daily routines and through observation of how people carried out certain tasks. The children learned their language primarily from their mothers. When older, the boys accompanied their fathers most of the time and learned male activities, while the girls spent most of their time with their mothers and learned female activities. All children spent time with their grandparents and other older members of the community who taught them through the use of story-telling, myths and symbols used to represent groups of ideas.

External Cultural Pressures

The arrival of non-aboriginal people changed the way of life of the Cree and Ojibwe. Traditional economic activities were changed by the market type economy of the fur trade where everyone fended for himself. The social and family bonds of the extended family kin-groups were changed by the European concept of the smaller nuclear family. Individual rights were stressed at the expense of group rights. Aboriginal individuals lost their status as a unique part of a functioning unit within the kin-group. Education was also changed. In aboriginal societies education was the responsibility of the kin-group and each member of the group was responsible for teaching children, whether girls or boys, the things that made them unique in the group. In European societies, education was a function of the state, or government. In this model, schools were set up and children expected to attend. The residential schools were established to civilize, educate, assimilate and Christianize aboriginal people. There were many residential schools established by the Canadian government and operated by religious groups across Canada. Aboriginal children were forced to attend these schools due to the compulsory attendance provisions of the *Indian Act*.

Although the heyday of the residential school system has long since passed - it peaked in the 1930s when there were about eighty schools in operation in Canada - it has produced an indelible and enduring legacy. While some of those who are familiar with the system - both First Nations' and others - claim that the schools provided Indian children with the modern education they required at the time, the majority believe the system was an unmitigated disaster. It is hard to imagine a circumstance, its harshest critics say, in which it would be best for children to be removed from their parents, placed in institutions in which they



are forbidden to speak their own languages, and prevented from mastering and celebrating their own customs and traditions. And where, we have since learned, the children who resided at the schools were sometimes physically and sexually abused by those who were responsible for their care¹.

Lost Between Two Cultures

The changes to the ways in which Cree and Ojibwe people were educated in the residential schools, created a large group of aboriginal men and women who had neither the education, skills and experience to survive in the bush in a traditional way, nor sufficient education to obtain a job in mainstream, non-aboriginal society. This group of people got caught between two cultures. They often had a difficult time functioning in either culture, and became marginalised in both cultures. In addition many of these people lost their pride and felt ashamed of who they were and what they had become. They had lost their identity. In an effort to cope with this situation some individuals resorted to alcohol. And when alcohol was not available, they resorted to drugs and solvents to hide their shame and pain and also to forget their experiences.

Unfortunately, the children of these men and women grew up learning exactly what their parents knew, that is, their shame about who they were. They also grew up between two cultures without an identity and some could see no usefulness to their lives. The result of the marginalization is that many aboriginal people have become trapped in a cycle of poverty, neglect, abuse, shame, loss of pride, lack of identity and connectedness. The problems did not begin to change until individuals acknowledged that they had problems and commenced a process to correct the problems.

GENESIS OF THE SCHOOLS

Early Church Efforts

Indian Residential schools existed in Canada since at least 1620. In that year the Recollet Order of Franciscans (Roman Catholic) established a boarding school at Quebec, which they operated until 1629. A number of French boys along with eight Indian boys were taught at the school in its first years of operation. The Recollets had difficulty in keeping the students in class as the children preferred to play and roam the fields and "the Franciscans found themselves unable to curb the Indian youths' freedom-loving ways". Eventually the Indian boys returned to their homes and the Recollets found it difficult to obtain replacement students.

By the end of the 1620s "the Recollets had abandoned their efforts at evangelization through forced cultural change". In 1632 the Recollets were ordered to leave Canada and they were replaced by the Jesuits².

The Jesuits³ first efforts at educating Indian children consisted of sending promising students to school in France, but this practice was discontinued when the parents of students refused to send their children to the school because they might not see them again. By 1636 the Jesuits established a boarding school at Quebec and accepted several students, including several orphans. Many parents refused to send their children to the school as it was too far away and the children would have "to live with strangers, quite different from them in their habits and customs". The Indian people were also concerned about how their children were treated while at the school. By 1639 the Jesuits changed their idea about converting the Indian people through the education of their children at a boarding school. Instead, they focussed on providing instruction in native communities, allowing them to convert adults as well as children to the Catholic faith.

The next effort at educating Indian students in boarding schools in communities on the St. Lawrence River was made by the Ursuline Sisters, who had come to Quebec in 1639⁴. They established a school for girls within a few months after their arrival and recruited six female students in the first year. Two years later there were 48 girls attending the school and the Sisters were able to move to a three-storey convent in Quebec City in 1642. The school flourished under the direction of Sister Marie de l'Incarnation from 1640 to 1673. "New France" was created as a French colony in 1663 and in 1668 the Colonial Governor issued orders to educate Indian and European children together. Thereafter the Ursuline School admitted students from both groups.

Indian Residential Schools were also established by other Roman Catholic



groups⁵. For example the Capuchins educated French and Micmac students at separate institutions in Acadia during the early 1600s; the Congregation of Notre Dame, founded by Marguerite Bourgeoys, operated a girls' school in Montreal called "La Montagne" in 1660; and the Sulpicians operated a boys' school in Montreal until 1677. Most of these schools did not continue to operate for very long.

The Ryerson Experiment

In 1845, a report to the Legislative Assembly recommended that industrial boarding schools be adopted for the education of Indian children. In 1847, Dr. Egerton Ryerson, the Chief Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada (Ontario) suggested a method of establishing and conducting the industrial schools for the benefit of Indian children.

Their purpose should be to "give a plain English education adapted to the working farmer and mechanic" and, in addition, "agriculture, kitchen-gardening and mechanics so far as mechanics is connected with the making and repairing the most useful agricultural implements." To attain their objective, it would be necessary for the students to reside together, with adequate provision being made for their domestic and religious education. The latter especially was deemed essential by Dr. Ryerson. "With him (the Indian) nothing can be done to improve and elevate his character and condition without the aid of religious feeling." For this reason he insisted that the animating and controlling spirit of each Industrial School "should be a religious one". He also suggested that the operation of these schools be a joint effort of the Government and of the religious organization concerned. Decisions on the appointment of a School Superintendent, buildings to be erected and conditions for admission of pupils were also to be made jointly. The Government would be responsible for inspection and the laying down of general rules and regulations as well as making financial grants to support each school. The church, in turn, would manage the school, contribute part of the operating cost, and provide spiritual guidance for the pupils⁶.

After Ryerson's report was published two industrial schools were established, Alnwick at Alderville (1848) and the Mount Elgin School at Muncey (1851). However, a Commission appointed to investigate Indian Affairs in Canada in 1858⁷, concluded that the two schools had not fully attained the objectives set out by Dr. Ryerson. The members of the Commission decided that the experiment had been a failure for the following reasons:

... enrolment of the pupils at a late age and, consequently, short

attendance; parental prejudice against the school; and lack of funds to establish the "school leavers" on the land. The Commissioners saw little evidence that the pupils were applying the skills acquired in school after they returned home and it was decided that the benevolent experiment had been, to a great extent, a failure⁸.

The Davin Report, 1879

Following the organization of the Department of Indian Affairs and the passage of the first *Indian Act* in 1876, the attention of the federal government became focussed on the education of Indian students. In 1879 John A. MacDonald, then Prime Minister, commissioned a study of the internal workings of the Industrial boarding schools in the United States and the Canadian West. The study was to "report on the working of Industrial Schools in the United States and the advisability of establishing similar institutions in the North-West territories of the Dominion." Davin went to the United States and visited Indian Residential Schools at the Cheyenne, Arapaho and White Earth (Minnesota) Agencies and at Hampton, Virginia. He discussed schools with principals and staff of the schools set up in the "Indian Territory" to provide education to the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek and Seminole Indians who had been relocated there. He also travelled to Winnipeg where he met with Monsignor Taché, Father Lacombe, the Honourable James McKay and a number of other people in the community. Davin prepared a report on his findings after he completed his fact-finding trips⁹.

Nicolas Davin was impressed with the method of funding Indian schools whereby the government provided a set amount per student to the Church that operated the schools. The main recommendation made by Davin was that the federal government should institute a "contract method" of education:

(1.) Wherever the missionaries have schools, those schools should be utilized by the Government, if possible; that is to say, a contract should be made with the religious body controlling the school to board and educate and train industrially a certain number of pupils. This should be done without interfering with the small assistance at present given to the day-mission schools.

Davin recommended the funding of four schools in the west — the first at Prince Albert to be operated by the Episcopal Church; one at Old Bow Fort to be operated by the Methodists; another at Qu'Appelle to be operated by the Roman Catholics; and the last at Riding Mountain to be run by the Presbyterian Church. Some of the recommendations related to teachers, salaries, compulsory education

and the inspection of schools. Davin also recommended that parents be induced to send their children to school with extra rations and that students who showed "special aptitudes or exceptional general quickness" should be offered special advantages.

Davin reported that in the United States Indian education was used as a vehicle to force assimilation. Davin was impressed with the schools that he had seen in the United States, particularly the federal Indian boarding school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania which was opened in 1879. Its founder, Richard Henry Pratt, claimed that he had discovered a new way to deal with the "Indian problem" – by education and assimilation. It seemed the United States had found such "boarding schools," as they were called, to be quite effective in deconstructing young Indians.

Indian Residential and Industrial Schools

Eventually the federal government acted on the recommendations contained in Davin's Report and provided federal funding to a number of religious orders, including the Roman Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, United and Presbyterian Churches to operate schools for Indian children. And when the government and the churches designed the system, which they did without First Nations' input, it seemed to their officials that the best way to ensure that their young Indian charges would be successfully integrated into the larger society would be for them to abandon their aboriginal languages in favour of English or French, and to adopt the customs and traditions of the European-Canadian majority.

PURPOSE OF THE SCHOOLS

The Government View

Davin's, *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds* was presented to the Minister of the Interior on March 14, 1879. The Davin Report was well received by the Canadian government. The strongest selling point was its pursuit of "aggressive civilization." Indian people were widely viewed as difficult to deal with as noted in the following section of Davin's report:

The experience of the United States is the same as our own as far as the adult Indian is concerned. Little can be done with him. He can be taught to do a little farming, and at stock-raising, and to dress in a more civilized manner, but that is all. The child, again, who goes to a day

school learns little, and what little he learns is soon forgotten, while his tastes are fashioned at home, and his inherited aversion to toil is in no way combatted.

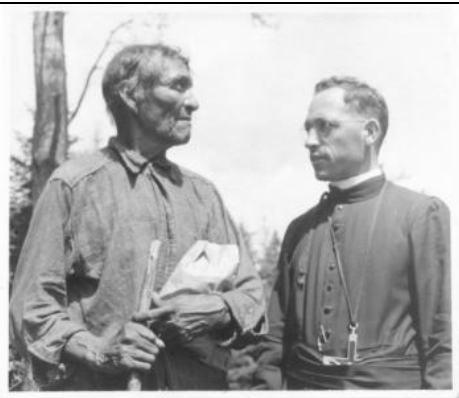
Thus, from the point of view of the government, the major purpose of the schools was to use education and Christianity as vehicles to force the assimilation of Indian people. Under this system children would be removed from parental control and cultural influences. Only in this way could the children be de-socialized from their culture and then re-socialized in a new culture – that of the dominant society.

There was often a benevolent purpose in admitting children to the schools. For example, following the end of the First World War, one Member of Parliament wrote to the Department requesting that they take children into the schools, who had been orphaned when their fathers had been killed during the War and their mothers had died due to epidemics and other causes. This benevolence is noted in the following passage:

On top of this comes the condition arising out of the influenza epidemic, and without entering into the details I feel that your records will show that in every district of which an Indian school forms a center, it will be found that there are in some cases hundreds of Indian children who are left complete orphans, and in many cases, destitute. I can give you specific instances of families of Indian children whose father went Overseas and in whose absence the mother had died, the children



now being cared for by other Indian families who have all their own problems to confront. It may be said that these children can be cared for by moving them out of the country altogether, but it matters not where they are, they must be cared for or abandoned to such charity as their case will command. I do not think that once the case is properly understood, the Government will agree to either of these. In the first instance, it is not practical to move the children out. They will, in so far as they are able, refuse to go, and I do not think we can be very much surprised at that. In the second instance, we owe the Indian something better, particularly in view of the splendid record made when the manhood of Canada was called upon to do its part in the recent war. It just narrows itself down to this, that the Indian school is an absolute necessity if we are going to fulfill our common obligation to these people¹⁰.



The Church View

The churches, however, had a humanitarian purpose in establishing schools for the Indian people. For example, in 1873 Rev. E. F. Wilson of the Anglican Church at Sault Ste. Marie thought:

We think our friends will allow that our undertaking [building an Industrial Home] is

one not altogether unworthy of their consideration and support. This district of Algoma is opening up rapidly to the white settler and the poor Indian, if left unprotected and unprovided for, will be driven back before the tide of emigration or else trampled under foot. We wish to put him in such a position that he may be able to compete with his white neighbours and unite with them in reaping benefit from the soil which God has bestowed upon us all¹¹.

This view was prevalent in the schools for over half a century as is demonstrated in the following excerpt from a letter written in 1940 to the Superintendent of Welfare and Training of the Department by the Secretary of the Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission, who reported on a visit he had made to the Pelican Lake Indian Residential School. In his concluding comments he said:

I greatly appreciated the opportunity afforded me during my recent visit to Ottawa of discussing together some of the problems of the

Indian educational work, and I am more convinced than ever that this work, with all its difficulties, is well worthwhile. The development and strengthening of the physical, intellectual and moral fibre of the Indian segment of our country's population, must surely help to strengthen the position of our country as a whole¹².



The Indian View

When residential schools were first opened in northern Ontario, Indian parents did not see much value in having their children attend school:

The parents do not appear to take much interest in the education of their children. I continue to impress upon them the importance of education, and have frequently pointed out to the teachers the necessity of continuing their efforts in getting a larger and more regular attendance¹³.

However, as time went on, many Indian people saw the value of sending their children to school. For example, in 1899 some Indian people at Fort Frances sent a petition to the Archbishop of the Catholic Church, expecting that the petition would be forwarded to the Department. Their petition noted:

that hunting and fishing are hardly sufficient at present to obtain a living, and that it becomes necessary for our children to master the English Language in order to cope with the new condition of things prevailing since the arrival of the white man in our neighbourhood¹⁴.

The interest of Indian people in having their children attend a school was also noted in other areas, such as Chapleau:

The Indians have sent their children there. They have come to look upon the school as a fixture, something to which they could look forward to as a means of getting the rising generation of Indian men and women into a position that would enable them to compete, at least on a reasonably equal basis, with the white men who are gradually forcing them whether they like it or not, into the white man's environment¹⁵.

When Indian people started to become financially better off this created problems for the schools because the parents would not send their children to school. This was noted on the James Bay coast in the following letter:

[The Principal has experienced the utmost difficulty this year in securing pupils, particularly senior pupils. He had at the time of my visit 120 pupils on the roll [approved for 150] and is worried almost to the point of collapse by the financial outlook for the school. . . . It would appear as Indians become economically better off they display a tendency to keep their children at home and send them to the day schools rather than to the residential school. This may be a rather encouraging tendency but it is one that makes it exceedingly difficult for our schools to operate until certain adjustments have been effected¹⁶.

The complaints of Band Chiefs and Councillors regarding the education that their children were not receiving reinforces the view that Indian people wanted to have their children educated so that they would fit into the changing economic order. For example, in July 1928 the Chiefs and Councillors of the various Bands in the Kenora and Savanne Agencies held a conference on Indian Education in Kenora¹⁷. During the conference Chief Kejick of Shoal Lake Indian Band No. 39 agreed with the other Chiefs that the children:

. . . did not know how to make a living when they left school and would like trades taught. In the old days trapping was different. Now the only way Indians can make a living is to work like the white man and owing to the furs going through white men trapping and the raising of waters, it made it harder for the Indians each year to make a living. Chief William Gardner of the Wabigoon Band asked whether it was:

. . . possible to teach children a better way to earn a living? He hears at the Cecilia Jeffrey they are taught trades. This is not done at the Catholic School. The boys in leaving school are not fitted to take up work in town and make a living. Could they not be taught some trades?



The Notion of Removal

The notion that Indian children had to be removed from their homes and families in order to be educated appeared at an early date. Proponents of the notion believed that it was necessary to remove children from the cultural influences of their parents, particularly where the parents spent a lot of time roaming on the land away from the community. All of the schools established along the St. Lawrence River by various orders of the Roman Catholic Church were established on this notion. However, these first schools encountered resistance from the parents. After the early schools had been in operation for some time, it became difficult to recruit students. The reasons for this were related to opposition from parents who did not want to send their children to a school that was so far away from their home, or to subject the children to the possibility of catching an infectious disease that might kill them. The parents loved their children and enjoyed having them around. If the parents sent their children to school they would miss them.

The students who went to school did not like the confinement and regimentation of life at the schools and often ran away. As noted by J. R. Miller: . . . the schooling regime that the abortive missionary efforts of New France attempted to impose on them was simply unbearable. The alien quality of regimented hours, indoor classrooms, structured lessons, and a competitive ethos were for most of these children foreign, stressful, and painful in the highest degree¹⁸.

The students "were also repelled by the competitive pedagogical techniques that

the missionaries, especially the Jesuits, employed. The use of prizes, examinations, and public exercises to create competition and bring about higher levels of achievement was utterly foreign to Indian ways, including the indigenous peoples' methods of educating their young"¹⁹.

The notion of removal persisted in spite of these early warnings, and the Alnwick Industrial School at Alderville (1848) and the Mount Elgin School at Muncey (1851), established by Dr. Ryerson, were established on this principle. And one of the major premises of the policy of "aggressive civilization" adopted by the Government following the Davin Report, was the notion of removing children from their parents:

The first and greatest stone in the foundation of the quasi-civilization of the Indians, wherever seen, was laid by missionaries, men who had a supreme object and who did not count their lives dear unto them. Schools are scattered over the whole continent, wherever Indians exist, monuments of religious zeal and heroic self-sacrifice . . . The missionaries' experience is only surpassed by their patient heroism, and their testimony, like that of the school teachers, like that of the authorities at Washington is, that if anything is to be done with the Indian, we must catch him very young. The children must be kept constantly within the circle of civilized conditions . . . The plan now is to take young children, give them the care of a mother, and have them constantly in hand. Such care must go *pari passu* with religious training²⁰.

The notion persisted for many years and even as late as 1908, the Principal at the Fort Frances school commented to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs that:

On account of the roaming habits of the Indians, it is impossible to get a large and regular attendance; besides, to civilize the Indian children you have to take them away from their surroundings²¹.

Thus, in almost all instances, children were taken away from their homes to be educated, "Christianized", and "aggressively civilized". The result was startling. The children did not learn much of their own culture, resulting in a loss of some parts of their "Indian-ness". They suffered a fate that changed them forever because they were caught between two cultures.

"Day Schools" or "Residential Schools"?

There was a debate as to whether the best method of educating Indian children was in a "day school" or a "residential school":

. . . steps should be immediately taken to provide either Indian day or residential schools at both points [Fort Albany and Carcross, Yukon]. In view of the nomadic habits of the Indians in these districts, I cannot

persuade myself that the construction of Indian day schools would meet the needs of the Indian population²².

This debate is also noted in an exchange of letters in 1908 between the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs and the Principal at the St. Margaret's Indian Residential School in Fort Frances. Frank Oliver queried the Principal regarding the best method of educating Indian children, whose parents made a living by hunting:

As this school draws its pupils from reserves occupied principally by hunting Indians it occurs to me to ask you whether you have under consideration any special system of instruction for children whose parents are hunters and who must in their turn become hunters. It would seem advisable to have well conducted day schools and allow the Indian children to early learn the habits of the chase; and to give advanced education only to those who are specially promising and who have sufficient stamina to withstand the confinement of Boarding School life²³.

J. N. Poitras, O.M.I., an Oblate priest at the school responded to this query as follows:

Allow me to say that hunting is a thing of the past, for all the Bands in Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods Districts. It is a fact of experience that where ever the white people have penetrated, the fur bearing animals are destroyed and soon disappear, which is the case here. The whole country has been overrun by lumbermen, prospectors, miners, settlers, etc., who have destroyed the hunting grounds of the Indians. I refer you to the reports of the Agents and Inspectors. Read the Item "Occupation" and you will find out that, as a rule, the Indians have to have recourse to other means besides hunting to support their families. It will be the case more especially for the growing generation. They will have to earn their living, as the white people, and they must be prepared for it and trained from youth. That training they get in our Industrial and Boarding Schools – nowhere else. The girls are initiated into all the details of housekeeping, and contract habits of cleanliness, order and economy; and the boys learn all kinds of work which they will have to do later on as a means of sustenance. That could not be accomplished in the day schools. It has been tried in many places in the past and had to be abolished as a failure²⁴.

However, some Department employees did not believe that it was necessary to send all Indian children to school as is noted in the following:

. . . the Indians of the five reserves who have asked for a boarding school, as stated by His Grace [Archbishop Langevin], are not likely to be benefited to any great extent by sending their children to a boarding school, as hunting, fishing and working in the lumber camps is what

they have to look forward to as means to obtaining a livelihood, the land on their reserves being unfit for farming. Life in a boarding school will not fit them for the hardships they will have to endure in following these avocations²⁵.

The Principal at the Spanish Indian Residential School had his own reason for believing that a residential school setting was better than day school for the children in the area along the north shore of Lake Huron and on Manitoulin Island:

It is my opinion that the boarding school will be more and more the means of educating the Indians of this part of the country. The day schools have not reached a great many Indian children. The proportion of those who attend these day schools seems rather to decrease, and some of the many reasons are the following: [1] The Indians are not as before grouped in villages; they rather tend to disperse all over their respective reserves for farming purposes. [2] The high wages in saw mills and timber camps, the berry picking, sugar making keep always many families shifting about. For these reasons, some schools around here have to close periodically, namely Serpent River, Sagamok, South Bay and Whitefish Lake²⁶.

In the end, residential schools were established. Students were sent to these schools from local and regional communities and from around the province.

Eventually, officials in the Department believed that an alternative method of educating Indian students was required and some of them offered suggested changes. For example, in 1942 the Superintendent of Welfare and Training

suggested closing the Mount Elgin Residential School and replacing it with a day school:

. . . that we should cease to operate this residential school and that the place it occupies should be taken by a four-room classroom building, in which we would make provision for continuation classes and vocational instruction. This would enable us to take the pupils from the day schools at Grades 7 and 8 and give them advanced courses in academic subjects in agriculture or auto mechanic, carpentry, etc., and the girls, courses in home-making, domestic science, dressmaking, etc. The principal of this school should, in addition to his duties at the school be made supervisor or inspector of all the school on the reserve. This would enable us to have an almost ideal experimental educational unit²⁷.



THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

The Organization of the Department

In 1876 when the first consolidated *Indian Act* was passed into law, the control and management of the reserves, lands, moneys and property of Indians was placed under the Ministry of the Interior and that Minister was placed in charge of Indian Affairs as the Superintendent General. In 1880, the Department of Indian Affairs was officially established under the Civil Service of Canada²⁸, and the office of the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs was created. The Deputy was given "the control and management of the officers, clerks and servants of the Department", the performance of Departmental duties and "with such other powers and duties as may be assigned to him by the Governor in Council"²⁹. Thus, the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs became the driving force of all aspects of the operation of the bureaucratic hierarchy of the Department of Indian Affairs. The Deputy Superintendent General made decisions affecting every aspect of Indian life, including the establishment, operation and funding of schools.

Authorizing the Establishment of Schools

The decision to fund a residential school resided with the Department of Indian Affairs. The first schools were funded by the Department following the recommendations made in the Davin Report and four church-operated schools received assistance. Later decisions required some rationale for opening a school and the most common ones were the proposed location of the school, the catchment area, the number of students in the area, and the costs, whether capital or operating, involved in funding a new school. In some instances, such as the Oblate schools at Fort Frances and Kenora, there were other considerations. The establishment of these schools were authorized due to the fact that an Agreement had been signed with the Oblate Order whereby they would construct three schools in northern Ontario in return for the agreement of the Department to give the Oblates the old residential school at St. Boniface.

In some instances, there were hidden costs. When a request came from Archbishop Langevin to open a school in Fort Frances, he suggested that the two

day schools at Coucheeching and Stangecoming could be closed to help the new boarding school to generate students and to save money. When analysing the request, the Department looked at the costs involved:

His Grace asks for a grant for 20 children at \$72 per head and as I take it he will not make further demands for five years for an increase. The present arrangement provides an education for 46 children at the two day schools he proposes to close at \$600.00 a year, while if the boarding school were established, only 20 would be taken at a cost of \$1440.00 a year and the remaining 26 would be cut off from all chance of receiving an education³⁰.

In spite of the fact that there would be no savings by closing two schools and to open a new one, the Department authorized the establishment of this new school. In another instance, when the Department was deciding whether to open the Rat Portage Boarding School they had to close three day schools in order to increase the number of boarders at the school³¹, presumably at similar costs.

Once a decision had been made to open a school the Department included the costs of the school in its budgetary process and committed money to the operation of the school through the per capita grant system.

Regulations

While the schools were operated by the churches, the Department of Indian Affairs established the curriculum and rules for the care of the children. In 1892 an Order-in-Council was passed promulgating regulations governing the operation of residential (and industrial) schools. The buildings were to be the joint responsibility of the government and the church management. Books and educational supplies were to be provided from appropriation whereas maintenance, salaries and other operating expenses were to be paid by the management with assistance from the government by way of per capita grants. The rate of the grant was fixed for each school and the schools were to be free to the Indians. The Department made regulations pertaining to standards of instruction and domestic care and appointed inspectors to enforce these standards. This Order-in-Council governed the financing of Indian residential schools in Canada until 1957³².

The Budget and Estimates Process of the Department

The Department of Indian Affairs had to follow the same fiscal procedures as any other government Department in order to obtain the money to fund its programs and services. The procedures required that the Department submit an annual budget in order to get a Parliamentary Appropriation of money to meet its commitments. In any given year the Department would have ongoing financial commitments based on contracts it entered into. An example of this kind of commitment would be the per capita grants to the residential schools. If the Department had approved a school for 60 students, then its budget would include an amount for a per capita allowance for 60 students for that school in each year. Principals of residential schools often requested an increase in the allowable number of "grant-earning students". However, these increases had to be approved by the Department because it involved a change to the contract with the school. If an increase was negotiated, then the Department would have to ensure that its budget included an amount to cover the increase in per capita funding. If there was extra money available then money might also become available through a supplementary appropriation process.

Another commitment to residential schools arose from variable costs which may, or may not, have been included in the contracts for the per capita grants for operating costs. These costs might include additions to the school buildings, maintenance and repair of buildings, and the installation, repair and replacement of essential services not present in the school, such as heating, sanitation, and electrical systems. In the budgetary process, amounts were also included for contingencies.

The Church-owned schools were allocated amounts for repairs in each year. For example, in 1940-42 there were four church-owned schools in Ontario, including the Albany Roman Catholic Residential School, Fort William Roman Catholic Residential School, Moose Fort Church of England Residential School, and the Spanish Roman Catholic Residential School. In those years, funds were voted from the Main Estimates and the grants were released to the four Church-owned schools by the Treasury Board. However, the Director advised the Deputy Minister that the matter should be reviewed:

This raises the whole question of our financial assistance to Church-owned schools.

In some cases the Branch supplies equipment or repairs, this being done through grants from appropriation. However, there have been instances where funds voted for repairs to present buildings have been used to assist in the construction of new buildings and thus our

responsibility, if we have any, for further repairs is increased. This phase of the matter is not satisfactory, in my opinion, as the practice is quite unsound. I would recommend that the matter be discussed fully when our new estimates are being determined, and that a definite decision be reached as to whether or not any money should be voted for this assistance³³.

The Department usually expected the church running the school to pay for repairs to the school from the per capita grant. At times officials in the Department seem to have bent the rules to provide money for needed repairs, equipment or supplies; or it may be more likely that the Department had unexpended money on hand when such requests came in. At other times the Department worried about setting a precedent for distributing money and they would be flooded with similar requests from the same, or other, schools. For example, in 1942 (July 11) a request was sent to the Chief of the Department's Training Division from the Catholic school at Fort Albany for the purchase of bricks to construct a chimney at the school which had been newly constructed by the Oblates. A requisition for the bricks was forwarded (July 15) to the Purchasing Agent, who sought approval. C. W. Jackson, the Chief Executive Assistant, sent a memorandum (July 27) to the Director questioning the request:

Was any arrangement made with the church authorities when the new school was built that the Department would contribute any portion of the cost? If the above purchase is approved of it may be taken as a precedent and further requests will be received for other similar expenditures. It would seem advisable that you should have a definite understanding with the church authorities with regard to the matter³⁴.

The expenditure for the bricks was approved (August 4) on the basis that "a brick chimney is essential to eliminate fire hazard as far as possible" and funds were "available in the current year's appropriation".

In areas such as Kenora, where there were two residential schools run by different religious groups the Department was often pressured by one or the other to ensure that each school received similar funding. When the Department indicated to the Oblates that they would have to pay a portion of the costs for a new addition to the school the Provincial's office was quick to point out that:

If the Department could accede to the wishes of the Principal and agree to complete the building, a great deal would be accomplished towards removing from the minds of our Catholic Indians, and from those of local friends of the R. C. Indian Residential School at Kenora,

the impression that, in comparison with the Cecilia Jeffrey School, the former seems to have been treated pretty much in the manner of a stepchild.

It must be remembered that both the Cecilia Jeffrey and the Kenora R. C. School cater to the same group of Indians, most of whom are of aboriginal belief, and I still can't figure out why the Department adopted the policy of erecting such a large School for the Cecilia Jeffrey group and refused to enlarge or rebuild the Kenora R. C. School³⁵.

Of course the budgets of all government departments were tied to the amount of money that was available to the government from taxes. Each department would provide an annual budget as well as an estimate of the amount of money the department would require for the coming years for fixed, variable and contingent costs, and for increases to these costs due to outside pressures such as general increases to the cost of goods and services and to the pressure exerted by agencies to increase funding. At times this pressure was substantial:

The different districts of the Methodist church in the London Conference, notably Chatham and Sarnia, are taking the matter up officially and pressing the Mission Rooms to take some action. I sincerely hope some thing can be done this year, even to make a good start³⁶.

The estimates usually looked at costs over the long term. The budgetary process was a short term mechanism, looking at needs for the upcoming year. If extra money became available to the government through an increase in the amount of taxes collected, for example, then extra funds might be made available to each department and its officials would determine which programs and services would receive extra funding.



Church Contributions to the Schools

One of the major contributions of the churches was the time provided by members of the church who operated the school. This was particularly true of the six schools, including St. Mary's at Kenora, St. Margaret's at Fort Frances, the Immaculate Conception at McIntosh, St. Joseph's at Fort William, St. Peter Claver at Spanish, and Ste. Anne's at Fort Albany which were run by the Oblates, the Jesuits, the Sisters of St. Joseph's and the different Orders of Sisters who worked at the Catholic schools. The financial records available for these schools, along with letters in the files, show that none of the priests, brothers and nuns who taught and worked at these schools collected a salary for their work. Their compensation was principally their room and board, clothing and a small "allowance".

Although major renovations and additions to the school were usually funded by the Department through the budgetary process, these items occasionally cost more than was budgeted for. In some instances, if the additional costs could not be obtained from the Department, the Church would pay the costs. For example, in the Fall of 1940 a verandah was being added to the Pelican Lake School. Extra work had to be completed before the workers left the school or additional costs would be incurred to bring them back. The Secretary of the Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission requested money from the Department to cover the work and indicated that "should the cost exceed the \$200.00 estimated, our Commission will agree to find the balance"³⁷. In other instances a Church would provide money for furnishings. For example, in 1913 the Methodist Missionary Society spent "approximately \$1600.00 in new furniture for the Principal's residence"³⁸ at the Mount Elgin Institute. When reading the documents from each of the schools it is quite apparent that the Department expected most of the schools to either cover the costs of repairs, etc. from the per capita grant, or to provide the additional funds from church resources.



Aboriginal Contributions to the Schools

Aboriginal people in some areas contributed to the costs of the construction of schools. One example of this is found at the Mount Elgin Institute where, when the school was constructed in 1849, contributions for construction of the school came from the following Bands :

Chippewas of Walpole Island	\$3,602.80
Chippewas of Sarnia	2,500.15
Mississaugas of the Credit	2,915.04
Chippewas of Beausoleil	429.90
Chippewas of Nawash	1,407.25
Chippewas of Saugeen	1,520.70
Chippewas of Rama	33.15
Moravians of the Thames	1,290.70
Mississaugas of Alnwick	313.35
Chippewas of the Thames	1,584.90
Parry Island Indians	115.50
Six Nations	<u>3,286.56</u>
	<u>\$ 19,000.00</u> ³⁹

In another instance, when a new school was being built on the Fort William Indian Reserve, the Chief and Council authorized an amount of \$ 1,500.00 for the construction of the new school from its trust account held by the Department⁴⁰.

In some areas aboriginal people also contributed to the yearly operating costs of schools. For example, funding for the annual operation of the Mount Elgin Institute between 1851 and 1862 was provided from an "Indian School Fund" which had been established. Contributions to the School Fund were made by the Chippewas of Beausoleil, Rama, Sarnia, Saugeen, Snake Island, Thames and Walpole Island; by the Moravians of the Thames; and by the Mississaugas of Alnwick, the Credit, Mud Lake and Rice Lake. The contributions made to this fund were levied in proportion to the average number of pupils in attendance from each Band during a period of five years⁴¹. When the contributions of the bands ceased on June 30, 1862 there was an unexpended balance in the fund of \$ 36,208.74. After 1862, funds for the operation of the school were provided through Parliamentary grants and from the remaining balance in the Indian School Fund. Between 1896 and 1912 the federal government spent \$21,000 on the school and \$11,600 was taken from band funds⁴².

Another instance where aboriginal people contributed to the costs of schools is found in the records related to the Shingwauk Home. In 1895 the school was in a deficit situation and the school required a number of repairs. It was estimated that the school required \$ 2,000.00. A request was made to the Department to

cover these costs. The Department believed that the Bands who sent students to the school between 1890 and 1895 should contribute to these costs. The Department believed this could be done under the provisions of the *Indian Act*, in particular the section which allowed the Governor in Council to authorize and direct the expenditure of money held in trust for the Indians for a number of purposes, including "the construction of school buildings, and by way of contribution to schools attended by such Indians"⁴³. The amount of \$2,000.00 was authorized to be taken from the trust accounts of 14 bands "in proportion to the amount of capital at the credit of each band and the number of children in attendance". The bands included Spanish River, Moravians of Thames, Chippewas of Sarnia, Manitoulin Island, Iroquois of Caughnawaga, Lake of Two Mountains, Iroquois of St. Regis, Ojibway of Sucker Creek, Chippewas of Walpole Island, Pottawattomies of Walpole Island, Mohawks of Bay of Quinte, Munceys of Thames, Oneidas of Thames and Garden River⁴⁴. The records also show that Fort William Indian Band contributed to the operating costs of the St. Joseph's Boarding School at Fort William.

Coercion by the Department

Occasionally the Department threatened to withdraw funding from a school when the school did not, or would not, carry out its wishes. An example is provided from the Cecilia Jeffrey school where the principal had admitted three white children. The father of the children, who worked at Waugh, Manitoba, for the Greater Winnipeg Water District, was paying board for the children. The Assistant Deputy and Secretary instructed the Indian Agent to:

. . . inform the Rev. Principal it is the Department's opinion that he would be well advised to secure a full complement of Indian pupils. We have made certain capital investments at this institution and are paying the salary of the nurse. This assistance will be withdrawn if the education of white children becomes an important function of the institution⁴⁵.

Another example is provided from the Catholic residential school at Spanish. The Department agreed with the new principal to increase the approved pupilage at the school from 200 to 224 if the school would "open its doors to the orphan and destitute children of Caughnawaga, St. Regis and Oka". The previous principal at the school had "hindered the Department's efforts to place our wards from these reserves in the Spanish school, in spite of the fact that certain cases were very urgent"⁴⁶.

OPERATING THE SCHOOLS: THE CHURCHES AND RELIGIOUS ORDERS

There were a number of religious institutions involved in education and many of them operated schools throughout Canada. The schools in Ontario were operated by the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of England (Anglican), United Church, Presbyterian Church, and the Mennonites. The Roman Catholic schools were operated by the Oblates (four schools) the Jesuits, the Daughters of the Heart of Mary, and the Sisters of Saint Joseph. There were also several congregations of religious women⁴⁷ who assisted at the schools including the Grey Nuns (Soeurs Grises), the Religious of the Sacred Heart, the Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions, the Sisters of Saint Anne, the Sisters of Saint Joseph and the Oblate sisters of Mary Immaculate, who assisted at several of the schools run by the Oblates. These Sisters taught classes, carried out most of the domestic work with the assistance of the students and supervised the female students. In the Protestant schools female staff were hired to carry out these functions.

Operating Costs

The main source of funding for the operating costs of the schools in Ontario came from the Department of Indian Affairs under the "per capita grant system." When a school started to operate, it would be approved by the Department to board a certain number of students, referred to as the "approved pupilage." The yearly rate approved by the Department was referred to as the "per capita," which was paid at the end of each quarter year. The "attendance" was expressed as a percentage, and was based on the total number of days that students were at the school, divided by the total number of days in the quarter. The operating costs received by each school were a simple multiplication of the "approved pupilage," the "per capita rate" and the "attendance." For example, the Quarterly Returns from the McIntosh School for the three months ending June 30, 1943 shows that the school received \$4,185.39 based on 110 students x a per capita rate of \$41.25 (\$165.00 per year) x the average attendance of .9224⁴⁸. Although there were 116 students in attendance at the school during the quarter, the school was only approved for 110 students, so the school was not paid for the additional students. The churches always requested an increase to the approved number of pupils or to the amount of the per capita because that was the only way they could increase the amount of money they had to operate the school.

The requests for money from the schools were to 1) obtain approval to

accept an increased number of students, 2) increase the amount of the per capita grant, 3) construct new facilities to provide additional space, 4) maintain and repair the buildings, 5) install, upgrade or repair services such as water, sewer, electricity, heating and ventilation systems, 6) construct roads, 7) purchase new equipment, or repair old equipment, 8) purchase furniture and furnishings, or 9) cover deficits.

A typical request for approval to accept an increased number of students is found in the records for the Cecilia Jeffrey School. In response to the request to have the number of grant earning pupils increased from 60 to 70, the Assistant Deputy and Secretary responded as follows:

I beg to say that the Department regrets that it will be unable to comply with this request, as no provision is made in the current year's estimates for more than 60 pupils and the School budget for next year has been so reduced that it will not be possible to provide for more than that number for sometime to come⁴⁹.

More unusual was the situation where a school had been expanded to accommodate more students but the Department forgot to approve an increase in the number of students for which a per capita grant would be paid. An example is provided from the Cecilia Jeffrey school. In a letter sent to D. C. Scott, the Deputy Superintendent of the Department in 1915, the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church wrote:

There must be some mistake here, as this school has been remodeled at great expense, and the capacity of the school increased. I do not see any reason why we should not receive the per capita grant for the full number of pupils in the school, especially from the first of this present year, as we have had this increased accommodation now for nearly two years, and the school is in Grade A and entitled to a per capita grant of \$125.

The response of the Department was to "grant an increase of 20 in the pupilage at this school, making it 60" and the increase was to date from the beginning of 1915⁵⁰. In another instance the Rat Portage (St. Mary's) Indian Boarding School had been approved for 30 students but the per capita amount for thirty students was not paid until the difference had been brought to the attention of the Department⁵¹.

Approved Pupilage

The residential schools were expected to provide Quarterly Returns which showed the attendance of students and quarterly payments would be made after the Returns had been checked by the Department. The school staff and

Department officials made every effort to keep the approved number of spaces filled, and the Department would approve additional numbers of pupils for a school if there were sufficient funds available within the Department, as noted in the following Memorandum from the Deputy Superintendent General:

From time to time, as funds were available, different Indian residential schools have received an increase in pupilage. I am strongly in favour of granting such increase, when possible, if the required accommodation is available in the individual institutions, classrooms and dormitories. I believe it to be in the interest of economy for both Department and Churches if we fill the existing residential schools to the limit of their accommodation. I am pleased to report that for the fiscal year ended March 1923, there were on the roll at residential schools a total of 5,347 pupils – an increase of 564 in the past two years⁵².

The per capita Grant

A per capita grant was established for each school and payments were made based on that rate. In reviewing the Quarterly Returns for each school between 1940 and 1952 it is evident that the schools in Ontario were each allocated a different rate throughout the period. Most of the schools received a yearly, per capita operating grant of \$165.00 during this period, while Horden Hall at Moose Factory received \$200.00; Shingwauk at Sault Ste. Marie, \$160.00; and St. Joseph's at Fort William, \$150.00. However it is unclear why this inequity existed because the majority of the schools were in northern Ontario and had similar costs for operating the schools.

The per capita grant was expected to cover the cost of utilities, including heat, water, sewage, electricity, telephone; food; salaries, including teachers, cooks, supervisors, nurses, laundry workers, housekeepers, maintenance men and casual labourers; student costs such as clothing, medical supplies, dental work, eye care; vehicle maintenance and operation; and the maintenance and repair of the school. In most instances the per capita grant was insufficient to cover these costs and the schools experienced a constant lack of money. The financial statements for the schools demonstrate that, in most years, the schools operated at a deficit. For example, the financial statement for the Cecilia Jeffrey school for the year ending March 31, 1915 shows that the school had a deficit of \$253.73 at the end of the 1914 fiscal year, and a deficit of \$513.65 at the end of 1915. Similarly, the Ste. Anne's school at Fort Albany the school had a deficit of \$2,436.30 in 1922, and \$3,087.25 in 1923.

The deficits that incurred in the operation of the schools were caused by a

variety of factors. One of these factors was that the schools were not always paid a per capita grant by the Department for all of the students attending the schools. For example, in 1915 the Indian Agent at Kenora, in a letter to the Department indicated that both the St. Mary's and Cecilia Jeffrey Schools had "several children in the schools over and above the number allowed them" for which they did not receive any grant. In one school it seemed as though a Departmental oversight was responsible for a small number of students in a new, large boarding school – how else to explain forty approved grant-earning students in a new school with a capacity to hold seventy-five?

There was a persistent plea from the principals of all schools to increase the approved number of students. It almost seems that one of the only ways in which a school could deal with its deficit situation was to seek approval for an increase in the number of students in order to increase the amount of money the school would receive from the per capita grants allocated by the Department.

Conflicts Over Students

In some regions the churches often squabbled over students. This is particularly evident in Kenora which had a Roman Catholic school run by the Oblates and a Presbyterian school. Evidence of this squabble is found in a short note in the Quarterly Return of the Cecilia Jeffrey School for December 1947, where the Principal had written beside a student's name, "Stolen by St. Mary's School." The problem arose partly because of the right of parents, under Section 10 of the *Indian Act*, to have their children educated in a Roman Catholic or Protestant school. Squabbling over students was also quite evident on the James Bay Coast where the Anglican church operated the Bishop Horden Hall at Moose Factory and the Oblates operated the Ste. Anne's Indian Residential School at Fort Albany. Both schools bombarded the Department with letters regarding students admitted by the other school, who should have been placed with their school. At times the letters were quite heated as demonstrated by the following excerpt from a letter sent to the Department in October 1934:

You will recall assuring me that you would not permit such a thing to go on. Therefore I wish you would drop Fr. Bilodeau [principal at Albany] a letter telling him that we do not want this kind of thing to go on. The result of this case is that others tell me that they will put their children in the school too as they cannot keep them. Thus, you see the schools are going to become an ideal place for parents to put children they cannot keep. . . . At any rate I am fed up with the antics of the R. C. Church here. They do as they like apparently. Anyway I am not sitting

idly by now watching them get what children they can.

This fighting by the two schools over students usually arose because parents wanted to send their children to one school or the other due to convenience, even though they were either Anglican or Catholic. For example, in July 1934 the Vicar Apostolic (Catholic Bishop) of Moosonee wrote to the Department for their advice regarding a "request from non-Catholic Indian families to admit their children to the Albany Residential School." And on October 5, the Anglican priest at Albany wrote to the local Indian Agent complaining that the Albany school had admitted three children who were not Roman Catholic. In the summer of 1936 a woman from Moose Factory told the Indian Agent that she wanted her children to be educated at the Catholic school. While the children had been placed at the Moose Factory school in the fall of 1935, arrangements were made to have the two girls transferred to the Albany School after the summer holidays. In September 1940 the Anglican Bishop at Moosonee wrote to the Department protesting the admission of a boy to the Albany school, even though the boy was Anglican. The records disclose similar complaints into the 1950s. In some instances the students were children who came from "mixed marriages" where one of the parents was Anglican and the other Roman Catholic and the Department would have to make a ruling on the issue, often instructing the school that had admitted the students that "the Department will not allow per capita grant" for the children.

In settling these disputes, officials of the Department of Indian Affairs always relied on Section 10 of the *Indian Act* which guaranteed parents that their children would be educated in a school of their faith. The only exception to this rule is found in instances where the children were said to be "pagan", that is, that they did not adhere to any faith. Then the students could attend any school.



(Endnotes)

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- ² Miller, J.R. Shingwauk's Vision. A History of Native Residential Schools. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996, at pp. 39-40.
- ³ Miller, at p. 41-49.
- ⁴ Miller, at pp. 49-51.
- ⁵ Miller, at pp. 54-55.
- ⁶ Indian Affairs. The Canadian Superintendent. The Education of Indian Children in Canada. A symposium written by members of Indian Affairs Education Division, with comments by the Indian peoples. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1965, at pp. 13-14.
- ⁷ Report of the special Commissioners Appointed on the 8th day of September, 1856, to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada, 1858.
- ⁸ Indian Affairs. The Canadian Superintendent. The Education of Indian Children in Canada. A symposium written by members of Indian Affairs Education Division, with comments by the Indian peoples. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1965, at pp. 13-14.
- ⁹ Canada. Annual Report, 1880, Department of the Interior. "Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds". Nicholas Flood Davin. 14th March, 1879.
- ¹⁰ RG 10, Vol. 6193, File 462-9, part 1. Letter, G. B. Nicholson, M.P., to Duncan Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. March 4, 1919.
- ¹¹ RG 10, Vol. 6211, File 469-1, part 1. Newspaper article, "Lake Superior Mission, Proposed Industrial Home for Indian Children at Garden River". March 11, 1873.
- ¹² Indian Affairs School Files, RG 10, Volume 6215, file 470-5, part 4. Letter from Rev. T. B. R. Westgate, Secretary, The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, to R. A. Hoey, Superintendent, Welfare and Training, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Mines and Resources, September 24, 1940.
- ¹³ RG 10, Vol. 6194, File 463-1, part 1. Letter H. C. Ross to the Secretary, October 20, 1898.
- ¹⁴ RG 10, Vol. 6194, File 463-1, part 1. Letter, J. C. St. Amant, Missionary to Archbishop Langevin, June 25, 1899.
- ¹⁵ RG 10, Vol. 6193, File 462-9, part 1. Letter, G. B. Nicholson, M.P., to Duncan Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. March 4, 1919.
- ¹⁶ RG 10, Vol. 6205, File 468-1, part 3. Memorandum, R. A. Hoey, Superintendent of Welfare and Training to Doctor McGill. November 9, 1942.
- ¹⁷ RG 10, Vol. 6187, File 461-1, part 2. Memorandum, Mr. Paget to Mr. Ferrier, Superintendent of Indian Education, August 1, 1928.
- ¹⁸ Miller at p. 57.
- ¹⁹ Miller at p. 56.
- ²⁰ Canada. Annual Report, 1880, Department of the Interior. "Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds". Nicholas Flood Davin. 14th March, 1879.
- ²¹ RG 10, Vol. 6194, File 463-1, part 1. Letter, Rev. Father J.N. Poitras, to Frank Oliver, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, March 20, 1908.
- ²² RG 10, Vol. 6185, File 460-5, part 2. Memorandum, Director [Indian Education] to Deputy Minister, November 23, 1939.
- ²³ RG 10, Vol. 6194, File 463-1, part 1. Letter, Frank Oliver, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, to Rev. Father Poitras, February 20, 1908.
- ²⁴ RG 10, Vol. 6194, File 463-1, part 1. Letter, Rev. Father J.N. Poitras, to Frank Oliver, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, March 20, 1908.
- ²⁵ RG 10, Vol. 6197, File 465-1, part 1. Letter, M. Benson to Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, November 11, 1902.
- ²⁶ RG 10, Vol. 6217, File 471-1, part 1. Letter, T. A. Desautels, Principal, Spanish Residential School to Martin Benson, Indian Affairs, September 14, 1918.
- ²⁷ RG 10, Vol. 6205, File 468-1, part 3. Memorandum, R. A. Hoey, Superintendent of Welfare and Training to Doctor McGill. November 9, 1942.
- ²⁸ S.C. 1880, c. 28, s. 4.
- ²⁹ S.C. 1880, c. 28, s. 5.
- ³⁰ RG 10, Vol. 6197, File 465-1, part 1. Letter, M. Benson to Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, November 11, 1902.
- ³¹ RG 10, Vol. 6197, File 465-1, part 1. Letter, M. Benson to Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, November 11, 1902.
- ³² Indian Affairs. The Canadian Superintendent. The Education of Indian Children in Canada. A symposium written by members of Indian Affairs Education Division, with comments by the Indian peoples. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1965, at pp. 17.
- ³³ RG 10, Vol. 6185, File 460-5, part 2. Memorandum, Director, H. W. McGill to Deputy Director, August 6, 1942.
- ³⁴ RG 10, Vol. 6185, File 460-5, part 1. Memorandum, C. W. Jackson, Chief Executive Assistant to Dr. H. W. McGill, July 27, 1942.
- ³⁵ RG 10, Vol. 6198, File 465-5, part 9. Letter, Indian Welfare and Training Oblate Commission to The Secretary, February 24, 1942.

- ³⁶ RG 10, Vol. 6206, File 468-5, part 4. Letter S. R. McVitty, Principal, Mount Elgin Indian Residential School to Duncan C. Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. March 7, 1922.
- ³⁷ RG 10, Vol. 6215, file 470-5, part 4. Letter, Secretary, Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission to R. A. Hoey, Superintendent Welfare & Training, September 24, 1940.
- ³⁸ RG 10, Vol. 6206, file 468-5, part 3. Letter, A. F. MacKenzie to Frank Pedley, July 16, 1913.
- ³⁹ RG 10, Vol. 6205, File 468-1, part 1. D. C. Scott responses to questions.
- ⁴⁰ RG 10, Vol. 6205, File 468-1, part 1.
- ⁴¹ RG 10, Vol. 6205, File 468-1, part 1. D. C. Scott responses to questions.
- ⁴² RG 10, Vol. 6205, File 468-1, part 3. Memorandum, R. A. Hoey, Superintendent of Welfare and Training to Doctor McGill. November 9, 1942.
- ⁴³ S.C. 1898 (61 Victoria), c. 34, s. 6, amending R.S.C. 1886, Section 70, c. 43, which authorized the expenditure of money held in trust for the Indian people.
- ⁴⁴ RG 10, Vol. 6212, File 469-5, part 1. Order in Council, P.C. 274, February 10, 1900.
- ⁴⁵ RG 10, Vol 6187, File 461-1, part 2. Letter, J. D. McLean, Assistant Deputy and Secretary to Frank Edwards, Indian Agent, June 12, 1926.
- ⁴⁶ RG 10, Vol. 6218, File 471-5, part 1. Memorandum, Superintendent of Indian Education to D. C. Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, October, 1923.
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- ⁴⁸ RG 10, Vol. 6210, File 472-2, part 1. Quarterly Return, 30 June 1943.
- ⁴⁹ RG 10, Vol. 6187, File 461-1, part 1. Letter, J. D. McLean, Assistant Deputy and Secretary to Rev. F.T. Dodds, Principal, Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School, Kenora.
- ⁵⁰ RG 10, Vol. 6187, File 461-1, part 1. Letter, D. C. Scott, Deputy Superintendent General to Glen Campbell, Chief Inspector of Indian Agencies, May 11, 1915.
- ⁵¹ RG 10, Vol. 6197, File 465-1, part 1. Letter, Rev. C. Cahill, Principal, Rat Portage Boarding School to Hon. D. Laird, Indian Commissioner, October 18, 1899.
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Student Life at the Residential Schools

CHAPTER 2



THE SCHOOLS

There were sixteen Indian Residential Schools in Ontario. Two of them were in southern Ontario and fourteen of them in northern Ontario. The schools in southern Ontario, the Mohawk Institute and Mount Elgin Indian Residential School, were operated, respectively, by the Church of England (Anglican Church) and the United Church. In northern Ontario, six of the schools were operated by Roman Catholic religious orders, four of the schools were operated by the Church of England, one was operated by the Presbyterian Church, and three by the Mennonites.

Denomination	School	Location	Operated
ROMAN CATHOLIC	McIntosh (Oblates)	Vermillion Bay	1925 - 1969
	Spanish (Jesuits)	Spanish	1883 - 1965
	St. Anne's (Oblates)	Fort Albany	1910 - 1963
	St. Joseph's (Sisters of St Joseph)	Fort William	1885 - 1966
	St. Marguerite's (Oblates)	Fort Frances	1906 - 1974
	St. Mary's (Oblates)	Kenora (Rat Portage I.R.)	1897 - 1972
CHURCH OF ENGLAND (ANGLICAN)	Bishop Horden Hall	Moose Factory	1907 - 1963
	Mohawk Institute	Brantford	1850 - 1969
	Pelican Falls (Lake)	Sioux Lookout	1926 - 1973
	St. John's	Chapleau	1907 - 1948
	Shingwauk Hall & Wawanosh	Sault Ste. Marie	1873 - 1970
PRESBYTERIAN	Cecilia Jeffrey	Kenora	1900 - 1974
UNITED CHURCH	Mount Elgin	Muncey	1851 - 1946
MENNONITE	Poplar Hill	Poplar Hill	1962 - 1989
	Stirland Lake	Pickle Lake	1971 - 1990
	Cristal Lake	Pickle Lake	1976 - 1986

Chart 1 : Indian Residential Schools in Ontario

Construction of Schools

Many of the schools had been poorly constructed when they were first established and this led to problems at a later date when numerous repairs had to be made. One of the reasons for the poor construction of schools was often related to an underestimate of the costs necessary to construct a building of the size that was suitable to accommodate a large number of children. For example, when it was planned to construct the Mount Elgin School at Muncey in 1922, the estimates of the Department's Superintendent of Education to build a suitable structure was \$75,000. The Principal of the school, however, thought that estimate was too high and indicated that "Building is much cheaper, and I am quite sure a suitable building could be erected for \$40,000.00. We do not need a palace, but comfortable suitable quarters"¹. Of course, not long after the school had been built several problems started to appear, which were directly related to the initial cost of the structure and the quality of materials that had been used. A similar situation is found at the Ste. Anne's School at Fort Albany. After the school burned in 1939², the Oblates wished to rebuild immediately, but the Department was not in a position to offer funding for a new school because five other schools had also burned to the ground in 1939. The Department did have sketches for a new school prepared, but funding would not be available to construct the school for several years. The Oblates, realizing the budgetary constraints of the Department decided to rebuild the Albany School from missionary funds³. In 1941 the Oblates built three temporary structures which were "too small to accommodate the number of Catholic children in the James Bay Agency that should attend school"⁴.

Constant State of Disrepair

There was no regular maintenance program for repairs and upkeep to the buildings and physical services at the schools because insufficient funds were made available for that purpose by the Department. Therefore, most of the schools were in a constant state of disrepair. An example of the general state of disrepair is provided by the Superintendent of Welfare and Training who wrote to the Superintendent General of the Department in 1942 giving the following account of the Mount Elgin School:

This main building represents a style of architecture that has long since been abandoned. The ceilings are at least 12 feet high and the cost of heating from year to year must be enormous. However, the building is of brick construction and from the outside presents a somewhat imposing appearance, but inside it is one of the most dilapidated structures that

I have ever inspected. At the time of my visit the plumbing in the boys' wash-room was in a faulty state of repair, with the result that the wash bowl were full of filthy water and the floor of the wash-room in a filthy condition. The odors in the wash-room and indeed throughout the building were so offensive that I could scarcely endure them. Certain parts of this building are literally alive with cockroaches – this applies particularly to the kitchen. The treads I noticed on the stairway were literally worn away until they are no longer safe. If this were not a government-operated institution, I feel confident it would be closed by the municipal health authorities. However, when I later discussed the state of this school with Dr. Cochrane, he expressed the opinion that it was a model of sanitary perfection when compared with the United Church school at Round Lake, Saskatchewan. I must state, though, in fairness to all parties concerned, that this school reflects no credit on either the Department or the United Church of Canada. In my judgment, it should be immediately closed or rebuilt⁵.

There were also specific problems with the heating, water, sewage, electric, and refrigeration systems at the schools. Heating at the schools was provided by a variety of systems. Some schools were heated using water pipes and radiators, while others were heated by convection. The heat in each school was provided by wood, coal or oil-burning furnaces or stoves depending on the location of the school. Most schools in the north depended upon wood. Providing sufficient heat was always difficult during the winter months and became even more so when there were problems with the heating systems. For example, at the Pelican Lake Residential School near Sioux Lookout heating was provided by a wood-burning furnace. Coal was burned in later years as it was easy to ship the coal to the school on the railway which passed close to the school. Water was heated in a boiler and circulated throughout the buildings to radiators. In the winter of 1947 the school had problems with the heating system when steam condensed in the pipes at certain points and created blockages. Blockages were also caused by air locks and none of the radiators were provided with valves which would assist in removing air locks. As a result of the problems, "classrooms, situated on the wings, become unpleasantly cold at times, while the principal's residence, an annex at the east end, is notoriously cold in the winter"⁶.

At the Spanish Residential School eight separate furnaces were located throughout the two schools to provide heat, hot water and laundry facilities, but they were inadequate:

The heating system of the large school buildings, always more or less defective from the start, has become so unsatisfactory and expensive, that it is in absolute need of renewal or complete repair. In the cold weather the furnace of the girls' school, worked to its utmost capacity, cannot raise the temperature higher than 60° Fahrenheit. Some sections

of the boilers in all the furnaces are completely out of order. The total absence of unit connections makes it necessary to light the eight fires even in mild weather⁷.

The number of furnaces was reduced when a more efficient central heating system was installed in the 1930s.

Many of the schools experienced problems with their water supply from time to time. For example, in the 1930s at the St. John Residential School at Chapleau, the water supply for the school was obtained above the dam on the Chapleau River by a gravity system through a three inch pipe. For some reason or other, the pipe often broke at a point a couple of hundred of feet from the dam. It was thought that this was caused by underground springs washing soil away and when the earth settled it would cause the pipe to rupture. The water supply was interrupted due to breaks in 1933, 1937 and 1939 when a new four inch line was laid at a different location. There were no problems after the repairs were made. A different sort of problem arose with the water supply at St. Margaret's Residential School at Fort Frances. The water supply for the school was taken from Rainy Lake. The first installation took water from about 300 feet out in the lake, but the water was very shallow there and contained lots of dirt and water bugs. In 1920 a new water system, which drew water from about 1800 feet out in the lake from a depth of about twenty feet, was installed at the school. The water used for domestic purposes at the school was boiled to sterilize the water and water samples were taken from time to time for analysis "to ensure that the quality of water being used was satisfactory". In 1939 the school had difficulty in obtaining water. The water intake seemed to be blocked. Upon inspection a fish



was found in the intake pipe. After this blockage was removed the water supply was restored⁸.

All of the schools eventually had septic systems. At some of the schools the sewage from the school was dumped directly into a watercourse. At the McIntosh school, for example, a septic tank had been installed, but the septic bed had not been completed and the raw sewage was allowed to drain directly into the main body of the lake. The laundry water, which by-passed the septic system, also drained directly into the lake, as did the waste drains from the stables. When complaints were made by people on the main body of the lake, the provincial Department of Health drew the problem to the attention of the Department⁹. The Principal at the school did not think the school should be blamed for the pollution because there were other sources of contamination on the lake which had been there for many years before the school was built. The Principal noted that there were always Indians living on the lake shore between the school and the railway tracks and in summer "they number between one and two hundred and the lake is the recipient of all the filth". He also noted that there was a burying place for the Indians on a small island near the railway tracks. This island, he said, was "a rock island about (100) one hundred feet in diameter and on which there is scarcely enough earth to cover the bodies with a few inches and in some cases the earth is gathered from around and banked over the bodies"¹⁰.

In some instances there were problems with the septic system. For example, at the St. Margaret's school it does not appear that the septic tanks were ever cleaned. This caused raw sewage to drain through an overflow pipe directly into the lake, thereby polluting the waterfront. Occasionally, the sewage backing up into the school as was the case in October 1939 and reported by the Indian Agent:

Water had risen in one room and filled the whole school with odor. Upon enquiries I found that the school does not supply the children with toilet paper but gives them old newspaper. I believe a lot of their trouble with the sewage blocking is due to this practice, when one realizes the amount of newspaper put into the sewage by 88 children¹¹.

At the St. Mary's school at Kenora the water supply was drawn directly from the lake and the septic system also drained into the lake. In March 1927 the Indian Agent reported that the water contained colon bacilli and the school had to sterilize the water before using it¹². The sewage run-off became worse because the septic system ceased to function and effluent could be seen running out into the lake and giving off a very obnoxious odor. Since the school was located about a half mile from the water intake of the town of Kenora, that water supply was also affected. A new sewage disposal system had to be installed at the school in 1931.

Most of the schools were located close to urban centres so the supply of electricity was not a problem. Schools located in remote areas, such as the ones

at Fort Albany, McIntosh, Poplar Hill, Stirland Lake and Cristal Lake, had difficulty in obtaining electric power. The school at McIntosh generated its own power by a dam and generating device adjacent to the school and the others had to rely on diesel generators to supply their power.

Most of the schools had about a hundred children plus teaching, and other, staff to feed. In order to maintain an adequate supply of meat, fish, milk products and other items refrigeration facilities were required at all of the schools. At some schools, icehouses were constructed at a suitable location in the side of a hill out of the direct sunlight. The ice was used in ice-box refrigerators. In winter, blocks of ice were cut from nearby lakes and stored under sawdust for use throughout the summer months. There was usually no problem in obtaining sufficient ice during the winter months, but storing the ice presented problems. A suitable icehouse had to be constructed with enough insulation so the ice would not melt, and the building had to be kept in a good state of repair. Other schools had kerosene or electric refrigerators so there was not the same dependence on ice and its storage.

When there were problems with the refrigeration of food, they showed up in an indirect manner. For example, the Superintendent of the Indian School Administration of the Missionary Society of the Church of England drew the attention of the Principals of the Anglican schools to the "extremely uneconomic practice of purchasing small quantities of meat at a time". The Superintendent's letter to the Chief of the Training Division for the Department noted that the Principals' response to his enquiry about the purchase of meat was that there was a lack of refrigeration facilities.

Hardship

Due to the precarious financial position of the schools, students often suffered because some of their basic needs were not met. For example, clothing was purchased for the children from the per capita grants from the Department and the financial records for most of the schools show expenditures on clothing. At the Mohawk Institute partial records for the ten years 1941 to 1950 disclose an average annual expenditure for clothing of about \$2,000.00. However, it is unclear whether there was sufficient clothing. In 1945 there was a complaint made by the Brantford Women's League regarding the clothing worn by students at the Mohawk Institute – they said there was "insufficient clothing"¹³. That there was substance to this complaint is emphasized by the following excerpt from an inspection done at the school by Philip Phelan, Chief of the Training Division of the Department:

We found that while there is a reasonably adequate quantity of clothing on hand for the girls, the supply of clothing for the boys for the coming

academic year, including shoes and rubbers, is very limited, and a considerable quantity of the articles mentioned will have to be purchased before September 1¹⁴.

Many other examples of this sort can be found in the Indian Affairs School Files.

	BREAKFAST	DINNER	SUPPER
SUNDAY	Porridge, milk and sugar; bread and syrup; tea	Roast beef, potatoes, brown gravy, raisin pie, milk, bread	Jelly, bread & lard, cake, cocoa
MONDAY	Porridge, milk and sugar; bread and peanut butter; tea	Beef stew, bread, rice pudding, milk	barley soup, bread, prunes, cocoa
TUESDAY	Porridge, milk and sugar; bread and syrup; tea	Boiled beef, potatoes, gravy, corn starch	beans, bread, apple sauce, cocoa
WEDNESDAY	Porridge, milk and sugar; bread and jam; tea	pudding, bread, milk beans, bread, apple	Meat pie, prunes, bread, bran cake, cocoa
THURSDAY	Porridge, milk and sugar; bread and lard; tea	Stew and dumplings, bread, sage pudding, milk	Potatoes, bread, apricots, cocoa
FRIDAY	Porridge, milk and sugar; bread and syrup; tea	Meat pie, bread, tapioca pudding	Barley soup, bread, prunes, cocoa
SATURDAY	Porridge, milk and sugar; bread and peanut butter; tea	Stew, bread, rice pudding, milk	Pea soup, bread, apple sauce, cocoa
Notes	Raw vegetables : three times each week Raw fruit : twice each week Candy : three times each week Lard served with all meals unless soup and gravy are served		

Food

The food eaten by the students varied from school to school. The variations arose partly as a result of the gardening, farming and other activities which occurred at each school. For example at the Mount Elgin school it was noted in one of the annual reports that "the management of the milk cows is worthy of mention. The Institute has been kept in meat, butter and milk and the cream sold has averaged

more than \$200 a month¹⁵." Information related to the diet of the students is also provided in the monthly reports provided by the Indian Agents. However, it should be noted that it is very likely that the Indian Agent only included those items which he ate when he visited the school. So, for example, one Indian Agent reported that the children's meals consisted of "potato soup, peanut butter, fruit cake, bread and milk¹⁶." A more complete example is given in the Winter Menu of the Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School:

Inspection of Schools

The schools were inspected regularly each year by officials from the Department of Indian Affairs. The local Indian Agent in each Agency was required to submit a quarterly report on events and issues within his Agency and a portion of the reports deal specifically with visits to schools in the Agency. The Indian Agent was also required to fill out an "Agent's Report" for each school in the agency on a monthly basis. Information was provided on routine matters related to the students at the school, health, sanitation, meals, fire drills and protection, vocational training, discipline, efficiency of the staff, and the general management of the school. There was also a section for suggestions regarding the school¹⁷. For example, in 1932 the Indian Agent at Muncey noted the following problems at the Mount Elgin school:

I find that the walls has been washed a number of times and while in the Class Room, I noticed that the ceiling and for three feet from the ceiling it could not be reached, and it is nearly black with smoke and dirt, the woodwork has been washed so much that the paint is nearly all washed off. In fact the interior of the School is in bad state for redecoration, I also saw Two of the old Toilets which are out of repair and closed and the Boys have to go to the barn or some place else¹⁸.

There were a number of Inspectors of Indian Agencies within the Department who travelled to the schools to carry out an inspection each year. The inspection reports often made note of repairs required at a school. For example when an Inspector visited the St. Margaret's School at Fort Frances in 1932 he noted a number of repairs required at the 27 year old school:

The ceiling in the girls' dormitory is badly cracked and in danger of collapse, many of the interior partitions (plaster) are cracked and bulging out. The ceiling in the upper class room is defective and all the walls need kalsomining [cleaning]. The wooden floor in the boy's recreation room is heaving up, the eave troughing is defective, both the boilers in the main building and laundry are sadly in need of repair, the school desks and benches are broken and the ice house is so dilapidated that

it is in danger of falling down. The fire hose in the building for the last 26 years is useless, as it falls to pieces when handled, and the whole structure has not had a coat of paint for 21 years¹⁹.

There were also Medical Inspectors for Indian Agencies who visited the schools, examined the students, and reported on their health and well-being and any health or safety concerns. These visits seem to have been made on a less frequent basis as inspections were often carried out by physicians in nearby towns on behalf of the Department. For example, physicians from Sioux Lookout were requested to inspect the School at Pelican Lake and to provide reports to the Department. In one of these reports to the Department of National Health and Welfare, Dr. Gordon L. Bell reported on problems with the washroom facilities:

The boys' lavatory requires considerable work. the room itself needs plastering. The present 3 tubs should be removed as the shower room is adequate. All of the boys' toilet bowls should be removed and replaced by new ones. The present scheme is very bad and cannot be rectified. There is leakage from the present concrete toilet block which creates an odor through the building and the situation in general is unsanitary and a danger to the health of the children²⁰.

In later years the Department of National Health and Welfare commenced public health inspections of the schools.

The inspection reports contained recommendations for replacing old equipment, making structural repairs, and suggestions for improvement. Any repairs required depended on the availability of money with which to make them and it is apparent that there was a constant lack of money for such repairs at the schools.

THE CURRICULUM

Half-day System

All of the schools instituted a "half day system" of instruction whereby senior students spent a half day in the classroom and completed chores at the school the other half day. Classes consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic and religion and were conducted in English. The boys did chores and manual labor around the school and its outbuildings. At the Ste. Anne's school, records for the years from 1926 to 1932 show that "[t]he boys work around the school, on the farm and in the garden and like to take care of the stock"²¹. The primary tasks for the girls consisted of domestic chores. School records for the Ste. Anne's school note that "[t]he girls are taught domestic work such as washing, ironing, sewing, mending, knitting and the general care of a house on hygienic lines". The Quarterly Returns for 1939 to 1952 provide a skimpy idea of the course of study of the students, noting only that the boys do "woodwork and outdoor work" and the girls do

"home work", or "housekeeping, cooking, sewing and knitting". At all schools the chores of the students consisted of cutting wood, clearing bush, manual labor, tending gardens, babysitting younger kids, domestic help and cleaning.

Program of Studies

In 1896 the Department published a curriculum, or *Programme of Studies for Indian Schools*, in its Annual Report for that year²². This curriculum was used in the schools until about the 1930s, when principals were expected to use the curriculum established by the province. The 1896 Programme consisted of five broad subjects: English, General Knowledge, Writing, Arithmetic, and Geography with a Standard for each level. The program is noted in the following charts for each Standard or Grade level.

STANDARD I

English	Word recognition and sentence making. Simple sounds of letters of the alphabet. Copying words.
General Knowledge	Facts concerning things in school. Develop what is already known. Days of week, month.
Writing	Elementary strokes and words on slates. Large round hand.
Arithmetic	Numbers 1 to 10: their combinations and separations, oral and written. the signs +, -, x, ÷. Count to 10 by ones, twos, threes, &c. Use the meaning one half, one third, one tenth. Making and showing one half, one fourth, one eighth, one third, one sixth, one ninth, one fifth, one tenth, one seventh (no figures). Simple problems, oral.

STANDARD II

English	Sounds continued. Sentence making continued. Orthography, oral and written. Dictation of words learnt and of simple sentences.
General Knowledge	The seasons. Measures of length and weight in common uses. Colours. Commence animal and vegetable kingdoms, their parts and uses, cultivation, growth, &c. Things in and about the school and their parts.
Writing	Words, &c., on slates. Large round hand
Arithmetic	Numbers 10 to 25: their combinations and separations (oral and written). Count to 25 by ones, twos, threes, &c. Use and meaning of one half, one third, one fourth, &c., to one twenty fifth (no figures). Simple problems, introducing gallons in peck, pecks in bushel, months in year, inches in foot, pound, current coins up to 25c. Addition in columns not total to exceed 25.

STANDARD III

English	Sounds completed. Simple homonyms explained. Sentence making continued. Orthography, oral and written. Sentences dictated. Compose sentences about objects and actions.
General Knowledge	Animal and vegetable kingdoms continues. Money. The useful metals.
Writing	Slates and copy book No. 1. Medium round hand.
Arithmetic	Numbers 25 to 100: their combinations and separations, oral and written. Count to 100 by ones, twos, threes, &c., to tens. Use and meaning of one twenty-sixth, one twenty-seventh, &c., to one one-hundredth (no figures). Addition, subtraction, division and partition of fractions of Standard II. Roman numerals I to C. Simple problems, introducing seconds in minutes, minutes in hours, hours in day, pounds in bushels, sheets in quire, quires in ream.
Geography	Development of geographical notions by reference to geographical features of neighborhood. Elementary lessons on direction, distance, extent.

STANDARD IV

English	Sounds reviewed. Sentence enlargement. Orthography, oral and written. Letter writing. Simple composition, oral and written, reviewing work on general knowledge course.
General Knowledge	Animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms continued. Uses of railways and ships. Explain manufacture of articles in common use. The races of man.
Writing	Copy books Nos. 2 and 3. Medium round hand.
Arithmetic	Numeration and notation to 10,000. Simple rules to 10,000. Addition, subtraction, division and partition of fractions already known (figures). Introduce terms numerator, denominator, &c. Roman notation to 2,000. Graded problems, introducing remaining reduction tables. Daily practice in simple rules to secure accuracy and rapidity.
Geography	(a) Review of work on Standard III. Lessons to lead to simple conception of the earth as a great ball, with surface of land and water, surrounded by the air, lighted by the sun, and with two motions. (b) Lessons on natural features, first from observation, afterwards by aid of moulding board, pictures and blackboard illustrations. (c) Preparation for the introduction of maps. (Review of lessons in position, distance, direction, with representations drawn to scale. Study of map of vicinity drawn on blackboard. Maps of natural features drawn from moulded forms. Practice in reading conventional map symbols on outline maps.

STANDARD V

English	Enlargement and correction of sentences continues. Orthography, oral and written. Letter writing continues. Essay, oral and written, composition, reviewing general knowledge course.
General Knowledge	Same enlarged. Laws regarding fires, game &c. of daily use.
Writing	Copy books Nos. 4 and 5. Small round hand.
Arithmetic	Notation and numeration completed. Formal reduction. Vulgar fraction to thirtieths. Denominate fractions. Daily practice to secure accuracy and rapidity in simple rules. Graded problems. Reading and writing decimals to the thousandths inclusive.
Geography	Simple study of the important countries in each continent. Province in which school is situated and Canada to be studied first. The position of the country in the continent; its natural features, climate, productions, its people, their occupation, manners, customs, noted localities, cities, &c. Moulding boards and map drawing to be aids in study.

STANDARD VI

English	Analysis of simple sentences. Parts of speech. Orthography, oral and written. Letter writing continued. Oral and written composition, reviewing general knowledge course.
General Knowledge	Social relations. Seats of government in Canada. System of representation and justice. Commerce and exchange of products.
Writing	Copy books Nos. 6 and 7. Small round hand.
Arithmetic	Factors, measures and multiples. Vulgar fractions completed. Easy application of decimals to ten-thousandths. Easy application of square and cubic measures. Daily practice to secure accuracy and rapidity in simple rules. Easy application of percentage. Graded problems.
Geography	(a) The earth as a globe. Simple illustrations and statements with reference to form, size, meridians and parallels, with their use; motions and their effects as day and night, seasons, zones with their characteristics as wind and oceans currents, climate as affecting the life of man. (b) Physical features and conditions of North America and Europe, studied and compared. Position on the globe; position relative to other grand divisions, size, form, surface, drainage, animal and vegetable life, resources &c. Natural advantages of cities.

Teachers

There seem to have been very few qualified teachers at most of the schools from the dates the schools were established until about 1950. While some of the people who were used as teachers were educated, most of them did not hold qualifications as teachers. This is particularly true of priests and brothers who taught at the schools run by their respective churches. In instances where the teachers used were not clerics, many of them did not hold teaching qualifications either. For example, a teacher appointed to the Cecilia Jeffrey school in 1912, Miss E. M. Bennett, held "a senior Cambridge certificate from England." She was noted to be "an honourable Christian lady and a most able teacher," who had taught at the "Indian School at Moose Factory under the Indian Department for eight months²³." While the Department did not participate with the schools in hiring teachers, it did expect the schools to hire teachers with proper qualifications and made recommendations to the schools in this regard. For example, at the Mount Elgin Indian Residential School in 1942, the Superintendent of Welfare and Training recommended that "a fully qualified teacher" be hired as principal for a new day school being contemplated after the closure of the residential school²⁴.

It was difficult to get a qualified teacher at many of the residential schools due to the poor pay. Teachers could get a salary of \$400.00 per year at day schools in urban centers, but would only get \$300.00 per year at the residential schools. Therefore many teachers chose to work in urban centers than at residential schools which were often isolated or removed from urban areas. As a result, the teachers at residential schools seemed to be under qualified and could not get a job elsewhere.

Organized Activities

Over the years most of the residential schools developed programs of activities for the students and many of the students eagerly participated in these activities. These programs included organized activities such as Boy Scouts, Girls Scouts and Air Cadets, as well as team sports such as hockey, basketball and baseball. For example, the residential school at Pelican Lake had an Air Cadet program



which was reported on by the Kenora Indian Agent in 1945. This Indian Agent believed that more activities of this sort were required at the schools:

At both Residential Schools in this Agency [Pelican Lake and McIntosh] lack of recreational and athletic opportunities is very noticeable. I believe that much more thought should be given to this phase of school life, as the Indian children seem to enjoy sports and games even more than our own children do.

Complaints

There were numerous complaints about what students learned, or did not learn, while they were in school. From time to time the Chief and Councillors wished to visit a school, usually to investigate complaints made by their students. They said they had a right to do so. Unannounced visits of this sort tended to disrupt the routine at the school and the students tended to act up when their parents or relatives were at the school, causing them to "become excited and unruly²⁵." The principals did not like these visits and often complained to the Department. The response of the Department was always that, under the *Indian Act*, the Chief and Council of a Band had the right to inspect a school at such reasonable times as agreed upon. The Department would then instruct the Indian Agent to make arrangements with the Chief and Council and the school for further visits²⁶. Following their visits the Chief and Councillors often submitted a complaint to the Department.

Most of the complaints submitted were related to what a student learned or, rather, what a student did not learn. For example, in 1921, following numerous complaints from the school at Chapleau, the Department arranged to conduct an investigation into the allegations that students were not learning anything at the school. A. G. Chisholm, a lawyer who had been hired, visited the school, took sworn declarations from the parents of many of the students and prepared a report for the Department. In his report, A. G. Chisholm included the following specific complaints:

Margaret Nolan says her son has been there nine years, is in the Fourth Reader, but has only the rudiments of spelling and arithmetic.

Isaiah Dick says his two girls have been pupils since September 1919, but they neither speak nor understand English or know their Alphabet.

Beatrice Fletcher says her son Charles aged 12, has been at the school four years and is now in the Second Reader and can read or write very little. The daughter Carrie is better, but she was a pupil at Shingwauk

for a time.

William Sahsketcheway says his son Rennison 13 years of age, has been a pupil there for about four years. He has been chiefly engaged in chopping wood, is still in his Primer, reads little and writes less.

Harry Black has three sons, pupils at the school. They had been at the Public school before their admission at Chapleau, but have made no progress at their studies since then.

Kitty Sahsketcheway, who seemed a bright, intelligent girl, was a pupil at the school, she says for ten years. She was in the Third Reader when she left but while she writes pretty well, understands nothing of arithmetic.²⁷

The lawyer concluded his report with the following comment:

All declarants on this point agree that not more than eight hours weekly, is devoted to study. In our Public Schools twenty seven and a half hours weekly is actually spent in school. The balance of the weekly period at the Chapleau school is for the boys, spent in hard, grinding labour, or in the case of the girls, at scrubbing, cleaning, and other domestic tasks.²⁸

THE STUDENTS

Reasons for Attending School

Children were sent to residential schools for a variety of reasons. Most students were at school because the government believed that children less than sixteen should be at school. Under the provisions of the *Indian Act*, students were expected to stay in school until they were sixteen years old. Section 10. (1) of the *Indian Act* of 1919-20 reads:

10. (1) Every Indian child between the ages of seven and fifteen years who is physically able will attend such day, industrial or boarding schools as may be designated by the Superintendent General for the full periods during which such school is open each year.

The Principal at the Cecilia Jeffrey school made an inquiry to the Department regarding the compulsory attendance requirements for students in June 1926. The response from the Assistant Deputy and Secretary was as follows:

I have your letter of the 24th instant and in reply beg to state that the

Average Number of Students at Residential Schools, 1941 - 1952

SCHOOL	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	Average
St. Margaret's	100	90	89	93	96	95	96	97	100	108	108	—	98
St. Mary's	97	107	105	97	102	103	99	102	143	112	122	126	110
Cecilia Jeffrey	—	143	153	144	152	155	158	173	171	171	171	128	156
McIntosh	116	115	121	127	131	131	137	145	148	161	147	161	137
Pelican Lake	[91]	145	147	158	164	170	160	148	152	177	—	—	158
St. Joseph's	—	—	126	116	96	77	65	71	54	70	81	81	84
St. Anne's	55	48	45	40	49	48	60	72	70	76	95	102	63
Horden Hall	104	101	88	72	58	80	70	77	108	118	122	128	94
St. John's	no data												
Shingwauk	—	120	118	126	130	133	148	151	151	—	—	—	135
Spanish	—	—	268	270	283	282	291	307	299	335	—	—	292
Mohawk Institute	—	—	—	—	—	—	172	162	172	164	169	172	169



Indian Act provides for the compulsory attendance at school of physically fit children from seven to 15 years of age. The rigid enforcement of this section is undertaken by the Department only when it is considered advisable. I am not satisfied that drastic action to enforce attendance of the Lake of the Woods Indian children should be taken at the present time. Serious consideration to such action may be given when our building programme is completed²⁹.

The schools accepted orphans and children from families where one of the parents had died. One of the schools, St. Joseph's Boarding School at Fort William, was originally established as an orphanage and accepted aboriginal and non aboriginal children from around the province. On some occasions, children were sent to school because officials of the Department believed that the parents were not fit to raise their children:

I would recommend very strongly that this child be sent to the Chapleau Indian Residential School. The mother is not fit to bring her up and her husband does not want her there. I have been in communication with the Rev. A. J. Vale, Principal of the St. John's Indian Residential School some time ago, and he informed me that he would have room for some children there³⁰.

At other times Indian Agents thought it would be better for children to attend a residential school than to stay at home. For example, the Indian Agent from Christian Island wrote:

I have had occasion to visit this man's home on different occasions and found it to be in a very filthy condition and certainly no place for children

of this age, Assanc apparently is not a very good manager and we have had to help him out with clothes and shoes so that they could attend school. I have had this man get his house cleaned up several times but it soon is as filthy as ever so I think the Department would be doing a very great favor to these children [if they went to a residential school]³¹.

In one instance, a father who was having a hard time controlling his daughter and who wanted to send her to reform school, was convinced by the Indian Agent to send the girl to residential school:

... This girl has no mother to look after her and her father has no control over her, she is 14 years of age and her father wants to put her in the Mercer Reformatory but that is no place for her. Would it not be possible to have her sent to Chapleau, to the school out there? I could take her to Toronto and see that she was put on the train and they could meet her there³².

In another instance, a girl was referred to a school by a Children's Aid Society:

They [the family] were in such poverty it was out of the question for Muriel to continue at school. She had no clothes and they had barely enough to eat. They could not pay the rent and could not keep the home. Eventually [the mother] obtained work with a family who have brought her to Toronto with them. ... We are hoping that you can arrange to admit her after the Christmas holidays so that she can begin the new term in the High School there³³.

At other times, children went to school at the request of their parents. For example, the Indian Agent for Christian Island wrote that he had been asked by a parent to ask the Department if they would consider sending his three boys to a Residential School. There was also a financial reason. The churches that operated the schools received a per capita grant for the number of approved students in the school, so it was in their interests to keep the schools filled to capacity, even if it meant accepting students hundreds of miles away from their homes.

Staying at School Longer

After a student reached sixteen years of age he would be discharged unless there were other reasons to keep him or her at the school. In these instances the Department requested the school to provide reasons for keeping the student along with an assessment of the student. The Principal at the St. John's school provided the following assessments and reasons for keeping a number of students beyond their sixteenth birthday:

Student No. 115. This boy is attending High School and making good progress. In early life he had one leg amputated to save his life. It seems to have eradicated all trace of the Tubercular trouble. He is

ambitious to make use of his education and I think it would be a kindness to let him go on so he can be fitted to take a situation whereby he could earn a living for himself. If he were sent home now, he would not have enough to fortify him against hard work for which he is not physically fit. His home surroundings would be such that he would lose all good of his education.

Student No. 132. This boy is ambitious and will try his High School Entrance examination. If he secures the 70 per cent required to allow him to go on I think he would be well worth sending. If he fails he could be discharged.

I do not think the other boys would pay for sending to the High School, but Student No. 160 and No. 188 have no homes to go to and would be the better for being allowed to remain here longer. They will never make a mark in education but will do well in the outdoor work of the school on the farm and their characters would be the better able to withstand the temptations of surroundings on the Reserve if permitted to remain and be built up.

Student No. 0120. This girl is a big strong girl physically but has little ability as a student. She has asked me to try to get her a position as Domestic this summer if I can. She is not a member of the Band though she came from Bala. I would like permission to keep her on until I can, within a reasonable time get her placed. Her home surroundings would be very unhelpful if sent back to the Reserve this summer.

Student No. 0122. This girl has the makings of a fine type of woman. I think she ought to be given a chance to remain here longer and see what she can do in the classroom until she can be placed as a Domestic rather than be sent home to her father who has married again and the home is not fit for her to return to with any chance to make use of her training here³⁴.



The Bishop of Algoma wrote to Duncan Campbell Scott in July 1922 to thank him for allowing a student to stay at the school even though he should have been discharged:

You were kind enough last year to provide the usual grant to one of our Indian boys, who, having passed the entrance examination, desired to reside in the Shingwauk Home here, in order that he might attend the High School. I am glad to report that he has done excellent work, and given much satisfaction to all concerned³⁵.

Truancy

Truant officers could be appointed under the *Indian Act* to enforce the compulsory attendance section of the Act. Section 10. (2) of the *Indian Act* of 1919-20 reads:

10. (2) The Superintendent General may appoint any officer or person to be a truant officer to enforce the attendance of Indian children at school . . .

The Act gave the truant officer the power to arrest children who were not attending school and to convey them to school, and to charge the parents of truant children. Parents who had been charged were subject to "a fine of not more than two dollars and costs, or "imprisonment for a period not exceeding ten days or both."

From time to time students ran away from the schools. In some instances they were lonesome, or they missed home, but in other instances they may have left because they were being mistreated.

A Principal could have students brought back to the school under the "truancy" provisions of the Act. These provisions were resorted to from time to time as noted in the following example from of the St. John's Indian Residential School at Chapeau:

For the first time in my six years here I have had to call upon the Police to act as Truant officer and bring back some children who have overstayed their Summer Vacation and the parents refused to send them back. All the children who have not returned are under the school age of 16 years and therefore ought to be returned. The parent refuse in the case of the two children at Missanabie Ontario about 50 miles west of this town on the Railway³⁶.

A similar incident occurred at the Shingwauk Home at Sault Ste. Marie where a Provincial Constable was sent to bring a pupil back from Garden River, who refused to come back. The Constable returned the student under "a warrant as per School regulations for the education of Indian Children³⁷."

Absences

Parents often requested that their children be allowed to come home even if they were not yet sixteen. This request often came after the death of one of the parents, so the children could help with chores around the home. Many parents wanted their children at home and would say that the children were needed at home to help. While these requests were often granted, the Principals at some of the schools questioned the parents' motives. For example, at the Chapleau school the Principal noted:

[Mrs. Charles Gideon] claims her son is 16 years of age and wants him to come home. According to our Records he is not that full age. She claims his birthday is December of this year and it will be his 16th. That does not correspond with our record. These people have a way of trying to place the age to suit their own purpose³⁸.

The Department did not always think that a Principal should allow students to leave the school and return home. For example, when a Principal allowed students to leave the school he was rebuked for doing so in a letter sent by the Superintendent of Welfare and Training to the Missionary Society:

In the meantime I may say that it has always been definitely understood that when a child is admitted to an Indian residential School such a child should remain there until formally discharged by the Department.

A more significant type of absence from the school occurred when parents refused to allow their children to go to the school. At the beginning of the school year in 1943 few of the students from the coastal areas returned to school resulting in a very small enrolment. It was believed that parents would not send them back due to a belief that there was something wrong at the school. The Secretary of the Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission, in a letter to the Department noted:

From various letters [the Principal] has received from parents and from our missionaries at various places on Hudson Bay, it appears clear that some adverse influence has been at work. While letters of parents were often vague and spoke of "not sending back the children this year", the missionaries had written that various criticisms of the school had been circulated and several serious charges which on investigation were found to have no foundation whatever³⁹.

By the end of September the last boat had come down the coast from the north and there were no students on the boat. In September of 1944 the absences became quite evident. The Quarterly Return for September 30 shows that 41 students failed to return to the school, an additional 21 returned near the end of September, and one student left to go home. In all, there were 88 students registered at the school in 1944, but this number dropped to 36 before the end

of December. And in 1946, 16 students failed to return and 17 showed up later in September. These dramatic drops indicate that there was some sort of problem at the school.

Discharge

There were several reasons that a student could be discharged from school. A student was normally discharged at the end of the school year following his or her sixteenth birthday. In some instances a student would be discharged and sent home if he or she proved to be too difficult to manage or disrupted the other students. If a student was absent from school for an extended period, for any reason, he or she would be discharged. A student would also be discharged if he or she married, became ill and sent to a hospital or sanatorium for an extended stay, was convicted of a criminal offence and sent to a facility for juvenile delinquents, or died.

The Rules

The Department of Indian Affairs established rules and regulations related to student behaviour, which each school was expected to have their students follow. The rules were enforced through punishment, coercion and humiliation.

Some of the schools established their own rules for student behaviour that were based on the rules of the Department. At some schools the rules included a daily "timetable" which had to be adhered to. An example of such a timetable is found in the records for the St. John's school at Chapleau:

5:30 a.m.	Reveille - milking and the care of stock, preparation of breakfast
6:30 a.m.	Breakfast and prayers.
7:30 a.m.	Chores, cleaning and other work
9:45 a.m.	Preparation for school
10:00 a.m.	School - every pupil, except the two boys with the teams, in attendance
12:00 a.m.	Lunch
12:30	Recreation
1:30 p.m.	School
3:30 p.m.	Work
5:00 p.m.	Recreation
6:00 p.m.	Supper and Evening Prayers
7:00 p.m.	Younger children retire, Senior classroom instruction
8:00 p.m.	Senior pupils retire.

Punishment

Students were punished when they broke the rules. The punishment of students at the school varied with the type of behaviour complained of, the seriousness of the behaviour and the attitude of the students. In some instances a reprimand of the student was sufficient, but at other times the student would suffer physically through the use of the strap, usually administered by the principal of the school. At times the strapping incidents escalated into beatings as is noted in the report of the Inspector of Indian Agencies of August 1917 after he had inspected the Cecilia Jeffrey School:

Information showed that boys were not treated with the same leniency which marked the treatment of the girls, and that when the Principal enforced discipline he displayed considerable temper, possibly forgetting his own strength, and without realizing that the subjects of correction were only children after all.

The same thing was noted in the Inspector's Report of July 1918. Inspector John Semmens indicated that a "complaint was made that the children in the Cecilia Jeffrey boarding school were cruelly beaten by the Principal at times" and that "one pupil was punished so severely that she fell sick and shortly after died." The Principal [Dodds] said that the impression "was exaggerated, that he never punished when any other method of maintaining discipline would meet the case and that he seldom punished at all severely"⁴⁰.

The correspondence from other schools indicates similar treatment of students as noted in a report prepared by a lawyer for the Department who had investigated complaints at the St. John's School at Chapleau:

Alice Naogaon says last Fall, Principal Prewer accused her boy David aged 14, of stealing apples, dragged him out of bed, took him off to the store room and beat him with a stick till he was black and blue over his whole body. He then told the boy not to let his mother know⁴¹.

The Department, however, expected Principals to enforce the rules and to deal firmly with students who broke those rules. For example, J.D. McLean, the Assistant Deputy Superintendent General and Secretary of the Department wrote to the Principal of the Cecilia Jeffrey Boarding School on February 1, 1917.

Inspector Semmens, who visited the Cecilia Jeffrey Boarding school, on the 22nd, ultimo, has forwarded his report to the Department.

It is noted that the Inspector states that the deportment of the pupils outside the school room is unsatisfactory.

The Department considers that it would to your advantage in the maintenance of discipline if you discouraged too frequent visits of parents to the school, and discontinue furnishing meals.

The Inspector states that he is assured that you have not punished the

pupils, severely, and this action on your part is to be commended, still, the Department will, in future, expect you to take a decided stand and deal firmly with those who transgress the rules, in order that the present abuses in the children's conduct may be corrected.

In an article published in a Toronto newspaper it was reported that the boys at the Mohawk Institute had been punished by the first Principal of the school, Robert Ashton, whenever they misbehaved:

During his time many boys ran away, and when they were found and brought back to the institution they were garbed in clothing similar to that of convicts: one leg of the trousers being of blue denim and the other leg of brown denim; and the coat was similar in color.

When the girls misbehaved a different punishment was administered by Robert Ashton's son Nelles, who was then the principal of the school:

Three of the girl pupils ran away. When these girls were returned to the Mohawk Institution their hair was cut off, and they were shut up in the "dark room", or "cell" as some called it, and fed on bread and water. Chief George Miller brought an action against Mr. Nelles Ashton for this treatment of his little daughter. His suit was backed by the Six Nations Council. A Brantford jury of twelve men returned a verdict of four hundred dollars damages against Mr. Nelles Ashton together with the statement that "The Mohawk Institution is not a reformatory, it is an industrial school"⁴².



Complaints of bad treatment

When there was a problem at a school, particularly in instances where the children were being mistreated, the first sign of a problem was that students ran away from the school. An example is provided from the letter of an Indian Agent to the Secretary of the Department:

I may say that there appears to be some friction between the Principal

and the Pupils, what it is I do not know, when I visited the school in January last [1917] in Company of Inspector Semmens, there was trouble than. A girl had ran away in the night, and a boy the next day, I got the two brought back and thought all was going to be well, but it did not stop there.

On the 15th February [the Principal] wrote me that four of their oldest boys had ran-away during the night, I have not heard whether he got them back or not. And now comes this report of four more boys, having run away. There was also a report that four of the big Girls made an attempt to leave during the night in February last, the night after the four boys ran away, but was caught, before they got away.

There is sure something wrong out there, and I am of the opinion, Mr. Inspector Seaminess should be sent down to investigate the whole business, and would suggest that if these pupils are returned to the school, they should be transferred at once to the Elkhorn School⁴³.

Another indication that the children were being mistreated was that parents did not want to send their children to the school. Following complaints about the treatment of students at the Cecilia Jeffrey school in Kenora, the Presbyterian Church established a Commission to investigate the complaints. In their report they wrote:

We are afraid the School may go wrong. All this boy that has left the School. The boys says why they leaves the School that like p[principal] Mr. Dodds isn't very good to them. Since he has been the principle of the School we have been watching him in his ways. And we know the Reason too. And we are going to try and get another principle in his place. It is not the Indians fault why all these boys goes away. It is all Mr. Dodds fault why they go away. It all comes from the School. The first principle that was here The School was all right. All the Indians were sorry when the other principle left here. If he's going to stay any longer The School will go on worsen. We can get him to do what right too. We always tell him the Reason why the boys goes away. And he does not stop when we tell him why. That's why the people are all afraid that it might go wrong. We don't want that. There are a lot of children yet who hasn't been in School yet. That's why they don't let their children go to School of that Reason⁴⁴.

On many occasions the strapping would be given to the students in front of the other students who were assembled for the purpose. This method was often used as a means to deter other students from doing the same thing as the "guilty student," the student was used as an example of what would happen if the rules were not followed. A public strapping shamed and humiliated the student who had misbehaved, particularly since it occurred in front of his peers.

Investigations

In some instances where there was an investigation regarding poor management, the church that operated the school replaced the principal, often with good results. After a new principal had been hired for the Pelican Lake school in 1949, the following comment was noted in the correspondence of a doctor to the Medical Superintendent:

In general there has been a vast improvement under the present principal Rev. Wilson and I was very pleased indeed with the many changes he has made and with the present attitude of both staff and children. A great deal of painting has been done with brighter colors and the building is clean, which condition has not prevailed for several years. The children's body and clothes were clean and good discipline is maintained. I had the privilege of having dinner with them and there has been a great improvement in the way food is prepared and served. I presume the Department dentist will visit the school this Fall as there is considerable work required⁴⁵.

HEALTH & SAFETY ISSUES

Illness

As in any other residential institution, there were often outbreaks of communicable diseases at the schools. These included whooping cough, colds, influenza, gripe, eye infections and infections of the upper respiratory tract including ear, nose, tonsils and throat. The local Indian Agent at Chapleau reported an outbreak of influenza at the St. John's school at Chapleau in 1920 that infected many of the students:

... over thirty of the pupils are down with the disease, and also the family of the Principle Mr. Prewer was very bad but is improving but Mrs. Prewer, is still in the Hospital, Mr. Prewer was taken down while caring for the pupils the staff practically all down with the influenza so it was necessary for me to secure a man to take charge of the boys who were all down⁴⁶.

At the beginning of 1919 there was a serious outbreak of influenza at the St. Margaret's School at Fort Frances. Within thirty-six hours the majority of the staff and students were infected and help had to be sought to assist in caring for all of those who had fallen ill. On January 14 one of the Sisters died. Four days later, on January 18, one of the young students died. An on January 25 one of the Brothers also succumbed to the illness⁴⁷. In 1922 a student died from influenza at the St. John's school at Chapleau:



Mary Samkies says her nephew George Patrick Samkies perfectly healthy when he went to this school died there from neglected Influenza eight months afterwards. He was found dead under his bed. If this be true, it would seem difficult to refute a charge of gross neglect ⁴⁸.

Childhood diseases such as measles, German measles, mumps, chicken pox, small pox were common and often prevalent for periods of time at each of the schools. For example, in September of 1940 the Secretary of the Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission reported such an outbreak at the Pelican Lake Indian Residential School when he had made a visit there. He wrote:

On my way back to Winnipeg from Ottawa, I visited our Sioux Lookout School, not knowing until I arrived that about forty of the children were afflicted with measles. I was informed that they brought the disease with them when returning from their summer vacation, and that it was now reported to be widespread in the semi-remote Indian settlements from which they came. As there were approximately one hundred children in the School, with prospects that all would gradually be afflicted, we sent a nurse to assist the one on the staff in looking after them. Under the circumstances you will readily understand that other children cannot be admitted until those who are ill have recovered⁴⁹.

There were also incidences of the more serious diseases of typhoid fever, scarlet fever and tuberculosis among the students. At the McIntosh school in the early 1940s, for example, the records show 3 students with tuberculosis in the June Quarter, 3 in the September Quarter and 3 in the December Quarter; in 1943 there were 3 students in the first Quarter, 4 in the second, 6 in the third and 3 in the last Quarter; and in 1944 there were 3 children diagnosed with

tuberculosis. At least two of these children died from the disease⁵⁰.

Other problems experienced by the students included lice, scrofula (swelling of glands) and eczema. Excerpts from a report prepared by a lawyer who had been hired by the Department to investigate complaints at the St. John's school at Chapleau indicate that:

Kitty Sahsketcheway, aged 19 years, a former pupil got scrofula she says, as informed by Dr. Evans, from some other girl, for they all used the same towel, and on three occasions sooner than call a Doctor, Principal Prewer lanced her neck with his jackknife. She shows the long scars now.

John Samakeese, when he went at Christmas, 1921, to take his daughter Lizzie aged ten home, found her covered with lice, both head and body, and very dirty. Andrew Saunders says when he came some three weeks before, to take his children James (11) and Jessie (12) home for the holidays, he found both of them, lousy and dirty⁵¹.

In 1914 the Department made a complaint to the Anglican Bishop of Moosonee regarding poor washing facilities, overcrowding and eczema:

A number of the smaller children were badly effected with eczema and apparently no steps had been taken to check the spread of the disease and, unless proper provision is made for washing and cleanliness of the pupils, this disease is likely to spread through the whole school, in fact the Principal's own daughter had contracted it⁵².

Overcrowding

Many of the schools were overcrowded. The overcrowding led to the easier spread of communicable diseases among the students. The overcrowding occurred because the schools did not have enough space to house the number of students that were at the school. There were often too many students at the school because the schools were chronically under funded and they tried to make ends meet by taking in more students in order to obtain the per capita grants. The overcrowding was found primarily in the dormitories and the classrooms as noted in the instances below.

In 1922 the principal of the Mount Elgin Indian Residential School sent a letter to Duncan Scott enquiring about the status of the request for a new primary school building at Muncey. In the letter he stated that:

The need is very great. I could mention a large number of children in this part of Ontario who are really neglected. Several of them children of ex-service men. We are overcrowded here now, and cannot admit anymore. Mr. Abraham has already taken or sent up to the Soo about fifteen pupils, who really should be under our care. It is a long way to

send them, and cuts them off from their own people⁵³.

The Indian Boarding School at Chapleau, Ontario was a small school run by the Anglican Church. Although the school had been approved by the Department to accept forty students, there did not seem to be enough room for forty students:

There were forty pupils in residence. Twenty-seven pupils were in the main building and thirteen of the bigger boys sleep over the schoolroom in a separate building. The main building is not adapted for twenty-seven pupils, twenty-two being all that the air and floor space should accommodate⁵⁴.

In 1945 a member of the party who went to make treaty payments in the Sioux Lookout area visited the school at Pelican Lake. In his report he drew attention to "two features which have in one case direct, and in the other indirect relation to the physical welfare of the pupils." His report noted that:

Firstly, the boys' dormitory and to a lesser extent the girls' are overcrowded. In the former the beds are so close that they touch at the sides. This is bad, especially where the children are as susceptible to respiratory disease and tuberculosis as are Indians. It might be possible to put up quarters outside the school for the farm employees, who at present occupy an entire upper dormitory, freeing this space for pupils. Alternatively, double-decker beds, 18" to 2' apart, would be better from a droplet-infection standpoint. Until something permanent can be done, the pupils should sleep head to foot alternately. I do not wish to be over-critical, but from the standpoint of public health the designation of a couple of three-bed rooms in Indian schools as preventoria is a travesty; if the entire residential school is not a preventorium what are we spending our money for?⁵⁵

At the Shingwauk Home in Sault Ste. Marie it was noted that the classrooms were overcrowded:

Senior class room is rather overcrowded and junior is light at present.

The result is that there is not sufficient air space for number of pupils in senior room. Twice the space should be provided⁵⁶.

The Department's response was that "classes should be so arranged that there would be 16 square feet of floor space and 250 cubic feet of air space, for each pupil in the class room."

Overcrowding of classrooms was also noted at the Spanish school. In an inspection report from about 1948, an official of the Department stated:

The primary room in this school is overcrowded. There are over sixty pupils. Grades one, two and three are in this division along with the beginners. In general, these pupils have very little, if any knowledge of the English language. This is an impossible task. This school should have at least four classrooms. It is rather difficult for the Principal to organize another classroom due to the necessity of engaging another teacher. As

conditions are at present, the Principal is having, I believe, a difficult time making his accounts balance⁵⁷.

The health of students at the schools was often affected by conditions found at the schools. For example, an inspection of the Mount Elgin School in 1944 disclosed the following:

In the basement I visited the pupils' dining hall. This is one of the most depressing rooms in the main building. The air is foul, the lighting is poor and it is badly in need of brighter decorating⁵⁸.

A report on the Pelican Lake School made on behalf of the Department of National Health and Welfare in 1949 indicated a leak from the roof:

There is in wet weather a continuous seepage into the basement through the foundation. Often water is 1" or 2" deep and this constitutes a real hazard to the children's health not to mention the inconvenience of working in such a condition. I think most of this water comes from the roof and I would suggest that an eaves-trough be placed around the entire building and the water from same be conducted away from the building⁵⁹.

Another leak was noted at the Pelican Lake School in 1945:

The Inspector of Indian Agencies reported on a water leak in the kitchen: The wash sink leaks and consequently dirty water has got in around the stand which holds the tub. The result is quite a sour smell. These tanks should be renewed⁶⁰.

Fire

One of the biggest safety issues at the schools was related to the possible outbreak of fire and ensuring that there was an easy and effective way to evacuate students from the school buildings. Many of the schools had "pole fire escapes" which consisted of iron poles that extended from the ground to the roof of the school. A number of these poles were placed at strategic locations around the schools. At some schools these pole fire escapes were placed on the exterior of the buildings. At other schools these poles were located inside the buildings with holes in each floor to accommodate the poles. The students were shown how to use these pole fire escapes and practices were held from time to time. The Indian Agent from Kenora discussed these escapes at the McIntosh and Pelican Lake Schools in his quarterly report of March 1945. Following his visits to the schools he indicated that:

At McIntosh an attempt was made to have the children familiarize themselves with the outside pole-type fire escapes. The boys were very proficient but the girls, especially the younger ones were unable to use the escapes with any degree of confidence. However, the

Reverend Principal Assured me he would see to it that they had plenty of practice in future. I might add that under certain conditions in the winter months, the iron pole fire escapes are dangerous for the inexperienced.

At the Sioux Lookout School the poles are inside the building. This arrangement permits the pupils to have more practice, although the efficiency of the arrangement is open to question⁶¹.

Fires were always a danger as many of the schools were wooden frame buildings. At some schools such as the St. John's Indian Residential School at Chapleau there were many fires over the years the school was operated. An example of a fire is provided in the following account:

On September 29, 1936 there was a fire at the school caused by a hot exhaust pipe on an engine. No one was injured in the fire. The fire caused extensive damage to the engine room and the rafters and joists above the room as well as to the engines and generator which were used to generate electricity for lighting and to pump water into the building. The fire also destroyed the walls adjacent to the bake room and the chapel. In order to extinguish the fire holes had to be punched through the roof and sides of the building to get water on the fire, thereby causing additional damage. As a result of the fire the school was without water or lighting. Water for use in the school was supplied by means of a pump borrowed from the local Ontario Forestry Service. Repairs were made to the equipment almost immediately and new engines acquired. The repairs to the building took longer as funding had to be acquired from the Department⁶².

At one school there was a very serious safety problem with access to the fire escapes. Following a regular inspection of the Mount Elgin School, the Indian Agent had the following to say about the problem of access:

My particular attention was drawn to the exits leading to the fire escapes. These exits are in the form of double sash windows and in every case, throughout the whole dormitory system, these exits were padlocked. I asked if this were the general procedure when all pupils were in residence and upon whose orders they were locked. I was told yes, upon orders of the retiring Principal; the reason being an endeavour to stop runaways. I registered strong disapproval with such a procedure and pointed out that it would be better to have runaways than have one child burned to death. I also pointed out that responsibility would rest directly with the person giving the order. I also stressed that fire exits and escapes should be unbarred by any obstruction and ready for immediate exit and escape at all times. I would suggest that I be authorized to have these padlocks immediately removed and that in the meantime consideration be given

to having the windows removed and replaced with doors equipped with regular panic bars⁶³.

Similar access problems were noted at other schools. For example the Superintendent of the Church Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada made the following comments regarding the fire escapes at the St. John's Indian Residential School at Chapleau following an inspection in 1947:

What of the fire escapes? There is a steel stairway from each of the junior dormitories. This is a stair about 30" wide built close to the eaves of the building so that every snow during the winter melts and forms a load of ice on the fire escape. On the boys' side there is also a section of roof to climb over that would be a very long step for a man; this is a metal roof and in winter is very slippery so that the only way to get the smaller boys over it is for an adult to stand by and shove them over. . . . The boys' fire escape has been condemned by the Agent as entirely unsafe but, until such time as new construction of cottages removes the necessity of using this part of the building, we have no other accommodation. As I see the situation, there is a possibility that, if a fire had a few minutes start, some forty children and six or eight staff members would be trapped without access to fire escapes some 25 feet above the ground and beyond the reach of any ladders we are able to get there⁶⁴.

Accidents

Accidents of various sorts occurred at all of the schools. Sometimes students were involved and sometimes the staff.

Students sometimes suffered injuries while operating equipment at the schools. For example, at the Mount Elgin school a large mangle was used in the laundry room to press flat items such as sheets, pillow cases, dresses and towels. The mangle was quite old and was said to be "entirely out of date and very dangerous":

It was discarded as dangerous by the New Method Laundry of St. Thomas, nineteen years ago, was purchased for a trifle and installed here about that time. There is nothing in the way of modern protection against children getting their hands caught in the rollers. Notwithstanding the greatest precaution we have had several instances of girls getting caught in the roller. Yesterday, a girl got caught and had it not been for the alertness of the man in charge her hand would undoubtedly have been destroyed. Apart from the loss and suffering of the child, it would undoubtedly mean a law suit against the Department or School, or both⁶⁵.

In a subsequent letter (January 8, 1929) to the Department the Principal wrote that the mangle was "very old and dangerous" and that there had "been several cases where pupils have had their fingers caught in the rollers". He also noted that one girl had almost lost her hand in the mangle several years earlier. Needless to say, the mangle was replaced.

One of the students attending the school at Spanish cut off the index finger of his right hand while sawing wood in the sawmill and was sent to the hospital at Espanola. The boy had been scheduled to be discharged that summer. The boy's father was upset about the boy losing a finger "from his principal hand, that is the right one" and wrote to the Department:

I am very sorry of that, I sent my child to Spanish without any wounds, he will return here without a finger that will be missing all through his future life.

I have no detail yet but he must be seriously wounded and if such is the case I will hold you responsible or the community for having used my child to work in a dangerous position which might have imperiled his life. A child of less than 15 years on a sawing machine I suppose. Hoping that you will hold a strict investigation. We expect a good settlement. It will not be pleasant to see my child return wounded, this is intolerable⁶⁶.

Serious accidents occasionally occurred on the playground. An example is provided from the Mohawk Institute in 1946. In a yard by the school was an old "maypole" that had erected many years before. The pole had a deep crack which ran for several feet, but no one noticed it. Prior to "May day" celebrations, a large wooden wheel weighing about a hundred pounds, had been suspended on the pole with steel chains attached to the top of the pole. The children could sit on this wheel and rotate it around the pole, using it as a swing. On May 1 several of the girls were playing on this swing. The may pole broke. A thirteen year old girl fell off the wheel and the wheel fell on her stomach. When the girl got up she said she was not feeling well and was put to bed. Later she was taken to the Brantford Hospital where she died. Her death was caused by extensive intra-abdominal bleeding. An inquest was held. Among the recommendations were that "the playground equipment be inspected every three months by a competent inspector"⁶⁷.

The following accident involved the Principal at the Pelican Lake Indian Residential School:

Mr. Marshall . . . sustained some injury to his back when the School motor-boat he was driving collided in the darkness with a canoe operated by a man and his wife who were visitors in that part. The School boat had "navigation" lights burning, but there was not light on the canoe, and had it not been that Mr. Marshall was running at a very moderate rate, the results might have been much more serious than they were.

Just before the collision, the man and woman in the canoe stood up, with the result that the woman was thrown into the water. She was rescued, however, by Mr. Marshall, but when he managed to get her over the side of his boat she fell against him, causing him to strike his back against part of the boat's furnishings⁶⁸.



(Endnotes)

¹ RG 10, Vol. 6206, File 468-5, part 4. Letter S. R. McVitty, Principal, Mount Elgin Indian Residential School to Duncan C. Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. March 7, 1922.

² RG 10, Vol. 6185, File 460-5, part 2. Telegram to Philip Phelan from Fr. Henri Belleau, August 23, 1939.

³ RG 10, Vol. 6185, File 460-5, part 2. Letter, Bishop Henri Belleau, Moosonee to Philip Phelan, September 2, 1941.

⁴ RG 10, Vol. 6185, File 460-5, part 2. Letter, General Superintendent, Oblates, Ottawa to Mr. R. A. Hoey, Director, Indian Affairs Branch, December 10, 1945.

⁵ RG 10, Vol. 6205, File 468-1, part 3. Memorandum, R. A. Hoey, Superintendent of Welfare and Training to Doctor McGill. November 9, 1942.

⁶ RG 10, Vol. 6216, File 470-5, part 8. Letter G. R. Turner, Indian School Administration of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, to P. N. Phelan, Chief, Training Division, November 8, 1947.

⁷ Letter, Eugene A. Papineau, The Jesuit Fathers of Upper Canada to Duncan C. Scott, June 9, 1926, enclosing report on "Specifications of Central Heating Plant".

⁸ Letter, J. F. Lockhart, Indian Agent to the Secretary, October 20, 1939.

⁹ Letter, Deputy Minister of Health to Department of Indian Affairs, October 27, 1927.

¹⁰ Letter, C. Perreault, Principal, to Duncan C. Scott, January 25, 1928.

¹¹ Letter, J. F. Lockhart, Indian Agent to the Secretary, October 20, 1939.

¹² RG 10, Vol. 6197, File 465-5, part 2. Letter Frank Edwards, Indian Agent to the Department, March 18, 1927.

¹³ RG 10, Vol. 6200, File 466-1, part 4. Globe and Mail, February 23, 1946.

¹⁴ RG 10, Vol. 6201, File 466-5, part 5. Inspection Report, Philip Phelan, Chief, Training Division, to Mr. Hoey, July 14, 1945.

¹⁵ RG 10, Vol. 6206, File 468-5, part 2. Report of the Mount Elgin Institute for the year ending March 31, 1911.

¹⁶ RG 10, Vol. 6207, File 468-5, part 8. Agent's Report, Mount Elgin, for the month of February, 1939.

¹⁷ Indian Affairs School Files. RG 10, Vol. 6207, File 468-5, part 8. Agent's Report for the month of February, 1939. Mount Elgin Indian Residential School.

¹⁸ Letter, A. Spencer, Indian Agent to The Secretary, May 30, 1932.

¹⁹ Letter, H. J. Bury, Inspector, Lands and Timber Branch to Dr. McGill, August 23, 1933.

²⁰ RG 10, Vol. 6216, file 470-5, part 9. Report of Dr. Gordon Bell, Sioux Lookout, to Department of National Health and Welfare, September 30, 1949.

²¹ RG 10, Vols. 6185 and 6186, File 460-10, part 1. Admission and Discharge of Pupils, July 1, 1926 and September, 1932.

²² Dominion of Canada Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 30th June 1892.

²³ RG 10, Vol. 6187, File 461-1, part 1. Letter, J. H. Edmison, Presbyterian Church, Board of Home Missions, to Department of Indian Affairs, Dec 4, 1912.

²⁴ RG 10, Vol. 6205, File 468-1, part 3. Memorandum, R. A. Hoey, Superintendent of Welfare and Training to Doctor McGill. November 9, 1942.

²⁵ RG 10, Vol. 6194, File 463-1, part 1. Letter, P. Bousquet, Principal, St. Margaret's School, Fort Frances to the Secretary, January 27, 1934.

²⁶ RG 10, Vol. 6194, File 463-1, part 1. Letter, A. F. MacKenzie, Secretary to Rev. P. Bousquet, Principal, Fort Frances, January 31, 1934.

²⁷ RG 10, Vol 6191, File 462-1, part 1. Letter, A. G. Chisholm, Barrister & Solicitor, to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, January 14, 1922.

²⁸ RG 10, Vol 6191, File 462-1, part 1. Letter, A. G. Chisholm, Barrister & Solicitor, to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, January 14, 1922.

²⁹ RG 10, Vol. 6187, File 461-1, part 2. Letter, J. D. McLean, Assistant Deputy and Secretary, to Rev. A. D. Menzies, Principal, June 29, 1926.

³⁰ RG 10, Vol. 6193, File 462-10, part 1. Letter, John M. Daly, Indian Agent, Parry Sound to The Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, August 10, 1934.

³¹ RG 10, Vol. 6193, File 462-10, part 1. Letter, J. A. Alan, Indian Agent, Christian Island, to The Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, January 7, 1935.

³² RG 10, Vol. 6193, File 462-10, part 1. Letter, Maurice Unger, Indian Agent, Hagersville to The Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, October 15, 1934.

³³ RG 10, Vol. 6193, File 462-10, part 1. Letter, Children's Aid Society of Toronto to Rev. Dr. Westgate, the Missionary Society of the Church of England, November 26, 1935.

³⁴ RG 10, Vol. 6193, File 462-10, part 1. Letter, Alfred J. Vale, Principal, St. John's Indian Residential School to The Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, June 19, 1934.

³⁵ RG 10, Vol. 6211, File 469-1, part 3. Letter, Bishop of Algoma to Duncan Campbell Scott, July 22, 1922.

³⁶ RG 10, Vol. 6193, File 462-10, part 1. Letter, Alfred J. Vale, Principal, St. John's Indian Residential School, Chapleau, to The Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, September 6, 1934.

³⁷ RG 10, Vol. 6212, File 469-5, part 2. Letter, A. D. McNabb, Indian Agent, Sault Ste. Marie, to J. D. McLean, Assistant Deputy and Secretary, February 25, 1915.

³⁸ RG 10, Vol. 6193, File 462-10, part 1. Letter, Alfred J. Vale, Principal, St. John's Indian Residential School, Chapleau, to The Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, December 12, 1934.

³⁹ RG 10, Vol 6203, File 467-1, part 1. Letter, H. A. Alderwood, Secretary to Indian Affairs Branch. September 30, 1943.

⁴⁰ RG 10, Vol. 6187, File 461-1, part 1. Extract from Inspector Semmens Report, July 8, 1914.

⁴¹ RG 10, Vol 6191, File 462-1, part 1. Letter, A. G. Chisholm, Barrister & Solicitor, to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, January 14, 1922.

⁴² RG 10, Vol. 6200, File 466-1, part 1. Newspaper article, Toronto Sunday World, November 18, 1923.

⁴³ RG 10, Vol. 6187, File 461-1, part 1. Letter, R. S. McKenzie, Indian Agent Kenora to Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, March 15, 1917.

⁴⁴ RG 10, Vol. 6187, File 461-1, part 1. Letter from Indians

⁴⁵ RG 10, Vol. 6216, file 470-5, part 9. Letter, Dr. Gordon L. Bell, Sioux Lookout to Dr. W.J. Wood, Medical Superintendent, Indian Health Services, September 30, 1949.

⁴⁶ Letter, T.J. Godfrey, Indian Agent to J.D. McLean, Secretary, Dept. of Indian Affairs. Feb 25, 1920.

⁴⁷ Brassard, Hector. "Ecole-Pensionnat du Fort-Frances, Ont". Missions de la Congregation des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculee. no. 214, decembre 1921, pp. 301-309.

⁴⁸ RG 10, Vol 6191, File 462-1, part 1. Letter, A. G. Chisholm, Barrister & Solicitor, to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, January 14, 1922.

⁴⁹ Indian Affairs School Files. RG 10, Vol. 6215, file 470-5, part 4. Letter, Secretary of The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission to R. A. Hoey, Superintendent Welfare and Training, September 24, 1940.

⁵⁰ RG 10, Vol. 6219, File 472-2, part 1. Quarterly Returns.

⁵¹ RG 10, Vol 6191, File 462-1, part 1. Letter, A. G. Chisholm, Barrister & Solicitor, to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, January 14, 1922.

⁵² RG 10, Vol. 6191, File 462-1, part 1. Letter, Department to Rev. John G. Anderson, Bishop of Moosonee, December 29, 1914.

⁵³ RG 10, Vol 6206, File 468-5, part 4. Letter S. R. McVitty, Principal, Mount Elgin Indian Residential School to Dr. Duncan C. Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. March 7, 1922.

⁵⁴ RG 10, Vol. 6191, File 462-1, part 1. Letter, Department to Rev. John G. Anderson, Bishop of Moosonee, December 29, 1914.

⁵⁵ RG 10, Vol. 6216, file 470-5, part 6. Extract from Report of J. M. Ridge addressed to Dr. Moore, dated October 1, 1945.

⁵⁶ RG 10, Vol. 6212, file 469-5, part 2. Extract from Report of Inspector Green on the Shingwauk Home, November 10, 1916.

⁵⁷ Memorandum, A. J. Doucet, training Division to Philip Phelan, Undated, but likely around 1948.

⁵⁸ RG 10, Vol. 6207, File 468-5, part 9. Letter, Geo. W. Down, Indian Agent to Indian Affairs Branch, July 25, 1944.

⁵⁹ RG 10, Vol. 6216, file 470-5, part 9. Report of Dr. Gordon Bell, Sioux Lookout, to Department of National Health and Welfare, September 30, 1949.

⁶⁰ RG 10, Volume 6216, file 470-5, part 6. Extract from letter from A.G. Hamilton, Inspector of Indian Agencies dated February 16, 1945.

⁶¹ Indian Agent Swartman, Kenora Agency, Quarterly Report, March, 1945.

⁶² Indian Affairs School Files. RG 10, Vol 6215, file 470-5, part 3. Memorandum, DSGIA to Superintendent General. October 6, 1936.

⁶³ RG 10, Vol. 6207, File 468-5, part 9. Letter, Geo. W. Down, Indian Agent to Indian Affairs Branch, July 25, 1944.

⁶⁴ RG 10, Vol. 6192, File 462-5, part 8. Letter, H. A. Underwood, Secretary, to Philip Phelan, Indian Affairs, June 28, 1946.

⁶⁵ RG 10, Vol. 6207, File 468-5, part 6. Letter, S. R. McVitty, Principal, Mount Elgin Indian Residential School to The Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs. January 3, 1929.

⁶⁶ RG 10, Vol. 6219, File 471-13, part 1. Sault Ste. Marie Agency, Spanish Residential School, Medical Matters, 1932-33.

⁶⁷ Article, Brantford Expositor, Saturday, May 16, 1936.

⁶⁸ Indian Affairs School Files. RG 10, Volume 6215, file 470-5, part 4. Letter, Rev. Westgate, Secretary, The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission to Superintendent, Welfare and Training, September 24, 1940.

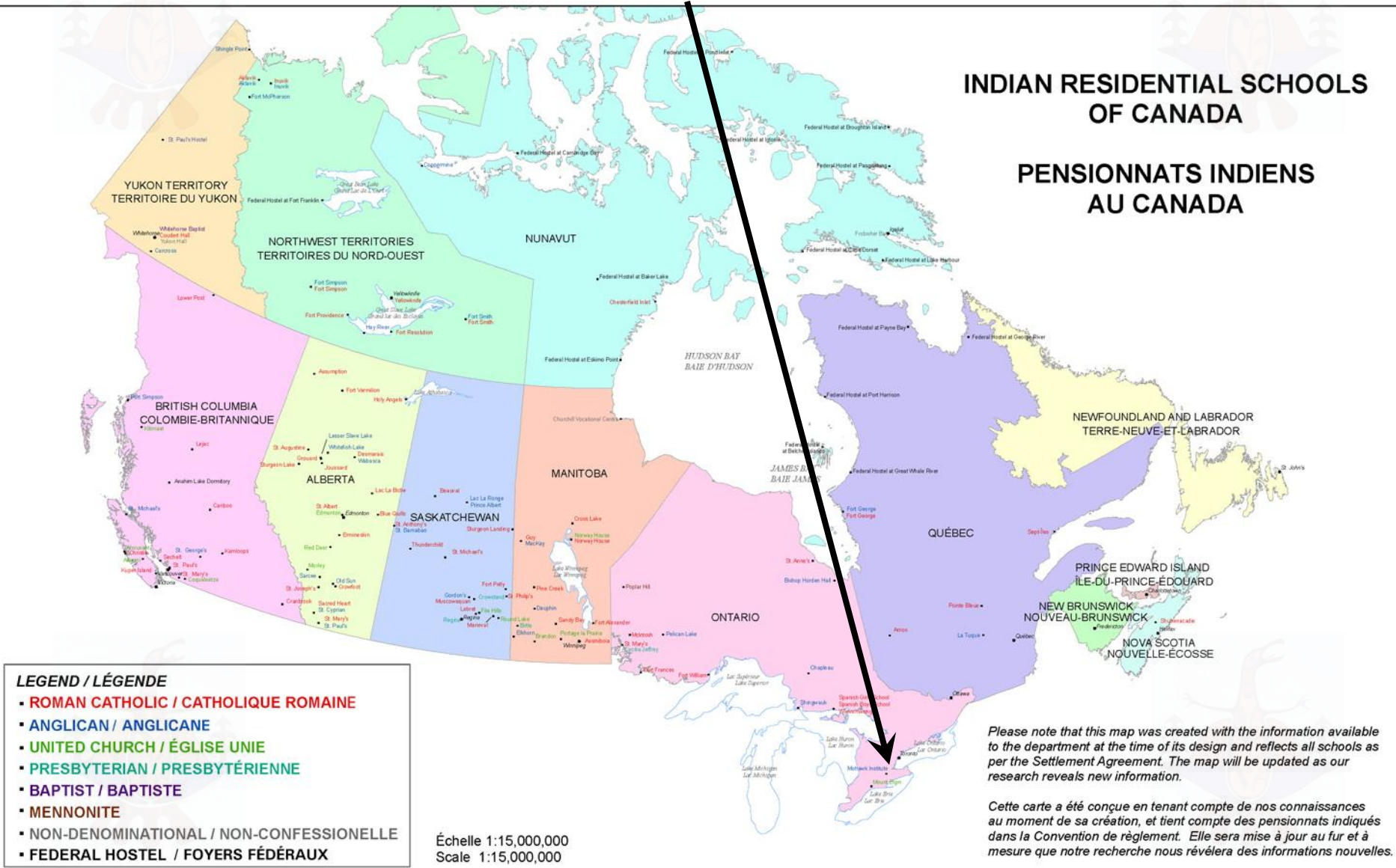
The Mohawk (Institute) Indian Residential School

Brantford, Ontario

Six Nations of the Grand River

INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS
OF CANADA

PENSIONNATS INDIENS
AU CANADA



Please note that this map was created with the information available to the department at the time of its design and reflects all schools as per the Settlement Agreement. The map will be updated as our research reveals new information.

Cette carte a été conçue en tenant compte de nos connaissances au moment de sa création, et tient compte des pensionnats indiqués dans la Convention de règlement. Elle sera mise à jour au fur et à mesure que notre recherche nous révélera des informations nouvelles.

The Mohawk Indian Residential School

(THE MOHAWK INSTITUTE)

Brantford, Ontario



Chapter 14

Religious Affiliation : Church of England (Anglican)

Operated by : Church of England (Anglican Church)

Period of Operation : 1850 - 1969

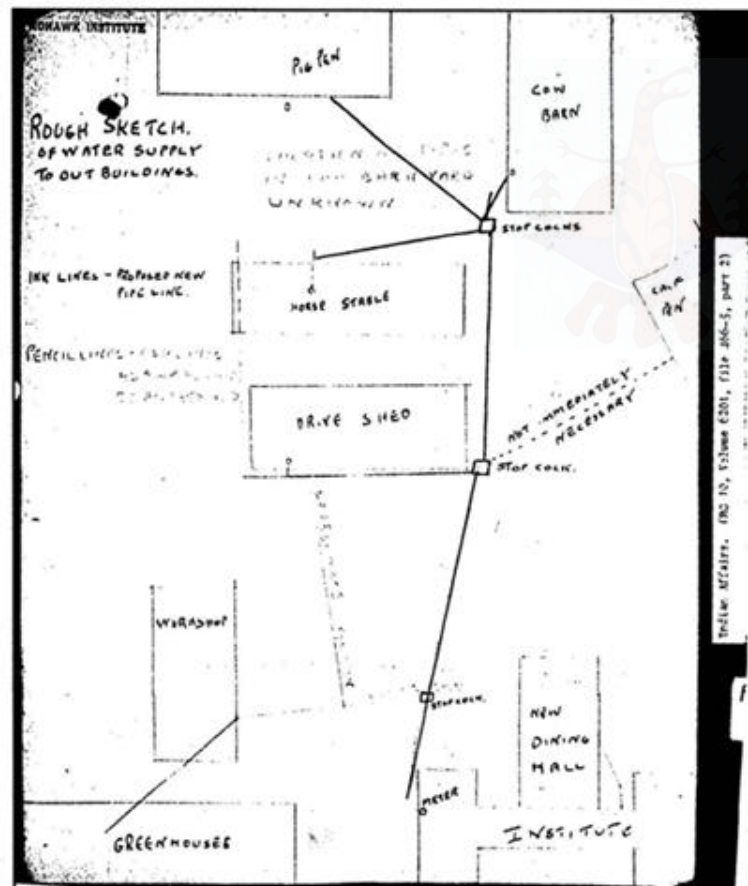
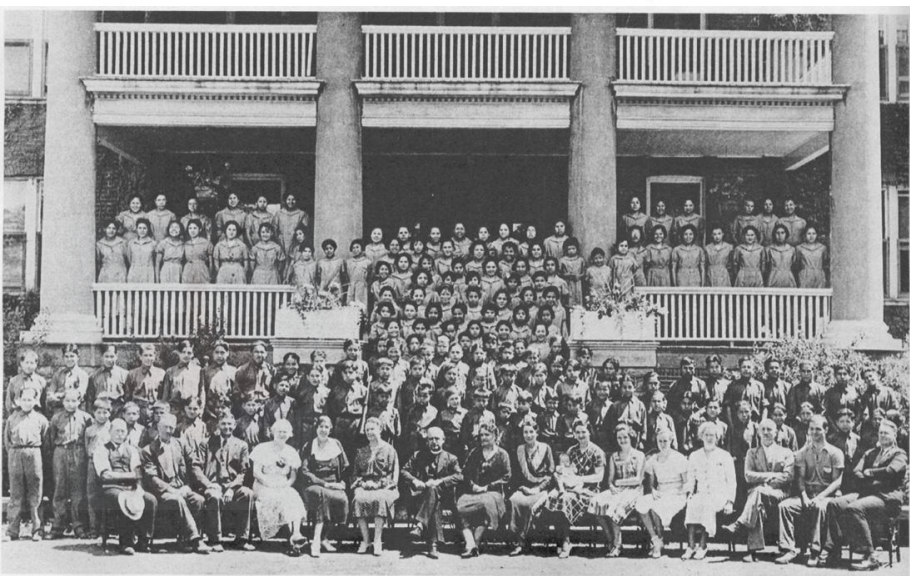


Overview

The Mohawk Institute was established in 1850, operating continuously for 119 years by the Church of England in Canada. The Institute, and the 350 acre parcel of land on which it was situated, was owned by "The New England Company" of London, England, a "non-sectarian Protestant missionary organization"¹. The school was established as an industrial school, with a "half-day" system. In this system all of the students attended classes for a half day and spent the other half day working. The boys worked at a variety of activities on the farm and grounds, while the girls worked in the school, completing various domestic tasks. In later years the boys spent a half day working at various trades and the girls continued the domestic tasks assigned to them, although these tasks were structured within courses referred to as "domestic, or household science". The usual subjects of "reading, writing arithmetic and religion" were delivered to students in all grades.

A new school was constructed in 1903 after the original building was burned to the ground by disgruntled students in a series of fires. The new school, designed and constructed by its first principal Robert Ashton and his son, was an impressive structure which could hold up to 150 students. The school was a working farm with a variety of livestock, large gardens, farm equipment, barns, stables, silos, chicken pen, pig pens and a number of buildings used for storage.

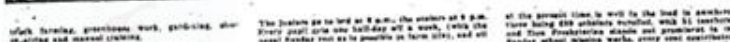
In 1922 the New England Company leased the Mohawk Institute to the Department of Indian Affairs for 21 years at a nominal rental. The Department of



Indian Affairs made per capita grants to the Institute for current expenditures each fiscal year. The per capita grant was \$ 60.00 and, over the years, increased to \$ 160.00. Prior to leasing the Institute in 1922, the Department provided the per capita grants for operating expenses and the New England Company provided grants for buildings, equipment, replacements and repairs. After 1922 the Department was responsible for all of these costs, which were substantial in some years. For example, in the 1922-23 school year, an amount of \$36,568.13 was paid by the Department for buildings and replacements². Indian Affairs records for the eight years from January 1922 to January 1930 disclose that the principal at the school made at least fifteen requests for money for repairs, replacements, support of students, equipment, services, additions and alterations. Some of these requests were met, but most of them were deferred until money was available, either through the cumbersome Parliamentary Appropriation system, or from the trust established by the New England Company.

The New England Company built a number of schools in the Brantford area including the Mohawk Institute. A day school had been established by the New England Company in the Brantford area as early as 1828. The first boarding school, a precursor to the Mohawk Institute, was established in 1831 with ten boys in attendance. This school was set up to provide boys with the rudiments of "farming, carpentry, horse shoeing and tailoring".

The Mohawk Institute was located on a "350 acre farm stretching away over a fertile area" and included "grain lands, pasture, fodder fields and there are 6,000 square feet of floor space in excellent greenhouses. There are suitable



The teaching staff comprises the lady principal, Mrs. S. Rogers (five lady teachers, five men teachers and Principal S. Rogers.

The building is a very fine, solid red brick structure, seven stories high, on the west, fronted by the lake in Canada. It stands in extensive grounds, approached through an avenue of well-grown trees, which forms an island. The building forms, situated away from a public area, comprises 510 acres, including green land, pasture, double tennis and there are 5100 square feet of floor space in residential grounds. There are excellent horse, stable, and horse厩.

[illegible]

The feature is held on 2 p.m., the others at 5 p.m. Every third day holiday all a week, (with the exception of the first) as possible on farm sites, and the national holiday.

The program has the effect for good and together with the study it form education for the working world is for the people of the country. The program for the people of the country is observed and the principle of the teaching staff express much concern. The program is carefully followed, and as an outcome of this work of the children are good students. They are observed in the school of their town. They are also in the school of their town. They are also in the school of their town.

Dr. William Church of Bedford.

Watch! for the boy! watch! for the boy;
 And we go sliding, all in a row,
 We are all glad that winter is here,
 That is why we play and cheer.

The snow is all here and the ground all white,
 We shall make snowballs and have a good fight.
 And, when I'm to talk and singing to run,
 The stars that shut our little eyes for us are.

Picture-Books

*Princess Isabella, winter scenes,
 Prince's wedding, singing scenes,
 Winter scenes, singing scenes,
 and the greatest story books.*

[illegible][illegible]

barns, stables, root houses, silos and pig pens"³. This farm consisted of a 9.93 acre parcel of land which was granted to the New England Company for purposes of erecting the school; an area that had been granted to erect a church and cemetery; 163.90 acres which was to be used for the manual training farm; and another parcel consisting of about 90 acres, leased from the Six Nations Band, which was used as farm land. All of these lands were, or had been, a part of the Six Nations Indian Reserve⁴.



Operation of the School

The Mohawk Institute was "a very fine, solid red brick structure, known among architects as the most beautiful of its kind in Canada. It stands in extensive grounds, approached through an avenue of well-grown maples, with lawns and flower beds, in the midst of 16 acres of orchard". The three storey building consisted of a central portion with a wing on either side. The central portion housed the principal's and teachers quarters, and the administration offices. One wing contained the boys' dormitories, washrooms and play rooms and the other wing contained the girls' rooms. A new wing, added in 1922, was funded primarily by the Department and a contribution of about \$5,000.00 by the New England Company. The new wing contained a dining room for the pupils, kitchen, laundry and new heating plant. A Chapel was added in 1930.

The first head of the Mohawk Institute, Robert Ashton, was sent out from England by the New England Company to take charge of the school in the early 1870s. Robert Ashton ran the institution until his retirement in 1903. The school was run by members of Ashton's immediate family for the next 26 years. His son, Nelles Ashton (1903) took over the principal's position followed by his daughter, Mrs. Boyce (1922) and then by his son-in-law, Sydney Rogers (1922-29). Other principals at the school included the Rev. Horace W. Snell (1929-45) and Rev. W. J. Zimmerman (1945-50). In 1930 there were six female teachers and six male teachers in addition to the principal and his wife. Only two of the teachers were qualified. One of the qualified teachers was an Indian lady, Miss S. Hardie, who had been at the school for 42 years⁵. Among the other staff were a nurse, sewing teacher, two dietitians, laundress, housekeeper, matron, a boys' master, mechanic, farmer, teamster and gardener who provided regular upkeep to the farm and school buildings.

Financing the Mohawk Institute

After the school was burned in 1903, a new school was built at the site. In 1922 a large addition was made to the school which was funded by the Department of Indian Affairs and partly by the New England Company. When the New England Company first established the Institute, it established a trust fund called the *Mohawk Globe Trust* and regularly deposited money into this fund. Money from the fund was given by way of an annual grant and, at the request of the school, for alterations and repairs. The New England Company also owned another Indian Residential School at Lytton, British Columbia called St. George's. When this school was being built, the Company borrowed money from the Mohawk Globe Trust to assist with construction of the buildings. The money, amounting to £1,693, or \$7,878.60, was paid back to the trust in 1922 and 1923. The trustees of the Globe fund were instructed "to hand the payments over to the Indian Department towards the expenses of the building activity at the Mohawk Institute"⁶. The school was officially named The Mohawk Institute on September 26, 1924.

In October of 1924, Sydney Rogers, the new Principal of the school met with officials from the Department to discuss expenditures "other than those of a purely current nature" and the "best method of financing the Mohawk Institute". The Department advised Mr. Rogers that it paid the school a grant of \$150.00 per student per year from Parliamentary Appropriation along with grants from the same source for replacements, repairs and additions to plant and equipment. The Institute also received an annual grant of £1,000 (about \$5,000.00) from the New England Company, which the Principal and the Department designated for use "for special expenditures which are necessary from time to time". In conveying this information in a letter to the New England Company, the Deputy

Superintendent General suggested that

To assist Mr. Rogers with special expenditures, it is advisable that the New England Company grant be paid to the Department, the same as in the case of the Lytton Industrial School, and I should be grateful if you would arrange to have the quarterly payment, which you will send



out in December, addressed to me and made out in my favour. I will deposit it in a special trust account and it will be used upon the principal's request with my approval as needs arise⁷.

Thereafter, the New England Company sent the annual grant in quarterly payments to the Department of Indian Affairs and the money was deposited to "The Six Nations Indian Agency Trust Account", which had been established by the Department at the suggestion of the Deputy Superintendent General, who was the trustee of the fund. The funds in the account were to be used for replacements and repairs to the school as well as for maintenance (operating costs). Requests for funds were sent to the Department, a cheque requisitioned and forwarded to the school.

To ensure proper use of funds the Department requested the Indian Superintendent to inspect the school on a monthly basis to "check over the bank and other books and the receipts each quarter, and certify to the four financial statements" submitted by the principal each year⁸. In a financial statement for the period from April 1, 1933 to June 30, 1934 (15 months) the school received \$36,778.76 and spent \$ 35,875.70. Of this money, \$2,818.25 came from the New England Company and, but for this funding, the school would have operated at a deficit. The costs of operating the school in the winter of 1941-42 rose substantially. The unusually cold winter raised the heating and clothing costs and the war effort caused a general increase to all costs – as noted by the Indian

Superintendent at Brantford, "the Department will appreciate that the costs of everything have risen in the past two years"⁹. In 1942 the Department provided a special grant of \$10.00 per pupil to assist with the increased cost of living, but the Mohawk Institute and the St. George's Indian Residential School did not receive this grant. As noted by the Department, "The reason for this is quite evident, as both these schools receive financial support from the New England Company's funds"¹⁰. However, when a special grant of \$15.00 per pupil was approved by the Department in 1944, the Mohawk Institute did receive it.

The Six Nations Band also provided funds for the operation of the school. During the Second World War a local manufacturing company that owned contiguous lands, leased a three acre parcel of land from the Band. The money from this lease was paid to the Department and held in trust for the Band. On June 17, 1942 the Six Nations Council passed a resolution which provided that the rentals received "should be used for the benefit of the maintenance of the Mohawk Institute"¹¹.

Food

When the Indian Superintendent inspected the school in he usually ate lunch at the school. In his monthly report for January 1925, he reported that the lunch "consisted of liver, potatoes and turnips, followed by buns, plentiful, of good quality, and well and cleanly served"¹². In 1946 during one of his inspections, the acting Medical Officer observed that "flour and sugar were found stored in bags and exposed to mice", bread was kept in open baskets "exposed to flies and mice", and the milk was not refrigerated. The dishes were "washed in soapy water too infrequently changed and dried with none too clean dish towels"¹³. He made several recommendations to rectify the problems.

School Program

The Mohawk Institute was an "industrial school" with partly academic and partly industrial courses. The aim was to give the students "a good practical equipment for making a good living". The students were divided into two groups and followed a half-day rotation between classes in the school and practical chores around the school, farm and garden.

As an "industrial school", the Mohawk Institute did not have the staff to

deliver training in all trades or in a high school program. Therefore students had to go elsewhere and the Principal often requested the Department to provide financial assistance to the students. For example in 1922 the Principal sent a request to the Department on behalf of four students who wished to study "telephoning, telegraphing and high school". In some instances the students lived at the school, but most of them lived at home. The Department supported these requests:

I [D. C. Scott] beg to state that at present there are a total of 37 young men and women of the Six Nations Reserve doing the high school or college work, and that all are being helped by the Department. Four are in residence at the Mohawk Institute and attending classes in Brantford; 29 are attending the Brantford and Hamilton Collegiates and the Caledonia and Hagersville High Schools¹⁴.

Duncan Scott indicated that when there was accommodation at the Mohawk Institute the Department was always pleased to have high school students there, and was seriously considering the possibility of providing a continuation school on the Reserve.

Organized Activities

As at other residential schools, there were a number of organized activities such as softball, volleyball and basketball. The school purchased a movie projector in the fall of 1945 and students watched movies on the weekends. There was a Sea, or Naval Cadet program at the school and some of the boys were taught how to box. In December 1946 two of the boys participated with the cadet group in Brantford on their boxing team at a competition.



Students

There were 134 pupils at the school in July 1930 with 78 girls and 56 boys ranging in age from six to eighteen. Eight of these students were residing at the school while attending high school at the Brantford Collegiate¹⁵. The students were primarily from the Six Nations Reserve but some came from Moraviantown, Muncey Reserve, Bay of Quinte Reserve and Caughnawaga.

Punishment

In 1922 when the school was having a problem with truancy which affected attendance at the Institute, the Deputy Superintendent General suggested that an example be set by having one or two of the worst boys committed to the Mimico Reform School. The Deputy thought

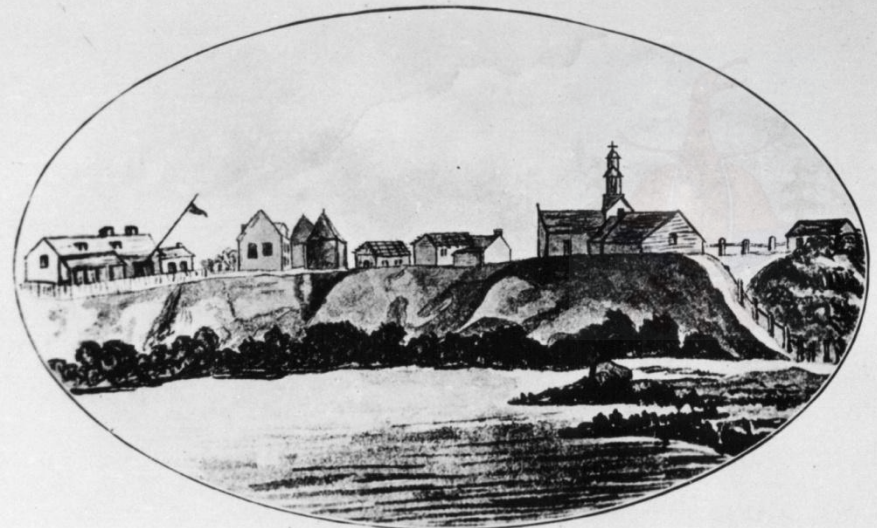
This action would have a good all round effect on the general discipline, not only at the school but on the reserve. The cost of their maintenance at Mimico can be met from the Vote for Indian Education¹⁶.

In an article published in a Toronto newspaper it was reported that the boys at the school had been punished by the first Principal of the school, Robert Ashton, whenever they misbehaved:

During his time many boys ran away, and when they were found and brought back to the institution they were garbed in clothing similar to that of convicts: one leg of the trousers being of blue denim and the other leg of brown denim; and the coat was similar in color.

When the girls misbehaved a different punishment was administered by Robert Ashton's son Nelles, who was then the principal of the school:

Three of the girl pupils ran away. When these girls were returned to the Mohawk Institution their hair was cut off, and they were shut up in the "dark room", or "cell" as some called it, and fed on bread and water. Chief George Miller brought an action against Mr. Nelles Ashton for this treatment of his little daughter. His suit was backed by the Six Nations Council. A Brantford jury of twelve men returned a verdict of four hundred dollars damages against Mr. Nelles Ashton together with the statement that "The Mohawk Institution is not a reformatory, it is an industrial school"¹⁷.



The Council House.

The Mohawk Church.

THE MOHAWK VILLAGE, GRAND RIVER, 1793.

(From a drawing by Lieutenant Pilkington, copied by Mrs. Stowe.)

Overcrowding

In a 1946 letter to the Department the principal at the Mohawk Institute wrote:

Just a line to say that our school is filled and if one or two are discharged and you can make no other provision I shall do the best I can. The difficulty is that Mrs. Fry has 87 pupils in her room and that is too many¹⁸.

The response of the Superintendent of Welfare and Training acknowledged the problem and suggested, "you will certainly need an extra teacher".

Illness

When an instance of gonorrhea surfaced at the school in 1922 the principal, who also had the girl tested for syphilis, thought

... that for the sake of the other girls in the Institute she cannot with safety keep [the girl] at the school as the accommodation is not sufficient to keep her entirely isolated from the other children and as the danger of infection is considerable, she informed me today that she felt it to

be her duty to send the child back to her father or her sisters, all of whom live in Oshweken where she could receive the necessary treatment¹⁹.

Medical Care

In April 1946 Dr. Harold Palmer was appointed as acting Medical Officer to the Mohawk Institute. Dr. Palmer visited the school on a regular basis, cared for students and inspected the buildings. In one of his reports²⁰ Dr. Palmer reported the general health of the students to be very good with few respiratory infections. He referred forty students to the hospital, 36 for removal of tonsils and adenoids, two with rheumatic fever and two with syphilis and reported several cases of contagious impetigo which he treated. He noted that the outbuildings were "infested with rats", foodstuffs were improperly stored, the hand towels in the washrooms were "very dirty and unsanitary" and that "the female pupils are using cloth sanitary napkins which are washed in the school laundry". Dr. Palmer recommended ways to correct all of these problems but it is not clear if they were carried out.

Deaths

There are few records of deaths in the records reviewed except for a death caused through an unfortunate accident in the playground in 1936. In the yard was an old "maypole" that had erected many years before. No one seemed to know how long the pole had been there. The pole had a deep crack which ran for several feet, but no one noticed it. Prior to "May day" celebrations a large wooden wheel weighing about a hundred pounds, had been suspended on the pole with steel chains attached to the top of the pole. The children could sit on this wheel and rotate it around the pole, using it as a swing. On May 1 several of the girls were playing in the yard on this swing. The may pole broke. One of the girls, thirteen at the time, fell off the wheel and the wheel fell on her stomach. When the girl got up she said she was not feeling well and was put to bed. Later she was taken to the Brantford Hospital where she died. Her death was caused by extensive intra-abdominal bleeding. An inquest was held. Among the recommendations were that "the playground equipment be inspected every three months by a competent inspector"²¹.

Fires

In 1903 a series of fires occurred at the school when several boys who had been disciplined "turned, and they burned the Mohawk Institution to the ground"²².

Safety at the School

There were a number of safety concerns at the school and most of them related to the constant state of disrepair of the buildings. In one instance, following the construction of the addition which housed the dining hall in 1924, it was discovered that there was an abnormal amount of moisture in the room which was caused by a broken water main lying under the foundation. There was a concern that the excessive moisture would increase the possibility of the children having respiratory problems so the water main was disconnected and located away from the building.

Another concern was related to the electrical system. A major inspection of the electrical installations at the school was carried out in December 1947 which uncovered a number of problems including poor lighting in the classrooms and recreation areas, inadequate fire alarms, substandard installation of fixtures, worn and bare wires, and unsafe outlets²³. The inspector was critical of the electrical installations and their condition, noting that it was "amateurish and crudely done with outlets lacking proper controls". The wiring was unsafe and presented many hazards "which might result in serious damage to property and to persons carrying out their daily duties". The electrical wiring was eventually upgraded.

Complaints

In 1945 a new principal was hired at the school after the previous principal, who had been at the school for sixteen years, had been let go. Some of the staff who had worked with the old principal and were loyal to him, also left. The new principal, it was hoped, would be able to overcome the problems that had arisen at the school during the previous administration. The school was in disrepair and there did not seem to be sufficient funding to make the repairs. The school was overcrowded and there were not enough classrooms or teachers. The new principal met with opposition from some of his staff to changes he wished to make. The students were not happy with things that were happening at the school and told their parents they did not want to be there. There was a general discontent at the school among the staff and students.

In 1946 the Brantford Women's Council inspected the Mohawk Institute and prepared a report which they presented to the Archdeacon of the Grace Anglican Church. The report alleged that there was a "lack of sufficient clothing and educational facilities for Indian children" attending the school and that there was a "division of authority in administration [which] caused conditions that required immediate investigation at the boys' school". The Council recommended that more teachers be provided, classroom equipment be increased, the addition of a recreational room, study room and library and an increase in grants for the upkeep of the school and the children²⁴. The Department of Indian Affairs was informed of the complaints and promised to send an inspector to look into the matter and "consult with members of the Women's Council who had made the report". A local paper reported that a Supreme Court Grand Jury toured the Institute on March 19 and found that there was no evidence to support the criticism made regarding the school. After the Department inspected the Institute, it was decided to increase the grant and to provide more physical facilities.

In spite of the changes that had been made there were still difficulties at the school. In January 1949 twenty five girls ran away from the school:

... you are advised that early Sunday morning, the 23rd of January, it was found that 25 girls had left the building, all in the teen age group, subsequently it was found they had left their dormitories about 4 A. M. that morning, and by picking a door lock and removing some heavy window screening, had made their get away from the basement.

When the students' absence was noted the principal called the R.C.M.P., the local police and the Indian Superintendent. Within a few days, 23 of the students were taken back to the school, while the other two had gone home to Sarnia and Walpole Island and did not return. The Indian Superintendent questioned the girls about why they ran away and reported their reasons for doing so:

- (1) Adverse to school discipline, and a belief (evidently fostered by outside influences) that they did not have to obey the orders of the Principal or his staff.
- (2) Some animosity over punishment from our teacher, Mr. Anderson – with allegations of being too rough.
- (3) Homesickness.
- (4) Went away for no particular reason – other than because the others were going.

The Indian Superintendent talked to all of the girls and thought they would settle down and "conduct themselves in a fitting manner", but two weeks later, ten of the same girls ran away for the same reasons. Only five of them were returned to the school.

Closing the School

The Mohawk Institute was closed in 1969.

Sources

This brief history was compiled primarily from the Indian Affairs School records which are contained in the RG 10 Black Series, Volumes 6200 to 6202, File 466.

PRINCIPALS AT THE SCHOOL

1870 - 1903	Robert Ashton
1903 - 1922	Nelles Ashton
1922	Mrs. Boyce
1922 - 1929	Sydney Rogers
1929 - 1945	Horace W. Snell
1945 - 1950	Rev. W. J. Zimmerman

COMMUNITIES STUDENTS WERE FROM : 1947 - 1952

Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians (AIAI)	Bay of Quinte	Caughnawaga
	Cayuga - Lower(1949)	Cayuga - Upper
	Delaware	Deseronto (1949)
	Mohawk - Amalgamated (1952)	Mohawk - Lower
	Mohawk - Upper	Muncey (1948)
	Oneida	Seneca (1948)
	Six Nations	Tuscarora (1949)
Robinson Huron and Union of Ontario Indians	Cape Crocker	Chippewa
	Christian Island	Gibson
	Kettle Point	Mississauga
	Parry Sound (1950)	Rama
	Rice Lake	Sarnia
	Saugeen	Scugog (1950)
	Walpole Island	Ojibway (1949)

(Endnotes)

¹ Miller, J. R. *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1996, at pp. 64-66 and 72-73.

² RG 10, Vol. 6200, File 466-1, part 1. Memorandum to Colonel Thompson, November 26, 1923.

³ RG 10, Vol. 6200, File 466-1, part 1. Newspaper article, not identified, not dated, but likely about 1931.

⁴ RG 10, Vol. 6201, File 466-9, part 1. Memorandum, September 13, 1922; and Memo, Russell T. Ferrier, November 8, 1929.

⁵ Newspaper article in *The Eagle*, entitled, "The Mohawk Institute", July 1930.

⁶ RG 10, Vol. 6200, File 466-1, part 1. Memo for File, September 4, 1924.

⁷ RG 10, Vol. 6200, File 466-1, part 1. Letter, Deputy Superintendent General to F. R. Bush, Charter Clerk, New England Company, October 23, 1924.

⁸ Letter, Deputy Superintendent General to C. E. Morgan, Indian Superintendent, Brantford, November 28, 1924.

⁹ Letter, E. P. Randle, Indian Superintendent to R. A. Hoey, Superintendent of Welfare and Training, March 27, 1942.

¹⁰ Letter, R. A. Hoey, Superintendent of Welfare and Training, to Rev. H. W. Snell, Principal, June 14, 1943.

¹¹ Memo, Philip Phelan, Chief, Training Division, to D. J. Allan, Superintendent, Reserves and Trusts. March 2, 1946.

¹² Letter, Indian Superintendent to Superintendent of Indian Education, January 16, 1925.

¹³ Letter, Dr. Harold Palmer, to E. P. Randle, Superintendent, July 20, 1946.

¹⁴ RG 10, Vol. 6200, File 466-1, part 1. Letter, Deputy Superintendent General to Rev. James G. White, Hagersville, September 12, 1922.

¹⁵ Newspaper article in *The Eagle*, entitled, "The Mohawk Institute", July 1930.

¹⁶ RG 10, Vol. 6200, File 466-1, part 1. Letter, Deputy Superintendent General to Gordon J. Smith, Indian Superintendent, Brantford, March 18, 1922.

¹⁷ RG 10, Vol. 6200, File 466-1, part 1. Newspaper article, *Toronto Sunday World*, November 18, 1923.

¹⁸ Letter, W. J. Zimmerman, Principal to Philip Phelan, Chief, Training Division, November 22, 1946.

¹⁹ RG 10, Vol. 6200, File 466-1, part 1. Letter, Gordon J. Smith Superintendent, Brantford to The Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, January 30, 1922.

²⁰ Letter, Dr. Harold Palmer, to E. P. Randle, Superintendent, July 20, 1946.

²¹ Article, *Brantford Expositor*, Saturday, May 16, 1936.

²² RG 10, Vol. 6200, File 466-1, part 1. Newspaper article, *Toronto Sunday World*, November 18, 1923.

²³ V. G. Kosnar, Engineering and Construction Division. Report on Electrical Installation, December 12, 1947.

²⁴ RG 10, Vol. 6200, File 466-1, part 4. *Globe and Mail*, February 23, 1946.

The Mohawk Institute Residential School - Brantford, Ontario





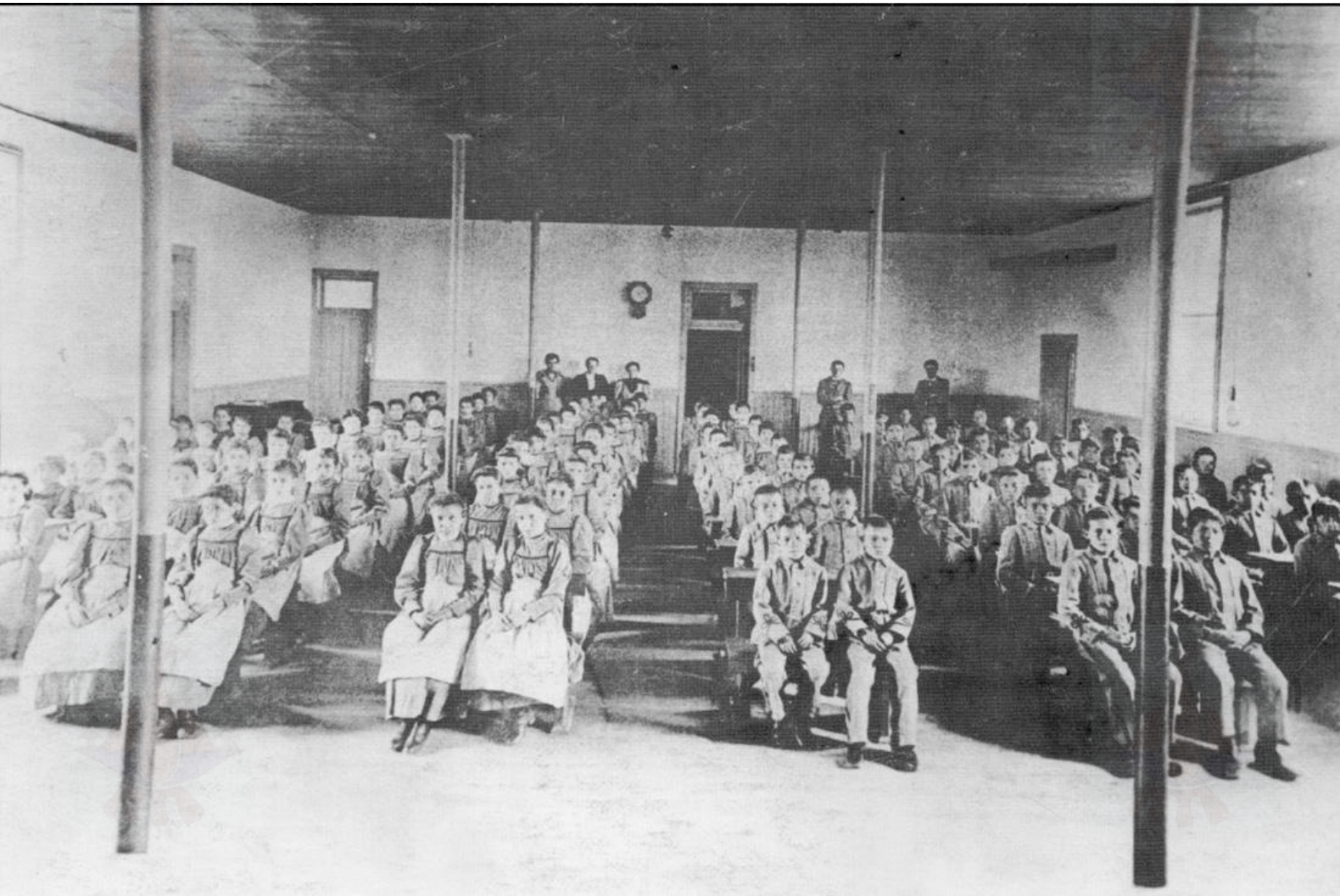


National Archives of Canada – John Boyd Collection



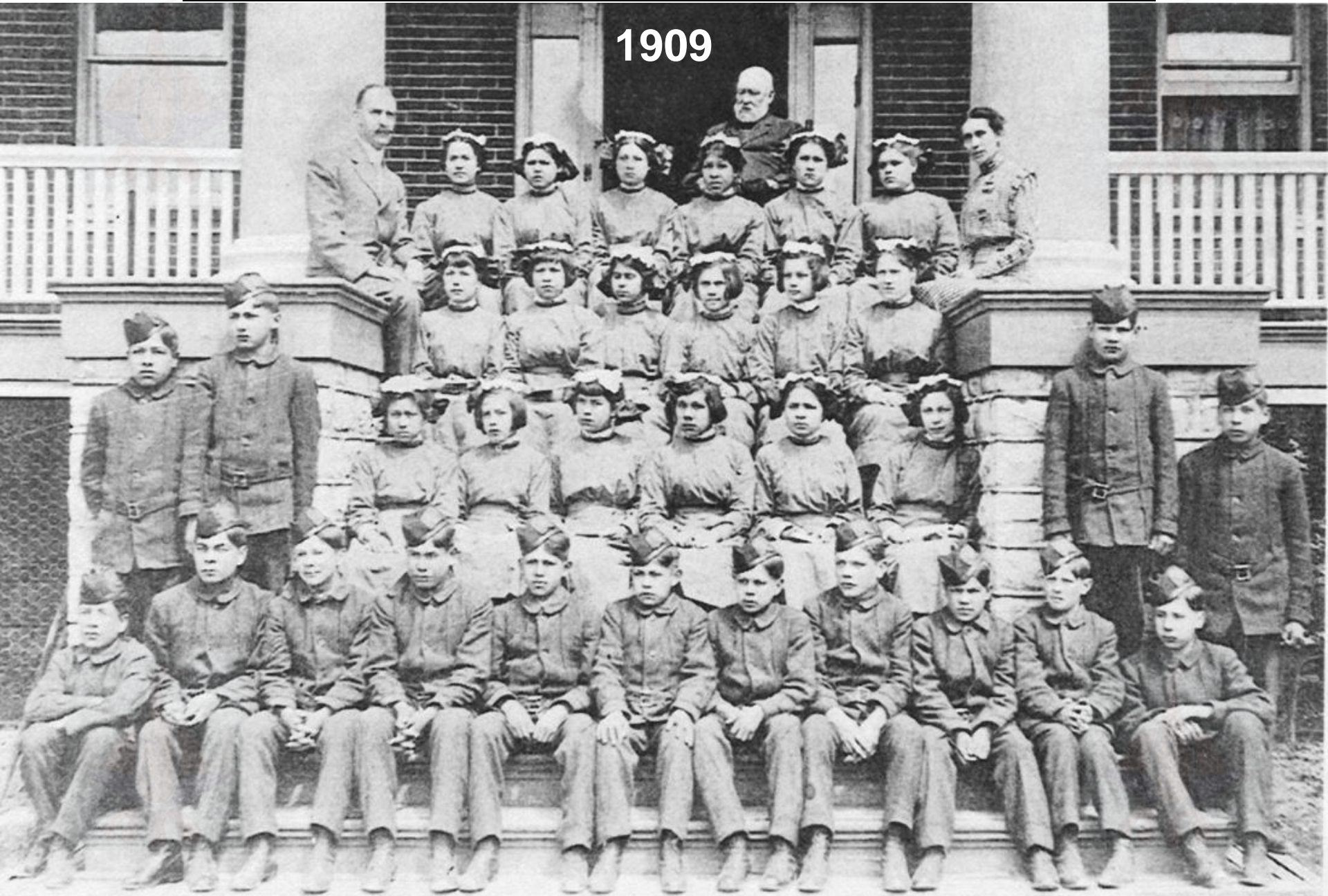
Graduates 1880

Woodland Cultural Centre, Brantford, Ontario



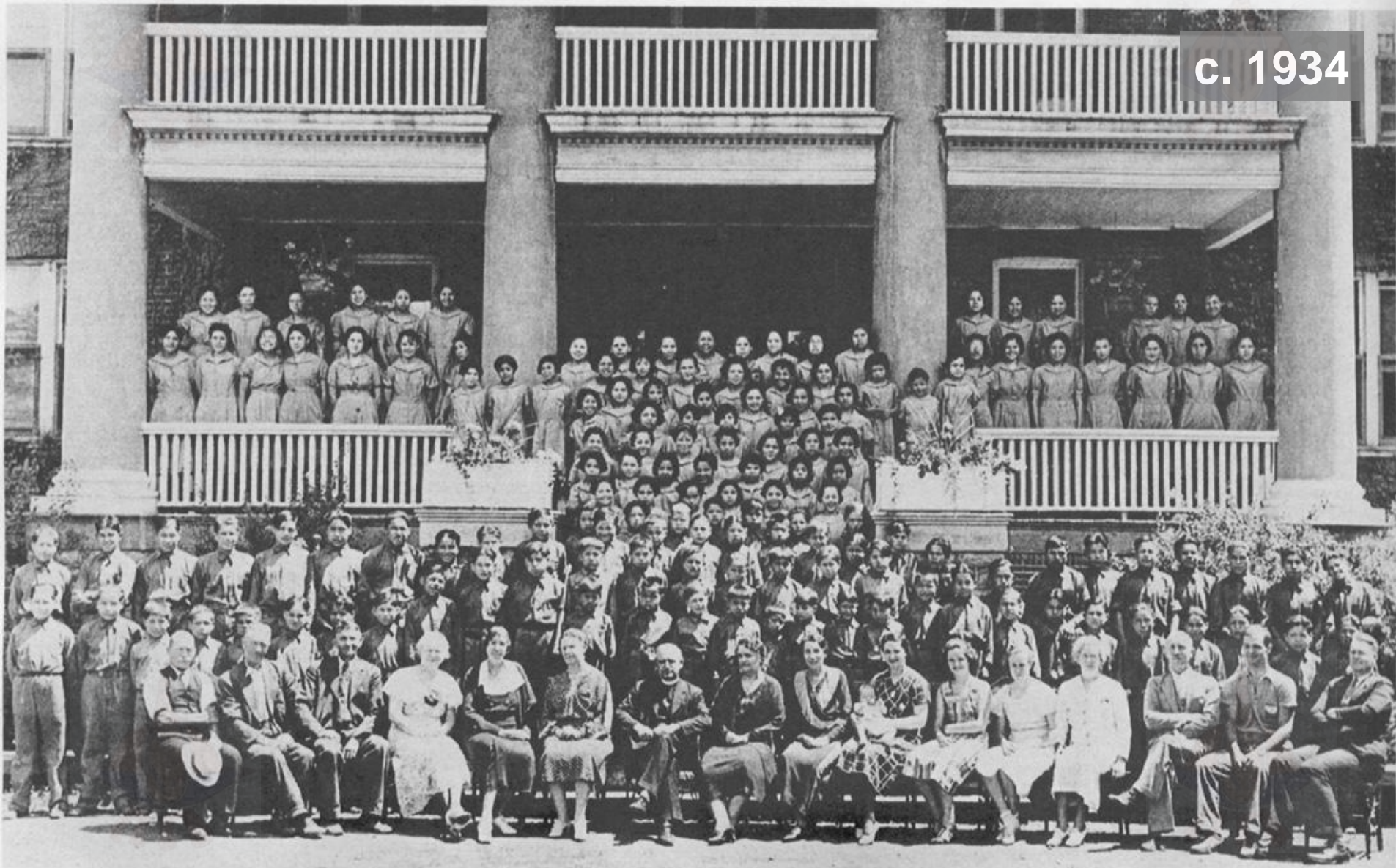
Brant County Museum & Archives Collection

1909



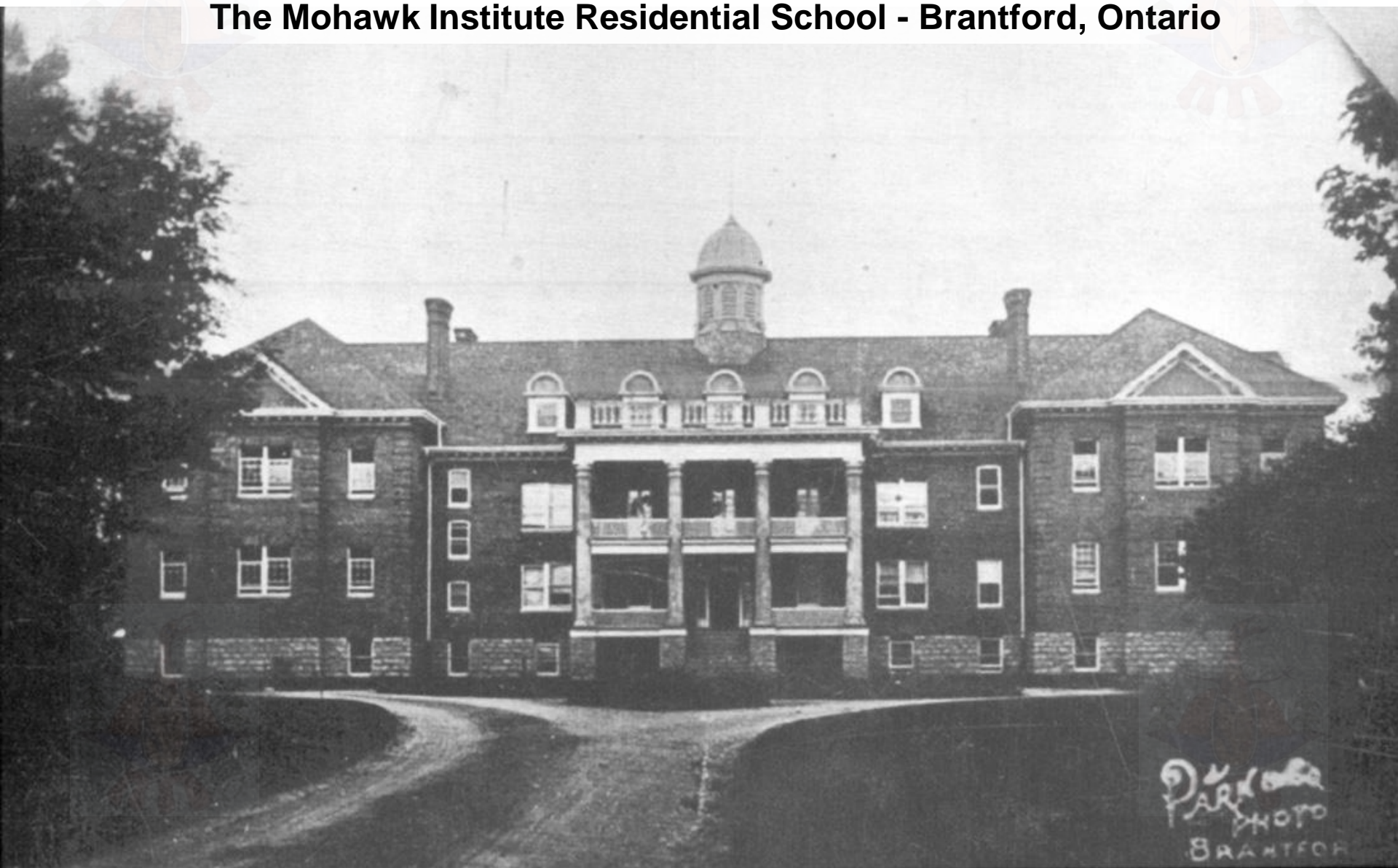
The Edward Groat Collection

c. 1934

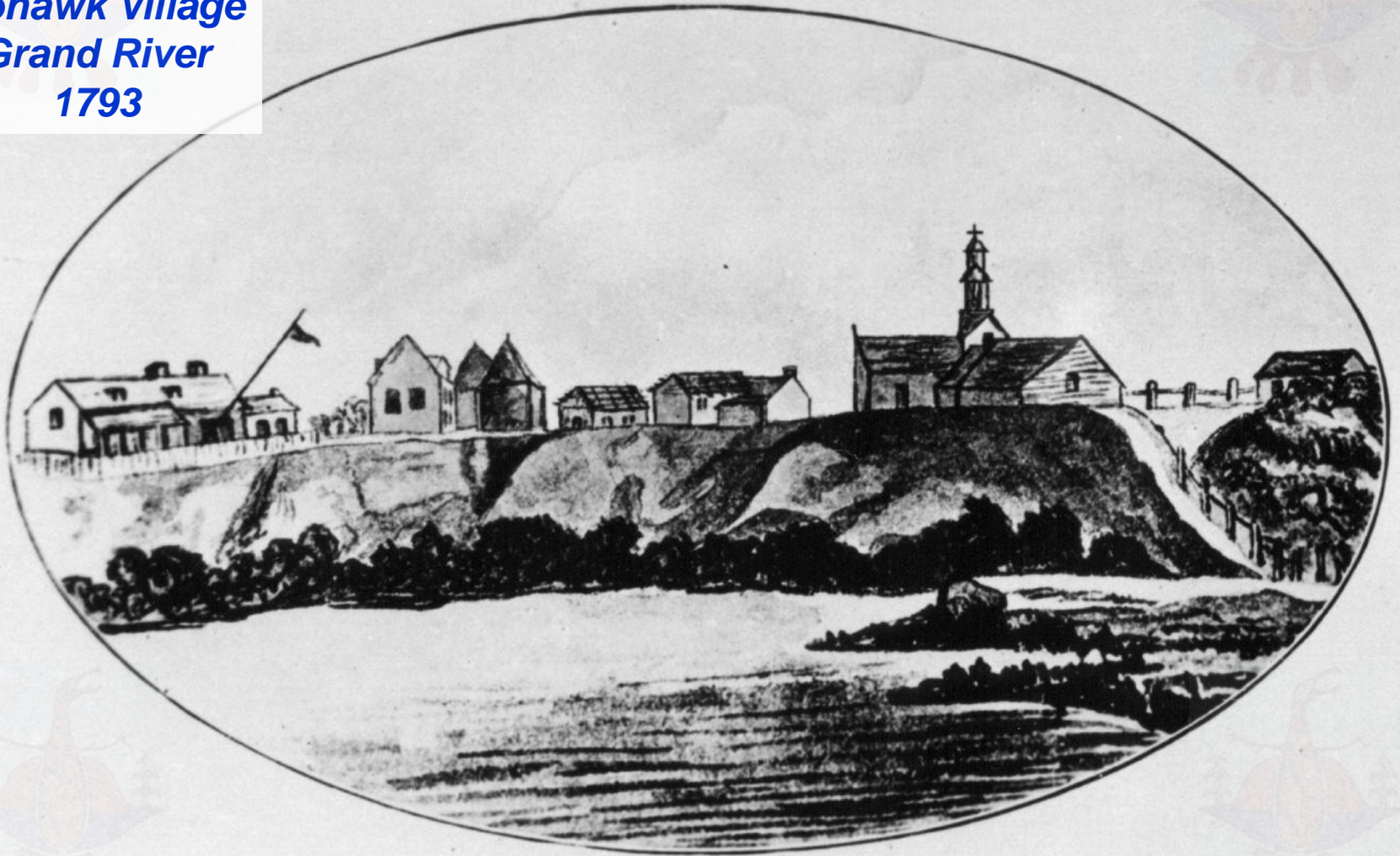


Department of Indian Affairs – Annual Report 1906

The Mohawk Institute Residential School - Brantford, Ontario



**Mohawk Village
Grand River
1793**



The Council House.

The Mohawk Church.

THE MOHAWK VILLAGE, GRAND RIVER, 1793.

(From a Drawing by Lieutenant Pilkington, copied by Mrs. Simcoe.)