The Anglican Church of Canada and the Indian Residential Schools: A Meaning-Centred Analysis of the Long Road to Apology

By

Eric Taylor Woods

A thesis submitted to the

Department of Government of the

London School of Economics and Political Science

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

London, January 2012

Declaration

I certify that the thesis I have presented for examination for the MPhil/PhD degree of the London School of Economics and Political Science is solely my own work.

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. Quotation from it is permitted, provided that full acknowledgement is made. This thesis may not be reproduced without the prior written consent of the author.

I warrant that this authorization does not, to the best of my belief, infringe the rights of any third party.

Contents

Acknowledgements

Abstract

The Canadian residential school system, which operated from the 1880s until the 1970s, was a church-state enterprise designed to assimilate Aboriginal children into Euro-Canadian culture and was characterized by poor sanitation and widespread abuse. Recently, it has been the object of the most significant and most successful struggle for redress in Canadian history. However, for most of its long history, the many failings of the residential school system went unacknowledged by the organizations formerly involved in its operation. In this thesis, I seek to explain why. In doing so, I provide a framework for further study on the residential schools and on comparable cases.

To resolve my question, I conduct a comparative historical analysis of the Anglican Church of Canada, which was formerly an important partner in the operation of the residential schools. My data is drawn from a wide range of archival material. My analysis is framed by a meaning-centred approach to social behaviour referred to as the Strong Program. In sum, I argue that the initial meaning of the school system as a sacred enterprise hindered acknowledgement of its failings. For the church to acknowledge the failings of the residential schools, such a meaning needed to be replaced with a new meaning emphasizing the tragic consequences of the school system. This could only occur once the balance of social power had shifted away from the defenders of the sacred meaning and towards its detractors.

Introduction

The Canadian residential school system, which operated from the 1880s until the 1970s, was a church-state enterprise designed to assimilate Aboriginal children into Euro-Canadian culture and was characterized by poor sanitation and widespread abuse. Recently, it has been the subject of the most significant and most successful struggle for redress in Canadian history. However, for most of its long history, the many failings of the residential school system went unacknowledged by the organizations formerly involved in its operation. In this thesis, I seek to explain why. In doing so, I hope the thesis will provide a framework for further study on the residential schools and on comparable cases.

To resolve my question, I conduct a comparative historical analysis of the Anglican Church of Canada, which was formerly an important partner in the operation of the residential schools. My data is drawn from a wide range of archival material. My analysis is framed by a meaning-centred approach to social behaviour referred to as the Strong Program. In this introductory chapter, I briefly provide the context for my question and introduce the approach that I will engage with to resolve it. Following this, I provide an outline of how I will resolve my question over the course of the chapters that comprise this thesis.

The Indian Residential School System

After being ceded the vast north-western territory of Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company, as prescribed in the Rupert's Land Act of 1868, the Canadian administration acquired *de facto* sovereignty over 100,000 Aboriginals and Métis whose life-worlds differed sharply from the British *cum* Canadian civilization that it hoped to establish in the new territory. To resolve this 'problem', a country-wide system of residential schools that were intended to assimilate Aboriginal children into the lower classes of Euro-Canadian culture was established. It was funded by the federal government and staffed by several mainline Christian churches whose missionaries had already long been involved in Aboriginal education, including the Catholic Church in Canada, the Anglican Church of Canada, the Presbyterian Church of Canada, and the United Church of Canada.

The fundamentals of the new school system were based on a similar system already in operation in the United States, although in Canada it was much more ambitious and carried out on a much wider scale. In Canada, the school system was optimistically represented by federal

administrators as the central mechanism by which the 'heathen red man' in Canada would be 'civilized'. In sum, the logic of the residential schools was as follows: by removing Aboriginal children from the influence of their parents, and placing them under the care of Christian educators, it was thought that the children would more quickly be assimilated. In other words, separation of parent from child was thought to be central to the predicted success of the residential schools.

The Indian residential school system – as it has come to be known – existed from roughly the 1880s until the 1970s. In the 20th Century, Aboriginal children across Canada were legally mandated to attend a residential school. In the 1930s, over 75 per cent of Aboriginal children in Canada were enrolled in a residential school. In total, over 150,000 Aboriginal children spent some time in a residential school, where they were taught to reject the culture of their parents and embrace Christianity, Euro-Canadian culture and the British Empire. Often students were placed in a residential school against the will of their parents. Attempts by students to run away from the schools were common.

In the 1990s, thousands of former students publicly came forward with allegations that they had suffered a variety of physical, sexual and psychological abuses whilst at residential school. This was immediately succeeded by a concerted political campaign for redress. Around this time, social researchers began to be more involved in the study of the residential schools. As I will discuss in more depth in the literature review in Chapter One, their findings tended to indicate that the failings of the residential schools went far beyond the issue of abuse. Some of these findings are as follows. Historians have found that conditions at many of the schools were highly unsanitary, leading to death rates from communicable diseases, such as tuberculosis, that were typically much higher in the schools than in the wider Aboriginal population. They have also found that many students were under-nourished. A lack of proper regulatory oversight has also been found to have been a cause of the abuse of the children by staff members being widespread. Health scientists have found that the psychological problems associated with forcible assimilation have contributed to high rates of drug and alcohol dependency and suicide within Aboriginal communities. Similarly, it has been found that abuses suffered by many students were often replicated upon their own children, leading, in part, to high rates of sexual abuse within Aboriginal communities. Recently, it has also come to light that students who died while at the schools during the periodic epidemics were often buried in unmarked, mass graves. For these reasons, among others, the residential schools are now widely affirmed to have been

a major contributing factor in the on-going social crisis afflicting much of Aboriginal Canada (see Chapter One for an in-depth discussion of the scholarly literature on the residential schools).

Since the 1990s, representatives of church and state have increasingly taken responsibility for the deleterious consequences of the residential schools and have sought to make amends via numerous official apologies and the provision of significant funds and programs aimed at facilitating the process of 'healing' among former students and their communities. In 2008, Stephen Harper, the Prime Minister of Canada, interrupted Parliament to apologize on behalf of the Canadian state for the residential schools. In conjunction with his apology, Harper offered former students approximately $1.9 Billion (CAD) as compensation – by far the largest of such payments in Canadian history. Over 100,000 former students are expected to be eligible for payment. During his apology, Harper also pledged to create a Residential Schools Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). In 2010, the TRC began its work.

What is particularly puzzling about the unfortunate history of the residential school system is the finding by several historians that many of the failings of the residential schools were known from the outset of the 20th century onwards. Indeed, in the 1900s, the residential schools underwent sustained censure for their poor sanitation and almost ceased operation as a result. Unfortunately, despite such censure, the residential schools persisted for many more decades. What is more, even after the school system was finally closed, its deleterious consequences, and those responsible for them, continued to escape acknowledgement and investigation by church and state. This was despite the fact that the consequences of the residential schools continued to be felt in Aboriginal communities across Canada and despite the fact that many of the perpetrators of the most heinous crimes in the residential schools were still alive. It was not until the abuse scandal erupted in the 1990s that the representatives of church and state really began to take responsibility for its various failings.

That many of the failings of the residential school system were known to administrators from the beginning of the 20th Century onwards begs the question why it persisted for so long and, following its closure, why it took so long for administrators to take responsibility for its failings. It is towards resolving these questions that this thesis is directed. This is the first time that such questions have been taken up in the scholarly literature. As such, this thesis will provide an original contribution to the literature on the residential school system.

The Strong Program

How to resolve the question that I have posed? In this thesis, I will engage with an approach referred to as the Strong Program in cultural sociology, which is focused on the social construction of meaning. Notably, I have not chosen to engage with such an approach because I think that it is in some way more important than other approaches in the social sciences. Rather, the reason why I have chosen to engage with social constructionism is because the vast majority of studies on the residential schools have heretofore been carried out by historians working within an implicit realist framework. It is my hope that my thesis will therefore provide new insights on the phenomenon and provoke new lines of similarly motivated research. What is more, as I will describe shortly, researchers working within the Strong Program have been particularly interested in resolving questions that are similar to my own. As such, I hope that my thesis will provide a framework that will be of use to their work. In this regard, whilst the main objective of this thesis is to provide an original contribution to the study of the residential school system, in doing so, I hope to also make a contribution to theory development in the Strong Program.

The central premise of the Strong Program is that meaning is a relatively independent social force and, as such, is an important factor structuring social behaviour. To demonstrate this, researchers in the Strong Program typically focus on the processes that lead to a particular meaning being attached to a phenomenon and the impact that this has on behaviour. Most strongly associated with the work of sociologist Jeffrey Alexander and his colleagues at the Yale Center for Cultural Sociology, the Strong Program has in recent decades become one of the most high profile, and controversial, meaning-centred approaches in the human sciences. Researchers and research centres involved in the promulgation of the approach can now be found throughout the world.[1] In short, the Strong Program has widened beyond Alexander's writings and can now be properly seen as an intellectual movement (see Chapter Two for an explication of the Strong Program).

In its development, the Strong Program has shown itself to be highly adaptable. Partly because of the forcefulness with which Alexander has criticised other approaches, the Strong Program has attracted much in the way of scholarly discussion and criticism. Recent years have

---

[1] Research centres involved in the Strong Program include: Thesis Eleven Centre for Cultural Sociology, Latrobe University; Center for Cultural Sociology, Linnaeus University; Centre for the Study of Global Media and Democracy, Goldsmiths; Research Program on Identity Cultures, Konstanz University; Cultural Sociology Research Group, Moscow State University.

seen special issues of journals and edited books devoted to discussing the merits of Alexander's approach.[2] Other analysts involved in the study meaning, who more often than not, have been the object of stinging criticism by Alexander, have mounted often highly rhetorical counter-attacks. In response to this scholarly attention, rather than adopt a purely defensive position, Alexander has shown himself to be remarkably open to change. In response to the charge that his approach focuses too much on structure, at the expense of practice, Alexander has turned to the new field of performance studies as a way of responding to such criticism. In the parlance of researchers in the Strong Program, 'structural hermeneutics' has given way to 'cultural pragmatics.' Similarly, in response to the charge that he downplays too much the role of power, Alexander has recently began to specifically integrate power into his analyses.

One of the main research areas in the Strong Program seeks to explain why some terrible events take on particular significance within a group whereas others do not. Taking the position that no event, no matter how terrible, has an inherent meaning, the effort has been to bring to light process by which meaning is attributed in a wide range of cases, from slavery among African Americans to the Holocaust. Of particular importance to my thesis is that researchers in this area have also sought to investigate what happens within a group when it is claimed to be responsible for inflicting injustice on another group. Although these latter analyses have done much to illuminate the difficulties associated with acknowledging such a claim and the conflicts that it can trigger, they have not yet developed an adequate framework for understanding the often conflicted process by which members of groups may eventually take responsibility for such injustices. By bringing to light the protracted process by which the Anglican Church of Canada eventually took responsibility for the injustices inflicted in the residential schools, I hope to fill this lacuna.

Organization of Thesis

To resolve my central question, I trace a multi-generational struggle among church elites over the meaning of the residential schools, which eventually resulted in the church officially taking responsibility for the failings of the residential schools – as exemplified by former Primate Michael Peers' official apology to Aboriginal Anglicans on behalf of the church in 1993. I focus in

---

[2] Among the special issues and edited books discussing Jeffrey Alexander's work, see: Beilharz, P. 2004 'The Alexander Effect', *Thesis Eleven: Historical Sociology*, 79, 1; Kivisto, P. 2007 'Review Symposium on the *Civil Sphere*, *Sociological Quarterly*, 48, 4; Alexander, J., Jay, M., Giesen, B., Glazer, N., Hartman, G., Katz, E. & R., Manne, R. 2009 *Remembering the Holocaust: A Debate*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

particular on three periods in which the struggle was particularly intense. In the language of comparative historical analysis, these three periods can be seen as the main 'critical junctures' in the meaning of the residential schools within the church.

The main reason for focusing on Canadian Anglicanism, as opposed to focusing on all of the organizations formerly involved in the residential schools is that this best suits the limited time frame of a PhD thesis, given the limited availability of secondary sources in this area. Because there are many empirical gaps in the literature, analysis required significant historical reconstruction through collection of archival material. Given these constraints, I decided to structure my analysis diachronically, as a tightly focused analysis of changes over time as they occurred within one of the partners formerly involved in the residential schools, as opposed to a broader comparison involving all of the former partners. Ideally, I would have been able to do both types of comparison; that is, comparatively trace the process as it occurred within each of the former partners and then compare my findings across these organizations. It is my hope that future research will fulfil this aim by using my study of Canadian Anglicanism as a benchmark for comparison with the other former partners in the residential schools. However, notwithstanding the limitations of focusing on a single case, it also has unique strengths in that it is the first study to trace the relationship of the Anglicanism and the residential schools over such a long period and should be of interest to historians on empirical grounds alone.

My investigation of the multi-generational struggle over the residential schools within the Anglican Church of Canada proceeds through six chapters, including a concluding chapter that discusses some of the main implications of thesis as a whole. The first three chapters provide the rationale, analytic tools, and context necessary for my analysis. In **Chapter 1**, I provide the rationale for my thesis via a review of the academic literature on the Indian residential school system. In **Chapter 2**, I outline my analytic approach and research methodology. In **Chapter 3**, I provide the context for the three case-studies of the Anglican Church of Canada that I conduct in the succeeding chapters. The chapter includes a history of the Indian Residential School System in the context of the transformation of settler-indigenous relations in Canada.

In **Chapter 4**, I begin my analysis of Canadian Anglicanism. In this chapter, I seek to explain why the Anglican Church of Canada persisted in supporting the residential school system through the first half of the 20th Century, despite the fact that the church was having difficulty funding them and despite the publication of numerous reports indicating that the schools were

failing in their aims and having a deleterious impact on the health of the students. To do so, I focus on how the residential schools were represented during a crisis that erupted at the outset of the 20th Century, during which the church was nearest to withdrawing from the school system than at any other time. In **Chapter 5**, I seek to explain why, after so many years of supporting the residential school system and the wider 'civilizing mission', church members were suddenly able to seemingly reject it at the end of the 1960s. To do so, I focus on explaining the meaning and significance of the adoption by the church of the Hendry Report, which set out a new future-oriented progressive mission for the church. In **Chapter 6**, I seek to explain the meaning of former Primate Michael Peers' 1993 official apology for the church's role in the residential schools and its role in bringing about a phase of reconciliation between Anglicanism and Aboriginality. In the **Conclusion**, I discuss the significance of my findings.

Chapter 1

The Indian Residential School System: A Review of the Literature

Introduction

In this chapter, I provide a review of key texts in the historical development of the academic literature on the Indian residential school system. The overarching intent of this exercise is to determine scholarly trends in the field in order to provide a rationale for my thesis. Given that there has not been a published review of the various strands of research on the residential schools for over ten years, I hope that the review will be useful on its own terms for researchers interested in entering this field of study.[3]

The findings of my review are as follows. The major trend in the literature since the 1970s has been an increased effort to uncover the student perspective of the residential school experience. Prior to this, what little was written on the residential schools tended to be written from the perspective of the individuals and organisations involved in operating the school system. The result of focusing on the student experience has mainly been to progressively uncover the failings of the school system and its far-reaching negative consequences on the students and their communities. Such a trend escalated in the second half 1980s, as former students began to come forward with allegations of having suffered abuse at residential school. Recently, a new trend in the literature has emerged that addresses the potential for healing and reconciliation between Aboriginal communities and the organizations formerly responsible for administering the residential schools. Also, a debate has arisen over whether the residential school system should be considered an attempted genocide of the order of the Holocaust.

In light of the findings of my review, I suggest that one of the areas in the study of the residential schools that could benefit from more scholarly attention are questions related to how and why official acknowledgement of the failings of the residential schools was so protracted. To do so, I suggest that researchers should begin to focus more on the perspective of the organizations formerly involved in the operation of the residential schools.

---

[3] The last published review of the literature on the residential schools was by historian Scott Trevithick in 1998 (Trevithick 1998).

The chapter is organized according to the disciplinary fields involved in research on the residential schools, which also loosely follows the temporal progress of the literature. Section One touches on the earlier missionary literature; Section Two reviews former students' memoirs; Section Three reviews the historical literature; Section Four reviews the health science literature; Section Five reviews the cultural studies literature, and; Section Six reviews the social scientific literature. In Section Seven, I discuss the potential future directions for research in the field and relate this to the questions that I seek to resolve in my thesis.

Missionary Literature

From the beginning of the 19th Century until the 1960s, the literature dealing with the residential schools specifically, and with Aboriginal education more generally, tended to be written from the perspective of the Christian missionaries involved in it. In this literature, the missionaries are the subjects of the narrative and the Aboriginals are the objects. As such, the reader's attention, and empathy, is invariably drawn to the missionary as he undergoes a variety of trials, tribulations, and successes in his effort to bring 'civilization' (as European culture was then called – as opposed to the ostensibly 'savage' Aboriginal culture) and Christianity to the 'heathen red man'. Written primarily to inspire new missionaries to enter the field and to sustain the interest of the public in missionary work, this literature is more literary than historical. It is also highly positive about the intent and impact of the missionary enterprise and the role of education in this. The first piece of missionary literature dealing directly with the residential school system was written by John West (1824), an Anglican missionary who was responsible for the creating the first residential school for Aboriginals in Canada's north-west. The epitome of the genre is, arguably, Hiram A. Cody's (2002 [1908]) biography of Bishop Bompas, which describes Bombas' efforts to establish a school for Aboriginals in the Territory of Yukon.

Due to the reading public losing interest, missionary literature receded in the years prior the onset of the First World War. After this time, the churches involved in the residential schools continued to produce promotional materials that reflected a similarly positive account of their role ministering to, and providing education for, Aboriginals. One commonly cited example of this type of literature is a pamphlet produced by the Anglican Church of Canada (1939), which was written to accompany appeals for funds from church members. After the government terminated its role in Aboriginal education in the 1960s amid the social ferment of the era, this

type of literature was no longer published. Recently, however, recalling the style of the early missionary genre, a former staff member, Bernice Logan (1993), published the second volume of *The Teaching Wigwams*, a two-volume, 700-page illustrated book aimed at conveying the positive aspects of the residential schools from the perspective of former staff members. Similarly, retired Anglican Bishop Eric Bays (2009) recently published a book dedicated to portraying the 'positive' aspects of the residential schools.

Student Memoirs

In the 1960s, there began to appear works written from the perspective of the pupils in the residential schools. The first type of works to do so came in the form of memoirs written by former pupils. As with the missionary literature, these memoirs are not entirely 'academic' in a traditional historico-objectivist understanding of the term; they are more literary than historical. As might be expected, in this literature, it is the pupil that is the subject rather than the missionary. Interestingly, as with the missionary genre, the memoirs were initially fairly positive about the impact of the residential schools. Thus, former Reverend Edward Ahenakew's (1967) account of the re-opening of the Little Pine Residential School in the Province of Saskatchewan praised the staff and the Department of Indian Affairs for their efforts. Similarly positive memoirs of the residential schools include those written by writer Louise Moine (1975) and former Senator James Gladstone (1987). A notable exception to the positive memoirs of this era is the account by Jane Willis (1974), who provides a harrowing account of her time spent in a residential school in the Province of Québec, in which she describes suffering a variety of physical and psychological abuses.

At the end of the 1980s, reflecting the growing willingness among former students to speak to some of the more negative aspects of their experience, memoirs by former pupils began to resemble more and more the negative portrayal of the residential schools by Willis. Basil Johnston's memoir, which brings to light both negative and positive aspects of his experience, provides a turning point in the memoir literature. As I discuss in Chapter 3, Johnston's willingness to discuss his harsh treatment garnered much attention in Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadian media. Following this, memoirs published by former pupils were much more critical of their experience. Examples of such memoirs include a book by Isabel Knockwood (1992) and a children's book by Maddie Harper (1998 [1993]). More recently, Linda Jaine (1995)

edited a book that brings together a collection of memoirs, short stories and poems written by high profile former students.

Historical Research

1960-1985

In the light of the increasing numbers of former pupils willing to speak about the more negative aspects of their experience in the 1980s and especially as the criminal justice system began to investigate the many allegations then emerging, the Canadian academic community became increasingly interested in the topic of the residential schools. Prior to this, academic studies were sparse. Among the researchers publishing on the residential schools before the mid-1980s, historians predominated, much as they do now. Maurice Lewis (1966) provides one of the earliest historical accounts of the residential schools, in which he brings to light an important dispute that occurred within the Canadian Anglicanism in the early 20th Century over whether to continue to be involved in the residential schools. The piece is noteworthy for its focus on internal debates within the church – something which to this day continues to be under-researched.

Jacqueline Gresko (1970) is another historian who was among the first to research the residential schools, beginning with a lengthy MA thesis, which later became the basis for several articles (Gresko 1975; 1986; 1992). In her work, Gresko has tended to connect macro politics related to the residential schools with the micro politics related to the individual residential schools. Her work is significant for attempting to bring to light the day-to-day aspects of residential schooling and for also for attempting to bring to light more of the perspective of the pupils and their communities. Characteristic of the period, Gresko's first study also tends towards a fairly positive portrayal of staff members in the schools that were her object of study. However, it should be noted that this may not merely be a reflection of the era in which her study was published but it could also be true that, in the particular residential school that she studied the staff was indeed well-meaning and that conditions were fairly decent; it has long been known, for example, that conditions varied widely at the various schools. Another early analyst of the residential schools was John Chalmer (1972). Apparently written to be a survey of Aboriginal education for a course he was teaching (see Trevithick 1998: 82), the book provides the first attempt at an all-encompassing portrait of Aboriginal education in Canada. Although Chalmer provides a chapter on the pupils' experiences in the residential schools, and mentions

the appalling health conditions in them, from a present-day perspective, the chapter appears relatively upbeat, given that it fails to discuss the potential psychological problems associated with forcible assimilation and the high incidence of physical and sexual abuse in the residential schools.

Prior to the 1980s, there is also an effort among historians to uncover the motivation of the residential school system, with a consensus emerging that the assimilation of Aboriginality into Euro-Canada was a chief rationale of the school system. An example of this type of work is a Master's thesis by Sylvia Dayton (1976), which goes in search of the government's motivation in the residential schools. Another example, which is one of the last studies to be published before the boom of scholarly interest in the residential schools, is a PhD thesis by Eric Porter (1981), which provides a sweeping historical account of the Anglican Church of Canada's role in Aboriginal education. The study is the first attempt at a wide-ranging account of the long involvement of one of the churches in Aboriginal education and is also noteworthy for demonstrating the assimilationist rationale informing the church's involvement in the residential schools.

1985-present

It is in the mid-1980s when the academic literature on the residential schools begins to burgeon. Reflecting the changing political and ideological climate in Canada as well as the accumulation of knowledge on the school system, the literature takes a decidedly more negative tone in this period. Yet, although the literature portrays the residential school system more negatively, in the mid-1980s, its attention is almost entirely on the school system's attempt to assimilate its pupils and their reaction to this. Other negative aspects of the residential schools, including poor sanitation, high death rates and physical and sexual abuse remain un-investigated in this period. As in the 1960s and 1970s, it is the historians in this era who are most interested in the topic. Also, like the aforementioned studies by Gresko, there is tendency among the historians in this period to conduct focused case-studies of specific schools or regions. An exemplar of this type of research is Kenneth Coates' (1984) study of an Anglican-run school founded by the aforementioned Bishop Bompas in Carcross, Yukon. The focus on the more micro aspects of the residential schools likely reflects the overarching interest in this period in uncovering the results of the cultural encounter between the school staff and the pupils – on the ways in which school staff sought to assimilate their pupils and the impact that this had on the pupils. One of the

interesting conclusions to come out of the research in this period is that missionaries' assimilationist efforts were often unsuccessful and, indeed, often had the unintended effect of hardening resistance among students (see Miller 1987).

One of the most important pieces on the residential schools published in the 1980s is the first volume of a two-volume edited book by Jean Barman, Yvonne Hebert and Don McGaskill (1986). The book brings together a collection of articles meant to address various aspects of Canada's Aboriginal education policy prior to the 1970s, after which Aboriginals were increasingly involved the education of their communities.[4] In keeping with the trends of the era, all of the chapters included in the book are focused on the goal of assimilation and its impact. Also, aside from the introduction, which offers a macro perspective of the evolution of the Aboriginal education in Canada, the chapters included in the book offer focused case-studies of the residential school experience. The introduction and the chapter by Diane Persson (1986) offer an important account of the political response by Aboriginal peoples since the 1960s. The chapter by Barman (1986) is notable for investigating the gendered dimension of the residential schools.

Around 1988, at approximately the same time that many former pupils were increasingly willing to give voice to some of the darker aspects of their experience in the residential school system, the scholarly community also begins to go beyond assimilation and bring to light the more banal, yet often darker, aspects of the residential schools. This turn in the literature, in part, reflects an effort to go beyond 'traditional' archived documentary sources. The first major piece of work in this vein is by Celia Haig-Brown (1988). In this book, which draws on fifteen lengthy interviews with former students, Haig-Brown presents an in-depth picture of the student experience at a former school in Kamloops, BC. The result is the first qualitative picture of the psychological difficulties that many students experienced upon entering the school and reveals the extent to which the pupils continued to wrestle with them after they left school. The study also presents a highly negative portrayal of the staff members at Kamloops, who are recalled by the students to have been callous and un-empathetic to the difficulties experienced by the students. Other studies drawing on oral history soon followed Haig-Brown's

---

[4] The turning point in Aboriginal education in Canada occurred after the publication of the policy paper, *Indian Control of Indian Education*, by the National Indian Brotherhood (1972). The paper forcefully expresses a demand for Aboriginal communities to control aspects of Aboriginal education so as to protect their culture. Shortly after this, the federal government committed itself to involving Aboriginals in the education of their brethren (see Barman et al 1986).

book. For example, Linda Bull's (1991) important study also made use of oral history and is notable for focusing on former pupils' recollections of their encounter with cultural differences. Also, foreshadowing the boom of health-oriented research on the residential schools in the 1990s, Rosalyn Ing's (1991) use of oral history focused on the impact of the school experience on former pupils after they left school. Ing's study is notable for claiming that the residential school experience had adverse effects on parenting practices in Aboriginal communities. A more recent study that touches on the residential schools using oral history is provided by Robert Regnier (1995).

Going into the mid-1990s, historians continued to provide much of the important new literature in the field. In this period, they branch out in a variety of directions; although there is continued research on the micro conditions in the residential schools, there is also a return to studying them from a more macro perspective. One especially innovative historian in this era is James Miller. In the effort to shed light on how the residential schools actually operated, as opposed to how they were represented by various officials and administrators, Miller begins to draw increasingly on interviews with former students and photographs (1990; 1996a; 1996b). Miller (1996c) also publishes in this period a sweeping general history of the residential schools system and its impact on its pupils, which is considered by many to be the most important of its kind. It is notable for discussing in-depth the ways in which the residential school curriculum was inflected by European gender norms and for also discussing the various aspects of student resistance to the assimilatory aspects of the residential schools. Moving away from the focus on the student experience, Miller (1996d) also produces at this time a study of inter-denominational rivalry among the churches involved in the residential schools. The study is notable for attempting to uncover the church perspective – a topic that remains understudied.

Picking up on Miller's effort to make clear how the effort to assimilate pupils actually worked in practice, Jennifer Pettit (1993) undertook a master's thesis focused on the Mohawk Institute, a former Ontario residential school. The study adds to the emergent view in this period that the gap between what the residential schools were meant to achieve and what they actually achieved was often wide. Her PhD (1997), which approaches the residential school system as a whole, makes a similar claim. Robert Carney (1995) also produces an important study at this time, which looks at the pre-Confederation Catholic residential school experience. The article is notable for comparing Aboriginal educational policy with those of the education policy directed at the settler community.

During the 1990s, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP 1996), which was commissioned by former Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in 1991 to investigate the status of the Aboriginal-Canada relationship following a military stand-off between the Canadian military and the Mohawk community of Kanasatake, carried out extensive research into the impact of the residential schools on Aboriginal communities. Presaging the boom in health science literature, the final report correlated the residential school experience with high rates of substance abuse, domestic abuse, and suicide in Canadian Aboriginal communities and in a more general way suggested that the school system was a major reason for contemporary Aboriginal resentment towards church and state.

John Milloy (1999), the principal author of the historical section of the final report of the RCAP, published a highly ambitious sweeping historical portrait of the residential school system. The book is notable for discussing a massive array of archival material that had been previously unavailable and for focusing on the perspective the administrators of the school system, as opposed the students. It focuses on administrators in the Department of Indian Affairs (and to a lesser degree, the church administrators) and their role in the operation of the residential schools. The book presents a highly negative picture of church and state, observing that administrators often failed to respond to numerous health crises in the schools, and documents in striking detail the high level of neglect and abuse that was endemic in the residential school system. In arguing thus, Milloy strikes out at a generally-held view that the administrators of the residential schools were, by and large, ignorant of many of the problems associated with the residential schools. In his book, many of the administrators appear to have been highly cognizant of many of the problems associated with the residential schools from the beginning of the 20th Century onwards, yet continued to throw their support behind the system.

Likely as a result of its sudden prominence in the media during this period, historians also began to turn to the question of abuse in the residential schools in this period. For example, Elizabeth Furniss (1992) produced a book investigating two suspicious student deaths at a former residential school in Williams Lake, BC. A highly cited work that focuses on abuse is a book by Agnes Grant (1996). The book however is more of a summary of secondary sources than a presentation of new data and is more of a polemic than a scholarly discussion. Presaging (and playing a large part in triggering) the academic debate over the whether the residential school system represents an attempted genocide similar to the Holocaust, the book claims that the Canadian state and its former church partners stand guilty of an attempted genocide.

Since its efflorescence in the 1980s and 1990s, historical research dealing directly with the residential schools experience has attenuated slightly. Historians continue to research topics related to the residential schools, such as a recent study of tuberculosis among Aboriginals in Canada and Australia that touches on the residential schools (see Littleton et. al 2008) but, in the main, the predominance of historians has given way to researchers from other disciplines. This may change if the question over the issue of mass graves becomes prominent and the need for primary research again becomes pressing.

Health Research

The publication of the RCAP's final report, which attempted to connect the impact of the residential schools on the health of former pupils and their communities, seemed to have provided the turning point for this kind of research. In the 1990s continuing through to present day, health researchers turned to the study of the residential school system and its impact on the pupils and their communities after they left school. The literature in this area of research is now quite voluminous and, as consequence, I will only touch on several exemplars illustrating key claims and trends. In this regard, research in this area has tended to find that the deleterious consequences of the residential schools were much more far-reaching than was previously known.

At a psychological level, a number of reports have found that many former students of the residential schools display numerous psychological problems, including nightmares, sleep problems, blackouts, apathy and depression (see Graham 1997). Other studies have found that many former pupils have low self-esteem, feel alienated from their parents and communities, or are ashamed of their Aboriginal heritage and consumed by anger and guilt (see Claes and Clifton 1998). Rhonda Claes and Deborah Clifton (1998) recently produced a lengthy report for the Law Commission of Canada summarizing many of the negative psychological consequences of the residential schools on the students. The findings they present suggest that the residential schools led to high incidences of self-destructive behaviour among former students, including alcoholism, compulsive gambling and substance abuse. They also suggest that the residential schools have led to the high incidence of sexual deviance among former students, such as sexual abuse and incest (Claes and Clifton 1998). They also link the residential schools to high incidences of suicide among former students. Other researchers have found that the adverse psychological impact of the residential schools has continued to impact on former pupils very

late into their life cycle (see Reading 1999). Researchers have also focused on the impact of loss of culture on the health of former students, suggesting that the loss of culture has led to higher incidences of self-destructive behaviour (Stout and Kipling 2003). As a result of all of this new research into the impact of the residential schools on the individual, at the end of the 1990s, former pupils of the residential schools in Canada began to be generally referred to as 'survivors' in academic and popular discourse. Also, the cornucopia of adverse psychological symptoms among former pupils has given rise to the term 'residential schools syndrome', which is claimed to be similar to post-traumatic stress disorder (see Brasfield 2001; Robertson 2006).

Health scientists have also sought to go beyond the level of the individual to bring to light the impact of the residential schools at the community level. As a result of such research, the residential schools are now commonly considered to have had an 'inter-generational' impact on Aboriginal communities. Constance Dieter (1999), for example, found this to be the case via interviews with the children of former pupils. Suzanne Fournier and Ernie Crey (1998) suggest that high rates of fetal alcohol syndrome within Aboriginal communities are due to the residential schools. Similar findings were reported by Caroline Tait (2003). Like the RCAP, others, such as Emma LaRocque (1994), have found that the residential schools have contributed to elevated patterns of violence and domestic abuse, whereby many former students of the residential schools have tended to perpetrate abuse on their families.

A recent trend in the health literature on the residential schools is a turn towards questions related to dealing with the legacy of the residential schools. Health and social policy researchers, for example, have increasingly turned towards the question of healing for former students and their communities. In this literature, promoting positive representations of Aboriginal culture is generally seen to be central to healing process (see Stout and Kipling 2003; Smith, Varcoe and Edwards 2005). The most important article in this new trend in the literature is by Laurence Kirmayer, Cori Simpson and Margaret Cargo (2003).

Social Science Research

Near the end of the 1990s, there began to be increasing interest in the study of the residential schools by social scientists. This development has seen the rise of the first major scholarly debate on the residential schools, which is between those who define the residential school system as an act of genocide similar to the Holocaust and those who oppose this definition. The flood of literature in the 1990s detailing the 'darker' side of the residential school system and its

negative consequences on Aboriginal Canada led to a number of inflammatory polemical studies that appear to be directed at triggering moral indignation among its readers. Thus, the aforementioned book by Agnes Grant (1996), which charges that the residential school system was an attempted genocide, has been joined by other, similarly motivated, studies. A book written by Roland Chrisjohn, Sherri Young and Michael Maraun (2006), and another by Kevin Annett (2000), also argues that aspects of the residential schools were, in many ways, analogous to the Holocaust. Dean Neu's (2000; with Therrien 2003) work, which compares the bureaucracy in the Department of Indian Affairs with the Nazi bureaucracy, is a much discussed book in this genre.

The claim that the residential schools represented a 'cultural genocide' is now commonplace in the literature. To be sure, this claim is not entirely new. In the wake of the rise of Aboriginal activism at the end of the 1960s, the treatment of Aboriginal peoples was already being characterized as genocide by numerous Aboriginal activists and by sympathetic non-Aboriginals. R. Davis and M. Zannis (1973), for example, published a book several decades ago making a case that the treatment of Aboriginals in Canada constituted genocide. Since the mid-1990s, however, the claim has become much more of an integral aspect of the literature. The focus on the issue of genocide in the Canadian case follows a similar trend in the literature on Native American history in the United States, where the 1990s saw the publication of a number of books making the claim that the American government had perpetrated a 'Holocaust' on Native America (see Stannard 1992; Churchhill 1997). More generally, the increased discussion of genocide in the literature on the residential school system can also be seen to be a reflection of the growing influence of the symbol of the Holocaust in political struggles between majority and minority groups throughout the West (see Novick 1999; Alexander 2004). Michael Kenny (1998), for example, argues that the symbol of the Holocaust has directly influenced the way in which the residential schools are researched and how the findings are reported.

The increasing number of studies equating the residential schools with the Holocaust has received somewhat of a rebuttal from several authors in the field. A number of historians have suggested that the trend has resulted in a loss of academic rigour (see Trevithick 1998; Miller 1999/2000). Trevithick (1998: 67) suggests, for example, that the aforementioned book by Agnes Grant (1996) contains historical inaccuracies and and tendency towards exaggeration. Similarly, James Miller (1999/2000) has criticised Chrisjohn's work for making inaccurate claims. Among social scientists, David MacDonald (2007) has argued that the trend trivializes the

Holocaust and that reading the residential schools 'through the Holocaust' decontextualizes its particular history. MacDonald also stresses that there needs to be more effort made to stress the difference between physical genocide and cultural genocide.

Criticism of the effort to represent the residential schools as an attempted genocide has, in turn, triggered a counter-argument. For example, Andrew Woolford (2009), in contrast to MacDonald, argues against making a distinction between cultural and physical definitions of genocide, arguing that it wrongfully suggests the Canadian experience was less destructive than other genocides. Suggesting that mass murder and assimilation share the underlying aim of eliminating difference, Christopher Powell (2011) also argues against distinguishing between cultural and physical genocide.

Another area of research on the residential schools that has recently arisen among social scientists is on questions related to the possibility of inter-group reconciliation between Aboriginals and other Canadians. This new direction in research has generally followed on the efforts by representatives of church and state to make amends for the school system, whether through official apologies, compensation, or the recently inaugurated truth and reconciliation commission (TRC). One of the more important aspects of this new research, given its focus on contributing to general theory on reconciliation, is that the Canadian case tends to be studied in comparative context with other cases. In general, the literature has coalesced around an argument that reconciliation requires the creation of a genuinely 'shared memory' of the deleterious consequences of the residential schools, with political leaders and ordinary Canadians as well as Aboriginals becoming aware of them. The Aboriginal Healing Foundation (2008) has, for example, recently published a thirty-chapter book making such a claim. The book generally expresses the hope that the mediated events associated with the TRC will contribute to such a shared memory. However, at least one analyst, Kim Stanton (2011), is doubtful as to whether the TRC can achieve such lofty goal, observing that in Canada, ordinary Canadians are generally unaware of the harms caused by the residential schools, the TRC or its mandate.

The recent spate of official apologies for the residential schools has been of particular of interest to the political scientists, with some conflicting positions emerging. Melissa Nobles (2008) is quite optimistic about the possibility of official apologies creating a more 'inclusive national membership' in Canada. Matt James (2008), on the other hand, views official apologies in Canada in a more cynical light, suggesting that they are an exercise in 'legitimization.' Looking at Canada's apologies in comparison with several other cases, Jeff Corntassel and Cindy Holder

(2008) make a similarly negative assessment, arguing that the apologies should have been accompanied by an offer of greater 'self-determination' for Aboriginal Canada.

Cultural Studies

The last trend in the literature on the residential schools to be reviewed in this chapter is the recent entry of cultural analysts into the field. The research in this area is directed at understanding the burgeoning plethora of cultural products dealing with the topic of the residential schools, including books, plays, and films, etc. One area of research in this literature is the tendency for cultural products on the residential schools to present a much more negative portrayal of the residential schools near the end of the 1980s. An interesting article on this is by Jerry Wasserman (2005), who analyses several plays by Tomson Highway, a successful Canadian playwright and former residential school student who was sexually abused during his time as a student. Engaging with theory on trauma, Wasserman tries to resolve the ways in which Highway's abuse was suppressed in his early works and why it suddenly emerged in his plays in the 1990s. Similarly, in the area of films, Mary Jane Miller (2001) provides an analysis of the meaning, and reaction to, the made-for-television Canadian film, *Where the Spirit Lives* (1989), which is the most watched film on the topic of the residential schools and presents a highly negative portrayal of the staff at a residential school from the perspective of a female student. Notably, the film was produced right at the moment when representations of the residential schools began to become more negative. Cultural analysts have also turned towards the study of cultural products involved in the reconciliation effort. Most recently, for example, Jennifer Henderson and Pauline Wakeham (2009) edited a collection of articles that examine political speeches, quilt making, Aboriginal story-telling, and the 'politics of space' at a former residential school site.

A Gap in the Literature

Having reviewed the historical development of the literature on the Indian residential school system, it is apparent that one of the overarching trends has been an increasing focus on uncovering the impact of the residential school experience from the perspective of students. One result of this trend has been to greatly increase empirical knowledge of the full scope of the deleterious consequences of the school system on its students. This important research raises new questions about the residential schools that have yet to be adequately answered. In

particular, the coming to light of the many failings of the residential school system raises the question of why such failings went unacknowledged for so long. This question is especially apparent in historian John Milloy's (1999) wide-ranging book on the school system's many failings, which I touched on above.

Rather than portray the residential school administration as basically well-meaning and generally unaware of the problems in the residential schools, in Milloy's study even the very highest reaches of the school administration within the churches and the Canadian government are revealed to have known that there were serious problems with the residential school system from the end of the 19th century onwards. For example, Milloy demonstrates that it was well known among administrators at the beginning of the 20th century that terrible sanitation was resulting in health problems among the students, including rates of tuberculosis that were much higher than in the general population. Yet, despite having such knowledge, Milloy observes that the administration supported the school system for many more decades. Milloy's findings suggest that there is much to be done in the way of resolving why administrators did not seek to terminate the school system or at least try to improve it. In the last part of his book, Milloy's findings also raise a similar question as to why the administration still did not acknowledge the problems in the residential school system even after it was terminated. For his part, Milloy was more focused on bringing all of this to light rather than resolve such questions. In his book, the residential schools just seemed to carry on: like a record on repeat, the defenders continually reiterated the benefits of school system and ignored the various critics. Milloy (1999: 111) writes: 'the school system seemed to have a life of its own…thoughtless persistence…was the hallmark of this deplorable institution – it simply continued'. Was it indeed merely thoughtless persistence?

To properly take up the above questions suggests that a renewed focus on the residential school experience from the perspective of the organizations formerly involved in them is in order. Unfortunately, although there are several studies that focus on such a perspective, as we saw in the above sections, this area has been eclipsed in recent decades by research on the student experience and many empirical gaps remain. One problem with this is the unfortunate tendency in the literature to treat church and state as a single monolithic unit. When seeking to illustrate the perspective of those who were responsible for the operation of the residential schools, sources from the various churches tend to be elided with that of the Canadian government. More often than not, what often happens in such instances, as is the

case in Milloy's book, is that the perspective of the churches tends to be subsumed within the perspective of the Canadian government – as if the churches were but another bureaucratic arm of the state. The result is that the evidence gathered on the perspectives of the churches is patchy at best. It also means that the possibility of conflict between the churches and state, between the churches, and within the churches is under-researched: little has been done in relation to the conflict between the churches and even less has been done on the possibility of internal conflict within the churches.

Because of empirical gaps on the perspective of the organizations formerly involved in operating the residential schools, more primary research in this area is needed if the question of why the various failings in the residential schools went unacknowledged for so long is to be fully explained. Because of the extensive archival research that this requires, it necessitates that I focus on one of the former organizations. As I will discuss more in the methodology section in Chapter Two, it is primarily for this reason that I have chosen in this thesis to focus on internal debates within the Anglican Church of Canada. However, although the foregoing study will mainly only consider Canadian Anglicanism, it is my hope that it will in the very least, provide new insights that will be of use to similarly oriented studies on the other former partners. In this regard, I hope that this thesis will provide impetus to push research on the residential schools into new areas.

With respect to work on the relationship between the residential schools and the Anglican Church, there are several important secondary sources, many of which I mentioned in my review, yet none of them have attempted to trace this relationship from the origins of the school system until the abuse scandals of the 1990s and much still needs to be done in the way of filling out their discussion of primary material, as I will discuss in the paragraphs below. Moreover, the relevant secondary sources have been produced by historians, so they are more aimed at resolving 'what' questions, i.e. in filling empirical gaps, than responding to 'how' and 'why' questions. In applying a new question to new primary material, my thesis should therefore be of interest to a broad range of social scientists and historians.

The most important secondary source for the purposes of this thesis is a PhD thesis by Eric Porter (1981), which traces the relationship between the residential schools and the church from the 19th Century until the termination of the church's role in them in 1969. Notably, Porter discusses a highly antagonistic struggle among church elites over the residential schools in the 1900s. His discussion of this struggle is supplemented by a short article by Maurice Lewis (1966).

Although neither of these authors made full use of available archival material on this struggle, they helped to orient my research on this particular period, in which the church nearly withdrew from the residential schools.

Going forward, Porter also provides an important discussion of the key debates and decisions that preceded the termination of the church's role in the schools at the end of the 1960s. Such research has been since supplemented by several studies focusing on this period (see Barker 1998; Gaver 2011; Gull 1992; Hayes 2004; Reilly 2008). The master's dissertation by Norman Gull (1992) is the most assiduous in its use of primary material. Gull's work and that of the others impressed upon me the importance of focusing my research on this period and the remarkable transformation in the church that occurred at this time. Notably, this period is often described in scholarly research as one of the most important junctures in the relationship between the church and Aboriginals, yet no study has yet sought to explain the processes that characterised this period and their significance.

Beyond the 1970s, the scholarly literature is sparse. While there is a wide variety of literature that mentions the Anglican Church's 1993 official apology for the residential schools, much of this mentions it in passing, as an illustration of the impact of the rise of abuse allegations by former students. A recent history of Canadian Anglicanism by Alan Hayes (2004) touches on some of the debates that preceded and followed the apology, but the discussion is very short and does not reference primary material.

Having situated my thesis question within the literature on the residential schools, I now need to discuss the analytic approach that I will use to help resolve my question. This is the topic of Chapter Two.

Chapter 2

Approach and Methodology

Introduction

In the previous chapter I identified an empirical lacuna in study of the Indian residential school system related to why official acknowledgement of its deleterious consequences was so protracted. In this chapter, I will explicate the theoretical approach I will use to resolve this question and discuss how resolving such a question might also contribute to the development of the approach. In sum, I suggest that the approach to social behaviour referred to as the Strong Program, which focuses on the social construction of meaning, offers a particularly relevant framework for resolving my question. In adapting such a framework to my question, I further suggest that my thesis will add to its development by providing the first study aimed at uncovering the process by which a group eventually takes responsibility for perpetrating grievous wrongdoings against another group. Following this theoretical discussion, I discuss my research methodology, suggesting that a focused study of one of the organizations formerly involved in the residential schools is appropriate. As such, I propose a comparative historical study of the Anglican Church of Canada.

The chapter is organized into two parts. In Part 1, I explain why a meaning-centred approach is well-suited for resolving my questions and why the variant put forward by the Strong Program is particularly relevant. Following this, I explicate the key aspects of the Strong Program and discuss how my thesis might add to its development. In Part 2, I discuss my research methodology and data collection.

PART 1: Approach

A Meaning-Centred Approach to the Residential School System

Recall from Chapter One that the question I seek to resolve in this thesis emerges especially out of historian John Milloy's (1999) path-breaking book, which demonstrates that administrators and staff members involved in the operation of the residential school system often knew about

its many failures yet failed to terminate it or rectify it. In view of this, a sense of exacerbated puzzlement at why the residential schools persisted for so long pervades the book. At times, Milloy seems to metaphorically throw his hands in the air in frustration, writing that the long history of the residential schools was due to 'thoughtless persistence' and suggesting that it was as if the school system had a 'life of its own' (Milloy 1999: 111). How might we explain the behaviour of the administrators involved in the residential schools, and go some distance in resolving the puzzle that Milloy's book has brought to light?

Firstly, we need to settle on a suitable approach for understanding behaviour. Here it may be useful to uncover the presuppositions that inform Milloy's work. Although Milloy's presuppositions about human behaviour are buried within his analysis, it should still be possible to unearth them. In this regard, Milloy seems to be informed by a realist *cum* naturalist epistemology of how reality is known and about how humans respond to this reality. As such, I suggest that his presuppositions largely conform to what is referred to as 'naïve' or 'objectivist' realism (e.g. Bernstein 1983). In sum, according to such a view, reality projects an inherent meaning, which humans react to in a ratiocinative mode. Herein lies the source of Milloy's frustration and puzzlement over why the residential school system persisted. How could it have persisted, Milloy seems to ask, if the failings associated with it were known to those responsible for its operation? Shouldn't they have responded to such failings instead of ignoring them and continuing to extol the ostensible virtues of the school system?

One way of unpacking this puzzle is to take a social constructivist approach to reality and meaning. As opposed to realism, social constructivists argue that humans cannot grasp the true meaning of reality because it must first undergo a process of interpretation (e.g. Liebrucks 2001). Highlighting the role of interpretation in the perception of reality raises the possibility that humans project meaning onto reality rather than merely receive its meaning. In light of this, reality is argued to be constructed. According to Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966), this construction can be seen to be *socially* constructed because it is based upon perceptions of reality that members of a group share. If, for the time being, we skirt the debates between pragmatists and structuralists over the relationship between action and meaning-making, in which Berger and Luckmann are implicated, we can observe that they make an important proposition that all social constructivists more or less share; that is, over time, our perceptions of reality can take on a quality of being an objective 'social fact.'

The significance of social constructivism for social researchers is that it points to the importance of the gap between a phenomenon and the way in which that phenomenon is interpreted. And it is in investigating this gap that *meaning* takes on signal importance. Also important is that the focus on meaning, in turn, brings out the role of affect as a central driver of human behaviour. This is because, as Kenneth Burke (1974) observed, the interpretation of meaning is an imaginative process that involves reason as well as emotion. In other words, we not only assess the meaning of a particular phenomenon by way of reason, but also by way in which we *feel* about it. Such insights find support in a growing body of literature in neuroscience and psychology (e.g. Frijda 1986; Edwards 1990; Edwards & von Hippel 1995).

Herein lies the heart of the critique of realism by social constructivists. In limiting their focus to reason, it is argued that realists ignore the possibility that the social life provides a 'horizon of affect and meaning' – to borrow sociologist Jeffrey Alexander's phrase –in which rational behaviour occurs. Because meanings often provide the unconscious context or 'backdrop' for conscious decision-making, they tend to be ignored in realist analyses of human behaviour. From a realist perspective, what is seemingly irrational is explained to be a result of a lack of sufficient information about the facts. By contrast, an analysis centred on meaning is argued by social constructivists to be able to help bring to light the unconscious, or 'inner,' logic that informs ostensibly irrational behaviour. In a meaning-centred analysis, irrationality is not seen as an abnormality, but as a 'logical' result of the way in which background meanings give rise to, and structure, social behaviour. Social constructivists' focus on meaning is grounded in a view that even the most industrialised modern human societies are deeply influenced by an underlying, albeit perhaps unconscious, continued religiosity and concomitant belief in the transformative power of ritual.

Social constructivism provides a potential opening to resolving Milloy's puzzlement at the persistence of the residential schools. If we can accept that Milloy is informed by an underlying realist epistemology, we can see why he might have expected that the administrators of the residential school system would have interpreted the consequences of the school system as a 'bad' thing, given that its many failings were known to them, and should have, as a result, terminated or improved the school system. By contrast, if Milloy had been working within a social constructivist framework he might have been less puzzled at the persistence of the residential schools or, at the very least, his puzzlement might have directed him to investigate the gap between the reality of the residential school system and the way in

31

which such a reality was constructed. Moreover, in seeking to bring to light how the meaning of the residential schools was socially constructed, Milloy might have been in a better position to uncover why some decision makers so fiercely defended the residential schools, despite their failings, and why their appeals seemed to rely so much on making affective claims rather than on ratiocinative logic. It is for these reasons that I will engage with the social construction of meaning in this thesis. As mentioned, the meaning-centred approach that I will be especially engaging with is one developed by Jeffrey Alexander, which is referred to as the Strong Program.

The Strong Program

Alexander is a major figure in sociology. He is generally credited with the invention of the term 'cultural sociology' in order to denote meaning-centred approaches in sociology and is the main architect of the Strong Program. Drawing especially on Durkheim's (2001) *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Alexander and his colleagues advocate an endogenous approach to the analysis of the social construction of meaning which can be applied to all aspects of the social life (for programmatic statements, see Alexander & Smith 2003; Alexander, Jacobs & Smith *forthcoming*). Recently, Alexander (with Mast J 2006a; Alexander 2006b) has integrated performance studies – especially as put forward by anthropologist Victor Turner – into the Strong Program and, as such, has become one the most visible proponents within the social sciences of a performative approach to behaviour. One of the main areas of research that Alexander and his colleagues have investigated in order to develop their approach is on questions related to the representation of human suffering and injustice (e.g. Alexander et al 2004; Eyerman et al 2011). The insights that have emerged out of this work are highly relevant to my thesis and it is this area that I hope my thesis will help develop. In this section, I will briefly explicate the development of the Strong Program through Alexander's writings. Following this, I will focus on the Strong Program's contribution to the area of the representation of human suffering.

In the initial phase of Alexander's turn to the social construction of meaning, his main interest seemed to be to carve out a distinct niche within structuralism, which is dominated by the left-leaning neo-Marxist and Gramscian approaches associated with 'cultural studies' in Britain (e.g. Hall et al 1993) and 'post-structuralism' in France (e.g. Bourdieu 1979; Foucault 1970 [1966]). To do so, Alexander (1988) undertook to revive Durkheim's *Elementary Forms* and

his iterations in symbolic anthropology in order to show that cultural processes can be seen to have relative autonomy in the social construction of meaning. In a series of bold (and controversial) essays, Alexander and his colleagues argued that the normative aspect of cultural studies and post-structuralism had resulted in its practitioners focusing too much on power and materiality, which, in turn, resulted in meaning – or what he also often refers to as 'culture' – appearing as relatively weak variable. Such a 'reductionist' approach, argued Alexander (with Sherwood & Smith 1993) was an 'exegesis of malevolent power and its manipulation', rather than a true effort to interpret the variety of ways in which meaning itself, as a relatively autonomous social force, structures social action. Thus, Alexander (1995) criticises the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu for failing to give autonomy to meaning by reducing it to self-interested behaviour that reflects class position. Stuart Hall and the wider British cultural studies enterprise is similarly critiqued (with Sherwood & Smith 1993). In his programmatic statement, Alexander (with Smith 2003) also criticises Michel Foucault for paying so much attention to power as to ostensibly leave no room for understanding culture as an autonomous force.

In order to demonstrate that culture is a relatively autonomous social force, Alexander, as mentioned above, takes inspiration from Durkheim's *Elementary Forms*. As such, he tethers the social construction of meaning to the 'sacred' (i.e. collective identity) rather than to asymmetries in social power or materiality. In this view, the meaning that is accorded to a given phenomenon is seen to be related to its perceived proximity to the 'sacred.' Other important influences in Alexander's approach include: the interpretive approach to cultural processes developed by Max Weber (2001 [1930]; the theory that social action tends to be structured by basic binaries developed by Mary Douglas (1966) (echoing the binary between sacred and profane developed by Durkheim); the theory of liminality developed by Victor Turner (e.g. 1987); the theory that meaning is conveyed by way of narratives put forward by Roland Barthes (1977), and; Foucault's emphasis on diachronic analyses of the transformation of meanings. When tracing the transformation of the established meaning of a given phenomenon, Alexander also makes use of concepts such as 'framing', 'coding', and 'weighting' to uncover the meaning of a particular phenomenon at different points in time. Finally, Alexander also makes use of Weber's concept of 'carrier groups' to denote individual and groups who seek to transform the meaning of a given phenomenon.

Alexander's highly cited analysis of the transformation of the meaning of the mass murder of the Jews during the Second World War from a symbol of wartime atrocities into a

symbol of radical evil is a good example of the way in which an analysis in the Strong Program is typically conducted (see Alexander 2009 [2002]). In this analysis, Alexander conducts an historical sociology of the cultural process by which the established meaning of the mass murder of the Jews was transformed in the United States. Alexander demonstrates how the tragedy was initially framed within an American progressive narrative that saw the American nation as the hero (*i.e.* sacred/good/pure) of the Second World War, who had saved the Jews from Hitler (*i.e.* evil/profane/polluted). In this narrative, Alexander argues that, while the mass murder of the Jews, coded as a war-time atrocity, was seen as an exemplar of evil, it was initially accorded less weight than the evil that Nazism represented. In other words, the mass murder was widely seen as but a typical example of war-time atrocities committed by the Nazis. However, according to Alexander, in the 1970s, state elites lost control over the narrative of the tragedy as various carrier groups sought to transform its meaning through a cultural process, i.e. by transforming its meaning through media articles, books, movies, etc. As a result of this cultural process, the meaning of the tragedy has been transformed. It is now framed within a tragic narrative of the rise of modernity, which, by way of analogy with the tragedies that befell the Vietnamese, Native Americans and the African Americans at the hands of the American state, has even metonymically polluted the heroic sacrality of the American nation itself. In the new narrative, Alexander observes that the tragedy, now coded as the Holocaust, is accorded much more weight as a symbol of evil than it was previously – so much so that it has structured the rise of a global movement against genocide.

Alexander's analysis of the transformation of the meaning of the mass murder of the Jews is novel (and controversial) because it suggests that, ontologically, the event itself is meaningless. To be coded as good or evil involves a process of social construction. This is against a more realist account, which would find that it is the objectively horrifying nature of the tragedy that befell the Jews which ultimately accords it meaning and has led to it becoming a symbol of radical evil. Alexander's analysis is also a good example of what is meant by an analysis that accords analytic primacy to the processes that occur in the realm of culture rather than over other, more traditional factors such as power, interests or materiality. According to Alexander, in order to properly understand the particular meaning that was attributed to the Holocaust at various points in history, and the way in which such meaning was transformed, the analyst must focus on the way in which it is represented in the realm of culture.

Alexander's analysis of the mass murder of the Jews represents a break from the type of meaning-centred analysis that is generally conducted within the field of social constructivism because it seeks to deconstruct a social fact that, from a leftist position, would be regarded normatively as a 'good thing'. This is a major break from the researchers in the British and French traditions, whose analyses tend to be guided by a normative concern with revealing underlying asymmetries in social power, so as to undermine those asymmetries. In other words, in the British and French traditions, the analytical gaze is almost always fixated on deconstructing social facts that they are opposed to, so as to undermine them. Hence, Bourdieu sought to demonstrate how 'taste' in France is a social construction, which is a result of, and sustains, social inequalities. The normative aim of this argument is, ultimately, to undermine these inequalities. By contrast, because Alexander refuses to tether his research program to a neo-Marxist ideology, his analysis of the social construction of the Holocaust performs an entirely different function from Bourdieu's work. In this regard, his deconstruction of the Holocaust is not at all meant to undermine its symbolic status. In fact, he frequently stresses that he agrees with the transformation of the mass murder of the Jews into a symbol of radical evil.

From a social science perspective, Alexander's approach is surely an improvement on the British and French traditions. It is academically dishonest to imply that only the phenomena with which we may disagree are social constructions. However, if we are to take seriously the proposition that *all* phenomena are socially constructed, then we are faced with some extremely difficult ethical questions that have yet to be worked out. Firstly, this raises the possibility that asymmetry and inequality may be a 'good' thing in some cases. Secondly, this brings Alexander's research program dangerously close to nihilism. To expand on this latter point, we might ask what place there is for normativity in Alexander's analysis of social construction of the Holocaust? Although Alexander seems to comfort himself by framing his analysis as a morality tale about the rise of a 'good' thing, this is really just window dressing on an argument whose main thrust is to suggest that the mass murder of the Jews is ontologically meaningless. In this regard, Alexander may just have easily framed his analysis from another normative perspective – one that deplores the symbolic weight that has been accorded to the Holocaust in the present day. Here we can see that, outside of the ivory tower, in the 'real' world of politics and power, where left liberalism is but one ideology among many and where Anti-Semitism is unfortunately on the rise, Alexander's analytic approach may be highly risky

indeed. Outside of the academy, an article that seeks to reveal that the meaning of the Holocaust as a symbol of evil is but a social construction might potentially be used to buttress the position of those seeking to deny the veracity of the mass murder of the Jews.

One way of responding to these potential ethical problems, which is the way I will cope with them in this thesis when I turn to the residential school system in Canada, is to suggest that it is better to be aware that even 'good' phenomena are socially constructed, rather than simply ignore this. Normatively, this is important because it reminds us just how thin societal perceptions of reality really are. Just as the mass murder of the Jews has been acknowledged as a terrible event, it is also possible that in the future, this meaning might be transformed. Similarly, even though xenophobia was discarded as a polluted worldview after the Second World War, it might again achieve respectability.

Apart from the ethical questions I have raised above, which have not been raised elsewhere, the Strong Program's methods have been the object of much criticism in the scholarly literature. In the following paragraphs, I will focus on two of the main criticisms. Firstly, proponents of the Marxist traditions of meaning-centred analysis argue that Alexander's effort to analytically bracket the cultural process as an autonomous social force ignores too much the relationship between meaning and other more 'realist' factors, such as social structures (especially inequality), power and materiality (e.g. Antonio 2007; Gartman 2007; McLennan 2004; Morris 2007). For example, David Gartman (2007) writes:

> 'The problem with Alexander's demand for "analytical autonomy" is that it assumes what it hopes to demonstrate. By initially bracketing out the influence of economic and utilitarian relations in its formal analysis of culture, it assumes that cultural forms are not themselves affected by these constitutionally, from the inside. The only relation between culture and economy that this method allows is an external, fortuitous intersection of preformed forces.' (Gartman 2007: 3)

Similarly, Ron Eyerman (2004), Alexander's recent 'fellow traveller' in the Strong Program, has suggested that he ignores too much the role of power in meaning-making. Eyerman (2004: 30) writes: while Alexander's Strong Program attempts to bypass [British] cultural studies by incorporating its theoretical innovations and empirical orientations, there are still things to be learned from that confrontation…[with Stuart Hall's]…emphasis on power, on situated reading and performance would make the strong program even stronger.' In light of such criticisms,

Fuyuki Kurasawa (2004: 60) has suggested that Alexander should pay more attention to the ways in which 'symbolic codes and narrative genres exist in relation of mutual causality with political and socio-economic forces.' This is a call, in other words, for the Strong Program to move beyond a limited focus on cultural processes towards becoming more attuned to the ways in which culture interacts with other social forces.

Another major criticism of the Strong Program has come by way of the symbolic interactionists, who argue that it ignores the role of strategy and the interactional and situation-specific features of meaning-making in favour of procuring 'meta' explanations of the social life (e.g. Battani *et al*. 1997; Fine 2010). One of the more searing criticisms has come by way of Gary Alan Fine (2010), who has called for a 'puny' program that focuses on local interactions, as opposed to Alexander's Strong Program, which he suggests is overly 'committed to examining how broad and unseen structural realities ("social facts") overwhelm or even erase the specific characteristics of place, identity, and apparent idiosyncrasies of group life' (Fine 2010: 355) Fine (2010: 355) continues: 'it is not that believers in a strong program deny that actors matter, but their strategy of analysis deemphasizes how the choices of actors shape culture, emphasizing structures and institutions'. This call, then, is for Alexander to pay more attention to local context and practice in meaning-making.

The Strong Program and the Performative Turn

It seems that Alexander has taken both criticisms seriously and has turned to dramaturgy as a way of connecting the Strong Program to practice, social power and materiality. By combining Goffman's and Austin's insights about the performative dimension of the micro with Victor Turner's (1974; 1982) insights about the performative dimension of the macro, and integrating this into the Strong Program, Alexander has attempted to create a general model for analysing meaning-making in complex segmented societies. The new focus on the role of action in meaning-making that this turn to performance suggests moves the Strong Program away slightly from its structuralist roots towards pragmatism. Hence, Alexander refers to the new approach as 'cultural pragmatics.'

By seeking to use dramaturgy to explain macro changes in societal meanings, Alexander follows especially on the tradition pioneered by Victor Turner (1974), who developed a model for analysing struggles over meaning by metaphorically treating them as 'social dramas'. However, in the effort to ostensibly overcome some of the functionalism for which Turner's

work has been criticised, Alexander also draws on the micro analyses of face-to-face interactions put forward by Erving Goffman (1959) and theory of 'performative utterances' put forward by John Austin (1975). In sum, Alexander's (2004b) programmatic statement argues that rituals ought to be reframed as performances in order to account for societal segmentation.[5] Replacing the 'ritual' metaphor with the 'performance' metaphor allows for the possibility that, in complex societies, rituals can, and often do, fail. In order to provide a framework for uncovering why some ritual performances fail and others succeed, Alexander suggests that the measure of a successful social performance is whether the social audience (i.e. the wider group) accepts the authenticity of the performance – much as actors in theatrical performances are judged. Successful ritual performances, suggests Alexander, can be seen to have achieved a degree of 'fusion', in the sense that, at least for a moment, the ritual performer(s) has conveyed the emotional and psychological meaning of the act to the 'audience' (*i.e.* society), as when an actor on a stage seems to truly become the character in the imagination of the audience. Fusion is thus the moment when the ritual performance might be properly described as a ritual, such as occurs in a pre-industrial society. Fusion, as Alexander uses it, is similar to Durkheim's 'collective effervescence' and Turner's 'communitas'.

In order to uncover why a particular performance succeeds or not, Alexander suggests that analysts pay attention to the following elements: foreground scripts and background representations, actors, audience, *mise-en-scène*, means of symbolic production and social power. The distinction between foreground scripts and background representations (also referred to as 'narratives') is as follows: the 'foreground script' refers to the immediate referential texts whereas the background narratives refer to underlying meanings into which the actors must 'hook' their performances in order to assure that the intended meaning of their performance is understood by the audience. The 'actor' is the individual or group of individuals seeking to carry out a successful cultural performance. The 'audience' is the intended recipient of the performance. The *mise-en-scène* refers to the setting in which a cultural performance occurs. The 'means of symbolic production' refers to the technological resources used by the actors to convey the performance to the audience. 'Social power' refers to the distribution of

---

[5] Notably, in interpreting social action as a performance, Alexander is not suggesting that the social actors are insincere – whilst some social actors are clearly insincere, others clearly believe fervently in their course of action. In this regard, the performance metaphor is not employed to bring to light the inner motivations of social actors, but rather merely to bring to light the manifest ways in which meaning structures their actions.

power in society and, Alexander suggests, is a major factor in determining whether a given cultural performance is allowed to proceed, where it can proceed, and what technological resources the actors have at their disposal.

Alexander's model responds to the criticisms that have been levelled against the Strong Program. Notably, by distinguishing between actor and audience, it seeks to account for the critical distance that many members of complex groups maintain despite the efforts of various cultural performers. Also, by connecting situational dynamics to wider background narratives, it seeks to provide an agent-centric approach to analysing attempts by carrier groups to establish societal-level meanings. In this respect, Alexander's model can be seen as an attempt at overcoming the traditional divide between pragmatic and structural approaches to the social construction of meaning. Importantly, by also integrating social power and the means of symbolic production into his model, Alexander has also provided a way in which to move the Strong Program towards bringing to light the ways in which power and materiality impact, and interact with, meaning.[6] Subsequent to this statement, Alexander (2011) has done even more to try to uncover the relationship between meaning and power. According to Alexander, not only does power influence the particular meaning that will be eventually be attributed to a given phenomenon, but, against Weber's emphasis on power as coercion, he suggests that it is meaning that ultimately allows power to be wielded and legitimized (Alexander 2011: 1-6).

What are some potential weaknesses in Alexander's revised approach to the social construction of meaning? One of these might be that, despite the importance of Turner's work in the development of his model, Alexander has dropped the phases that Turner developed to analyse the symbolic process by which political struggles (framed as 'social dramas') erupt and are resolved. Turner (1974) suggested that social dramas typically involve four stages: breach, mounting crisis, redress, and, finally, reintegration or schism. The breach refers to a transgression of some widely-held norm. This transgression can trigger a crisis if a struggle

---

[6] Although not crucial to this discussion, we might also add that Alexander's approach can also be seen to provide a much needed revision of a tradition of analysing social and political movements referred to as 'framing analysis' (see Snow, Rochford, Worden & Benford 1986; Snow & Benford 1988). Framing analysis attempts to capture the way in which political actors use affect to understand why some movements resonate. Its weakness has been that it is not tied to a general theory of symbolic action, such that political actors are generally seen to be instrumentally making use of cultural resources in an *ad hoc* manner. By contrast, Alexander keeps his approach rooted in the Durkheimian *cum* Douglassian theory that symbolic acts aim to distinguish between the sacred and the profane (or the pure and the polluted) with the ultimate aim of preserving the sacrality of the group.

ensues over how to interpret it. Whereas some groups may be interested in widening the breach, others will be interested in 'sealing' it and thereby restoring order. The phase of mounting crisis is characterised by a performative struggle in which members of the conflicting groups each seek to establish their particular interpretation of the conflict. In this phase, the conflict will generally expose deeper divisions between the antagonistic members of the social group. In the event that one group achieves the upper hand, its members will seek to resolve the crisis by moving it into a redressive phase. Redress occurs when leading members of the successful group use pragmatic and/or symbolic action to bring about an end to the crisis. If this succeeds, the crisis will move into a phase of reintegration, during which the antagonism subsides. If it does not, a permanent schism between the conflicting groups may occur.

It may be that Alexander dropped Turner's phases in an effort to distance his approach from the taint of functionalism. However, the view that the social drama model is overly functionalist is not necessarily accurate, in light of the work that Robin Wagner-Pacifici (1986) has done in bringing contingency into the model. Thus, despite the fact that Alexander has dropped Turner's phases, there are compelling reasons for retaining them in certain instances. Firstly, Turner's model is particularly useful for analysts interested in the relationship between symbolic acts and longer processes. In my view, in leaving behind the social drama model, what is lost in Alexander's approach is this view of symbolic action as being embedded in a *process*. In this regard, the phases of social dramas that Turner identifies are helpful heuristic tools for understanding the meaning of particular symbolic acts within a given political process. Another reason for retaining Turner's framework is the central role played by societal-level conflict in his model. This is important because it pushes analysts to work through why one particular performance succeeded over another and hence brings social power and materiality into greater consideration. Thus, I would argue that in certain analyses of meaning-making, especially ones that seek to relate them to longer processes, it may be useful retaining the basic architecture of the social drama model while replacing Turner's structuralist tendencies with Alexander's more sophisticated approach. This is the approach that I will take in this thesis in my analysis of struggles over the residential schools.

Another potential weakness of the performative approach put forward by Alexander is that he is slightly unclear about what exactly constitutes a social performance. Is it an extra-ordinary political act designed to enact major transformations in meaning, such as a presidential speech, political assassination or act of terrorism? Can it also be the type of everyday banal acts

carried out by many individuals that slowly reify or transform meaning? Moreover, does a performance necessitate an embodied act, or can meaning also be performed in other ways via the rhetoric of written words, such as editorials or books, or in visual art, music or monuments? In his programmatic statement, Alexander's complex discussion of the variety of elements that constitute social performances suggests that he is especially envisioning his model to apply to extra-ordinary physical acts. However, in the various case-studies by him and others that have applied his theory, the banal every-day and various types of the media – seen as the 'means of symbolic production' – have also been treated as social performances. In this regard, Alexander (2011: 204-17) has even suggested that material objects, reframed as 'totemic icons', can also be treated as having a performative intent. The model has therefore been treated as a kind of general theory, capable of explaining all aspects of meaning-making. However, not all the elements of performance that Alexander brings to light in his theoretical piece on social performances are necessarily applicable in all instances. For example, how does one interpret the *mise-en-scene* in a newspaper article? Hence, if we are to interpret social performances as broad as it has heretofore been treated, then I would suggest that the elements of performance should be seen as potential tools in an analytic toolkit rather than as elements that should be seen in all social performances. It is in such a way that I will operationalize the approach in this thesis.

Cultural Trauma

The approach developed principally by Alexander over the course of the past several decades provides a highly sophisticated framework for analyzing meaning, which I will draw upon in my analysis of the protracted struggle over the Indian residential school system within the Anglican Church of Canada. This will be the first time that a social constructivist approach will have been used in the study of residential schools and, as a result, should bear fruit in the form of an original contribution. In resolving my empirical questions, I hope to also reflect the implications of my findings back on the approach developed by Alexander and others in order to strengthen and develop it. In this section, I will describe how my analysis will fulfill this aim. In sum, I hope that my thesis will contribute to a sub-area of research within the Strong Program on the social construction of suffering and trauma by providing the first analysis of the cultural process by which groups and institutions eventually take responsibility for perpetrating wrongdoing against another group.

Alexander's article on the Holocaust is a part of one of the Strong Program's main research areas: cultural trauma (Alexander *et al* 2004; Eyerman 2001; Eyerman 2008; Giesen 2004; Eyerman *et al* 2011; Eyerman 2011). Echoing Turner's theory of social dramas, Alexander et al (2004) define cultural trauma as a fundamental tear in the social fabric of society. Ron Eyerman (2008), one of the main drivers of this area of research, suggests that the key difference between a social drama and a cultural trauma is that, whereas the former can be resolved by way of a phase of 'reintegration', the latter leaves an indelible imprint on the collective identity of a group or institution and tends to be reified through processes of collective remembrance. Starting with the proposition that cultural traumas are borne of a cultural process, which is referred to as a 'trauma process' or a 'trauma drama', the task that researchers in the Strong Program have set for themselves is to uncover this process. Much like other analyses carried out by researchers in the Strong Program, research on the social construction of cultural traumas has recently integrated Alexander's 'performative turn' that I described above (e.g. Eyerman 2008; 2011; with Alexander and Reese 2011). Alexander and Elizabeth Reese (2011: 22) state, for example, that cultural traumas are created by way of cultural performances, in which cultural agents, such as politicians, academics, novelists, journalists, film-makers, painters and poets attempt to convey the meaning of a particular event to the wider group.

The Strong Program's approach to cultural traumas has been put forward as a corrective to realist and Freudian approaches to cultural traumas, which suggest that they 'naturally' result from large-scale crises (see Caruth 1995; Ericksen 1976; Neal 1998). Whereas realist researchers in the area have tended to treat cultural traumas as resulting directly from the objectively horrifying nature of a particular event, mediated perhaps only by a period of latency (e.g. Caruth 1995), researchers in the Strong Program, in keeping with a social constructivist epistemology, argue that every event, no matter how horrifying, is ontologically meaningless. Accordingly, to see how a particular event becomes transformed into a cultural trauma requires paying attention to the processes that occur in the gap between the event and its representation. The counterfactual that is key to such an approach is the fact that not every horrifying event becomes integrated into a group's identity. For example, it has been pointed out that the immense suffering by German civilians during the Second World War never triggered a cultural trauma (see Heins & Langenohl 2011). Moreover, some events that have triggered a cultural

trauma may not even be viewed as ontologically so terrible, such as the destruction of material objects (see Debs 2011).

Ron Eyerman has been intensively involved in pushing forward the Strong Program's agenda on cultural trauma. His most well-known contribution to this area is a study of the role played by slavery as a 'traumatic reference' in the representation of African American identity (see Eyerman 2001). This book provides a powerful framework for analysing the process by which particular terrible events become embedded in a group's collective identity. To do so, Eyerman traces the way in which slavery has structured African American identity from inside the group. White America fades into the background and an internal struggle within Black America is brought into prominence. While such an approach might be criticised for downplaying too much the role that White America had imposing certain narratives of slavery upon African Americans, it has the advantage of being able to foreground the meaning of slavery for African American carrier groups. In this regard, it is an exemplary illustration of non-Marxist meaning-centred analysis and provides a framework for the analysis of other comparable cases where a particular episode of suffering becomes embedded into a group's collective identity. I will draw on this approach in the analysis of my question. Eyerman's path-breaking work on slavery and African American identity has been followed by numerous studies by other researchers in the Strong Program on the construction of suffering, including Alexander's book on the Holocaust, which I discussed previously.

One of the more interesting directions taken up by researchers on cultural trauma has been an attempt to uncover what happens within a group when it is claimed to be responsible for inflicting a terrible injustice on another group. Bernhard Giesen (2004), an important figure in the Strong Program, provides the impetus for such research by way of a paradigmatic study of the impact of the Holocaust on postwar Germans. Drawing on Freud and Hegel, Giesen argues that the memory of the Holocaust represents a traumatic reference for German national identity. In Giesen's view, the problem is that in the master narrative of the Holocaust, Germans are the perpetrators. This creates a kind of impossible paradox, where the "pollutant" is located at the very heart of the sacrality of German collective identity. Giesen suggests that this condition can be seen as a "trauma of the perpetrators", which, in the case of Germany, continued until Willy Brandt's knee-fall in 1970. According to Giesen (2004: 132-33), Brandt's Knee-fall 'gave way to a reconciliation between Germany, the nation of the perpetrators, and

the nations of the victims…this gesture…ended the status of the moral occupation for the Federal Republic and opened a path to a new political identity…'.

Giesen's argument provides much insight for bringing to light the impetus for reparations from the perspective of those offering them. His discussion of Brandt's knee-fall also brings into the discussion the 'deep' patterns that underpin these efforts. Brandt's act 'worked', Giesen suggests, because it referenced Judeo-Christian mythology suggesting that the sacrifice of an innocent can exonerate the sins of the group. This insight provides a compelling angle on why reparations seem to have been mainly a Western phenomenon and I will draw on such insights in my thesis when I discuss the Anglican Church of Canada's official apology. However, in general, Giesen's account is highly problematic because he employs the psychological *cum* realist view of cultural trauma that is, strangely, contrary to the Strong Program's approach to behaviour.

The Holocaust, in Giesen's account, projects an inherently traumatic meaning, which structures German efforts to reconstruct their national identity – a process he psycho-logistically describes as 'working through'. Using this psychological framework, Giesen suggests that the reason that the Germans did not confront their role in the Holocaust in the immediate postwar period was because they had to undergo a period of 'latency' – much in the same way that individual sufferers of trauma are argued to psychologically repress their memory of the trauma event, which tends then to re-emerge later in a wide range of symptoms that are now referred to as post-traumatic stress disorder (e.g. Caruth 1995). In the case of Germany and the Holocaust, Giesen's discussion of generational conflict in the postwar period might therefore be seen as symptomatic of a kind of mass post-traumatic stress disorder.

Apart from the more obvious problems that arise when social analysts seek to ascribe psychological characteristics to societies, another, more subtle, problem with Giesen's analysis is that he also ignores the wider global context of the transformation of the mass murder of the Jews after the Second World War, which as we have seen, Alexander has done so much to illuminate. Without the social construction of the Holocaust into an American symbol of radical evil, one wonders whether Germans would ever have suffered a 'trauma of the perpetrators'. Also, another problem is that Giesen insufficiently pays attention to internal struggles within Germany. Although he pays attention to a generational struggle among Germans, he stops there. This presents far too much of a unified picture of society. In view of these problems, a better approach would have been to at least demonstrate an awareness of external context as

well as a much closer awareness of the internal struggles that such external factors engendered. This would be closer to the framework developed by Eyerman in his study of the meaning of slavery among African Americans and which I will follow in my analysis. Unfortunately, despite the weaknesses in Giesen's approach, it has inspired similarly oriented studies within the Strong Program, including a similarly psychological study of the ostensible 'trauma of defeat' suffered by postwar Japanese (see Hashimoto 2011).

Giesen's failure to conduct a properly constructivist study of the impact of the Holocaust on postwar Germans and the seeming acceptance of his approach, suggests that there is a need for further study of the impact of the claim that one's group is responsible for wrongdoing and the cultural process by which they eventually take responsibility for such wrongdoing. Furthermore, outside of the realm of the Strong Program, although there is a burgeoning similarly oriented literature on so-called 'difficult pasts' in the realm of memory studies, it has also not yet provided an appropriate framework for tracing the process by which a group eventually takes responsibility for perpetrating wrongdoing against another group. Instead, much of the literature in this area is devoted to empirically proving that 'difficult pasts', such as instances of perpetrating wrongdoing against another group, do indeed present unique challenges in constructing group narratives, rather than in bringing to light the process by which a particular meaning is ascribed to these pasts (e.g. Torsti 2007; Vinitzky-Seroussi 2002; Wagner-Pacifici & Schwartz 1991). Moreover, among the few researchers in this area that is process-oriented, Lauren Rivera's (2008) piece only discusses the way in which groups resist acknowledging difficult pasts and thus misses the way in which such resistance eventually gives way to acknowledgement. By tracing the protracted process by which elites in the Anglican Church of Canada eventually acknowledged the church's role in perpetrating wrongdoing against Aboriginal Anglicans using the performative approach put forward by Alexander, I will therefore fill a gap in the Strong Program's literature on cultural trauma and in the wider field of memory studies.

PART 2: Methodology

A Comparative Historical Analysis of the Anglican Church of Canada

As I mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis, in order to resolve why the route to official acknowledgment of the deleterious consequences of the residential schools system was so

protracted, I will focus on the cultural process as it occurred within the Anglican Church of Canada among non-Aboriginal Anglican elites. Canadian Anglicanism was involved in the residential school system from its creation in the 1880s until the Canadian government decided to terminate the church-state partnership in 1969. After 1969, the Church sought to transform its relationship with Aboriginals, but largely ignored the ramifications of its past involvement in the residential schools. In 1993, in the context of thousands of allegations by former students of having suffered sexual and physical abuse, former Primate Michael Peers apologized on behalf of the church to Aboriginal Anglicans for the residential schools. This was the first time that a primate of the church had so publicly acknowledged the role of the church in the tragedy created by the residential schools. The apology marked a turning point for the Anglican Church of Canada. After the apology, Aboriginality and Anglicanism, at least among elites, have increasingly moved towards a phase of reconciliation, as exemplified by an offer of forgiveness by a leading Aboriginal Anglican and the creation in 2007 of an office for a National Indigenous Anglican Bishop. The puzzle to be resolved is why it took so long for the church to acknowledge the negative impact of the residential schools, especially since many problems in them were widely known from the turn of the 20th Century onwards. I resolve this puzzle by tracing the protracted process that eventually led to the church officially taking responsibility for the deleterious consequences of the residential schools using the approach I discussed in Part 1. In this section, I will discuss my methodology and data collection.

Why have I chosen to focus on the process that has occurred in *one* of the organizations formerly involved in the residential schools rather than all of them? My rationale is mainly methodological. Although the tendency in the general histories of the school system, such as those written by John Miller (1996c) and John Milloy (1999), has been to treat the former partners in the residential schools as a fairly cohesive group with broadly similar aims, I found that once I entered into the various internal struggles over the residential schools that occurred within these organizations, it became apparent that the various social actors viewed their particular organization as distinct. For example, the administrators of the various churches often viewed each other with an overt sectarian suspicion, especially between the members of the Protestant churches and the Catholic Church. Similarly, a struggle over such issues as the administration and funding of the school system was a constant aspect of the church-state relationship. That the members of each of the various organizations involved in the residential schools had a distinct perspective is unsurprising; each of them was, on its own, a relatively

46

powerful organization with well-established narratives about its particular identity. From a cultural perspective, each of these organizations therefore had its own 'sacred', which, as a result, gave rise to competition and conflict between them. This fact makes it difficult to properly account for the cultural aspects of the struggles over the residential schools within each of these organizations.

The demands of the approach that I have chosen, which seeks to produce a meaning-centred explanation of behaviour by way of an analysis that is based on a qualitative reconstruction of the underlying of culture structure of a social group or institution, makes a broader, more comparative approach difficult – especially in light of the limitations of this thesis. A comparative analysis of the organizations involved in the residential schools would need to be attuned to each groups' particular narratives about the meaning of the residential schools, their role among Aboriginals, the wider Canadian society and between each other. Also, because I am interested in tracing a process occurring over nearly one hundred years, this would require a great deal of archival research. Consequently, I have chosen to restrict my research to just one of the organizations that were formerly involved in the residential schools. However, this is not to say that the thesis does not have a comparative dimension. As I outline in the succeeding section, I will be focusing on several 'critical junctures' that occurred within the Anglican Church of Canada among non-Aboriginal Anglican elites that occurred at different points in time.

However, despite the differences between the organizations formerly involved in the residential schools, there are also clearly many broad similarities in each of the group's aims and each of them has broadly followed the same processual pattern, beginning with representing the residential schools as a sacred evangelical humanitarian mission and ending by finally acknowledging their deleterious consequences. Therefore, I take the position that, while the constraints of this thesis means that I must focus on one of the organizations involved in the residential schools, in doing so, I hope to be able to develop a framework that also helps to illustrate the actions of its former partners. In this regard, it is my hope that this analysis will prompt analyses of the other organizations that test and refine my findings. Such an aim is in keeping with the purposes of case-study research described by Robert Yin (2003). According to Yin, although analyzing a single case-study constrains generalizability, such research is particularly useful for illuminating "how" and "why" social processes unravel over time, which can later be used as a framework for understanding comparable cases.

Why have I chosen to focus specifically on the Anglican Church of Canada? Firstly, I chose to focus on one of the churches rather than the Canadian state because the state is more diffuse, with numerous competing organizations, which makes an endogenous analysis more difficult. Often, administrators in the Department of Indian Affairs received orders from powerful members of government, including the Prime Minister. Secondly, whereas, as we saw in Chapter 1, the perspective of the state is more heavily trodden territory, less work has been done on the perspective of the churches. Thirdly, the reason why I specifically chose to focus on the Anglican Church rather than the Catholic Church, which was responsible for the operation of more residential schools, is more prosaic. The Oblate Order that was responsible for the Catholic Church's residential schools is quite protective of its archives as they relate to the residential schools. However, despite this, Canadian Anglicanism makes for a good case-study on its own terms.

The Anglican Church in Canada operated the most residential schools among the protestant churches and was responsible for the majority of the schools in the Canadian Arctic. The significance of Canadian Anglicanism in the residential school system was particularly apparent at the outset of the twentieth century, when a group of western-based Anglicans played a major part in ensuring that it would not be terminated. Also, the Anglican Church makes for an interesting case because of the prestige that was accorded to it by state elites and the wider English Canadian nation prior to the 1960s. Despite the fact that it has never been the largest religious organization in Canada, as the established church of the 'mother country', Anglicanism in Canada was accorded a degree of prestige not accorded to the other Christian churches. Such symbolism was not lost on church elites. As we shall see, until the end of the 1960s, one of the root paradigms of the church's identity was its ostensible mission as a defender of Canada's 'Britishness'. For example, church members were vocal proponents of Canada's entry into both of the World Wars on behalf of Britain and were highly visible opponents of non-British immigration, as exemplified by Anglican Bishop George Lloyd's highly visible opposition to the settlement of Saskatchewan by migrants from eastern and southern Europe (See Kitzan 1996). These aspects of the church's identity provide a particularly interesting culture structure to mine, especially as the 20th century progresses and a new generation of progressive Anglicans emerges that seeks to challenge the established Tory Loyalist narrative.

Why have I chosen to focus on a struggle over the meaning of the residential schools as it occurred among non-Aboriginal administrators, rather than focus on the struggle as it occurred between Aboriginal and the non-Aboriginal Anglicans? Although the latter dynamic will certainly be present in my analysis, much as will be the wider Aboriginal-Canada struggle, they will be situated in the background of my analysis. This follows on the approach adopted by Eyerman on his study of the meaning of slavery and African Americans, which I discussed in the previous section. Such an approach is useful for my particular study because it will help me to avoid the tendency in scholarly literature on majority-minority relations to create an 'essentialised' narrative about a struggle between minority groups and majority groups. Rather, the story that I would like to bring to light here is meant to depict a struggle *within* the majority group. This will help to foreground the various meanings that the members of this group attributed to the residential schools.

Choosing to study a religious organization has implications for the analytic approach that I have chosen, given its roots in the 'religious sociology' developed by Durkheim in *Elementary Forms* (2001). Durkheim developed a series of concepts concerning the symbolic dimension of the social life that were based on his reading of ethnographic accounts of small, pre-industrial groups of Aboriginals in Australia. However, Durkheim frequently made it clear that many of his concepts, such as the idea of totemism, could also be seen in complex modern societies. The Strong Program gets its impetus from this basic proposition. For example, the most compelling, counter-intuitive, aspect of this approach is that it goes against widely-held views about behaviour in the modern era. While individuals in complex modern societies may often see themselves as fully secularized rational actors, researchers in the Strong Program seek to demonstrate that individuals' actions are still structured by cultural systems of which they may not be conscious. Hence, for researchers in the Strong Program, although belief in organized religion (that is, religion with a big 'R') may have declined in the modern era, individuals are still 'religious' actors (religion with small 'r').[7] So what are the implications of this proposition for my study, given that the actors I will be analyzing do not claim to be secular?

In short, this does not pose a problem. As we have seen, many of the elements of behaviour that I will be analyzing lie below the level of consciousness. This is, in part one, of the main claims of the Strong Program – that the binaries between sacred and profane and the transformative role of ritual can be found in all societies, irrespective of particular religious and

---

[7] I am indebted to Jeffrey Alexander for the dichotomy between big 'R' religion and small 'r' religion.

ideological beliefs. We can therefore presume that the Anglicans I will be analyzing will still make use of these basic elements in their struggles over the meaning of the residential schools. However, all this being said, researchers in the Strong Program do recognize that particular belief systems do influence the way in which struggles are carried out and, in particular, the types of rituals that will be used to resolve those struggles. This means that I will certainly need to be aware of theology in my analysis, much as I will also need to be aware of ideology.

An Analysis of Three Social Dramas

In this section, I explain the way in which I chose to order my analysis. To resolve why the route to Peers' apology was so protracted, I will focus on the three main 'critical junctures' in the history of the struggle over the meaning of the residential school system. In using the term 'critical juncture', I borrow from the path-dependent approach that has developed in the field of historical institutionalism (see Collier & Collier 1991; Pierson 1994; Steinmo et al. 1992). In such literature, critical junctures are treated as the periods when institutional change occurs. In this regard, Giovanni Cappoccia and R. Daniel Kelemen (2007: 341) write: '…arguments in the historical institutionalist literature postulate a dual model of institutional development characterized by relatively long periods of path-dependent institutional stability and reproduction that are punctuated occasionally by brief phases of institutional flux—referred to as critical junctures—during which more dramatic change is possible.' Similar to historical institutionalism, in my analysis I found that the meaning of the residential schools tended to be reified or transformed in periods of 'flux', which were triggered by macro changes in the social and political context in Canada. This is because these periods of 'flux' tended to give rise to periods of crisis, which were characterized by heightened struggles over the meaning of the residential schools. The outcome of each of these crises, in turn, set the church upon a particular 'path', which does not undergo a serious challenge until the subsequent crisis. To explain the outcomes of each of the struggles over meaning triggered by the three main critical junctures, I reframe them as Turnerian social dramas and make use of the analytic approach I discussed in the previous section.

To begin my analysis, I provide a contextual chapter that provides a broad history of key political and social changes that gave rise to the three social dramas in the Anglican Church. Following this, I move my analysis downward, towards a more micro picture of the dynamics of meaning-making that occurred in each of the social dramas. Much as Eyerman went deep inside

internal struggles among African American cultural agents and, in doing so, paid analytical attention to actual real people, I also do the same with respect to non-Aboriginal Anglican cultural agents.

In the first social drama, I seek to resolve why the church persisted in supporting the residential schools in the face of mounting criticism and the spiraling cost of operating them. To do so, I focus on a crisis that occurred in the first decade of the 20th Century as a result of a high profile health report that criticized the sanitation in the residential schools. The report triggered a struggle over the meaning of the residential schools between a group of western-based Anglicans, who sought to protect the 'purity' of the residential schools, and a group of Toronto-based elites who sought to 'pollute' them. Ultimately, the western Anglicans were successful: by the 1920s, the church had reinvigorated its support for the school system and the residential schools continued to be rated positively throughout the 1930s and 1940s, even though a succession of reports indicated that the level of sanitation in the residential schools remained substandard.

In the second social drama, I seek to resolve why the church avoided acknowledging the school system's deleterious consequences on its students after it was terminated. To do so, I focus on a crisis that occurred in the 1960s as a result of rising Aboriginal political activism and the spread of the New Left among Anglican elites. A struggle over the meaning of the church's Aboriginal work between a new generation of liberal elites and an older generation was triggered by the government's decision to terminate the churches' role in the residential schools. The church adopted a report in 1969 which resolved the crisis and set out a new mission for the church's aboriginal work. Following this, the implications of the long history of the residential schools were ignored until the end of the 1980s.

In the third social drama, I seek to resolve why the church finally took responsibility for the deleterious consequences of the residential schools in the 1990s and why its official apology in 1993 was so successful in initiating a phase of reconciliation between Aboriginality and Anglicanism. To do so, I focus on a crisis occurring as a result of thousands of Aboriginals publicly alleging that they had been abused whilst at residential school. This triggered a struggle in the church over the meaning of the residential schools between several church elites and the former staff members and several bishops. Former Primate Michael Peers apologized on behalf of the church in 1993. The apology concluded the long process of periodic social dramas and a

phase of reconciliation – at least among church elites - between Aboriginality and Anglicanism was initiated.

Data

In this section, I discuss the data that I used to conduct my analysis and touch on its strengths and weaknesses. My analysis of the Anglican Church of Canada is based on data that I gathered mainly from primary sources. The reason is that there have been few studies concerned with the internal struggles among church elites as they relate to the residential schools. Indeed, this is the first study to trace these debates from the origins of the residential schools until Michael Peers' apology and, as such, this is the first time that much of the data that I draw upon has been discussed in a scholarly setting. My primary data was gathered from the Anglican Church House Archives in Toronto during two separate occasions. I conducted the bulk of my research in 2009 from April until October. I followed this up with a one month stint at the archives in March 2011. Before beginning my archival research, I made use of secondary sources as well as conversations and interviews with the archivists and other church members to uncover the key periods on which to focus my research. The interviews that I conducted were used to help me to orient my research and corroborate my findings in the archives. My informants were not comfortable being included in the analysis and I have deliberately excluded the interviews from this thesis.

Because I am interested in the ways in which social actors in the church performed particular meanings in order to either defend or transform the meaning of the residential school system (*i.e.* actors' representation of the residential schools rather than their 'objective' reality), I focused on materials related to discourse. As I noted in the previous section, meaning can be performatively conveyed through a variety media, whether by manipulating one's body in a particular way or by communicating through image, written words or video. When undergoing discourse *cum* cultural analysis, this wide variety of material is generally referred to as 'texts.' The type of texts I drew upon varied according to each of the social dramas I analyzed. This reflects the rapid changes in communication technology in Canada across the three periods under analysis. In the first social drama, I uncovered a performative struggle that was waged via a series of highly rhetorical pamphlets, personal letters, and Letters to the Editor (the latter was published in the *Canadian Churchman*, the church's main publication, which is now entitled the *Anglican Journal*). In the second social drama, I brought to light a performative struggle that was

waged in a series of high profile reports, and, Letters to the Editor. Fortuitously, I also uncovered the results of a qualitative survey of the opinions of the Bishops concerning the church's historical work among Aboriginals that had been carried out at the time. Because of the private nature of the survey, this provided an unexpectedly rich source of data that otherwise may not have been possible to glean from the other, more public, material. In the third social drama, I analyze a performative struggle that was waged via a series of 'teach-ins', letters, books, leaflets, Letters to the Editor, and, most importantly, a series of docudramas produced in relation to the drama. The third social drama was also characterized by an extraordinary embodied performance meant to enact a major transformation in meaning. This was the 1993 official apology performed by former Primate Michael Peers. I analyze the apology by drawing on archived descriptions of the event by individuals who were involved in it.

To situate my analysis of Canadian Anglicanism within the wider Canadian context, I mainly relied upon a wide range of secondary sources. This was supplemented by reference to major Canadian print media as well as several televised interviews. The printed articles were found through key word searches in the LexisNexis online database. The televised interviews were found through key word searches on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's online database. Notably, in my analysis, reference to such media sources was meant to help illustrate the kinds of debates that were underway in Canada in particular periods. As such, they are not meant to provide a 'representative' sample of media reports.

Chapter 3

History of the Indian Residential Schools

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the wider Canadian context for the three social dramas within the Anglican Church of Canada that I analyse in succeeding chapters. To do so, I provide a broad historical overview of the Indian Residential School System. In conducting this exercise, I pay attention especially to generational and ideological change and shifts in social power in the context of indigenous-settler relations. My data is drawn from a wide range of secondary sources.

My findings are as follows. The Canadian government, with the support of the churches, created the residential school system as a way of assimilating Aboriginals into Euro-Canada. Although Aboriginal leaders initially supported the new system of education, they were opposed to assimilation. However, due to their weak demographic, economic and political position, their protestations went unheeded. In the 1960s, Aboriginal Canada had sufficiently recovered that a new generation of leaders were able to mount an effective campaign against assimilation. The spread of left liberalism and civic nationalism among non-Aboriginal Canadians in this period ensured that many of them were increasingly sympathetic to Aboriginal demands. In the 1990s, several decades after its closure, the residential school system again became a major political issue after a new generation of Aboriginal intellectuals broke a 'code of silence' and came forward with allegations that physical and sexual abuse had been widespread in the schools. By the end of the decade, representatives of all the former partners in the residential schools had offered official apologies and had begun to seek to make amends.

The chapter is organised in three parts: in Part 1, I focus on the creation of the residential school system in the 1880s; in Part 2, I focus on the closure of the residential school system in the 1960s, and; in Part 3, I focus on the return of the residential school system as a political issue in the 1990s.

PART ONE: The Rise of the Civilizing Mission

The Manual Labour Schools

In this section, I discuss the creation of the short-lived Manual Labour Schools, which were the forerunner of the residential school system. Before doing so, it is worth noting note that it was Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries who, as early as the beginning of the 18th Century, were first involved in the effort to educate Aboriginals in British North America in European culture and practices. Roughly a century later, in the decades following the War of 1812 with the United States of America (US), in the midst of a period of mass settlement by settlers from Britain[8], colonial administrators in Upper Canada (now known as Ontario) began to be interested in Aboriginal education and its potential in assimilating Aboriginals. It was in this era of consolidating British North America (now known as Canada) that colonial administrators began to perceive Aboriginals differently from their predecessors. In previous centuries, Aboriginals had been seen as valuable allies of the British Empire in North America against the French and the US. In the new era of peace and settlement they were seen as an impediment to the progress and expansion of the colony. The question arose as to what to do about such an 'impediment', which tended to be variously referred to as the 'Indian question' or the 'Indian problem.' Assimilation was taken up as a potential solution.

Why did colonial administrators choose assimilation rather than simply forcibly relocate Aboriginals onto more marginal lands to make way for the flood of setters – as had often been the favoured policy in the United States (US)? A major reason for this seems to have been the rise of social concern for Aboriginals among the major Anglo-protestant religions in the 19th Century, which occurred in the wake of the massive outpouring of Protestant missionaries from Britain into the cultural boundaries of the Empire. In general, these missionaries developed a highly paternal view of the 'savage heathens' that they ministered to, which, although highly racist and ethnocentric, also gave rise to a desire to 'help' colonized peoples. As a result, missionaries often clashed with colonial administrators, who were generally more interested in territorial expansion and saw Aboriginals as an impediment to this (see Porter 2004). Through their highly popular memoirs (see Chapter 1), these missionaries were able to strike an emotional chord with the British reading public. Thus, when Sir Francis Bond Head, who was

---

[8] For example, from 1806 to 1840, the population of Upper Canada increased from 70,718 to 432,159 (Statistics Canada Online).

installed as lieutenant governor of Upper Canada in 1836, introduced a policy of relocating Aboriginal groups to an island in Lake Superior, where he assumed they would soon die out, it provoked an outcry from religious and humanitarian groups in British North America and Britain (Miller 1996c: 131). Head's appointment was revoked and the policy was suspended.

Following Head's failed efforts, policymakers in British North America turned to assimilation as a preferred means of eliminating the impediment to progress that Aboriginality had come to represent. European-style education, in which Aboriginal children would be schooled in industrial and farming practices in a strictly Christian environment, was put forward as the best way of achieving this. James Miller (1996c: 75) writes: 'assimilation through evangelization, education, and agriculture would have to be the policy after 1830, because more coercive methods of achieving the "Euthanasia of savage communities" [here Miller cites Sir George Murray, former Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, an early proponent of residential schooling for Aboriginals] were inimical, expensive, and politically dangerous.' Making use of the expertise and labour provided by the missionaries, who were already involved in Aboriginal education, was seen as the best way of putting into practice the new Aboriginal education policy.

Aboriginal leaders in Upper Canada by and large endorsed European-style education for their people – at least initially. Indeed, in the first decades of the 19th Century, it was often Aboriginal leaders who campaigned for education in European practices (and Christianity) for their people. For example, Ojibwa Chief Shingwaukonse, who had fought on behalf of the British in the War of 1812, travelled with his son to the fast-growing town of York (later renamed the City of Toronto) to petition the Church of England to set up a school for his people. However, in contrast with the aims of the missionaries and the administrators, it was not Shingwaukonse's desire that his people be assimilated into British culture. For Shingwaukonse and many other Aboriginal leaders, the changing social context of British North America signalled that, in order to survive and compete, their communities needed to learn the practices of the settlers whose numbers were swelling daily. Hence, Miller (2000: 129) writes, 'so far as the Indians were concerned, the motive for participating in schooling was to acquire the knowledge that they recognized as essential to their continued survival and success at a time when the literate Europeans were becoming dominant.' This desire for cultural survival led to differing positions among Aboriginal leaders on the question of Christianity. Some leaders, like Shingwaukonse, apparently believed that Christianity (and particularly Anglicanism) was one reason why the

English were so powerful and hence sought conversion for themselves and their communities. Others rejected Christianity, but still desired education for their communities in the practices and culture of the settlers. For example, in 1833, Chief Shawahnahness of St. Clair declared that his people 'had already agreed amongst themselves *never* to abandon the religion of their fore-fathers [but] we agree to send our children to school that they may learn to read, put words on paper, and count, so that the white traders might not cheat them' (cited in Miller 2000: 130).

Despite deeply divergent views as to the ultimate aim of Aboriginal education between the missionaries and the colonial administration on one hand and the Aboriginal leadership on the other hand, by the mid-19th Century, all three groups more or less agreed on its necessity. In 1846, at a meeting held at the burgeoning lumbering and agricultural town of Orillia, their representatives agreed 'to the establishment of Manual Labour Schools for the Education of their [Aboriginal] Children' (cited in Miller 1996c: 61). The Manual Labour Schools were day schools meant to educate male Aboriginal children in industrial and farming practices in a Christian environment. However, because of divergences in aims between the three groups, there was soon struggle over the schools. Miller describes a situation where would-be missionaries arrived at the schools with little knowledge of, and disregard for, Aboriginal culture. The result is that parents were reticent to send their students to the schools and Aboriginal leaders became increasingly wary. By way of example, Miller notes that even the Methodist cleric Peter Jones, who was of mixed English and Ojibwa parentage and had been a tireless campaigner in Canada and Britain for education for Aboriginals in the early 1800s, became so disgruntled with the missionaries' disregard for Aboriginality that he refused to send his children to a manual labour school. Similarly, Miller observes that although Anglican leaders agreed to build a school for Shingwaukonse's people, upon the arrival of the missionaries, the school soon became the object of heated controversy (Miller 2000: 131). As a result of such struggles, and the seeming failure of the manual labour schools to achieve their aims, they were abandoned by the government several decades later.

The context of the 1846 meeting at Orrillia, when colonial administrators felt it necessary to actually convince Aboriginal leaders of the benefits of their plan to provide European-style education, changed drastically in the following decades, as the relevance of Aboriginals rapidly declined in the new social order being established by the settlers. From the mid-19th Century onwards, the colonial government progressively took control of nearly every aspect of Aboriginal peoples' lives.

In 1857, the Governor General signed the 'Act to Encourage the Gradual Civilization of Indian Tribes in this Province,' which required the 'enfranchisement' of 'any recognized male Indian over the age of 21 'able to speak, read and write either English or the French language readily and well, and is sufficiently advanced in the elementary branches of education and is of good moral character and free from debt' (Cited in Miller 2000: 140). The new law used citizenship as a tool in the effort to assimilate Aboriginals. It denied Aboriginal men the right to vote or own property unless they sought 'enfranchisement', which, if they did so, meant that they would lose all 'Indian rights and habilities' (Cited in Miller 2000: 140). Legally, they would therefore become the same as any other British subject in Canada. From thenceforth until the mid-20th Century, Aboriginals had to decide whether to retain their 'Indian status' or become full citizens – they could not have both. Not surprisingly, Aboriginal leaders expressed dismay at the passing of the Enfranchisement Act. The Chief of Kahnawake wrote: 'Relative to this Act for the Civilization of the Indians there is nothing in it to be for their benefit, only to break them to pieces' (cited in Miller 2000: 141). Aboriginals' dismay with the new law was also expressed in their actions; by 1876, when an Indian Act was codified, only one man had applied for full citizenship under the 'enfranchisement' policy (cited in Miller 2000: 143).

Later, in the 1867 Act that led to the creation of the Dominion of Canada, Section 91:24 assigned the federal government full power to legislate for Aboriginals and their property, which was passed despite protestations from Aboriginal leaders. With the passage of the new Act, Aboriginals became 'wards' of the Canadian state. In a telling example of how Aboriginals were now viewed among English Canadians, Sir John A MacDonald, first Prime Minister of Canada, interpreted the 1867 Act as assigning to the new government, 'the onerous duty of…their guardianship as of persons underage, incapable of the management of their own affairs' (cited in Milloy 1999: 21). Subsequently, John Milloy (1999: 21) writes: 'the government took for itself the power to mould, unilaterally, every aspect of [Aboriginal] life and to create whatever infrastructure it deemed necessary to achieve the desired end – assimilation.'

The Creation of the Indian Residential School System

After being ceded the vast north-western territory of Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company, as prescribed in the Rupert's Land Act of 1868, the Canadian administration acquired

sovereignty over approximately 100,000 Aboriginals and Métis[9] whose life-worlds differed sharply from the British *cum* Canadian civilization that it hoped to establish in the new territory. To resolve this 'problem', government officials again looked to education and assimilation. Despite the problems that had arisen in the 'manual labour schools', this time they embraced a much more comprehensive system of Aboriginal education, which is now generally known as the Indian residential school system.

Initially, as in the case of the manual labour schools, the idea for European-style education for Aboriginals in the North-West was championed by the Aboriginal leadership. This was a result of a similar pattern that had occurred in Ontario. A dramatically changing social context, in the light of a mass influx of settlers and the concomitant rise of a smallpox epidemic and decline of traditional economic systems, such as the extinction of the buffalo, meant that Aboriginal leaders were forced into a position of needing to turn to Euro-Canada to secure the continuity of their communities. In such a context, Aboriginal leaders in the North-West sought to make treaties with the new government in which they hoped to acquire some compensation for ceding land to the federal government.

A pattern emerged in the northern plains whereby Aboriginal leaders such as Sweetgrass, a Cree chief involved in the treaty negotiations for Aboriginal communities in an huge area encompassing what is now central Saskatchewan and Alberta, demanded schooling as part of package of compensation for ceding land to the Crown. Like his predecessors in Ontario, Sweetgrass sought education in Euro-Canadian practices for his community in order to secure its social and political futures. However, the system of education that the government was to provide was a far cry from what he had envisioned. The balance of power was now so firmly in the hands of the settlers and their new government that Aboriginal concerns were simply ignored. In this regard, historian Palmer Patterson writes: 'for the Indian it was the period of his irrelevance to Canadian life' (Patterson 1972: 107). In the booming settler cities of central Canada, much as in Britain, Aboriginality had become more of an imagined object than a daily encounter. Thus, in contravention with the expressed desire of the Aboriginal negotiators, the government instituted a system of education whose ultimate aim was the total assimilation of

---

[9] The term 'Métis' refers to a distinct ethnic group in Canada whose members trace their origins to mixed marriages between French and Cree fur traders who had congregated around the Red River region of what is now known as the Province of Manitoba. According to Jacqueline Peterson (1985), a distinct Métis consciousness, with distinct cultural markers, crystalized between 1815 and 1850.

Aboriginality into Euro-Canada, in which Aboriginal children would be educated in industrial and boarding schools located far from their parents and communities.

By the time of the creation of the residential school system, the idea that assimilation would save Aboriginals from obsolescence, which had been initially put forward by the missionaries, was entrenched among Canadian policy-makers. 'Elevation to a higher civilization,' as assimilation was then referred to, was advocated as a way of 'saving' Aboriginals. Thus, the new school system was framed by its proponents as a humanitarian policy. Nicolas Flood Davin's oft-cited statement, 'kill the Indian to save the man,' which was contained in the report that led to the creation of the residential school system, sums up this idea well (Davin 1879). The residential school system was also represented as a moral obligation for the Canadian nation. It was a duty that 'divine providence', in bequeathing the vast North-West to the 'new' nation, had thrust upon it. Thus, in the same report, entitled *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds*, Davin (1879: 12) argued that the 'government of Canada had a sacred trust with which providence has invested in the country in the charge of and care for the aborigines committed to it.' Similarly, a Methodist proponent of the schools system wrote, 'the Indian is the weak child in the family of our nation and for this reason presents the most earnest appeal for Christian sympathy and co-operation' (cited in Milloy 1999: 28).

It was in the context of the rise of the idea of Canada's 'civilizing mission' that Davin produced his report, which proposed a far more audacious effort at social engineering than had been previously been pursued in Canada. The idea of placing Aboriginal children in residential schools located far from their parents was put forward by Davin as an improvement on the failed 'manual labour' schools in Upper Canada, in which the pupils had continued to live in their communities. Davin argued that the manual labour schools had failed to 'elevate the Indian from his condition of savagery' because they had not removed Aboriginal children from the 'savage' influence of their parents (cited in Milloy 1999: 25). Implicit in this formulation was that Aboriginal adults could not be 'civilized.' They could 'be taught to do a little farming and at stock raising and to dress in a more civilized fashion, but that is all…[they had]…the helplessness of mind of the child…there is too, the child's want of perspective; but there is little of the child's receptivity' (cited in Milloy 1999: 26). Moreover, although the parents were seen as impossible to 'civilize,' as long as they were near their children, they were also seen as a potentially baleful influence, in that they might entreat their children back to a state of savagery. Thus, Davin proposed that 'the more remote from the Institution and distant from each other are the points

from which the pupils are collected, the better for their success' (Milloy 1999: 30). Far away from their parents, then, at residential school, Aboriginal children were presumed to be able to more successfully undergo the civilizing process.

Why did the government choose to partner with the churches to run the residential school system? One reason is strictly instrumental: the Christian churches, beginning with the Jesuits in the 1730s, had already long been involved in Aboriginal education. This facilitated the creation of the residential schools; the government could simply provide the funds and regulate a practice that was already on-going. Indeed, in the partnership envisioned by Davin, all the administrative aspects of the schools and their staff would be provided by the churches, whilst the Government would supply the funds through a system of grants and oversight through government employed inspectors. Also, Miller (2000: 90) suggests that there was a view among administrators that the churches long history of work among Aboriginals made them ideal interlocutors between Canadian 'civilization' and the 'primitive' Aboriginal way of life. Also, there was another, more idealist reason for partnering with the Christian churches: Christianity was believed to be integral to the civilizing process.

Milloy (1999: 36) suggests that because the residential schools would be introducing to the children a wholly new ontology of the world, it was seen as impossible to omit Christianity from their education. As one Presbyterian wrote, 'we aim at building and developing character on the foundation of Christian morality' (Milloy 1999: 38). Similarly, Prime Minister MacDonald wrote in 1883, 'secular education is a good thing among white men but among Indians the first object is to make them better men, and, if possible, good Christian men by applying proper moral restraints, and appealing to the instinct for worship that is found in all nations, whether civilized or uncivilized' (Miller 1996c: 103). Thus, in contrast to the trend toward secular education in English Canada at the time, Milloy suggests that, in the view of the administration, 'the [residential] school system…could not be secular; the process of civilization must be a partnership between church and state' (Milloy 1999: 38).

Following the adoption of the Davin Report by the Canadian government in 1879, the school system expanded rapidly. Although Davin had initially only planned for there to be three residential schools, which were to be located in the North-West, as a result of a practice in which the churches would build a school and then demand funds after the fact, the number had reached a peak of 80 schools in 1931 (Milloy 1999: 55-7). The rapid expansion of the school system, combined with war-time expenditures and the recession of the 1930s, meant that it was

hugely under-funded, and tensions between the churches and the Department of Indian Affairs were common as a result. Underfunding and a lack of proper regulatory oversight also led to deplorable sanitation at many of the schools and a terrible standard of education. In marked contrast with the high-minded way in which the residential school system was described by church and state officials, wherein Aboriginal children were to be lovingly brought into the 'circle of civilization', the reality was that children were often being taught in deplorable conditions by missionaries and staff members with little training or knowledge of the difficulties associated with teaching children from a vastly different culture.

As Milloy (1999) assiduously brings to light, the problems associated with the residential schools were not unknown to church and government officials. Despite that Aboriginal criticisms were ignored or downplayed, many non-Aboriginals in this period did sound the alarm over the state of the school system. Reforms were periodically undertaken, yet, as Milloy documents in heart-wrenching detail, there was little improvement in the quality of the school system. This did not change until after the Second World War, when the government began to move away from the logic of the school system. Why the residential schools persisted despite their high costs and deplorable condition is the subject of my first case study of the Anglican Church of Canada, which I take up in Chapter 4.

PART TWO: The End of the Civilizing Mission

A New Aboriginal Education Policy

In this section, I describe the federal government's decision to replace the residential school system with an 'integrated' system. In 1948, a special joint committee of the House of Commons and the Senate charged with reviewing governmental policies towards Aboriginal Peoples recommended that the Indian Residential School System be replaced with an 'integrated' system. The Joint Committee wrote: 'wherever and whenever possible Indian children should be educated in association with other children' (as cited in Milloy 1999: 190). This marked the inauguration of the 'integration era' of the federal government's Aboriginal educational policy and the beginning of a long process of closing down the residential schools. From thenceforth, the policy of the federal government was to have Aboriginal children educated in provincial schooling systems and, if that was not possible because of geography, to create a system of on-reserve day schools. Existing residential schools were to either be abandoned or converted into

hostels for Aboriginal children from remote areas that were attending provincial schools. The transition to the new education system was completed nearly four decades later in 1986.

The official role of the historic mission churches in the residential school system was terminated in 1969. As a result of longstanding efforts by staff members from the Fort Frances Residential School in Ontario, the Canadian Labour Relations Board determined in 1966 that residential school staff members were employees of the federal government. As a consequence, the 'Department of Indian Affairs was obliged to accept the transfer of the residences and to assume direct responsibility for the standard of residential services in terms of child care, health, food, clothing and facilities', which it did in 1960 (Milloy 1999: 234). The long partnership between the churches and the state in Aboriginal education was thus terminated. Jean Chrétien, former Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and subsequent Prime Minister of Canada, marked the event with kind words for the churches. With respect to the Anglican Church of Canada's role in the school system, Chrétien stated: 'I would like to take this opportunity to extend…my deep and sincere thanks for the contribution it has made over the years to the education of Indian and Eskimo children, particularly through the historic role it has played in the management of Residences for Indian and Eskimo students' (Milloy 1999: 235).

Notably, the integration era of Aboriginal education was initially guided by the same ideology as the residential school era: its ultimate aim was the assimilation of Aboriginal children into Euro-Canadian culture. Although key terms were changed, with 'integration' replacing 'assimilation' and 'citizenship' replacing 'civilization', the overarching aim of the new era of Aboriginal education remained assimilation. Indeed, the new system was even represented as an improved way of assimilating Aboriginal children. For example, the 1951 brief by the Department of Indian Affairs, which gave voice to the new policy, suggested that the new integrated system would 'quicken and give meaning to the acculturative process through which they [Aboriginal children] are passing' (Milloy 1990: 196). In the immediate post-war period, then, assimilation remained the favoured response to the 'Indian question'. The difference was a matter of degree: the integration era heralded a 'soft' genre of assimilation, as opposed to the 'aggressive' assimilation of the past.

However, there was one notable area in which the new vision of Aboriginal education did involve a philosophical break from the past. This was in relation to the role of the parents in the assimilation of their children. As I mentioned in the previous section, in the residential schools era, the parents were represented as a major hindrance to the process of assimilation –

indeed, the idea that the children needed to be separated from the 'savage' influence of their parents if they were to be properly 'civilized' provided the chief rationale for the creation of the school system. In the integrated era, the parents were now represented as potentially helpful. For example, Milloy (1999: 197) cites former DIA minister, Ellen Fairclough, who states in 1962, that 'rather than separate children from parents we endeavour to assist parents to improve home conditions and to assume their proper parental responsibilities'. Thus, 'the new policy broke radically with one of the central assumptions of the residential school's civilizing logic – the necessary separation from parents and community' (Milloy 1999: 196).

If the decision to close the residential schools was not because government ministers had suddenly rejected assimilation at the end of the 1940s, what were the reasons? In fact, the reasons seem to be much more prosaic – having more to do with material factors. In the 1930s, in opposition to the predictions of the 19th and early 20th centuries, that the inevitable fate of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada was extinction, their population had started to rebound (Miller 2000: 314). By 1944, R. Hoey, National Indian Affairs Superintendent of Welfare and Training, estimated that there were an additional 300 school-age Aboriginal children each year (Milloy 1999: 193). As a consequence, the cost of operating the residential school system was rising rapidly. Accordingly, Hoey wrote, 'the fundamental difficulty which faced the Department in connection with Indian education [was] an increase in the Indian population which made an increase in the cost of education, based per capita grants to residential schools, a matter of serious moment to the financial programme of the department' (cited in Miller 2000: 314).

Compounding the problem of increasing numbers of school-age Aboriginal children was that the physical infrastructure of the residential schools seemed to have deteriorated even further. By the 1940s, this fact had become so unavoidable that it seems that it was no longer possible to represent it otherwise. Shortly after touring Mount Elgin Residential School in southern Ontario, which he described as the most 'dilapidated structure that [he had] ever inspected' that was 'literally alive with cockroaches and 'odours…so offensive…he could scarcely endure them', Hoey recommended that the closure of the residential school system was 'necessary and inevitable' (Milloy 1999: 193).

Problematically, governmental funds were better seen to be invested in the ongoing war effort. Thus, the decision was made to close residential schools and to shift the education of Aboriginal children into existing provincially-run schools or to build day-schools, which were considered to be cheaper. The rise of the idea of integration as a way of promoting societal

cohesion dove-tailed with these more material concerns and from 1948 forward, the residential school system began to be replaced with an integrated system. This process, however, was extremely protracted; by the 1960s the transition was still not yet complete.

Why was the transition to the integrated system so drawn out? Milloy (see 1990: 190-238) provides five reasons. Firstly, he points to the sheer magnitude of the task. In 1948 there were 72 residential schools operating in remote areas with an enrolment of 9,368 children. Secondly, he points out that the government had to fashion a new educational program that 'linked Aboriginal communities with local non-Aboriginal school boards and provincial ministries of education.' This was complicated by the fact that, in Canada, each province operates a distinct educational system. Thirdly, he observes that the department faced resistance to the new policy in Manitoba and Saskatchewan from the Catholic Church, which opposed it on the grounds that the Roman Catholic Aboriginals would not be able to receive a catholic education in the integrated schools (at the time, a catholic school system had not yet been approved in the prairie provinces). In this regard, Milloy writes that the Catholic Church's resistance was, for a time, fairly successful in Saskatchewan because it represented its concerns as being in line with the concerns of Aboriginal parents, many of whom were resistant to the idea of integration for cultural reasons. However, this opposition from the Catholic Church was made redundant in 1969, when the churches were removed from residential school system altogether. Fourthly, Milloy notes that, as a result of the high level of poverty and deprivation in many Aboriginal communities, many of the residential schools had become *de facto* child care institutions. The problem was that many students in the residential schools did not come from healthy home environments and needed to be transferred to other child care services. Finally, the fifth and most significant source of resistance to the transition to the integrated system was the rise of Aboriginal identity politics in this period. Aboriginal intellectuals and political leaders challenged the assimilationist logic of the federal government's Aboriginal education policy and sought to radically overhaul the basic premise of Aboriginal education altogether. Given its centrality, I will discuss this last point in more depth below.

Education was a central component of Aboriginal activism in the immediate postwar period. This is well-illustrated by the presentations made by Aboriginal leaders to the aforementioned Joint Committee on Aboriginal policy during the 1940s. Aboriginal leaders roundly condemned the residential school experience, pointing to inadequate food, cruelty by staff members and poor standards of education. One presenter, Malcolm Norris, a Métis leader,

told the Committee that he could back up his charges with evidence: according to him, there were a 'hundred [former students]…he could bring to testify, under oath [that] there is cruelty meted out to pupils' and evidence 'that the proper academic education, for which the Indian Department was paying sound Canadian cash had been and still is being neglected' (cited in Milloy 1999: 191). Unfortunately for these leaders, the federal government only partially responded to their demands. Whilst the condemnation of the residential school experience by Aboriginal leaders was used as a rhetorical device to support the transition to integrated schooling, the committee members were deaf to the context in which Aboriginal leaders had presented their criticisms, which was wholly related to their feeling that the government was reneging on its treaty obligations and that it was trying to extinguish Aboriginality via assimilation. As the transition to the integrated system proceeded, and it increasingly became clear to Aboriginal leaders that assimilation remained on the educational agenda, their support for the new system eroded. Moreover, the intense racism that many Aboriginal children experienced in the provincially-run Euro-Canadian schools also lead many parents to begin to criticise, and withhold, their children from these schools (Milloy 1999: 190).

Initially, Aboriginal discontent with the transition to the integrated system of education was most visibly expressed through the Roman Catholic Church, which, as mentioned above, mounted a campaign in the prairie provinces against closing the residential schools for largely sectarian reasons. Although their reasons differed radically, with the Catholics generally more concerned with protecting a separate Catholic system of education and Aboriginal leaders and parents generally more concerned with protecting their identity, for a short period, the two groups found common cause against the integrated system. In resisting the closure of the school system, Catholic representatives, for example, often used the grievances expressed by Aboriginal parents to buttress their resistance to the new system. Thus, Catholic representatives claimed that 'at recent meetings held in the West a number of Indians had expressed a strong objection to sending their children to non-Indian schools' (cited in Milloy 1999: 222). In 1958, such objections were voiced most visibly by the western-based Catholic Indian League.

With the support of the Catholic Church in the prairies, the Catholic Indian League presented the government with a series of propositions that called for the expansion of the residential schools system, rather than its closure, and that 'children receive their education especially at the High School level, in all Indian schools on the reservations, unless the parents desire to send them elsewhere' (cited in Milloy 1999: 230). Interestingly, from the perspective of

the Catholic Indian League, an improved system of residential schools was a better vehicle by which to ensure Aboriginal children retained their cultural and religious markers of identity than sending them to integrated schools. However, Milloy observes that, from the perspective of the Government ministers, who did not yet take Aboriginal organizing seriously, these objections were seen to be the result of manipulation by the Catholic Church. The paternal view of Aboriginals was still so entrenched that these federal ministers dismissed the possibility that Aboriginals were capable of formulating and putting forward their own political agenda.

The paternal view of Aboriginals among government and church officials would begin to face massive criticism in the 1960s, as Aboriginal activism grew into a fully-fledged national movement and found increasing sympathy with a new generation of Canadians that had imbibed of the left liberalism and civic nationalism that was then spreading outward from the United States on the back of the growing strength of social movements, such as the civil rights movement and the movement against the Vietnam War. As a part of a broader effort to acquire more autonomy in Canada, many activists began to take aim at the way in which the Canadian state had historically formulated and carried out its Aboriginal policies. The meaning of the residential school system became an object of contestation, with activists charging that it had been designed by church and state to subjugate Aboriginals rather than help prepare them for a successful life in the Canadian polity. Activists in particular attacked the assimilationist ideology that had underpinned the residential school system. By the same token, the new integrated schools also came under attack. In the midst of this growing social ferment, many Aboriginal leaders in the Prairie Provinces began to seek administrative control over the remaining residential schools. By the end of the 1960s, government ministers began to concede to such demands and support a new system of Aboriginal education controlled by Aboriginals, in which Aboriginal history and culture practices would be taught – a system not unlike the one envisioned by Aboriginal leaders in the 19th century. In the following section, I expand on this remarkable transformation.

Aboriginal Identity Politics and the Spread of Left Liberalism in 1960s Canada

In this section, I describe the impact of the rise of Aboriginal activism and the spread of left liberalism on the Canadian government's education policy. Although Aboriginal activists were increasingly adept at making their demands heard from the 1930s onwards, it is in the mid-1960s when Aboriginal activists really begin to penetrate the Euro-Canadian *conscience*

collective (see Miller 2000). It is in the social ferment of this period that the Aboriginal-Settler relationship in Canada is transformed; going into the 1970s 'Aboriginal identity would gain momentum as an autonomous collective force in any discourse concerning the country's recognition of citizenship status and in the defining features of Canadian federalism' (Gagnon 2000: 18). Alongside such material factors as a rapidly rising population after 1950, the entry into the national political scene by leaders from the Prairie Provinces played key role in the rise of Aboriginal activism at this time. This marked the entry into positions of leadership of the first generation of western Aboriginals who had an easy familiarity with Euro-Canadian culture. Ironically, many members of this generation had acquired such familiarity at residential school, the experience of which seemed to have galvanized their antipathy to Canada's colonial practices (see Miller 1987).

Another major factor in the transformation of Aboriginal-settler relationship at the end of the 1960s is the rapid spread during this period of new, left-leaning, ideologies. As we shall see, the effect of the new ideology was two-pronged: it simultaneously emboldened the new generation of Aboriginal leaders and, crucially, also made a new generation of Euro-Canadians more sympathetic to their demands. Interestingly, the ideological turn to the left among Euro-Canadians also created new sources of potential conflict between the groups, which ultimately provided an impetus for Aboriginal activists to better coordinate their actions and become a national movement. I describe why this was the case in subsequent paragraphs.

In the mid-1960s, the left liberalism that surfaced amidst the civil rights struggles, anti-war demonstrations, and post-colonial movements, was rapidly spreading throughout Canada (see Kaufmann 2004). As with the case of the rise of the 'Red Power' movement among Native Americans in the US (see Nagel 1997), the new genre of 1960s activism was particular apparent among Aboriginals in Canada. Although the concerns that Aboriginal activists gave voice to in this period were broadly similar to the issues that had absorbed their predecessors, in that they were committed to the social, economic, and political advancement of their communities and to the preservation of the markers of their various collective identities, in the 1960s, Aboriginal activists began to assert the symbolic links between their struggle and post-colonial/civil rights struggles elsewhere. In the sphere of representation, activists thus sought to revise the Canadian national triumphant narrative of settlement and growth, which I described in Part 1 of this chapter, by including a 'tragic chapter' depicting the colonization and maltreatment of Aboriginals.

The Canadian centennial celebrations in 1967 were a watershed for the new cultural activism. During the celebrations in the City of Vancouver, Dan George (originally Geswanouth Slahoot before being renamed in an Anglican residential school), a former Hollywood actor, Salish Chief, and residential school student was invited to give a public speech. George's speech, entitled *Lament for a Confederation* (Reprinted in 1991), presented a deeply tragic version of Canadian history, in which Aboriginals had had their land and culture ripped from them. As a result of his involvement in Hollywood films, George was one of the most well-known Aboriginals in 1960s Canada and his stinging indictment of Canadian history was subsequently reported in major newspapers across Canada (see Mortimer 1981). Also in 1967, Aboriginal leaders made use of their invitation to create a pavilion at the Montréal World's Fair, Expo '67, to present the revised version of Canadian history, which became one of the most widely reported and visited pavilions. Ruth Phillips (2004: 105) writes: 'inside the pavilion, the critique of historical and contemporary relations between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals was by far the most comprehensive that had ever been presented in so public a forum.'

The social ferment of the era also profoundly affected the members of the English and French dominant groups in Canada. Marches in downtown Toronto staged in solidarity with the civil rights struggles in the US were frequent in the 1960s. Domestically, the prevailing ethno-nationalisms and un-reflexive racisms began to be questioned. By the end of the 1960s, in both English and French Canada, a new civic nationalism began to supersede the ethnic nationalism that had been previously dominant. Much as left liberal WASPs in the US had begun to disavow the cultural markers of their collective identity in order to be more inclusive of subaltern groups, many English and French Canadians also began to disavow aspects of their respective collective identities. In English Canada, British symbolism and adherence to British Christianity began to be replaced with a 'post-ethnic' and 'post-Christian' left liberalism (Bréton 1988; Kaufmann 2004; Iguartua 2007). Similarly, in Québec, agrarian Catholicism began to be replaced with a left liberal urbanism (Juteau 1979; Bréton 1988).

In the midst of such ideological change, the status of Aboriginality among English and French Canadians began to be less clear than it had previously been. It seems that for some non-Aboriginals, the structural similarities between the Aboriginal social position in Canada and the social position occupied by African Americans in the US, or by the anti-colonial activists throughout the crumbling European empires, had become uncomfortably apparent. For example, Ronald Haycock's (1971) analysis of the way in which Aboriginals were represented in

English-language Canadian magazines and press from the 1930s to the 1960s reveals that during this time, the era of paternalism began to be supplanted by a growing realization of the problems faced by Aboriginals and concern in which non-Aboriginals were implicated in those problems.

However, the new era also brought with it the potential for new conflict. Problematically, the new liberalism and civic nationalism had difficulty accommodating demands for group-based autonomy. It was well-suited to the demands for inclusion into the American polity by African American civil rights campaigners, but particularly ill-suited to demands by Aboriginals in Canada for political and cultural autonomy. Moreover, whereas the new liberalism had come to the fore in the US as a result of a struggle between subaltern and elite, in Canada it arrived via the elites (see Kaufmann 2004). With little serious input from Aboriginals, Canadian elites that had imbibed of the new ideology formulated policies that they argued would ostensibly improve Aboriginals' lot. As a result, such policies betrayed a whiff of the imperialistic mind-set that had informed the policies of the past. For example, in policy statements, an expressed desire for 'political equality', 'integration' and full 'citizenship' for Aboriginals resembled the older assimilationist statements. For some political elites, particularly the influential former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau – whose Liberal Party was swept into government in 1968 on the back of such slogans as 'just society' and 'participatory democracy' – the achievement of a fully inclusive Canadian civic nation necessitated the abolition of group rights, such as those demanded by Aboriginal and Québécois activists.

Trudeau had imported from America the argument against institutionalized racism as the basis to argue against the institutionalized accommodation of minority groups ethno-cultural differences, which were represented as a hindrance to the achievement of universal equality for all citizens. Thus, with respect to Aboriginals in Canada, in an oft-cited statement, Trudeau declared in 1969:

> 'it's inconceivable I think that in any given society, one section of the society have a treaty with the other section of society. We must all be equal under the laws and we must not sign treaties amongst ourselves…we can't recognize aboriginal rights because no society can be built on historical 'might-have-beens' (cited in Cairns 2011: 174)

In this way, the historic view of Aboriginality that had been the hallmark of Canada's imperial era, which was that Aboriginality was bound for the 'dustbin of history' and that assimilation was therefore an appropriate solution, survived into the new 'civic' era.

In 1968, Trudeau tasked his newly formed government with formulating a new Aboriginal policy. Given his opposition to 'special status' for Aboriginals, the drafters of the new policy disregarded the three-years-in-the-making Hawthorn Report, which had been produced under the previous administration. The Hawthorn Report argued that Aboriginals should be treated as 'citizens plus' and accorded with some special rights that differentiated them from other Canadian citizens (see Weaver 1972: 6). By contrast, the policy document that was issued in 1969 by Jean Chrétien, was a crystallization of the genre of liberal civic nationalism put forward by Trudeau. The document, entitled, *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy* (DIAND 1969), or the 'White Paper,' as it is now generally known, took the view that the cause of the social problems afflicting Aboriginals in Canada was their differential treatment by the Canadian government. Under the headings of 'equality' and 'non-discrimination,' the White Paper therefore rejected historic Aboriginal land claims and proposed to abolish the Indian Act.

The release of the White Paper galvanized Aboriginal activists. Sally Weaver (1972: 4) suggests that Aboriginal intellectuals and leaders felt betrayed that, despite having been widely consulted for a year prior to the release of the White Paper, it failed to reflect their concerns. Almost immediately following its release, activists mounted a highly visible campaign to have it rescinded. Leadership in this campaign was provided by Harold Cardinal, a highly talented young (he was twenty-three in 1968) president of the Indian Association of Alberta (IAA). Cardinal, who was also a gifted writer and satirist, was the lead author of a counter-report, mockingly referred to as the 'Red Paper,' that revived the Hawthorn Report's concept of 'Citizen's Plus' (see Weaver 1972: 5). Around the same time, Cardinal also produced his personal reflections on the White Paper, entitled *Unjust Society: the Tragedy of Canada's Indians* (Cardinal 1969), which was an inflammatory polemic whose provocative title played on Trudeau's popular election slogan. The book equates Canada's historic attempt to assimilate Aboriginals with the US's historic attempts to militarily destroy American Indians:

> 'The Americans to the south of us used to have a saying: "the only good Indian is a dead Indian". The Canadian government says, "the only good Indian is a non-Indian".' (Cardinal 1969: 11)

In writing thus, Cardinal skillfully used the issue of the White Paper to attack one of the dominant narratives of (English) Canadian Identity: the view that during their westward expansion, Canadians treated Aboriginals better than the Americans treated American Indians (see Nichols 2003). In 1970, *The Unjust Society* topped the bestseller lists in Canada, spurring other Aboriginals to act and invoking sympathy among many non-Aboriginals (Miller 2000: 337).

Soon after Cardinal published his book, other regional Aboriginal organizations joined the struggle against the White Paper. The Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs produced a separate counter-report to the White Paper, which they referred to as the 'Brown Paper.' For their part, the Union of Ontario Indians formally denounced Trudeau as a liar. Most importantly, in order to coordinate a pan-Aboriginal Canadian response, the leaders of several organizations formed the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB). The NIB was envisioned to be the umbrella organization representing all 'status Indian' Aboriginals. Although this precluded non-status Indians, Métis and Inuit organizations from membership, the NIB can nevertheless be seen as the first truly effective national Aboriginal organization. In this way, the White Paper had the unintended effect of solidifying solidarity in Aboriginal Canada. The NIB later re-constituted itself in 1984 as the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) – which is presently the most powerful and effective Aboriginal political organization in Canada.

As a result of the coordinated effort by Aboriginals and the new-found support that they found in non-Aboriginal Canada, which was expressed in numerous sympathetic editorials in Broadsheets and magazines and also in the Canadian social science community (see Miller 2000: 337), by the time Trudeau was presented with the 'Red Paper' in 1970, his government had already formally retracted the White Paper. From thenceforth, Trudeau's government adopted a dramatically different philosophy, wherein Aboriginal autonomy was increasingly supported, as exemplified most immediately, as we shall see in the subsequent section, by his government's support the NIB position paper, *Indian Control of Indian Education* (1973).

After their successful attack on the White Paper, the first major order of business for the members of the newly-formed National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) was education. In 1973, the NIB published *Indian Control of Indian Education*. In opposition to the assimilationist view that had continued to underwrite the ongoing transition to the integration era of education, the report forcefully made the case that, where it was demanded, Indian bands should receive funds and have administrative control over education. Another key recommendation of the report was that, in the integrated schools, courses ought to be modified to account for an Aboriginal

perspective. Remarkably, after 100 years of an official commitment to assimilation, Trudeau's administration dramatically changed the course of Canada's policy on Aboriginal education and endorsed the report in full (see Barman, Hébert, and McGaskill 1984).

From the 1970s onwards, the long history of the residential school system was dropped from public discourse and their deleterious impact upon generations of Aboriginals was left unexamined. Aboriginals used their newfound national unity and discursive power to pursue a future-oriented strategy in their struggles with Canada and rapidly moved from education to unresolved land claims. The former church partners, especially the protestant ones, underwent a rapid *volte face*; almost overnight it seemed as though several centuries of adherence to the 'civilizing mission' was forgotten. Similarly, Trudeau's government suddenly presented itself as a champion of Aboriginality (as well as other minority identities – in 1980, Trudeau was responsible for ensuring that official acknowledgement of Canada's bilingualism and multiculturalism was written into the new constitution). Why the residential schools were seemingly suddenly publicly forgotten in favour of a future-oriented narrative is the focus of Chapter 3, where I discuss this question through the case of Canadian Anglicanism.

PART THREE: The Rise of Regret

Fontaine's Allegations

In this section, I describe the impact of Phil Fontaine's decision to come forward with allegations that he and his former classmates had been sexually abused while they had been students at a Catholic-run residential school in Winnipeg. At the time, Fontaine was Chief of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs. Subsequently he was elected Chief of the AFN and is currently one of the most well-known politicians in Canada. Upon hearing that a special committee had been set up by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. Boniface in the Province of Manitoba to receive complaints of sexual abuse at the hands of the clergy as a result of two former parish priests being accused of sexual assault, Fontaine publicly alleged on 30 October 1990 at a meeting at the offices of the Archdiocese in Winnipeg that he and his former classmates had been sexually abused while they had been students at the Catholic-run Fort Alexander Residential School. Immediately afterward, Fontaine held a press conference and repeated his allegations. Although allegations related to sexual abuse in the residential schools had surfaced earlier, most notably in 1986 in relation to the Anglican-run St. George's Residential School in Lytton, British Columbia, it was

Fontaine's act that provided the catalyst for thousands of other former students to come forward.

The initial attention to Fontaine's public act at Winnipeg in the mainstream Canadian media was intense and widespread. The following day, his allegations were reported in every major Canadian broadsheet and during the after-dinner news sections of the major national television networks. That evening, he also repeated his allegations in an 8 minute interview with tele-journalist Barbara Frum on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC) national television network. The subsequent evening, on the same primetime slot, Frum followed up with a hard-hitting interview with a representative of the Catholic Church in Manitoba (CBC Television Online). One week later, Fontaine was interviewed on CBC radio, where he discussed the issue again (CBC Radio Online). This attention by the media to Fontaine's allegations was clearly driven by the issue of child abuse. Headlines generally included references to abuse, as for example, the headline that appeared on the screen prior to Fontaine's interview with Frum, which stated: 'Shocking allegations of abuse' (CBC Online).

Later, as more former students came forward in the wake of Fontaine's allegations, this attention to the abuses in media reports continued unabated. Newspaper articles frequently reported on the alleged abuses in graphic detail. In one typical example, *The Vancouver Sun*, the most widely-read broadsheet in western Canada, reported on a former student who alleged that she had been 'strapped into an electric chair and then zapped with electricity; the straps left her knuckles, hands and forearms bleeding' and that one of her peers had suffered 'the repeated insertion of a hat pin into a child's rectum, in full view of the child's peers' (Aubry 1994). Similarly, a three-page report in the *Toronto Star*, one of the most widely read broadsheets in English Canada, included a caption under a black and white photograph of Aboriginal male children standing near bunk-beds that stated: 'Dark Memories: archival photo shows boys at St. Ann's in the 1960s. Some now say they were forced to eat vomit, given shocks, and sexually abused' (Henton 1994).

In part, the attention paid by the media to Fontaine's allegations is surely due to the fact that shocking headlines attract attention. However, this alone is not sufficient in explaining the massive attention paid to his initial allegations in Winnipeg, especially given that earlier allegations of sexual abuse at the aforementioned St. George's Residential School failed to garner much attention. Another factor for the media attention to Fontaine is likely due to him coming forward during the climax of a separate sex abuse scandal involving Mount Cashel, a

former Roman Catholic-run orphanage for boys in Newfoundland. The often graphic proceedings of the commission set up in Newfoundland to investigate the allegations were televised nationally for 150 days. Additionally, approximately 800 articles appeared in local and national newspapers and news magazines and two books were written about the scandal (Ogloff & Vidmar 1994: 509). A two-part docudrama on the scandal entitled, *The Boys of St Vincent*, was released in 1992.

Impact of Fontaine's Allegations

As Fontaine's allegations reverberated throughout the mainstream Canadian media, they triggered a mass response among other former students almost immediately. In the days, weeks and years that followed, thousands more former students came forward with allegations that they had also been abused. As such, Fontaine's public act had the effect of dramatically dispelling a 'code of silence' that had long surrounded the issue of sexual abuse in the residential schools among former students (Miller 2001: 9). This new willingness to talk about abuses was also reflected in the realm of cultural production. Previous silence on themes pertaining to sexual abuse in the residential schools gave way to an 'explosion' of cultural works dealing with it directly (see Rymhs 2003). This transition is noticeable in the work of individual artists, such as celebrated Aboriginal Canadian playwright Tomson Highway, whose plays published prior to 1990 are either silent or opaque on the sexual abuse he and his brother suffered at the hands of a Catholic priest in a residential school in Manitoba – a theme he goes on to deal with directly in his 1998 piece *Kiss of the Fur Queen* (see Wasserman 2005). As a result of so many former students coming forward and speaking about their experiences, child abuse in the residential schools appeared not to have been an isolated occurrence in one or two schools, but rather, now seemed to have been endemic throughout the system.

Why did Fontaine's allegations have such a powerful impact on Aboriginals? Certainly the mass media attention to his allegations combined with the figure of Fontaine himself, who is a particularly charismatic leader, and was deeply committed to bringing the issue of abuse into the public sphere, played a role this. Indeed, Fontaine's act marked the first time that a prominent Aboriginal Chief had publicly come forward with such allegations. That a prominent leader was willing to do so would have signalled to other former students that it was acceptable for them to also do so. However, the personal characteristics of Fontaine are not enough to explain why other Aboriginals were so receptive to his allegations. Indeed, given the

aforementioned 'code of silence' over speaking about the more sordid aspects of the abuses that went on in the residential schools, it might have been just as likely that, following Fontaine's act, other former students who had suffered abuses would have remained silent. The result in such a case would have been that Fontaine's sufferings would have come to represent an unfortunate, but isolated, occurrence. This, to repeat, was the case when several former students from the aforementioned St. George's Residential School in B.C. came forward with their experiences in the mid-1980s. By contrast, Fontaine's sufferings came to be represented as central aspect of the residential schools experience. To understand why requires delving into the deeper structural shifts in the meaning of the residential schools that had been ongoing at the time of Fontaine's allegations.

When Fontaine made his allegations in 1990, Aboriginal intellectuals were in the midst of a generational shift. The cohort of Aboriginal intellectuals that entered positions of discursive power in the 1990s – of which Fontaine (born in 1944) was a part – was more familiar with non-Aboriginal Canada and more confident in expressing Aboriginality than its predecessors. The last generation to attend a residential school, this group entered adulthood amidst the effervescence of surging Aboriginal activism in Canada in the mid-1960s. As this group began to replace the leaders of the movement in the 1980s, there is in Canada an unprecedented resurgence in Aboriginal activism across Canada, as illustrated by: the formation of the AFN in 1984; the instrumental role played by Aboriginals in defeating the Meech Lake accord in 1987, and; the armed stand-off over land rights in Oka in 1990, which provoked the creation of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples by the federal government. In the midst of the rise in activism, the relatively chaste representation of the residential schools that was depicted, for example, in Edward Ahenakew's (1965) memoir, which I mentioned in my literature review in Chapter One, also began to be questioned.

Beginning in the mid-1980s, there is an increasing number of docudramas, memoirs, and theatrical productions confronting the 'darker side' of the residential schools. Although these works tend to remain silent on the issue of sexual abuse specifically, they do bring to light a level of physical and psychological abuse that had been previously avoided - a trend that increases towards the 1990s. Thus, in the realm of published memoirs, while former Senator James Gladstone (1987) and Louise Moine (1975) do recall some harsh experiences at the hands of the missionaries, overall, both of their memoirs present a fairly positive view of the residential school experience. By contrast, Basil Johnston's (1988) memoir discusses numerous

instances of cruelty by residential school staff and presents a much bleaker memory of his experience. Indeed, because of this, Johnston's book has been viewed by some analysts as a watershed in cultural depictions of the residential schools (see Rhyms 2003: 58). Similar to Johnston's work, Celia Haig Brown's (1988) book, the first academic study devoted to former students' memories of the residential schools, dwells at length on instances of abuse and deprivation. The result of the re-emergence of the residential school system in these cultural works and their increasing predilection to delve into its negative aspects is that, by the time of Fontaine's allegations in 1990, the meaning of the residential schools had entered a highly liminal phase. Thus, Fontaine was able to so dramatically trigger a mass response, in part, because of the particular period in which he chose to come forward.

Former students' newfound willingness to talk openly about the abuses they had endured in the residential schools prompted a political response, particularly from the Assembly of First Nations (AFN). Aboriginal political leaders overcame their doubts as to the wisdom of publicly confronting the issue of abuse and coalesced around an effort to obtain reparations from church and state. From thenceforth, until Prime Minister Stephen Harper's apology in 2008, the demand for reparations would form a central component of the AFN's political aims. Notably, much as in the 1960s, a renewed effort to instantiate a tragic narrative of Canada's historical relationship with Aboriginals was also a central aspect of this political response. In this way, in the Aboriginal political movement, the abuse of former students by residential school staff members, which had initially prompted the crisis, faded into the background as Aboriginal political leaders returned to the issue of assimilation.

Faced with demonization in the media, and an increasing number of court cases, representatives of the Christian churches that had been involved in the residential schools were quick to acknowledge, and express regret for, their predecessor's role in the residential schools, as exemplified in numerous official apologies by church leaders and attempts to make amends. During this time, the churches also joined Aboriginal leaders in the call for apologies and reparations from the Canadian government.

Various other sectors of non-Aboriginal Canada also began to engage with the issue of the residential schools. The response among health scientists, social scientists and historians was particularly crucial in this regard. Their findings on the far-reaching negative consequences of the residential school system helped to move the central issues away from sex abuse towards questions related to colonialism and assimilation. Thus, by the mid-1990s, former students

began to be regularly described in the academic literature as 'survivors'. A few years later, 'Indian residential school syndrome' had emerged in the health science community as a new diagnostic term to describe the long-term negative impact of the residential schools on its former students (see Brasfield 2001). Around this time, the residential schools began to be treated by some intellectuals as an attempt in cultural genocide akin to the Holocaust (see Chrisjohn & Young 1997; Neu & Therrien 2003).

Also important in deepening and extending the crisis was the work carried out by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP). Although it had been set up in response to the armed stand-off at Oka in the summer of 1990, much of the work of the commission soon involved investigating the impact of the residential schools. The release of the final report in 1996, which was highly critical of the residential school system, was crucial in provoking an initial response by the federal government, which, in 1998, issued a 'statement of reconciliation' and created a 350 million dollar 'healing fund' for former students. This response, however, prompted a counter-response from Aboriginal leaders and their non-Aboriginal sympathizers, who argued that such a response was insufficient. Eventually, in 2008, Harper apologized for the residential schools on behalf of the Canadian state. Harper's apology was accompanied by a $1.9 Billion (CAD) 'Common Experience Payment' for over 100,000 former students and a commitment to establish a residential schools Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The work of the TRC is ongoing.

In Chapter 6, I will discuss the impact of this remarkable period on the organizations formerly involved in the residential schools through the case of Canadian Anglicanism, in which I will seek to bring to light internal struggles that the return of the residential schools in the public sphere triggered within the church and the role that the apology had in resolving the struggle. I will also discuss the impact that the apology has had on the prospects for Aboriginal-Anglican reconciliation.

Chapter 4

The Residential Schools as a Sacred Enterprise

Introduction

In this chapter, I analyse the first of three 'critical junctures'. Here I respond directly to the puzzle that was brought to the fore in Milloy's work (1999), which is why church and state persisted in supporting the residential school system in the first half of the 20th Century, despite rapidly increasing costs and the publication of numerous reports citing poor standards of education and/or deplorable levels of sanitation. To help resolve this puzzle, I focus on a social drama over the meaning of the residential schools that erupted within the Anglican Church of Canada in the first decade of the 20th Century, following the publication in 1907 of a report that found the schools to be highly unsanitary. It was during this period that the church came nearer to withdrawing from the residential school system than at any other time prior to the 1960s. In analysing it, I hope to uncover why it was that so many Anglicans were so supportive of the residential school system despite knowing about its failings. My analysis is framed by the meaning-centred approach that I outlined in Chapter Two, which means that I will structure my analysis of the struggle over the meaning of the residential according to the phases of social dramas outlined by Victor Turner, while drawing on the elements of performative struggles put forward by Jeffrey Alexander. However, because the social drama I analyse in this chapter was not face-to-face, there was no *mise-en-scène* and I therefore do not integrate this element into my analysis. My primary data is mainly based on a series of highly antagonistic pamphlets and minutes of meetings.

This chapter offers an original contribution to the study of the residential schools. No study has yet attempted to explain from a social scientific perspective why the residential schools persisted as long as they did. With respect to my particular study of Canadian Anglicanism, there have previously only been two studies that deal specifically with the struggle I will analyse here and neither of them provides an adequate explanation of its outcome (see Lewis 1966; Porter 1981). Both of these studies are more interested in bringing to light the existence of an internal struggle within the church in this period than in explaining its outcome.

My argument is as follows. My analysis of the struggle over the residential schools that erupted after the publication of the Bryce Report, in which meaning took precedence over 'objective facts', suggests that one of the reasons that the Anglican Church persisted in supporting the residential schools as long as it did was because of the sacred meaning that was initially attached to them. If the residential school system had merely been represented as an educational institution like any other, given the high costs associated with them, their poor health conditions and their diminishing returns in terms of numbers of Aboriginals converted, it is likely that the church would have withdrawn from them and supported their replacement with the proposed day schools.

The chapter is divided into six sections. Section 1 brings to light why the Anglican Church in Canada agreed to take participate in the residential school system and the way in which its work in the system was subsequently narrated. Sections 3 through 5 analyse the social drama according to the framework outlined in Chapter 2. In Section 6, I conclude the chapter.

The Anglican 'Civilizing Mission' to Aboriginals in North America

In this section, I explain why the Church of England in Canada agreed to take on the residential schools, focusing on the role of ideology. As such, this section connects this chapter with the wider Canadian context that I described in Chapter Three. Following this, I bring to light how the church's work in the school system was subsequently narrated. Allan Hayes (2004: 29) writes that church leaders were 'delighted' with the government's proposal to fund a system of church-run Indian residential schools. The proposal was a windfall: these were funds being offered for work that the church was already carrying out. Indeed, Anglicans had been involved in Aboriginal education in British North America since the outset of the 19 century. The great Britain-based Anglican missionary societies, such as the New England Company, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and the Church Missionary Society (CMS), as well as non-denominational organizations, such as the Aborigines Protection Society, all took great interest in the welfare of Aboriginal peoples in North America and supported education and missionary work among them as a way 'elevating' their social status. The first Anglican missionary society to become involved in Aboriginal education in British North America was the New England Company, which funded several short-lived 'Indian colleges' in New Brunswick in the 1790s. However, the 'colleges' were

closed in the 1820s because of allegations that Aboriginal children were being used as free labour in adjoining farms (Miller 1996c: 63-4).

By far the most influential of the British missionary societies in Aboriginal education was the CMS, which was founded in 1799 by members of the 'Clapham Sect' – an evangelical Christian group based in south London. The CMS was founded with the specific aim of evangelizing to non-Christians, did not confine its activities to those regions that were under control of the British Empire, and, most importantly, brought a 'low church' perspective to the Anglican missionary enterprise.[10] The CMS first became involved in Aboriginal education in Canada through the work of John West, a former Essex curate who set up a residential school for Aboriginals in the Red River region (now the Province of Manitoba) in 1820. West's schools went on to provide the model for the government-funded residential school system (Hayes 2004: 31). Portending the philosophy that would underwrite the residential schools system, West wrote in his journal, 'I had to establish the principle that the North American Indian of this regions would part with his children, to be educated in the white man's knowledge and religion' (cited in Porter 1981: 17).

Why were the missionary societies, which were ostensibly primarily concerned with religious conversion, interested in cultural assimilation? Conversion and assimilation were initially entwined in 18th Century colonial America. At that time, a view of Aboriginals emerged among Anglican missionaries that they were so primitive as to be unable to fully embrace Christianity without first acquiring some rudimentary knowledge of 'civilization' (see Strong 2007: 52). When speaking on behalf of the SPG in 1752 about his experience as a missionary among Mohawks, former Reverend John Ogilvie, a staunch Loyalist who was important in the establishment of the See of Québec after the American Revolution, stated: 'nothing could be done with the Mohawks until there was a viable scheme to change their present habit of thinking and acting, and may instil the Principles of Virtue and Piety into their minds; preferably by teaching them English and instructing them in 'proper houses' (cited in Strong 2007: 50). By the end of the 19th Century, in the view of many Anglican missionaries, the distinction between the evangelical and civilizing impulse had become blurred. For example, Jean Usher (1971: 28-

---

[10] 'Low Church' or 'Protestant' Anglicanism dominated through the 17th and early part of the 18th Century. The movement sought to pull Anglicanism towards the genre of Protestantism that was reflected in Methodism and Presbyterianism, as opposed to the 'High Church', 'Catholic' or 'Apostolic' version of Anglicanism that underwent a revival at the end of the 19th Century, which sought to return Anglicanism to a more orthodox 'Catholicism' (see Zahl 1998).

52), observes that CMS missionaries in British North America 'tended to teach both Gospel and the arts of civilization simultaneously.' Similarly, Hayes (2004: 20) suggests that conversion and civilisation were 'conceived as indissolubly joined.' This blending of the two aims is encapsulated in the scholarly literature by the term 'civilizing mission.'

The view of Aboriginal culture as something less than civilized seems to have been compounded by Anglicans' belief in the unique superiority of English culture. James Axtell (1985: 25) argues that, in the case of the English, the view of 'native peoples as savage who needed to be remade into real human beings…was exacerbated by their insular conviction of the superiority of their own culture and religion not only to that of the Native Americans but also that of other European nations, which made them especially intolerant of any retention of local ways'. This belief in the superiority of English culture was buttressed by the rapid expansion of the English *cum* British Empire during the 18th century. As the Empire expanded territorially in the Americas during the 18th century, evangelical Anglicans framed their civilizing mission in the context of this expansion. Presaging the view taken by Canadian officials in 19th Century, Anglicans considered British imperial expansion to be guided by divine providence, and that God expected that the English would extend Christianity's reach in return. This evangelical imperative was understood as a kind of transaction, in which God offered temporal gain in exchange for spiritual returns. Rowan Strong (2007: 60) writes: 'the Anglican civilizing agenda was framed as a theological imperative of the English-British Empire…maximising opportunities for heathens to accept the salvific requirement of belief in the Christian gospel was, in their view, the divine purpose of God in granting England her overseas territories in the first place'.

The role that Anglicanism played in disseminating English culture and religion was put in the service of Empire in the decades following the American Revolution. Before the Revolution, the British colonial administration had been at pains to avoid being seen to privilege Anglicanism over other Protestant sects. After the Revolution, Anglicanism was accorded a prominent position in order to ensure that the remaining North American possessions stayed loyal. Strong (2007: 119) writes that 'the Church of England was to be an instrumental part of an antidote against American Republicanism and, soon after, against French revolutionary fervour'. Similarly, historian Peter Doll (2000: 339) suggests that, following the successful American Revolution, the establishment of the Anglican Church changed 'from merely a theoretical idea to a cornerstone of colonial policy in British North America.' To this end, lands were set aside for the church (known as the 'clergy reserves') and, for the first time in the Americas, an Anglican

Bishop was appointed for Nova Scotia in 1787. Thus, although it was not quite an 'established church', the privileges accorded to Anglicanism relative to other Christian sects during this period are enough for some historians to see the church as having been 'quasi-established' (see Westfall 1990; Fahey 1991).

The eminent role that Anglicanism played in post-Revolutionary British North America ensured that Anglican elites in the 19th Century tended to be influential, conservative and deeply committed to ensuring that British North America remained British – they were Tory Loyalists *par excellence*. For example, in the period after the War of 1812, John Strachan, Bishop of the Diocese of York (now known as Toronto), was among the most influential individuals in the colony, who exercised his influence via the 'family compact' – a group of elite United Empire Loyalists formed after the War of 1812 to ensure that Canada remained conservative and Loyal. The 'compact' controlled the administration of the colony through the executive and legislative councils, leaving little power in the hands of Legislative Assembly. It was fiercely opposed by reform-minded individuals such as William Lyon Mackenzie and is generally cited as one of the reasons for the Upper Canada Rebellion in 1837. The compact's influence declined after Lord Durham, who derided the shadowy group, recommended 'responsible government' as way to avert further rebellions. Another consequence of the failed Rebellion was that Anglicanism lost much of its official privileges in British North America. However, despite that the church thenceforth became but one mainline Protestant sect among many, its elites proudly held fast to its perceived important role in defending Britishness in Canada until as late as the middle of the 20th Century, which I will discuss in Chapter Five. Moreover, Anglicanism continued to retain a degree of symbolic status that wasn't accorded the other mainline Christian sects. Hayes (2004: 68) writes: 'the Church of England in Canada was interwoven into the social fabric, more so than any other denomination other than the Roman Catholic Church in Québec, even though only in British Columbia was it ever the most populous religious group.' Thus, when the Canadian government proposed the residential school system, church elites were all too willing to commit their church to it.

The Residential Schools as a Sacred Enterprise

In the above paragraphs, I reviewed the ideological reasons for why Canadian Anglicanism embraced the residential schools. I will now discuss how its work in them was narrated. From the outset, the residential schools were integrated into a 'sacred' (in the Durkheimian sense)

narrative of the church's missionary work among Aboriginal peoples that had become deeply entrenched among Anglicans over the course of the 19th Century. In such a narrative, missionaries were represented as heroes who had braved harsh conditions and isolation to bring Christianity and British civilization to the 'heathen red man.' This way of narrating history, with its focus on triumphs and achievement, fits into the 'monumental' tradition described by Friedrich Nietzsche, who observed that this type of historical consciousness, which focuses on the 'pinnacles of human achievement, selected from the past, give an edifying sense that greatness was once possible, and is possible still' (cited in Leerssen 2001: 207). Monumental history, Joep Leerssen (2001: 207-8) writes, 'is useful because it provides present generations with inspiration [and] is a powerful bonding agent for the community in question.' With respect to Anglicans, the symbolic function of commemorating missionaries who had successfully assimilated and converted Aboriginals was to inspire their successors. Successful missionaries, such as John West, were recalled as inspirational heroes who had helped to bring (English) Christian civilization to Aboriginals and lay the foundations for the expansion of the Canadian nation.

The establishment of the sacrality of the exploits of Anglican missionaries among North American Aboriginals was, in large part, a result of cultural work performed by individual missionaries and by the great Missionary societies. An important aspect of such work was the reports, memoirs and books written by Anglican missionaries in the field. In the 19th Century, these publications were extremely popular among Anglicans (and the general public) in Britain and central Canada. In general, they aimed to inspire new missionaries and to sustain the interest of the public in missionary work. The Jesuits had started such a practice in the 17th Century. Within British Protestantism, 'the earliest Protestant mission propaganda consisted of letters published in British magazines, such as the Church Missionary Society *Intelligencer*' (Austin & Scott 2005: 5). In the missionary literature genre, stories about the missionaries working among North American Aboriginals were highly popular. Hayes (2004: 19) writes 'the native people of the territory fascinated Europeans – and eastern Canadians, too. Readers devoured the dramatic stories of Indian life and history and the quasi-anthropology that missionaries reported.' West himself published a report about his exploits (West 1824). The epitome of the missionary genre of literature flowing out of North-Western Canada in this period is Hiram A Cody's (1908) biography of Bishop Bompas, which describes Bombas' 'heroic' missionary efforts among Aboriginals in the Arctic.

The 'sacred' exploits of the missionaries were, and are, also remembered in other textual forms throughout the church. They are depicted, for example, in the stained glass frescoes that adorn many Canadian Anglican churches. The exploits of John West are particularly prominent in these. For example, his success at teaching and evangelising in the North-West is visually narrated in the chapel at Wycliffe College in Toronto, a 'low church' evangelical college founded in 1884 that was for many years the principle Canadian Anglican training ground for missionaries bound for the North-West. West also appears in stained glass at St. John's College in Winnipeg, the site of the oldest Anglican parish west of the Great Lakes. 'Successful' missionaries' efforts were, and are, also recalled in the Prayer Book Calendar; John West is recalled on 31st December.

Breach

In this section, I bring to light the origins of the social drama that would engulf Canadian Anglican elites in 1907. At the turn of the 20th Century, the school system was expanding at a dizzying pace. Against Davin's recommendation that there be a maximum of four residential schools, in 1907 there were 55 boarding schools and 22 industrial schools in operation across the country with the vast majority of these in the Northwest, in the region encompassing the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan (Milloy 1999: 55). 20 of these were run by Anglican dioceses. This fast expansion of the school system gave rise to tensions between the churches and state over how to fund them.

The problem was that, as Milloy (1999: 52) puts it, there was no 'master plan' regarding the expansion of the residential school system. New schools were being built without adequate funds secured. From the perspective of the churches, the offer of funds for residential schools seems to have triggered a rush for Aboriginal souls. In response to the situation, one government official wrote, 'the clergy seem to be going wild on the subject of Indian education and it is time some limit should be fixed as to their demands' (cited in Milloy 1999: 55). Why did the government allow for such a rapid expansion? Milloy suggests that this is because of important role played by the churches in Canadian society at the time. According to Milloy, officials deemed it wiser to accede to church demands, rather than risk their wrath, which might have hurt them at the polls (Milloy 1999: 57). Of course, many government officials too were surely complicit in the expansion of the system; as I noted in Chapter 3, initially, government elites were united in their support for the residential schools.

At the end of the 19th Century, government officials instituted a 'per capita' grant system of funding the residential schools to try to contain costs. This meant that the government would offer funds based on the number students in the schools. All costs above the allotted funds were to be borne by the churches. Milloy (1999: 63) suggests that the per capita estimates were intentionally lower than what was needed, in order to induce the churches to become 'more economical.' With a similar intent, the government also attempted to take more control of the schools by instituting a stricter regulatory regime. However, the effort to reign in spiralling costs failed. By 1904, the Department of Indian Affairs was facing 'a decade of failure etched in red ink' (Milloy 1999: 63). The churches continued to build new residential schools and, as a result of pressure, the government continued to provide ever more funds to run them. In 1908, the churches and the government entered into negotiations with the aim of arriving at a more sustainable solution.

In the Anglican Church, there was also an impending fiscal crisis involving the residential schools. However, before turning to this crisis, some context on the church at the turn of the 20th Century is in order. For much of the 19th Century, Anglicanism in Canada was highly decentralized; there was little in the way of national institutions and the balance of social power was held at the level of the Diocese. However, this began to change at the end of the 19th Century, when an idea that Canadian Anglicanism might be organized into a 'national' church emerged. To this end, in 1892, a General Synod was created with the administrative offices to be located in Toronto. Following the creation of a General Synod, the existing dioceses and provinces were re-organized and incorporated into its structure. Although the church was still highly decentralised, a new hierarchy was borne. These structural changes brought with them the potential for conflict. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the church's missionary work among Aboriginals in Canada.

Prior to the creation of the General Synod, the Dioceses were solely responsible for Aboriginal missions, including the residential schools. After the creation of the General Synod, there began to be tentative steps towards centralization. A national committee was established with the aim of devising a 'better organization of the missionary and aggressive work of the Church (cited in Porter 1981: 48). The result was the creation of the Mission Society of the Church of England in Canada (MSCC) in 1902. One year after its founding, the MSCC met with its first major challenge: the CMS announced that it would begin to gradually withdraw from the Canadian field, with the aim of completely withdrawing by 1920. With respect to its missionary

work among Aboriginals, the members of the MSCC were now faced with a massive shortfall in finances and personnel; as mentioned above, the CMS had been hugely influential in the church's Aboriginal work, providing funds in the form of salaries and allowances as well as personnel. With respect to the latter, Porter (1981: 52) writes that, at the time, the church's 'Indian missions were almost entirely dependent upon British-born personnel.'

At the same time that members of the newly created MSCC contemplated the implications of the withdrawal of the CMS, the Dioceses in the North-West continued to press for the expansion of the residential school system. This disjuncture was a result of the highly decentralised nature of Canadian Anglicanism in this period. Historically, funds and personnel to build, staff and maintain the schools came directly from the British mission societies, rather than flow through the national church first. With the impending withdrawal of the CMS, there was an expectation that funding for Aboriginal work would now come from the newly-formed MSCC. However, as we shall see, those responsible for the administration of the emergent national church in Toronto were not so beholden to Aboriginal work as their brethren in the western dioceses and sought a new mission identity for the Canadian Anglicanism. The seeds for conflict between Western church elites and the emergent national church had been sown.

The coming funding gap faced by the Church of England in Canada gave rise to a view among some influential clergy and laymen in central and eastern Canada that the church ought to withdraw from the residential schools. Initially, this view was very tentatively expressed. For example, a 1903 MSCC financial report on the residential schools states:

> '…whether the work in Indian Homes [residential schools] is to participate in the allotment made or whether the fund in question is intended for the missionary work proper…It must not be understood that your committee depreciates, in any way, the work done in Indian homes…If all that is being asked for this purpose, were given, it would amount to nearly one-fourth of the whole fund allotted.' (Cited in Porter 1981: 55)

The indirect nature of this statement seems to indicate that the 'eastern' churchmen were cognizant of the sensitivity of their position, given the symbolic importance of the residential schools.

To successfully withdraw the church from the residential school system, the eastern churchmen needed a trigger that they could exploit in order to disestablish its sacred meaning.

Such a trigger was provided by the publication in 1907 of a report by P.H. Bryce, then Chief Medical Officer of the Indian Department, on the health conditions in the residential schools (Ottawa 1907). From the dramaturgical approach to meaning I outlined in Chapter Two, Bryce can be seen as a social performer who sought to attach a new meaning to the residential schools via the publication of his report, which can be interpreted as his primary means of symbolic production. In bringing to light a veritable health crisis within the residential school system and recommending that it be replaced with a new system that would be based on reserves and operated solely by the government (as opposed to being shared with the churches), Bryce's report was not only directed at conveying to its readers objective 'facts' about the residential schools, but was also directed at polluting their sacred meaning. Because the Bryce report triggered a social drama over the meaning of the residential schools within Canadian Anglicanism, in Victor Turner's (1973) phrasing, it can also be interpreted as initiating its first phase: the 'breach'.

The Bryce Report, which was based on an inspection of 35 schools, presents a harrowing picture of the conditions in the school system. It suggests that overcrowding, inadequately trained personnel, poor ventilation, lack of proper nutrition, contaminated water, and generally terrible sanitation, had led to an abnormally high rate of disease and death from tuberculosis in the schools, which the report claimed was 24 per cent.[11] Tuberculosis was then rampant among Aboriginal communities as a result of contact with the European settlers and poor socio-economic conditions on the reserves. Yet, Bryce's report revealed that conditions were markedly worse in the residential schools: in the same period, the death rate from tuberculosis among the wider Aboriginal population was estimated to be just over 12 per cent (Bryce 1907: 5). The Report was especially critical of the churches, suggesting that, in the rush to bolster numbers so as to increase their per capita grant, the churches had recruited children who were already sick (Bryce 1907: 11). It also suggested that the inadequately trained staff were unaware of how to maintain a clean environment, stating that, in some instances, children were being left untreated with festering sores on their bodies and were being fed milk that was diseased with bovine tuberculosis and water that was unsanitary (Bryce 1907: 15).

The findings of the Bryce Report were unsurprising to many government officials. At the time of its publication, Milloy suggests that it was already generally known that conditions were

---

[11] Milloy suggests that Bryce underestimated the death rates because he didn't account for pupils who died quite soon after being discharged from a residential school. Taking this into account, Milloy (1999: 91) argues that death rates were actually 42 per cent.

poor at the schools. In the first instance, this was reflected in the reticence of Aboriginal parents to send their children to the schools; by the turn of the century, enrolment numbers had begun to drop as parents grew fearful that residential schooling would result in the death of their children. Problematically, the capacity for Aboriginals to voice their concerns was then at its lowest point.[12] Also, aside from dropping enrolment, there were other indications that the health conditions at the schools were not adequate. In the 1890s, there were two reports on the poor health conditions other inspectors also commented on their poor state (see Milloy 1999: 85). Yet, more than any other, Bryce's report focused attention on the sanitary conditions in the schools.

The impact made by the Bryce report is due to it having been distributed widely. Milloy (1999: 90) writes that Bryce distributed the final report to members of Parliament and to the churches. Bryce's grim statistics captured the attention of the Canadian media, who had likely received it from an MP, if not from Bryce himself. This caused a 'spiral of signification', in which the new polluted meaning of the residential schools began to be more and more widely accepted. An article published by the widely-circulated *Saturday Night*, for example, wrote 'Indian boys and girls are dying like flies in these situations or shortly after leaving them…even war seldom shows as large a percentage of fatalities as does the education system we have imposed on our Indian wards…[it was]…a situation disgraceful to the country' (cited in Milloy 1999: 91). As a result of such increasing negative attention on the residential school system, its sacred meaning began to be questioned at the highest reaches of government.

Indeed, the new meaning that was being attached to the residential school system seemed to turn several governmental ministers against it altogether – or at least provided them with a foil for withdrawing from what was increasingly seen as an overly expensive enterprise. For example, during negotiations with the churches, Frank Oliver, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, tabled a proposal for 'improved' (i.e. more sacred) system of day schools to replace the now polluted residential schools (Oliver 1908). Under Oliver's leadership, the Department of Indian Affairs went ahead with plans to replace the residential schools with an 'improved type of day school.' Unfortunately, Oliver's report failed to make much headway. As noted in the

---

[12] Military defeat, disease, the collapse of the Buffalo, the rapid influx of settlers and a succession of laws restricting Aboriginal agency had nearly destroyed Aboriginal political capacity in the Canadian west. It was not until the 1940s, when the Aboriginal population began to rebound and a new generation familiar with Anglo-Canadian cultural practices entered positions of leadership that Aboriginals from the North-West would begin to demonstrate effective political agency (see Miller 2000: 311-27). Until then, the future of the residential schools was wholly in the hands of the settler community's political institutions.

introduction, following this period of crisis, church and state renewed their commitment to the residential school system. Much of this has to do with resistance to doing away with the residential schools on the part of the churches – and, in particular, Canadian Anglicanism. To understand why, I will now discuss the internal struggle within the Anglican Church of Canada that resulted from the Bryce Report. In the Anglican Church, the report provided the catalyst for the eastern churchmen to ramp up their struggle to withdraw the church from the residential schools. However, this effort was countered by a group of church members from the West who sought to protect its sacred meaning.

Notably, what we will see in the following analysis is that the 'objective facts' that were ostensibly contained in Bryce's Report fade into the background as the crisis proceeds. In this regard, there is little effort to confirm or negate Bryce's findings. When this does take place, it is based on flimsy evidence and hearsay rather than on any serious investigation of the conditions in the schools. Instead, what occurs is that the objective reality of the school system seems to be of lesser importance to the participants in the struggle than its meaning. Thus, rather than draw on objective evidence, the participants in the social drama draw on established codes and narratives in order to emotively attach a particular meaning to the residential schools.

Crisis

In this section, I focus on efforts by several Toronto-based churchmen to transform the breach triggered by the publication of the Bryce Report into a crisis. The aim of these social performers is to symbolically pollute the sacrality of the residential schools in order to extricate the church from them. In this stage of a social drama, social actors attempt to achieve their intended outcome by 'hooking' their particular interpretation of the breach into established 'background' representations with the aim of making an emotional and psychological connection with their social audience. At their deepest level, background representations are informed by basic binaries between good and evil; purity and pollution; sacred and profane. If social actors are successful, in the sense that they do make an emotional connection with their intended social audience, their chances of achieving their intended outcome is enhanced. Before analysing such efforts to capitalize on the Bryce Report, a few words are in order as to why the 'eastern' churchmen were so willing to give up on the residential schools. After all, if the school system had truly been coded as 'sacred' shouldn't they also have been concerned with protecting it rather than polluting it? The reason why this was not the case is due to their location in Toronto,

which was growing rapidly at the turn of the turn of the century as a result of mass immigration and in which Aboriginals had already long become a remote reality. In this context, a view arose that the church was focusing too much of its resources on Aboriginals, whose population was in decline, when resources might more fruitfully be oriented to the many settlers who were then arriving in the country (see Porter 1981: 56). However, the view that Aboriginal missions were no longer important was not widely shared outside this elite urban cadre.

Shortly after Bryce disseminated his report, the 'eastern' churchmen sought to exploit the potential liminality that it had created to withdraw from the residential schools. Leadership in this endeavour was provided by Samuel Hume Blake, a Toronto-based evangelical lawyer who was a member of the board of management of the MSCC, Chair of the organization's Special Indian Committee, and a generally influential figure in the church. In a series of pamphlets and letters, Blake seeks to convince other church leaders to support the government's proposal to replace the residential schools with a system of 'improved day schools.' To do so, like Departmental Minister Frank Oliver, Blake focuses on meaning-making. In all of the material published by Blake that can be found in the Anglican Church House Archives, 'objective' reasons for withdrawing from the residential schools are always combined with symbolic ones.

In order to convince the church to withdraw from the residential schools, Blake is especially concerned with detaching them from the church's sacred mission to evangelise to non-Christians. To do so, he frequently represents the residential schools as secular educational institutions (*i.e.* 'profane') against what he considers to be churches 'true' mission to evangelise (*i.e.* 'sacred'). Thus Blake asks rhetorically:

> 'To what extent is the work carried on to-day by our Church, Missionary work of the class contemplated by this society? Is the general work of education in the Schools as found to-day such work, or should the Church confine itself simply to religious teaching to such schools as may be open to it? (Blake 1908a: 6)

Similarly, Blake declares elsewhere:

> 'This work [in the residential schools] has ceased to be missionary, [and] must not be allowed to prevent the onward movement intended.' (Blake 1907: 40)

In his effort to profane the residential schools and detach them from the ostensibly more sacred mission to evangelise, Blake also invokes the image of the heroic adventurer-missionary that was frequently represented in the popular missionary literature of the era, thereby implying that the work in the residential schools was of an entirely different order:

'should this Society [the MSCC] confine its aid to the aggressive work as largely carried on in earlier days by travelling missionaries whose life was spent among the bands of Indians as they wandered through their hunting grounds or assembled in their encampments when hunting was over?' (Blake 1907: 7)

Distinguishing the residential schools from what he sees as 'true' missionary work allows Blake to remind his readers that there are other missionary fields that also require the church's attention, including the many thousands of settlers then arriving Canada:

'if the Church were freed from the everyday details and expense of the schools, a large field, at present untouched, might be covered' (Blake 1908a: 8)

Having attempted to demonstrate that residential schools were but a 'profane' educational institution in which the church had accidentally become embroiled – rather than an expression of its 'sacred' mission to spread the Gospel – Blake suggests that the 'day schools' might be a better mechanism by which to civilise Aboriginals. To convince his readers of the superiority of the day schools, Blake uses the same strategy as Oliver. In addition to drawing on ostensibly objective 'facts' to convince his readers of the superiority of the 'day schools', Blake draws upon the ostensible sacrality of the symbol of family, which, he suggests, the day schools would protect, thereby confirming their superiority. Blake writes:

'this [the 'new and improved' day school] in place of separating, draws together the parent and the children, and continues and increases the interest of the one in the other, and sends out, by means of the children, the education of the teacher far beyond the limits of the school-house and makes it the pulse to be felt all through the reserve. **This to my mind, would be a blessed system**, and as far in advance of what we have as it is almost possible to conceive.' (Blake 1908b: 7) [Emphasis added]

At this point, Blake's efforts to pollute the residential schools might have succeeded, and the Anglican Church's role in their tragic consequences might have ceased early in the 20th Century. Unfortunately his efforts provoked resistance from his western brethren, which I discuss in the following section.

Redress

Among the 'western churchmen', in whose dioceses the majority of residential schools were based, the turn of the 20th century was a period of high optimism regarding the residential schools. With the promise of financial support from the Canadian government schools, and the CMS providing additional funds and personnel, Anglicans in the West were building new schools rapidly. In such a context, the 'western' churchmen were, unsurprisingly, shocked by their 'eastern' brethren's response to the publication of the Bryce Report. In this section, I bring to light the efforts of a group of Western-based clergymen and residential school principals to symbolically repair the breach that Blake was attempting to pry open, with the aim of protecting the residential schools from being closed. In the context of the social drama, these actions can be read as a counter-performance. In Turner's terms, this counter-performance is a redressive act 'in order to limit the spread of crisis, certain adjustive and redressive 'mechanisms' […] informal or formal, institutionalized or ad hoc, are swiftly brought into operation by leading or structurally representative members of the disturbed system…' (Turner 1974: 41).

In response to the machinations of the government and the MSCC, several elite representatives of the Anglican Church from the Prairie Provinces joined an ad-hoc protestant inter-church pressure group known as the 'western committee'. Of the committee, Porter writes (1981: 65) that it 'rejected all the charges that had been levelled against the residential schools and announced that it was not prepared to consent to any reduction in their numbers.' The western committee was headed by Bishop Pinkham of Calgary, who demanded that the government rescind its plans. Pinkham was directly affected by the controversy: his diocese contained two schools that had been singled out by Bryce for their particular lack of proper sanitation, and which, as a consequence, had been designated for immediate closure by the government.

In 1909, to prevent the impending closure of Old Sun's, Pinkham withdrew all the schools in his diocese from the MSCC's Board of Management. In same year, an Anglican delegation under the leadership of Archdeacon John Tims, Superintendent of Indian Missions in

the Diocese of Calgary, participated in a 'convention of the Friends of the Indian and Half-Breed Population of Alberta in Edmonton' to drum up support for their resistance to the planned closure of the residential schools. Following the convention, John William Tims, an English-born Archdeacon that had been instrumental in initiating British-style education on the Blackfoot reserve, published a widely circulated pamphlet (Tims 1908). During this time, his fellow churchmen also sent numerous letters to the journal *Canadian Churchman* and to the Board of Management of the MSCC as well as to various officials in the Department of Indian Affairs.

Unlike in urban central Canada, where rapid social change was rendering such a narrative redundant, in the *conscience collective* of the 'western' churchman, the sacred narrative of the residential schools almost certainly continued to provide a key cognitive framework. Most Anglican missionaries involved in Aboriginal work at the turn of the 20th Century in the Canadian North-West were British-born and CMS-sponsored. Prior to arriving in Canada, much like CMS missionaries headed elsewhere, their primary knowledge of the Canadian field was via the reports, articles, and books written by their predecessors. These missionaries would have therefore surely seen their actions to be building on, and continuing, the path-breaking work carried out by their predecessors. In many instances, the heroic representation of their predecessors would have been enhanced by inter-personal connections in the cases where missionaries were sent by the CMS to assist missions that were already underway – as was the case with H.W.G Stockton, who was sent to the Diocese of Calgary to assist Tims (see Lewis 1966: 7).

Notably, although it is the Bryce Report that triggered the struggle over the meaning of the residential schools, it is not once mentioned in any of the letters and pamphlets published by the 'western churchmen' in their effort to protect the residential schools. Instead, rather than become embroiled in a dispute over veracity of the claims made in the report, the 'western churchmen' mainly engage with their eastern brethren on a symbolic level. Thus, in the defence of the residential school system, the western churchmen emphasize its ostensible continuity with church's (sacred) historic missions among Aboriginals in North America. The intent here is, against Blake's efforts, to ensure that the residential schools remain coded as 'true' missionary work. For example, Tims writes:

'The evangelistic work of the travelling missionary is compared with the work of the schools, as though the latter had, in certain cases, superseded the former. **The fact is the School System**

nowhere takes the place of evangelistic effort, but is supplementary to it. Schools do not compete with the missionary, they carry on his work. He wins the Indians and they train the children.' (Tims 1908: 3) [Emphasis added]

Interestingly, because of the sacred meaning that is attached to the residential schools in the imaginations of the 'western churchmen', even when they do admit that there are problems in the residential schools, these problems are represented as a source of inspiration to redouble efforts in the residential schools rather than withdraw from them. Thus, Barner writes:

'**The change needed in this province is not a change of system but rather the strengthening of the Residential School system** so that unsanitary conditions may be removed, old buildings replaced with new, up to date structures, better equipment for carrying on the work and a compulsory law to deal with stubborn cases.' (Barner 1909) [Emphasis added]

In making an appeal for an improved residential school system, the western churchmen make their most powerful move, which is to draw on the narrative of the church's providential duty to civilize the 'red man.' Armed with such a powerful and deeply embedded narrative, Tims dismisses Blake's arguments that the residential schools were too expensive or that the church should be focusing its energy on the fast-growing settler community. According to Tims, if the church were to follow Blake's recommendations, it would besmirch the memory of the church's heroic predecessors and, in doing so, fail God. In this way, Tims also manages to represent Blake as someone who is less than entirely sacred, in that he is ostensibly willing to abandon the church's 'providential' duty to Aboriginals. Tims writes:

…in putting forth the statements and representations referred to, the authors and movers sought to discourage Indian work in favour of work amongst white settlers; and **we wish to express and emphasize our opinion that to deny even a few hundred Indians 'the Bread of Life' that we make better provision for the incoming tide of settlers will be to be false to ourselves, our country and our Church, and to be unworthy followers of the noble men who gave their lives as pioneers to the Indian work.**' (Tims 1908: 5) [emphasis added]

Similarly, with soaring rhetoric, Tims writes elsewhere:

'…it is a fair question to ask: Can the board afford to give to this Indian work all that it has been receiving? And it is a fair reply that **the board cannot afford to do other than meet every legitimate need of this Indian work. These missions are God's challenge to the Church.** They are the test of the loyalty of our people to their principles as members of a Church pledged to be missionary and to care especially for those within their own fold. The Christian Indians of our northern missions are our fellow Churchmen. Shall we desert them now for the sake of a few thousand dollars? God Forbid! (Tims 1908: 6) [Emphasis added]

In order to inspire his readers to support the residential schools, Tims also draws upon the church's historic antipathy to Roman Catholicism by suggesting that if Anglicanism abandoned residential schooling, its role would be replaced by Roman Catholicism. In this regard, Tims writes:

'If we withdraw from Schools and Missions our Roman brethren will not be slow to profit by our neglect and desertion…shall we, to gain a few thousand dollars leave this work wholly to the Government and risk, among other things, its ultimate transfer to the ever-ready Roman Catholic authorities?' (1908: 6).

Having attempted to convey that the failed residential schools presented the church with a challenge to reinvigorate its historic mission in Canada, rather than an opportunity to change course, Tims recommends that the church initiate a church-wide appeal to help pay for the improvement of the residential schools and thereby meet its ostensible duty to Aboriginals. Tims writes:

'…appeal with boldness and confidence to every individual and section of the Church – white and Indian, high and low, rich and poor, east and west…we cannot believe the great Canadian Church, if rightly instructed as to the real nature and needs or the work, will ever be so poor in missionary spirit or so niggardly in its offerings that it cannot supply every dollar required for the actual necessities of the Indian Mission in every Diocese of the Dominion.' (Tims 1908: 6)

By 1908, the pendulum had swung in favour of the western churchmen. Just a few months after the government presented its proposal to reduce the number of residential schools in favour of day schools, it began to climb down from its position. Faced with pressure from the 'western' churchmen, Frank Pedley, Deputy Superintendent General of the Department of Indian Affairs,

noted 'there is not absolute unanimity amongst the Protestants as there is considerable opposition from influential quarters, notably from the Bishop of Calgary' (cited in Porter 1981: 68-9). Before long, Porter (1981: 69) writes, 'despite all the forces allied against them, the prairie missionaries forced the Department to alter its plans substantially.' On March 26, 1909, the Department presented the churches with a new plan that was almost entirely in line with the demands of the western churchmen. Although the older industrial schools were to be closed, the boarding schools would be retained – indeed, the new plans even included a proposal to build new residential schools.

Porter (1981: 79) suggests that much of the reason for the government's remarkable response is due to the western churchmen's perceived political influence. In a social drama, here is where social performance interacts with social power. No matter how skilful a performer is in making use of established codes and representations to convey a particular meaning, asymmetries in social power will be an important factor in whether he or she is successful. At this juncture in the history of Canadian Anglicanism, which had only recently created a centralised structure, it seems that the balance of social power remained in the hands of the dioceses. Notably, when the government invited the churches to Ottawa to discuss its new proposal, it invited members of the 'western committee', while bypassing the MSCC completely (Porter 1981: 74). Adding insult to injury (from the perspective of the MSCC), the new contract that was eventually agreed upon, designated that it was to be signed by 'the bishops in whose dioceses the schools were located' (Porter 1981: 74).

Following their triumph with the government, the 'western churchmen' ramped up their struggle against the MSCC. In October 1910, a delegation from the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land (which, at the time, encompassed all of the northwest, including parts of Ontario) went to Toronto to present their case to the MSCC. In the context of the government's reversal, the members of the Board of Management accepted the western position and rescinded the resolutions against funding the residential schools that they had passed earlier. In their place, a new resolution was passed that set aside significant funds for the maintenance of the residential schools (cited in Porter 1981: 76). With this, the MSCC formally acknowledged that the residential schools were indeed 'missionary work.' This was reinforced in 1918. After a lengthy consultation into the church's Aboriginal missions, the General Synod adopted a report that asserted that the residential schools were 'essential' elements of the church's missionary work (Porter 1981: 80). From this point onward, the MSCC was responsible for the funding and

administrative aspects of the residential schools. The sacred meaning of the residential schools was thus confirmed.

With the MSCC acceding to the western churchmen's demands and taking responsibility for the residential schools, the dioceses began to participate more fully in the machinery of the national church. In 1920, the Indian Committee of the MSCC drew up a 'Common and Uniform Document', which recognized the MSCC as 'the sole body capable of representing the church in any negotiations with the government in matters concerning Indian education' (Porter 1981: 80). The implication was that the western churchmen agreed not to bypass the national church in negotiations with the government, as they had previously done.

The social drama that had been triggered by the CMS decision to withdraw funding from the residential schools, which was aggravated by the Bryce Report, was coming to an end. Despite clear indications that the conditions prevailing at the residential schools were deplorable, that they had failed to 'elevate' the status of their pupils, and despite a massive funding shortfall, Blake had failed to convince the church to withdraw from them. Instead, as a result a lively counter-performance from elite members of the western dioceses, the social drama ended with the sacred meaning of the residential schools confirmed.

Reintegration

In this section, I discuss the conclusion of the social drama, wherein Canadian Anglicanism entered a phase of reintegration. Alexander (2004) observes that the re-integrative phase can be likened to period of 'calming down', in which the tension associated with the social drama fades. In this process, the 'root paradigm' that was unearthed during struggle is re-submerged in the *conscience collective* of the group. In other words, the narrative that was the object of the struggle is re-established as a relatively unreflexive cognitive framework. In the case of Canadian Anglicanism, we can see this phenomenon in the way that Blake's critique is rapidly pushed out of publicly discourse and the sacrality of the church's civilizing mission, and the integral role of the residential schools in this, is re-established. Indeed, in this case, the process of re-establishing the sacrality of the residential schools was especially pronounced.

Despite that the western churchmen had won the day, the question remained as to how the MSCC would pay for them. Even though the church was receiving significantly higher per capita grants under the new contract that was signed with the government in 1910, it still wasn't enough to cover all of the expenses in light of the impending withdrawal of support from

the CMS in 1920. To raise the necessary funds, the church took up the idea that had been put forward by Tims. In 1918, the church embarked on a nation-wide appeal for funds, entitled the 'Anglican Forward Movement' (AFM). The objective was to establish an 'Indian and Eskimo Endowment Fund,' which could be used to invest in the residential schools over the long-term. The appeal involved a massive effort. Over 2,500,000 pamphlets were printed and mailed to over 75,000 Anglicans in parishes throughout Canada. Over 2,000 Women's Committees were marshalled into the effort to distribute the literature. Additionally, several hundred laymen were sent to every parish in the country to give presentations on the appeal. Special prayers relating to the appeal were also sent to Anglican clerics throughout the country, with the directive that they be read during services (see Anon. 1919). As a result of these efforts it is unlikely that any Anglican in Canada who attended service regularly would have been unaware of the appeal. By 1921, nearly $500,000 (CAD) had been raised. From the perspective of the social drama that had preceded it, the appeal can be seen as a ritual performance, which re-established the sacrality of the civilizing mission and the centrality of the residential schools in this mission in the *conscience collective* of the church.

To help to inspire donations, the appeal was framed as a way to 'honour the memory of the glorious dead' as a result of the First World War (AFM 1921). Also, the notion that the church had a 'responsibility' to carry on its Aboriginal work runs through much of the literature related to the appeal. Often this is framed as a responsibility to the church's history. It is the church's historic 'heroic' missionaries to whom church members are said to be responsible. In this way, it is the heroic narrative that provides the impetus and inspiration to donate money. Thus one pamphlet states:

> 'The first reason why we cannot forego, but must assume, the complete responsibility is historical in its character. No organized body, least of all any branch of the Church Universal, can ignore the plain teachings of its history and expect to grow and prosper. The roots of the Church of England in Canada go down deeply into the soil of missionary work on behalf of the Indians and Eskimo.' (AFM N.D. [ca. 1919])

After providing examples of the heroic history of the church's missionary work among the 'Indians and the Eskimo', in which John West's effort to establish to establish residential schools 'for the Indians' plays a prominent role, the pamphlet ends on an inspiring note:

'The Church of England in Canada possesses, in the story of the missions to the Indians and Eskimo, a history rich in heroism and unsurpassed in the priceless treasures of courage and example. We dare not, we cannot, do anything to-day which would in any degree, whatsoever, prove ourselves unworthy of those who have gone before, or of the inheritance they have passed to us. They "served their own generation in the will of God and fell on sleep"; it is our privilege to follow in their footsteps. (AFM ca. 1919)

As a result of the appeal, by 1921, the struggle over the meaning of the residential schools that had erupted in 1907 had been erased from the official narrative. That there had been significant opposition to the continuation of the residential schools was simply omitted from the official narrative. A 1921 report writes:

'The CMS would finally withdraw and leave the responsibility upon the Church in Canada. The Church could not repudiate that responsibility, without indelible disgrace and therefore the Board of Management, in 1918 took practical steps to meet the situation…' (AFM 1921)

Thus, we see the sacred narrative of the church's missions, and the role of the residential schools in them, is re-established while the breach that Blake attempted to exploit loses significance.

Unfortunately, in the realm of reality, despite the successful appeal for funds and despite a higher per capita grant from the government, it seems that very little was done in the way of actually improving the residential schools. In 1913, litigation was brought against the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, which was operated by the New England Company, an Anglican missionary society. In 1922, Bryce seemed to have grown so exasperated with the apparent inability of the church and state to rein in the spread of disease in the schools that he re-published his report (Bryce 1922). Yet, the conditions in the schools continued to worsen over the next several decades (Milloy 1999: 95-107).

During this time, the residential schools retained their overwhelmingly positive meaning in the Anglican Church. Indeed, it would not be until many decades later that key figures in the church would again so publicly question the cruel logic of the residential schools (*i.e.* to separate child from parent). The sacred meaning attached to the residential schools seems to have become unassailable despite their increasingly dire reality. For example, in the 1939, T.B.R

Westgate, the Secretary of the Anglican Indian and Residential School Commission, produced a pamphlet describing the residential schools as a 'blessing' (Westgate 1939). Because the residential schools retained their sacred meaning, the church continued to operate them, despite their ever increasing costs. By the time of the Second World War, the school system had become the biggest single item in the MSCC's budget (Hayes 2004: 31). By this time, the church's missionary work to Aboriginal Canada, in large part, referred to the residential schools. This situation remained relatively unchanged until after the Second World War, which is where I begin my analysis in Chapter Five.

Conclusion

The specific aim of this chapter was to shed light on why Canadian Anglican elites persisted in supporting the residential school system for so long despite its high costs, poor educational record, and deplorable health conditions, which I undertook to resolve by focusing on a social drama triggered by the publication of the Bryce Report, which indicated that the health conditions in some of the residential schools were so bad they were endangering the lives of the students. In taking up such an aim, I hoped to uncover the first part of the Anglican Church of Canada's protracted route towards taking responsibility for the failings of the residential schools. In this regard, it was in the social drama that I focused on in this chapter that the church came closest to officially acknowledging that the school system was failing and withdrawing as a result. Yet, instead of doing so, the church persisted in its support for the schools. Indeed, at the end of the social drama, the church was even more supportive of the school system than at its outset. Why was this so?

To resolve the question I posed in this chapter, I sought to bring to light the ways in which the meaning of the residential schools structured the behaviour of the key social performers involved in the social drama. I found that, during the social drama, the 'objective' facts about the residential school system faded into the background and its meaning came into prominence. In other words, the struggle was often more about how the residential schools ought to be narrated, coded and weighted than it was about whether or not Bryce's findings were objectively correct. Indeed, after the social drama had begun, in the documents that I analysed, the Bryce Report was seldom even mentioned. Instead, the main rhetorical strategy that the conflicting parties used to defend or attack the residential school system was to relate it to long established narratives about the role of the church among Aboriginals. In this regard,

the strategy seemed to be more about eliciting an emotional connection than about scoring points based on logic.

My most interesting finding was that the coding and weighting of the residential schools as a central symbol of the sacred narrative of the church's historic civilizing mission was hugely important in structuring the terms of the struggle. Thus, in the effort to withdraw the church from the residential school system, Blake directed much of his rhetoric at detaching it from its sacred meaning by suggesting, for example, that it was but an ordinary (i.e. profane) educational institution. Likewise, Blake's opponents directed much of their rhetoric at protecting the sacred meaning of the residential schools, and sought to deflect Blake's critique away from them by suggesting, for example, that it was not that the school system was not sacred, but rather that they were underfunded. That the sacred encoding of the residential schools played an important role in structuring behaviour can also be seen in the way that the social drama was resolved. After the defenders of the residential schools had won out over Blake and his cohort, they still needed to find the funds to operate them. Here I found that the sacred narrative was so emotively powerful as to give rise to the most successful appeal that the church had until then undertook.

Thus, my analysis suggests to me that one of the reasons that the Anglican Church persisted in supporting the residential schools as long as it did was because they were initially represented as a sacred enterprise. If the residential schools had merely been represented as an educational institution like any other, given the high costs associated with them, their poor health conditions and their diminishing returns in terms of numbers of Aboriginals converted, it is likely that the church would have withdrawn from them and supported their replacement with day schools. Problematically, this was not the case, and because the group with most social power was the most invested in defending the residential schools, they retained their sacred meaning. The result was that the church remained embroiled in perpetrating an immense tragedy for many more years.

In the forthcoming chapter, I analyse the next major struggle over the meaning of the residential schools that was to occur within the church. This social drama begins at the end of the 1960s, as result of the government's decision to terminate the churches' role in Aboriginal education amidst the social ferment of the era. As I will discuss shortly, the balance of social power in this period has shifted towards the critics of the residential schools. As a result, the defenders of the sacred meaning of the residential schools are much less successful. Also of

significance is that Aboriginals have become a much more visible force in the 1960s than they were at the outset of the 20th Century. This latter factor results in the terms of the struggle over the meaning of the residential schools being transformed. Notably, in the social drama I analysed in this chapter, the very sacrality of the civilizing mission itself was not questioned. By contrast, in the social drama I will analyse in the next chapter, as a result of the rise of Aboriginal identity politics, the very idea of the 'civilizing mission' as a sacred mission comes under attack.

Chapter 5

Embracing the Future to Forget a Conflicted Past

Introduction

In this chapter, I analyze the second of three critical junctures. As I discussed in Chapter 3 (Part 2), in 1948 the Canadian government began to make plans to replace the residential schools with a system of day schools, which were to be located on reserve or in a nearby community. Initially, the official response by elites in the Anglican Church of Canada was to cautiously welcome the government's plans, while nevertheless emphasising the ostensibly valuable pioneering role that the church had played in providing education to Aboriginals. However, in the context of the social ferment of 1960s Canada, which saw the meteoric rise of Aboriginal identity politics and the spread of a new left liberal ideology and civic nationalism among many non-Aboriginals, a new generation of elites in the national church began to question the rather benign meaning that had become attached to the church's past. This gave rise to a social drama over the meaning of the church's past. The struggle ended in 1969 with the adoption of the Hendry Report. The Hendry Report criticised the paternalism that had informed the church's historic Aboriginal work and enjoined it to pursue a new relationship with Aboriginals, in which it would begin to 'listen' to them. Subsequently, church members went on to perform a markedly new mission, in which they became carriers of Aboriginal issues and the defenders of Aboriginal cultural practices, as opposed to being carriers of Britishness. In the present-day, the Hendry Report has become a symbol of an important turning-point in the church's relationship with Aboriginals, after which it ostensibly shed its paternalism and began to work on their behalf (ACC Online).

In light of what I concluded in Chapter 4 regarding the embeddedness of the meaning of the residential schools and the wider civilizing mission as a sacred enterprise, what is puzzling about the adoption by the Anglican Church of Canada of the Hendry Report in 1969 is how readily church members seemingly rejected this. The specific aim of this chapter is to provide an explanation for how this was possible. With respect to the thesis as a whole, this chapter helps to resolve why church elites avoided fully considering the deleterious consequences of the residential school system after their role in it was terminated. As we shall see in the pages that

follow, although many church elites in the 1960s were prepared to acknowledge that the logic of the residential schools was unjust, they were not yet prepared to seek to make amends for this. Instead they preferred to confine it to the past and exonerate their church by pursuing a new future. To explain why, I address the meaning and significance of the Hendry Report by analyzing the social drama that preceded it. My analysis is framed by the approach I outlined in Chapter Two. As with the social drama that I analysed in the previous chapter, the principal means of symbolic production in this era is via written texts, such as editorials in church publications, personal letters to the Primate's office and minutes of meetings.

My argument is as follows. The Hendry Report was so enthusiastically embraced by the church because of the future-oriented progressive narrative that it offered. The progressive narrative propounded by the Hendry Report was significant for two linked reasons. Firstly, it provided church members with a mechanism by which to decouple their church from its historic civilizing mission (and by extension, the residential schools), which had begun to become morally polluted as a result of the spread of new left liberal ideas among a new generation of church elites and a surge in Aboriginal identity politics. Secondly, because the Hendry Report took a rather ambivalent view of the past, it provided church members with a mechanism by which to overcome deep differences that had arisen over its meaning between the new generation of elites and an older generation who resented criticisms of the sacred meaning of the church's historic work among Aboriginals. However, although the Hendry report enabled the church to escape moral pollution and sidestep a smouldering controversy, it also had unfortunate material consequences: most conspicuously, focusing on the future meant that the church avoided addressing the multi-generational deleterious impact of the residential schools.

This chapter will make an original contribution to the study of Canadian Anglicanism and the residential schools. In this regard, the question taken up in this chapter has yet to be addressed in either of these fields. Whilst a variety of historians have discussed the remarkable impact of the Hendry Report in transforming the Anglican Church of Canada's view of its mission to Aboriginals (see Barker 1998; Gaver 2011; Gull 1992; Hayes 2004; Reilly 2008), none of them have sought to uncover *how* it was able to do so. To address such a question requires a shift from historical analysis to social scientific analysis, in particular towards meaning-centered analysis.

The chapter is divided in five sections. Section One describes the Anglican Church of Canada's response to the government's new Aboriginal education policy. Sections two through five analyse the cultural process that led to the adoption of the Hendry Report.

The Anglican Church of Canada and the New Aboriginal Education Policy

In this section, I discuss the impact of the governments' decision after the Second World War to replace the residential schools with day schools on the Anglican Church of Canada. Initially, the new policy was greeted by many church elites with cautious approval. In fact, in a 1947 brief presented to a Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Indian Policy, the church had itself recommended that the government explore the option of integrated schooling (Gull 1992: 76). Given, as we saw in Chapter 3, the symbolic importance of the residential schools prior to the war, why did the church accept a system that would eventually see their withdrawal from Aboriginal education? The reason for this can be found in material factors.

The cost of operating the residential schools was increasing. By 1948, the residential schools represented the largest single item in MSCC's budget, yet costs continued to increase as the population of Aboriginal children expanded and existing infrastructure continued to degrade (Hayes 2004: 34). Also, it was becoming increasingly difficult for the church to recruit missionaries to staff the residential schools. Hayes (2004: 35) observes that in comparison with teaching positions elsewhere, the residential school positions were low-paid and the food and living conditions were terrible. As a result, few staff members lasted long: in 1949 the MSCC reported an annual turnover of over 50 percent (Hayes 2004: 35). The staffing issue was lamented in an editorial in the Church's national newspaper: 'It would be a shame – a disgrace – if our Church lost the privilege of operating these schools and expanding Christ's Kingdom through this medium simply because we as Church people have lost interest' (*The Canadian Churchman* 1952). Indeed, in 1954, the government took over responsibility for the hiring and remuneration of residential school staff.

It is perhaps surprising that, given the symbolic weight that had become attached to the residential schools in the 1920s, cultural forces didn't compel some church elites to mount a stiffer resistance to their closure in spite of the material factors discussed above. Certainly, the relevant archival material indicates that there was a degree of lamentation about the church relinquishing its integral role in Aboriginal education, as illustrated by the opinion voiced in the *Canadian Churchman* cited above. However, on the whole, culture didn't seem to be much of a

factor in compelling church members to resist the new order. Why might this be the case? The answer can be found in the way that the new integrated era was being narrated, which did not threaten the established sacred narrative of the church's historic role in the residential schools. In pitching the new educational system, government ministers rarely suggested that the residential school system had been a total failure. Rather, they represented the new integrated system as a system that would improve, and build on, past 'successes.' Hence, on the eve of fully terminating the church's role in the residential schools, Jean Chrétien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, thanked the Anglican Church for a 'job well done.'

From the perspective of many church elites, then, the government's decision to proceed with integrated schooling wasn't necessarily an indictment of its historic role. Far from it: church elites represented the new era of Aboriginal education as a kind of natural next step in the ongoing assimilation of Aboriginals into Euro-Canada. According to this view, through its residential schools, the church had provided the necessary early educational and missionary work to Aboriginals until such a time as the government was capable of taking over and providing a more standardized education. In this way, the sacred narrative was kept intact. One former principal's reflection on the transition illustrates this view well:

> It was now time for the Church to get out the Residential School business and turn it over to the Government completely. We pioneered it and kept it going when the road was tough and rough and certainly did what we could to prepare the people [Aboriginals] for some of the changes which they were going to meet. I don't think anyone can ever point the finger of scorn in our direction or belittle our efforts – truthfully. Truly in many instances there remained much to be desired but all in all, it has been a good job, well done. (Gibbs 1966)

Because the sacred meaning of the church's role in the residential schools was left untarnished, many Anglicans were able to throw their support behind the new integrated system. At this point, this rather benign representation of the church's past might have been left intact if not for the social ferment that would soon engulf the church in the decade ahead. In the succeeding sections, we will see the church's historic work among Aboriginals increasingly come under criticism as a result of the social ferment of the era, which I discussed in Chapter Three.

Breach

To explain the impact that the social ferment of the 1960s had on the Anglican Church of Canada, I depart from the way that Victor Turner and others have traditionally interpreted the initial phase of a social drama, which, as I discussed in previous chapters, is referred to as a 'breach'. Generally, analysts have interpreted the breach as a sudden occurrence, much like a bright spark of sulphur that precedes a match being engulfed in flames. In this section, I apply the concept in a much less bounded way. As such, I suggest that a breach in the Anglican Church's sacred narrative of its civilizing mission began to open gradually, as a result of cumulative and growing criticism from outside, and within, the church. As we shall see, by the mid-1960s, the critique had reached such a tenor that the church's historic work among Aboriginals began to be seen by many church elites as a 'breach' of their norms, which threatened to morally pollute their church's collective identity.

In 1959 it was clear that the church's role in Aboriginal education would be soon coming to an end and church leaders began to take stock of what would be the church's future role among Aboriginals. In this process, the national church began to assert itself over the dioceses. As a report to the General Synod in 1960 indicates: 'the primary responsibility for this area of work has always been, and still remains, that of the dioceses concerned…in recent years, however, the necessity for "National" action by the Church has been becoming increasingly apparent' (Inter-Departmental Committee on Indian and Eskimo Affairs 1960). This perceived need for 'national action' resulted in the formation of two new committees. A request from the government in 1959 that the church produce a study of the Indian Act ahead of planned revisions to the Act in 1961 provided the catalyst for the formation by the General Synod of a more permanent committee, referred to as the Inter-Departmental Committee on Indian and Eskimo Affairs, which was charged with formulating church policy at the national level. In 1963 the House of Bishops also formed a committee, referred to as the House of Bishop's Committee on Native Canadians, which was charged with advising the Primate on issues related to Aboriginals.

The interest in the future of the church's Aboriginal work at the elite level of the national church ensured that the issue was increasingly infused with the emerging left-leaning zeitgeist that was spreading throughout Canada and was being taken up by political elites such as former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. It was around this time that a new generation of Anglicans were entering positions of leadership that ascribed less to the Tory Loyalism of their

108

predecessors and more to social justice and liberalism. It is difficult to underestimate the impact of the ideological change that was occurring in the 1960s on the Anglican Church of Canada and, indeed, on all of the mainline Christian churches in Canada. During this time, Canadians began to eschew organized religion *en masse*. For example, from 1957 to 1990, church attendance among Canadians fell by 53 per cent (Bibby 2002). Anglican elites were thus suddenly faced with a rapidly diminishing membership. However, the ideological change that was occurring in 1960s Canada was not just an external force on Canadian Anglicanism. As Bibby (1986) observes in a report prepared for the church, on social and political issues, Anglicans in Canada tended to track wider Canadian trends. In other words, the changes that were sweeping through Canada in this period were also sweeping through the church.

Although there had been a rise in social concern within Canadian Anglicanism since before the Second World War, it is in the 1960s that issues related to social justice really begin to penetrate the elite stratum of the church. For example, Edward Scott, a charismatic and outspoken advocate of liberal reforms such as the ordination of women and, as we will see below, Aboriginal rights claims, was made a Bishop in 1966. In 1971, he was elected Primate (see McCullum 2004). The response of new elites such as Scott to the social change that was occurring in Canada was to attempt to re-align the church's policies to fit more with the zeitgeist of the era. For example, in 1963, Canadian Anglicanism played host to an Anglican Congress in Toronto, which called on Anglicanism to become a 'listening' church. In response to the Congress, the church commissioned Pierre Berton, a well-known Canadian author and television personality, to write a report on how the church might become more relevant. The report, which was published as a book, was highly critical of Canadian Christianity, suggesting that its ostensible conservatism in the face of social change had made it 'irrelevant' (Berton 1965). Republished as a book, it went on to become a Canadian bestseller, with over 200,000 copies sold (Creal 2005). Although Berton's book was highly controversial in some quarters, in what is a reflection of how much Canadian Anglicanism had changed; most Anglican clergy (77 per cent) approved the decision to commission the book (Creal 2005).

To return to the main subject of this section, the rise of a new ideology among elites impacted their perception of the aim of the church's missionary work among Aboriginals. Initially, the result was reflected in a more positive assessment of Aboriginality and 'softer' approach to assimilation. For example, one of the mandated aims of the new Inter-departmental Committee on Indian and Eskimo Affairs was to 'help in planning and

implementing an educational program within our church which would create an attitude of greater social acceptance in our communities of Canadians of Indian and Eskimo origin' (Inter-departmental Committee on Indian & Eskimo Affairs 1960).

At this point, despite this 'softer' approach, because many Anglicans had not yet rejected assimilation, there was not yet a breach in the sacred meaning of the church's historic civilizing mission. Elites in this period still tended to represent the work carried out by their predecessors as a heroic triumph rather than reject it. Indeed, far from rejecting their predecessors, church elites at the outset of the 1960s actually strove to connect the new role that they envisioned for the church with the work that had been carried out by their predecessors. The narrative connecting the church's past and present thus continued to be represented as a near seamless progressive story detailing the church's triumphs among Aboriginals, despite a growing disjuncture between past and present. We can see this, for example, in the historical sketch that was included in the aforementioned report prepared by the Inter-Departmental Committee on Indian and Eskimo Affairs in 1960.

While the 1960 report casts Aboriginality in a fairly positive light, the church's historic work among Aboriginals is also represented positively. How is this possible? Interestingly, in the report, the church's past and present is connected by revising slightly the meaning of the church's historic work, so that it appears that such work was also informed by same ideals as church elites in the 1960s. In this way, the church is represented as an early campaigner for Aboriginal rights. For example, the report states:

> 'There existed, however, on the part of some of the white settlers, and the church can claim some credit for this, a very real concern for Indian people and they strove to express this concern in the conflicting views of the time. Out this struggle came finally the making of treaties between the Crown and Indian Tribes and eventually the setting up of Indian Reservations. These steps recognized the "rights" of Indian people and also sought to provide them with protection to some degree at least' (Inter-Departmental Committee on Indian and Eskimo Affairs 1960).

In this revised representation of the church's historic role among Aboriginals, the church's long time support for the policy of 'aggressive civilization', which involved a highly ethnocentric and dismissive view of Aboriginality, is absent. Moreover, the reservation system, which involved forcing Aboriginals onto relatively small parcels of land to make way for European settlers, and which, until the 1930s in the western provinces, Aboriginals were not officially allowed to leave

without first obtaining a 'pass' from an Indian Agent, is represented as a system designed to 'protect' Aboriginals rather than subjugate them.[13] Thus, the disjuncture between the more positive view of Aboriginality held by many church elites in the early 1960s and the more negative view of Aboriginality held by their predecessors remained below the surface. In short order, however, as various carrier groups attempt to expose Canada's maltreatment of Aboriginals, and the role of the churches in this, the effort to smooth over the disjuncture between past and present becomes increasingly difficult and the disjuncture is transformed into a 'breach.'

As the 1960s proceed, the residential school system, and the assimilationist ideology that informed (*i.e.* the civilizing mission) it, begins to undergo sustained criticism. Some of the most visible early criticisms are from non-Aboriginal Canadians – a phenomenon that reflected the changing ideology that was described in preceding sections. An early high profile critique of this genre that directly involved in the Anglican Church of Canada came from the Indian and Eskimo Association (IEA), which was a 'citizens support group' founded in 1960.[14] In 1963, the IEA released a scathing report of some of the church-run residential schools in the Arctic. The report stated that its researchers had 'encountered at first hand competitive paternalism, bribery, refusal to cooperate, defense of the status quo, fear of criticism, distrust of Christians of other faiths and a false sense of pride in a heritage long since forfeited through neglect and misuse' (cited in Jones 1963: 3). While the report was represented as a scholarly publication intended to objectively report on the 'facts', the result was to hit directly at the church's 'sacred' narrative of its past. From a meaning-centred perspective, the report can thus be seen to have been directed at polluting the sacred meaning that was attached to the church's historic role among Aboriginals. Unsurprisingly, the report provoked consternation among church officials. In a report to the General Synod in 1963, Trevor Jones wrote:

> 'the Indian and Eskimo Association is being taken very seriously by Departments of Government in Ottawa, which have taken out sustaining memberships…members of I.E.A are also able increasingly to question the policy and practice, or lack of it, of the Churches, critically and

---

[13] The 'Pass System' was created by the Department of Indian Affairs during the 1885 Rebellion in Saskatchewan (see Barron 1988; Carter 1985).

[14] The IEA was a well-placed carrier of Aboriginal issues to the Canadian public sphere made up of both Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. Its board of directors included several well-heeled Canadian professionals and representatives of the major churches, including the Anglican Church of Canada (IEA 1960).

intelligently…however unjust and ill-informed such criticism of the Churches' representatives may sometimes be, such criticisms have enough foundation in fact to leave no room for complacency.' (Jones 1963: 8-9)

Going into the mid-1960s, criticism of the maltreatment of Aboriginal peoples by church and state, and of the role of the residential schools in this, continued apace. In other words, a 'spiral of signification' that increasingly polluted the meaning of Canada's historic treatment of Aboriginals was underway. In 1965, the Presbyterian-run Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School, which was located in north-western Ontario, underwent a sustained period of high profile criticism that drew the attention of the Canadian public to the negative aspects of the residential schools. The main carrier of the critique was Ian Adams, a journalist who was particularly concerned with issues related to social justice. Adams, who tended to write on social deprivation in Canada, wrote a highly negative article for the *Weekend Magazine* on the living conditions of Aboriginal people in the Ontario district of Kenora, which was later syndicated to dozens of English Canadian dailies (see Hodgins & Milloy 2003: 222). Adams' description of Cecilia Jeffrey was bleak: '[it has] an atmosphere of unutterable loneliness, desolate enough to stop time in a child's heart…[children who ran away] were locked in a room with just a mattress on the floor, left only their underclothes, and put on a bread-and-milk diet' (cited in Milloy 1999: 288).

As chance would have it, approximately one year after Adams published his article on Cecilia Jeffrey, Charlie Wenjack, a twelve year-old boy who had attempted to escape from the school, was found dead. Wenjack had died of starvation whilst trying to return home. Adams published a series of angry articles on the incident – one of which was published in *Maclean's*, Canada's most widely-read English-language magazine (Hodgins & Milloy 2003: 223). The incident prompted a federal inquiry. In the years that followed, Charlie Wenjack became a symbol of the indifference of church and state to the plight of Aboriginals. At Trent University, a monument was built to memorialize the tragedy and a building was named after him. In 1966, Canadian poet Joanne published a eulogy about the incident:

'Charlie Wenjack was 12 years old when he ran. 400 miles nothing but a number.

Charlie Wenjack died alone and cold,

> hungry,

> probably scared,

> just trying to get home.

O Canada, glorious and free.

O Canada, with breaking hearts we see thee.

Oh.

Canada.

Oh.' (Bealy 1966)

Although commentary on the Wenjack tragedy doesn't appear in the Anglican Church's archives, we can surmise, given the attention paid to it, that it was known by many Anglicans and must have contributed to the emergent view, at least among the more liberal Anglicans, that the church's historic treatment of Aboriginals may not have necessarily been a redoubtable (i.e. sacred) triumph.

A turning point in Anglican elites' representations of their church's historic work among Aboriginals comes around the time of the publication in 1967 by the Canadian Welfare Association of a report on 9 residential schools in Saskatchewan by sociologist George Caldwell. Significantly, the publication of the Caldwell Report in 1967 coincided with Canada's centennial celebrations, which was also marked by the surge in Aboriginal activism that I described in Chapter 3. It is at this point that we see elites in the national church begin to acknowledge, and even augment, the critique of its past policies.

The Caldwell Report roundly condemns nearly every aspect of the residential schools, suggesting that, 'the physical environment of the daily living aspects of the residential school is overcrowded, poorly designed, highly regimented and forces a mass approach to children' (Caldwell 1967: 151). The report is also highly critical of the assimilationist rationale that informed the residential schools, suggesting that, upon returning to their communities, former students struggled to reconcile the 'Euro-Canadian culture that they had been socialized into with the Aboriginal culture they now found themselves' (Caldwell, 1967: 61). Notably, Caldwell's critique dealt directly with several Anglican-run residential schools and thus demanded an official response. Remarkably, the official response by the Anglican Indian Residential Schools Administration is sympathetic to the tone of the Caldwell Report (see Jones 1967).

Why would the Anglican Church accept the condemnation of the meaning of its residential schools rather than defend them? At one level, this reflects the degree to which the social change that was then occurring in Canada was also occurring in the upper echelons of the national church's bureaucracy. At another level, it also suggests that, by 1967, the preponderance of criticism against the church's historic work among Aboriginals was such that it had become unavoidable – at least among several well-placed left-leaning church officials. In other words, the criticism had reached such a tenor that it had succeeded in exposing the disjuncture between the church's present vision for the church's Aboriginal policy and the vision that had guided their predecessors. In Turner's phrasing, we might say that in the imaginations of the new elites, the narrative arc that had connected the church's past and present in the first part of the 1960s had been 'breached.' A social drama was potentially in the making.

Mounting Crisis

In an effort to repair the breach before it was transformed into a crisis, elites in the Anglican Church of Canada chose to accept, and even augment, the ongoing criticism of their predecessors. To understand why they chose such a route, it may be helpful to recall Bernard Giesen's theory of the 'trauma of the perpetrators', which describes a structural problem that occurs 'if a community has to recognize that its members, instead of being heroes, have been perpetrators who violated the cultural premises of their own identity' (Giesen 2004: 114). In other words, 'a trauma of the perpetrators' is a situation in which the sacrality of a group has been polluted. Giesen (*Ibid.*: 114) suggests that there are four ways to avoid a trauma of the perpetrators: 'the community can cope with the fundamental contradiction between identity claims and recognition only by a collective schizophrenia, by denial, by decoupling or withdrawal.' Now, for many Anglican elites, I have argued that the growing criticism was such that 'denial,' either by sidelining the criticism or, as occurred in the early part of the 1960s, by revising slightly the narrative of the past, was no longer possible. Neither was 'withdrawal' an option for church elites, who were charged with, as I discussed previously, transforming their church into a 'listening church.' This left elites with the option of decoupling the church from its past. In practice, 'decoupling' meant acknowledging the ongoing criticisms against the church in order to demonstrate that it had embraced a new sacred identity. In terms of the social drama, this meant widening the breach, which, by provoking a response from other Anglicans, transformed the breach into a crisis.

The critique by church elites of their predecessors' practices among Aboriginals was not just limited to their acknowledgement of the Caldwell Report. The *Canadian Churchman*, the national newspaper of the Anglican Church of Canada, published a series of articles describing the marginal status of Aboriginals in Canada in December 1967 to mark the end of the centennial year. The tone of the articles, which are forceful in their condemnation of the church and state's historic maltreatment of Aboriginals, reflects the fact that Hugh McCullum – a fierce carrier of the left turn in Canadian Protestantism – had just been made editor of the journal (*The UC Observer* 2008). The lead article begins:

'There is a certain irony attached to Indian participation in celebrations of Canada's centennial. What in fact happened was that the Indians were asked to help celebrate the anniversary of a country that was taken away from them…they dutifully donned buckskin to be displayed in Dominion Day parades and pageants – and then headed back to the ghettoes created for them by the treaties they signed with the representatives of the "great white mother".' (Portman 1967: 1)

Another article criticised the Anglican Church directly:

'Life in a residential school was a Spartan existence of regimentation and repression, where all traces of Indian culture and tradition were ruthlessly suppressed, and children could be beaten for speaking their native language. Religious indoctrination seemed to be the prime objective, and care of the potato crop came next, leaving in some cases as little as two afternoons a week for instruction. Physical needs were met; emotional, educational, social needs were not.' (Portman 1967: 9)

Also in 1967, in keeping with the new spirit of self-criticism, the national church co-funded with the United Church of Canada the publication of a book by sociologist John Melling, which charges Christian missionaries with contributing to the formation of 'rigid ethno-racial caste-like structures on the Canadian frontier' (Melling 1967). In order to correct the failings of the past, Melling sets out a new Aboriginal policy for the church.

At this point, had all church members shared the new ideology that now predominated among the national church's elites, they might have been able to fairly easily symbolically decouple the church from the past and thus prevent its collective identity from becoming

morally polluted. However, this was not the case. Much as occurred during the social drama that erupted at the beginning of the century, many clergy members at the diocesan level as well as missionaries and teachers directly involved in the residential schools took offence at elites' criticism of the sacred narrative of the church's historic work. For this group, the rejection of the sacred narrative represented a betrayal. This sense of betrayal is well illustrated in a survey that was carried out in 1967 on behalf of the House of Bishops. The survey requested that every 'Canadian Bishop whose diocese included work with Indians was asked to submit a review of the work that had gone on in his diocese over the previous one hundred years' (House of Bishops 1967). The responses reveal a deeply felt attachment to the sacred narrative.

To a man the Bishops that participated in the survey represented the contributions of the church in an overwhelmingly positive light. Indeed, their representations of the church's ostensibly heroic past was little different than the representation put forward by their predecessors prior to the Second World War. For example, the Bishop of Moosonee (1967) describes his predecessors in a near reverential tone:

'Over a hundred years ago, motivated by a romanticism that was silently English and a fervour that was exhuberantly Irish, priests bade good-bye to home and family to give their lives to that part of Canada where the 'Honourable Company' was king, and to those people who were "the natives". To record the bare physical hardships of these men and their families would be to record one of the earliest and most heroic annals of Canadian history.' (Walton 1967)

Some bishops attached a particular significance to the Anglican-run residential schools as an exemplar of the heroic work carried out by the church. For example, the Bishop of James Bay writes:

'the methods used by the early missionaries in spreading the Gospel in the north was the seed which later developed into the mission school, and which maintained itself through the development of the residential school, and Federal take-over…if you would see our memorial look around you' (Bishop of James Bay 1967).

Similarly, the Bishop of the Arctic writes:

'the church was the first to build residential schools…residential schools were of course part of the educational system earlier built by the church and so were the forerunners of the modern hostels and schools now built by the government' (Marsh 1967)

The Bishops who responded to the survey were also acutely aware of the growing criticism of the church's role among Aboriginals. None of them, however, allowed the critique to detract from their positive assessment of the church's past. Instead, church members represented the criticism as ill-founded, un-Christian or, at the very least, overly negative. For example, the Bishop of Caledonia writes,

'Of course we have made mistakes as everybody else has, but it you look at the record of other agencies surely nobody but the very prejudiced toward Christianity could question the value of the Church's work in the spiritual, medical and educational wellbeing of our Indian folk since we have worked amongst them. It seems to me self-evident but prejudice, of course, is blind.' (Munn 1967)

In a telling example of the growing cleavage within the church at the time, the Bishop of Keewatin directly addresses the criticism of the church's missions by some of the elite members of the national church's bureaucracy. In this response, the Bishop gives voice to a deep sense of betrayal:

'It is a false conclusion that "experts" such as Dr. Melling conclude that blame for inaction must be laid at the door of those "who are called Christians". The Christian Church has not taken a part in participating "in the perpetuation of injustices to the Indians," unless it be by those who have never troubled to live at close quarters with the native people and to observe the Church at its own work…Who are these experts who dare to stand on the side lines and make such devastating criticisms of men who have been bold enough and humble enough to follow their Master? There have been stalwarts of the Mission field who have created the very atmosphere under which the Indian and Eskimo of today is vocal in his defense of his own interests. The church at its headquarters appears to be filled with men who with no direct contact with native life appear ready to sabotage the church's effort and accomplishment…The same headquarters which is presently seeking to restrict the voice of the Church in the Field, is using its own weapon in reverse in considering the case of the Native. The Indian and the Eskimo do indeed speak through their trusted confidantes. The Church refuses to accept this message and acknowledge

this trust. The Church in the Centennial Year can acknowledge over one hundred years of accomplishment in its contact and work with the native peoples of Canada. The church which has had contact with those people need never apologise for its effort nor for its success. The retardation of the fruits will be the result of a society at work which knows not God nor the power of the Gospel which He sent through His Son.' (Bishop of Keewatin [name unknown] 1967)

These Bishops' adherence to the sacred meaning of the church's historic role among Aboriginals stands in stark contrast to the position of some of the more liberal members of the national church that I cited previously. However, in what is telling indicator of the atmosphere in Canada at the time, in which Aboriginal activists had successfully inserted their concerns into the public sphere (and the degree to which the new concerns with social justice were in ascendance in the church), in 1969 – the year that Aboriginal leaders mounted a massive campaign against the Trudeau Government's White Paper (see Chapter 3, Part 2) – the Bishops remained silent and the General Synod approved the Hendry Report.

Redress

The rising critique of the treatment of Aboriginals by church and state in the 1960s engendered a crisis of meaning in the ACC. With the criticism reaching new heights near the end of 1960s, church officials sought to find a definitive resolution to the crisis. This moved the social drama into the 'redressive phase.' To resolve the dramas, the church's Program Committee commissioned Charles Hendry, Director of the School of Social Work at the University of Toronto, to undertake a study of the work of the Anglican Church among Aboriginals.[15] Experts such as Hendry can defuse a social drama because they are not seen to be implicated in it. Because of their ostensible impartiality, experts' prognoses are often seen to be guided by knowledge rather than by sentiment (Wagner-Pacifici 2000: 212). That the church settled upon a sociologist seems to have been deliberate. A desire for a sociologist to help the church respond to the changing social context of Aboriginal-Canada relations is voiced numerous times in various minutes of meetings and reports from the 1960s onwards. In this material, the idea is

---

[15] Hendry had previously been in contact with the Anglican Church's Programme Committee on the topic of a conference that he was organizing and was hoping that the committee would help fund. The theme of the conference was on 'Christian Conscience and Poverty.' In the preface to the report that he would eventually produce for the church, Hendry states that at the conference he had become aware of the high levels of poverty experienced by Aboriginals in Canada and of the resentment towards to the Christian churches held by many of them (Hendry 1969: x). As a result, Hendry writes that he was happy take on the assignment.

expressed that a sociologist would help to lend to the church a degree of credibility – an idea that seemed to be, rather ironically, informed by the rise of scientism and decline of Christianity in Canada in this period.

Hendry's report was presented to the General Synod in 1969, several months after the federal government terminated the churches involvement in Aboriginal education. Sparkling with sweeping statements on Aboriginal-settler relations, the tone of the Hendry Report is more of a rousing polemic than a 'scientific' report and, as such, seems to be specifically designed to elicit an emotional response. In this regard, it can be seen as having a performative intent, which was aimed as much at meaning-making as reporting on ostensibly objective facts. For example, the Report characterizes the social situation of Aboriginals as follows:

> 'The Indians and Eskimo face a total life situation created by two centuries of exploitation, discrimination, paternalism and neglect. They inherited a world their fathers did not make, with no chance of changing it for the benefit of their children. The white conqueror sought his own profit and his own power. The Indians were pushed out of the way…' (Hendry 1969: 5)

The intent of the Report is to effect a transformation of the church's Aboriginal policy such that it is based on what might be termed a post-colonial framework. In this regard, Hendry (1969: 91) suggests that 'top priority must be directed to changes in basic attitudes, especially attitudes toward native peoples,' such that church members would 'listen to the native peoples' and support, among other things, 'native land claims and treaty rights' (Hendry 1969: 71). Hendry thus exhorts the church to abandon the 'paternalism' that guided its predecessors and enter into a new relationship with Aboriginals.

By contrasting an ostensibly polluted past with the possibility of a better future, I interpret the Hendry Report as propounding a 'progressive narrative' of the Anglican Church's mission among Aboriginals. In interpreting the Report as such, I take inspiration from Ron Eyerman's interpretation of the way in which slavery was viewed by many African American intellectuals during the 'New Negro' movement in the 1920s. In this period, Eyerman (2001: 89-91) suggests that slavery was represented within a progressive narrative frame, in which the tragedy that it represented was contrasted with a more optimistic future. Notably, although slavery certainly had an important role to play in this narrative, it played this role from an emotional and intellectual distance. Rather than continuing to define and impact African

American identity, in the progressive narrative of the 1920s, slavery was confined to the past as African Americans were enjoined to maintain their forward movement. Thus, while slavery could be drawn upon as a resource in order to judge the progress of African Americans in American society, it was nevertheless represented as a closed historical event. The Hendry Report treats the Anglican Church's historic 'paternalism' in a similar way, albeit from the perspective of a perpetrator rather than a victim. In the report, the various injustices carried out as a result of the church's paternalism are confined to the past. In Hendry's view, the church's past does not require 'working through', nor does justice need to be meted out. Rather, as in the case of slavery in the progressive narrative of the 'New Negro' movement described by Eyerman, the past is represented by Hendry as a closed historical event, which can be used by church members as a way to measure their progress to a better future.

The 1969 General Synod resolved to adopt all of Hendry's recommendations. This had a remarkable and immediate impact on the church; thenceforth the church's Aboriginal policies were framed in the spirit of Hendry's recommendations. To illustrate: the church vigorously opposed the Federal Government's 1969 White Paper (see Chapter 3); provided funding for the formation of the National Indian Brotherhood; supported Aboriginal land claims; and, participated in the formation of Project North, an ecumenical protestant organization interested in Aboriginal community development. Throughout the 1970s, the Church also funded a number of publications dealing critically with Aboriginal issues.[16] Presently, Hendry's recommendations continue to provide a framework for the church's Aboriginal policy. In the reprinting of Hendry's Report in 1998, in the year that the federal government issued a 'statement of reconciliation' to Aboriginals, an appendix was included that listed the ways in which the church had implemented Hendry's recommendations.

In the contemporary official narrative of the church's work among Aboriginals, the Hendry Report has taken on great symbolic weight. It is officially represented by both the national church and by Aboriginal Anglicans as a triumphant turning point in the new narrative describing the church's progress towards reconciliation with Aboriginality. For example, the historical narrative describing the triumphant emergence of a distinct 'Indigenous Ministry' that is provided on the Anglican Church of Canada's website begins with the Hendry Report:

---

[16] See: *Bulletin 201: Recent Statements by the Indians of Canada* (1969); *Bulletin 202: Native Rights in Canada* (1969); *This Land is not for Sale* (1975); *Moratorium: Justice, Energy, the North and Native People* (1977).

> The decision [to create the position of a National Indigenous Bishop]… was a turning point in a long road that really began in 1967 when the Anglican General Synod commissioned a sociologist, Charles Hendry, to examine the relationship between the Anglican Church of Canada and Aboriginal peoples. Two years later, his report Beyond Traplines was tabled…He called on the church to develop a new partnership with Aboriginal peoples based on solidarity, equality and mutual respect. The church's response focused on attempts to put the past behind and concentrate on the future. (Anglican Church of Canada Online)

From a meaning-centred perspective, the Hendry report can be seen as providing the liminal ritual needed to decouple the church from the polluting and divisive taint of its past. In doing so, it provided a foundational symbol in the establishment of a new sacred narrative framework of the church's work among Aboriginals, as outlined by Hendry.

One question that remains to be resolved is why opposition to the Hendry Report was so muted, given the views expressed by so many Bishops in 1967. Certainly the report did generate some criticism. For example, in the weeks following the adoption of the Report in 1969, a muted negative reaction appears in the pages of the *Canadian Churchman.* For example, Donald Marsh, the former Bishop of the Arctic, questioned the truth of some of the claims made by Hendry (1969a; 1969b). Bernard Daly, a layperson, took issue with Hendry's characterization of 'all our missionary efforts of the last 150 years as mis-directed, patronizing and paternalistic,' preferring instead to represent missionaries as 'innocents' who 'had no degree in social science, only a high degree in love and self-sacrifice.' Short of a few negative reactions, however, by and large, opposition to the Hendry Report was muted. Indeed, the balance of opinion in the *Canadian Churchman*, which dedicated a whole issue to the topic, was in favour of the Report. Why was this case? Even the efflorescence of activism that the 1969 White Paper triggered cannot explain why the Bishops would so readily submit to the new direction proposed by Hendry. In keeping with my meaning-centred approach, the explanation put forward here is two-pronged. Firstly, Hendry's characterization of the past was not actually as critical of the church's past as it is often represented to have been. Secondly, by imploring Anglicans to look to the future, the Report offered Anglicans an opportunity to move beyond potentially debilitating debates over its past.

With respect to the first point, although Hendry did characterize the broader settler-aboriginal historic relationship as one marked by exploitation and paternalism on the part of the settlers, on the specific role of the Churches, Hendry was not entirely critical. For all that has

been made of the Report's ostensibly critical assessment, a close reading reveals a decidedly ambivalent view of the church's past. In the report, Christianity's impact among Aboriginals is characterised as 'Jekyll and Hyde', by which Hendry suggests that the impact of the church was both positive and negative. An ostensibly positive aspect of the church's work was that it 'made some attempt at guiding the process of acculturation and adaptation'. However, the ostensibly negative aspect of this was that 'the process was often carried out in a harsh and inhumane way.' On the other hand, 'these statements are bound to be answered with counter statements about individual missionaries who have shown themselves to be flexible, humble and humane' (Hendry 1998: 23). The effect of this 'balanced' approach to history is that aspects of the sacred meaning are preserved. Those who had been involved in missionary work among Aboriginals and who resented the ongoing criticism of their work, could have therefore comforted themselves with the knowledge that they were among the few that were 'flexible, humble and humane.' This is similar to the way that many Germans have tended to represent many of their predecessors during the Nazi period – who are represented as 'good' people that happened to be caught in a 'bad' system (see Giesen 2004).

With respect to the second point, despite the inclusion of a historical section, the Hendry Report is overwhelmingly future-oriented. For example, Hendry (1998: 79) implores church members not 'to get bogged down in detailed discussions about the church's past and present actions.' Instead, the important thing for church members, according to Hendry, was to ensure that they embraced the new direction that he described. Focusing on the future in this way allowed the church to overcome the deep divide that had arisen as a result of the claims against it, between those who sought to protect the sacred narrative of the church's historic work and those who were ashamed of such a narrative. By decoupling from a divisive and polluted past, the church could unite in the performance of a new sacred identity. In this regard, Hendry suggested that the Church had already begun to improve on its approach. Pointing to the aforementioned 1960 brief, Hendry (1998: 42) suggests that 'existing Indian and Eskimo policy is considerably different from earlier days'. The implication is that despite some of Hendry's harsh critique, Anglicans could take inspiration from the fact that they had already made considerable changes in the 'right' direction.

Reintegration

In the Anglican Church of Canada, the years following the adoption of the Hendry Report closely resembled the reintegrative phase of social dramas outlined by Turner: liminality gave way to order. It is in the reintegrative phase that collective identity is reconstructed. As remarked upon in the preceding section, with respect to the church, this process of reconstruction involved the performance of series of public actions on behalf of the church demonstrating that the church's identity was constituted by a new paradigm – as defined by a new progressive mission to Aboriginals. Remarkably, in the Aboriginal-settler relationship, the church appeared to have definitively changed 'sides.' Whereas the church, as a bearer of Britannicism, once embraced the mission to 'civilize' Aboriginals on behalf of the (British) Canadian nation, the church now supported the claims by Aboriginal before the Canadian nation. This transformation paralleled the wider transformation of the church, as the elites who had embraced 'social justice' and had a more positive assessment of Aboriginality became further entrenched in the upper echelons of the national church under the leadership of Ted Scott (McCullum 2004).

From 1969 onward, church members performed the church's new progressive mission. During this period, Aboriginal Anglicans became an increasingly visible component of the Anglican Church. Indeed, this period might be characterised as one in which Aboriginal Anglicans became active subjects of the church, as opposed to merely being the objects of mission. The result, for even the most casual observer, was that the Anglican Church had undergone a transformation, in which it represented the interests of Aboriginal Peoples rather than those of the Canadian state. This new identity was performed most visibly through the work carried out in 'Project North' (now the 'Aboriginal Rights Coalition'), which was a Canadian Protestant ecumenical pressure group formed in 1972 to address such issues as Aboriginal self-determination, treaty and land rights, and industrial and environmental development. Also in 1972, the General Synod approved the creation of the Council of Native Affairs (now the Anglican Council of Indigenous Peoples), which reported directly to the National Executive Council (now the Council of the General Synod) in order to increase the visibility of Aboriginal issues within the church.

Notably, the route to reintegration that the Hendry Report provided also had its costs. Although it did much in the way of reconciling differences among Anglicans and provided the route by which Aboriginals and the church might be reconciled, as we shall see in Chapter 6, some of its consequences were not so positive. Although the focus on the future meant that

ambivalence over the meaning of the past faded from view, it nevertheless remained un-reconciled. Thus, even as the church members performed a new mission, narratives of the past retained the ambivalence that is exemplified in the Hendry Report. Certainly, Hendry's ambivalence made accepting the Report more palatable to those who resented ongoing criticism about the church's past, but problematically, it also meant that the church avoided any kind of serious inquiry into, or acknowledgement of, the potentially grave negative consequences wrought by nearly a century of the residential schools. This meant that tragedies that might have been prevented, such as the tuberculosis epidemic that raged through the residential schools in first half of the twentieth century, simply seemed to be forgotten by the church and were certainly not investigated. Moreover, the potentially multi-generational deleterious impact of the 'civilizing agenda' on the well-being of Aboriginal students after they left school was left unaddressed.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I sought to bring to light the meaning and the significance of the Hendry Report, with the aim of explaining why the Anglican Church of Canada was able to so suddenly replace its long established civilizing mission with a new mission aimed at ostensibly supporting Aboriginal cultural identity. To do so, I analytically reconstructed the context in which the Hendry Report was adopted. Here I found that the Report was preceded by a struggle over the meaning of the church's historic missionary work among Aboriginals. By contrast to the social drama that I analysed I Chapter 4, in this social drama, the defenders of the sacred representation of the church's civilizing enterprise were less powerful than the group interested in polluting that mission. This is not only because a new generation of elites had entered the church's hierarchy, but also because Aboriginals had become increasingly adept at making the concerns of their communities heard. As a result of these factors, it was less and less possible to simply deflect or deny the claims made against the civilizing mission and the residential schools – as had previously been the case (see Chapter 4). In such a context, the defenders of the sacrality of the civilizing mission were willing to quietly accept a new mission for the church. Nevertheless, at this point they still seemed to wield enough social power to prevent the church's historic work among Aboriginals from being completely polluted. It was in this context that Hendry submitted his report.

The Hendry Report was suffused with *zeitgeist* of the era and spelled out a progressive mission for the church. I argued that, with respect to the ongoing struggle over meaning, the report played a dual function. Firstly, by adopting the report, church elites were able to decouple their church's identity from the moral taint of the claim that it had been involved in a colonial enterprise aimed at destroying Aboriginality in Canada. Secondly, by taking an ambivalent view of the past, the Hendry Report enabled church members to overcome the internal struggle between those who sought to protect the sacred narrative and those who were ashamed of such a narrative. However, while the Hendry Report successfully resolved the social drama, I argued that the way in which it did had its costs. By representing the Anglican Church of Canada's past as closed historical event, church members avoided the more difficult prospect of expiating its past, which would have involved investigating, acknowledging and taking responsibility for the tragic consequences of its longstanding efforts to erase Aboriginality prior to, and during the residential schools. Thus, with respect to the broader question driving this thesis, this chapter provides a meaning-centred explanation for why the church avoided taking responsibility for the deleterious consequences of the residential schools after its role in them was terminated.

One consequence of adopting the progressive mission was that in the years to come, even as the church was able to successfully perform its new identity, it would continue to be haunted by the ghost of its civilising agenda and, in particular, its long involvement in the residential schools. As we shall see in the subsequent chapter, this would have consequences in the 1990s, when the meaning of the long closed residential schools would again become the object of critique and contestation. In this regard, we shall see that while adopting a progressive narrative was hugely successful in allowing the church to rapidly move beyond a conflicted and increasingly polluted past by choosing not to 'work through' the past via an official inquiry or some such policy, the church merely submerged its past rather than expiated it. The result was that the past could therefore still be unearthed and pollute the church's collective identity, which is what occurred in the crisis in the 1990s. As we shall see in the forthcoming chapter, the crisis was so grave as to force the church to engage in efforts to expiate its role in the residential schools even though by this time few church elites had even been involved in them.

Chapter 6

The Performance of Reconciliation

Introduction

In this chapter, I analyze the third and final critical juncture in the protracted process that eventually led to the Anglican Church of Canada officially acknowledging the failings of the residential schools. As I discussed in Chapter 3 (Part 3), in 1990, Phil Fontaine, former Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, publicly alleged that he had been sexually abused whilst he had been a student at a residential school. Fontaine's allegations triggered a nationally-mediated social drama and provoked thousands of other former students to come forward with allegations that they had also been victims of abuse. This sparked an efflorescence of cultural works and academic research addressing the negative impact of the residential school system. During this time, a political movement led by the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) that demanded redress from church and state for the suffering endured by the victims of the residential school system was also born. In response to this situation, former Primate Michael Peers offered an apology to Aboriginal Anglicans on behalf of the Anglican Church of Canada in 1993. Anglicanism and Aboriginality have since entered a phase of reconciliation and the long process of periodic social dramas over the meaning of the residential school system has come to an end.

In this chapter, I seek to uncover the meaning and significance of Peers' official apology. To do so, I analyse the context that led to the apology using the framework that was put forward in Chapter Two. In what is a slight departure from the previous case-studies, in this chapter I will engage with the heuristic framework provided by the theory of cultural trauma as well as the theory of social drama. In doing so, I draw especially on Ron Eyerman's (2008) analysis of the impact of the assassination of Theo van Gogh in the Netherlands. In that study, Eyerman suggests that social dramas can transform into cultural traumas if they threaten the collective identity of a group. As I will discuss further below, I argue that such a process occurred in the Anglican Church as a result of the abuse scandal and, hence, provides a good heuristic device for analysing the context that preceded Peers' apology. Another key difference between my

analytic approach in this chapter and the previous empirical chapters is that in this chapter, I draw on all of the elements of social performances put forward Jeffrey Alexander (see my description of his dramaturgical framework in Chapter Two). The reason for this that, whereas in the previous chapters the struggles over meaning occurred mainly via written texts, in the struggle over meaning that I will be analyzing in this chapter, there is also an embodied ritual performance, which was aimed at dramatically transforming meaning and ending the cultural trauma. By such a performance, I refer to Peers' official apology. My primary data in this chapter is based on a series of docudramas and extensive minutes of meetings.

Before proceeding, because this chapter addresses an official apology, it is important to note that there is a burgeoning field of research on this phenomenon (e.g. Barkan 2000; Barkan & Karn 2006; Brooks 1999; Cunningham 1999; Gibney *et al.* 2008; Gill 2000; Lazare 2004; Meier 1998; Minnow 2002; Olick 2008; Nobles 2008; Tavuchis 1991; Thompson 2002; Torpey 2006). This field has sought to explain the meaning of official apologies (e.g. Tavuchis), why they have become prevalent in the West in the contemporary era (e.g. Olick 2008; Torpey 2006), and what conditions must be met in order for them to succeed (e.g. Meier 1998). Notably, in relation to the latter question, the effort has mainly been to focus on the relationship between the apologiser and the 'victim group'. Whilst, as I discussed in Chapter Two, Bernhard Giesen (2004) has discussed the meaning of the apology from the perspective of the group on whose behalf it was offered (i.e. 'the perpetrator group'), he did not attempt to uncover the conditions for an official apology's success from the perspective of such a group. Thus, in addition to researchers involved in the study of the residential schools and researchers involved in the Strong Program, this particular chapter should also be of interest to researchers involved in the field official apologies.

My argument is as follows. The impact of the crisis triggered by Fontaine on the Anglican Church of Canada was so grave that it was perceived by elites to threaten the church's collective identity. Peers offered the apology as a way of ritually expiating the church's collective identity of the polluting taint of the residential schools in order to bring about a process of reconciliation with Aboriginal Anglicans. The apology succeeded because church elites engaged in an intensive period of attempting to convey to other non-Aboriginal Anglicans why it was necessary to apologise. This chapter empirically contributes to the study of Anglicanism and the residential schools. No scholarly study has yet sought to bring to light the context that preceded,

and followed, Peers' apology. As such, this chapter marks the first time that the primary material that is drawn upon here has been discussed in a scholarly setting.

The chapter is organized as follows. In the first section, I discuss my heuristic framework. In the second section, I discuss reconciliation as a 'deep' cultural pattern in Christian and Western societies. In the third through seventh sections, I discuss church elites' attempt to reconcile the church with Anglican Aboriginals. In the eighth section, I conclude the chapter.

Breach: From Social Drama to Trauma Drama

The abuse scandal in the 1990s greatly impacted on the churches formerly involved in the residential schools. After all, the alleged abuses had occurred in institutions that had been under their care. Indeed, the initial position of the government was to refuse to share liability with the churches, arguing that guilt for abuse lay at the feet of the churches (Hayes 2004: 43). The result of this intense focus on the churches was that, by the end of the 1990s, all of them had, to varying degrees, sought to reconcile with Aboriginals for their role in the school system and had become carriers groups in the movement to convince the state and the wider Canadian community of the need to do the same. The following sections will consider the way in which meaning structured this process through the case of the Anglican Church of Canada. The key claim in this section is that the impact was such that, for church elites, it constituted a cultural trauma.

Recall from Chapter Two my discussion of theory of cultural trauma. Alexander et al. (2004) define cultural trauma as a fundamental tear in the social fabric of society, which requires both interpretation and repair. The heuristic usefulness of the theory of cultural trauma is closely related to that of the theory of social drama, with the key difference being a question of amplitude, as Eyerman (2008) demonstrates in a recent book. Thus, whereas social dramas are represented as having resulted from a 'breach' in a root paradigm of a group's collective identity, cultural traumas are said to result from a 'tear'. One way of determining whether or not a given social process can be said to be a cultural trauma as opposed to a social drama is in their outcomes. Whereas the conclusions of social dramas are followed by a period of calm, in which the period of crisis is rapidly forgotten and tensions are submerged, cultural traumas leave an indelible mark on the collective identity of the group and thus transform it in some fundamental way.

In Chapter Three, I described in-depth the impact of Fontaine's public allegations in Canada. From a meaning-centred perspective, such an impact indicates that Fontaine's act can be seen as a performance aimed at triggering a 'breach' in the Canadian social order. Furthermore, because of the remarkable impact that such allegations had, I suggest that it is more useful to interpret the events that followed Fontaine's act as triggering a 'trauma drama' rather than a social drama. In other words, the 'breach' caused by Fontaine's allegations had rapidly become a 'rift' as a result of the massive attention paid to it by the media and by the decision of thousands of other former students to come forward with similar allegations. A cultural trauma was born. In the following pages, I will analyse the struggle that this engendered with regards to the case of the Anglican Church of Canada.

In referring to the impact of Fontaine's allegations on the Anglican Church of Canada as a cultural trauma, I engage especially with key insights arising from Bernhard Giesen's variation on the model. Seeking to explain social action in post-war Germany, Giesen (2004: 114) suggests that 'if a community has to recognise that its members, instead of being heroes, have been perpetrators who violated the cultural premises of their own identity, the reference to the past is indeed traumatic.' Giesen refers to this condition as a 'trauma of the perpetrators.' Notably, while I do engage with Giesen's insights, the following analysis should not be seen to be merely applying his work to a new case. Indeed, as I discussed in Chapter Three, one of the main aims of this thesis is to improve and extend his work. In this chapter, I do so by interpreting an official apology as a ritual performance that can fail in complex groups, as opposed to Giesen, who views its success as a given.

In the previous chapter, I drew on Giesen's theory to help explain why the Anglican elites adopted a future-oriented mission in response to criticisms against its historic civilizing mission. In that case, I argued that the adoption of a future-oriented mission performed the function of decoupling the church from a polluted past and avoiding a 'trauma of the perpetrators'. In this case, I suggest that the weight of the criticism against the church is such that decoupling is no longer an option. In the 1990s, church elites were therefore faced with a 'trauma of the perpetrators', in which the moral stain that the residential schools now represented threatened to engulf the church's collective identity.

At the beginning of 1991, a group of elite Anglicans became convinced that the residential schools represented so great an evil that the church needed to reconcile with former students and their communities. In keeping with the basic Christian patterns that structure

reconciliation, this meant that the church first needed to seek to expiate its 'sins' by collectively taking responsibility for the tragedy and seeking forgiveness for it. Thus, despite deep concerns voiced by the church's lawyers, who suggested that this could undermine the church's position in the courts, as well as a sense of betrayal voiced by former residential school staff members, church elites embarked upon a process of reconciliation, which culminated in Michael Peers' apology in 1993.

Understanding why elites embraced reconciliation can only be fully explained by reference to the way in which this decision was structured by meaning. Whereas an analysis that emphasizes instrumentality in decision-making would likely find that this was a case where the costs of seeking reconciliation were outweighed by the costs of not doing so – in light of the church's demonization in the media and by former students and in light of the church's decline in Canada as a result of a shrinking membership – such an analysis would ignore instances where social groups and institutions do adopt certain courses of action, even when it is not politically expedient. Indeed, elites in the church might have adopted a pattern that is more closely related to the myth of the 'tragic hero' who is prepared to defend his or her version truth, even in the face of near certain failure. Thus, as I have tried to demonstrate throughout this thesis, the analysis of political decision-making also needs to account for meaning. This is particularly true in the case of reconciliation; even if the decision to reconcile was informed by pragmatic considerations, the very process by which it was achieved, as will be discussed shortly, was structured by underlying patterns of meaning.

In what way did meaning structure church elites' decision to reconcile the church with Aboriginals? To resolve this question first requires an investigation into the impact of the crisis on the church's collective identity. Here I suggest that, at least for some members of the church, the evolution of the crisis from the legal realm into the moral realm called into question the very basis of the new narrative of the church's collective identity that had been established at the end of the 1960s. As we saw in Chapter 4, the previous crisis involving the church's role in the residential schools had been resolved through the adoption of the Hendry Report in 1969. The report had spelled out a future-oriented mission for the church in response to the claim that the residential schools had been a colonial project aimed at destroying Aboriginality in Canada. In laying out a new mission for the church, in which it would subsequently act on behalf of Aboriginals rather than against them, the adoption of the Hendry Report had the effect of decoupling the church from its past and, as such, allowed it to escape moral taint. Focusing on

the future had also been a way for the church to overcome the deep divide that had arisen between those who sought to protect the sacred narrative of the residential schools and those who were ashamed of such a narrative. However, although this divide soon faded after the resolution of the crisis, it remained un-reconciled. This ambivalence meant that the sarcophagus enclosing the past was left unsealed, such that its ghosts might someday return. This was what occurred in the 1990s, when the progressive identity that was ritually enacted by the Hendry Report was suddenly undermined by the graphic depictions of forced assimilation, institutionalised child torture and paedophilia that pervaded the media. The moral taint of the residential schools had been exhumed and, once again, threatened to pollute the church.

The situation in the 1990s was markedly different from the earlier crises analysed in this thesis. In the twenty years since the Anglican Church had been divested of its role in the residential school system, the balance of power was such that those who had been involved in its operation or had supported it tended to be retired and marginal. Elite posts were now occupied by a new generation of church leaders with little direct experience in the residential schools and who had entered their careers at the end of the 1960s, during the dramatic sweep of liberal-egalitarianism throughout Canada and the concomitant transformation of the church's relationship with Aboriginals. As a result, as was the case with the Primate Michael Peers, who is also a part of this cohort, many of them would have spent at least some aspect of their church careers working on behalf of Aboriginals through such as venues as 'Project North' and would have been accustomed to an Aboriginal presence in the highest reaches of the national church, as exemplified in the work of the Council of Native Affairs. In short, for Peers' generation, the residential school system and the 'civilising mission' that underpinned it would likely have been seen as transgressive of their moral norms. As I will demonstrate shortly, from the perspective of the new elites, the church's past would have therefore seemed to belong to another era – to another church even. However, the return of the spectre of the residential schools in the 1990s tore asunder this neat break between past and present and thus dissolved the mechanism by which the sacrality of the church's identity had been maintained. From the perspective of Peer's generation, the church was now faced with a 'trauma of the perpetrators' that therefore demanded repair.

Whereas previous generations of elites might have responded to the situation in the 1990s by defending the intent of the residential school system and condemning the 'bad apples' that had thrown it into disrepute, such a strategy was anathema to Peers' generation. The very

act of defending the residential schools would have denied the basis of the new identity that they had embraced. Moreover, it was not enough to respond by demonstrating that the church had since changed or that very few of the current membership had actually been directly involved in the residential schools. The problem, as discussed above, was that the church was being imputed of a moral transgression, which cannot be expelled or deflected by strictly legal means or ratiocinative argumentation. Rather, the only means of expelling moral pollution is via symbolic action. In this regard, Alexander writes:

'one cannot defend oneself against an imputed moral crime by pointing to exculpating circumstances or lack of direct involvement. The issue is one of pollution, guilt by actual association. The solution is not the rational demonstration of innocence but ritual cleansing: purification.' (Alexander 2004: 244)

To finally rid their church of the moral taint of its past and repair the cultural trauma, church members therefore needed to perform a ritual of purification. In the Christian tradition, the only route to purification is via reconciliation – a ritual that requires that the perpetrator take full responsibility for his or her transgression in order for it to succeed. Thus, even as they defended the church's material well-being in the courts against prosecution for past abuses, church elites also set about repairing the church's collective identity, which, as we shall see in the next section, somewhat paradoxically meant taking responsibility for these abuses.

Reconciliation

Several months after Fontaine's public act in Winnipeg, several church elites were already pushing for reconciliation.[17] To understand the actions taken by the national church first

---

[17] On December 4, 1990, roughly two months after Fontaine's public act in Winnipeg, the Primate's office received a letter from the Diocesan Council of Rupert's Land (DCRL) recommending action by the national church in relation to two resolutions. These resolutions called on the national church to: 1) support a 'period of national repentance concerning the relationship between Canadians, specifically Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, with a view to seeking forgiveness among the parties, so that they may be reconciled to one another, as a people before God' and 2) 'publicly apologize for all errors and subsequent suffering caused by the actions of the church' (DCRL 1990). Around the same time, the Anglican Church participated in the formation of the Ecumenical Group on Residential Schools under the aegis of the Aboriginal Rights Coalition (ARC). This group established a set of principles meant to guide the Protestant churches' response to the residential schools. In addition to directing them to formulate their response according to the wishes of the former students and to push the government to accept its own

requires an investigation into the 'deep' cultural traditions that structured them. In the Christian tradition, a basic understanding of reconciliation is shared across theological divides. In this tradition, reconciliation refers to the reunion of humanity with God following its estrangement as a result of its sins. In order for reconciliation to occur, humanity must expiate its sins, which renders God propitious and may result in him forgiving their sins. The expiation of sins occurs as a result of some form of sacrifice or the payment of a penalty. Central to the Christian concept of reconciliation, then, is the idea of *sacrifice*. This is the symbolic payment that alleviates the burden of sin and allows for reconciliation to occur. This can be seen in theologian Karl Barth's (2004) writings, where he treats reconciliation and atonement as inter-changeable concepts, as exemplified by his use of the German term *Versöhnung*, whose meaning encompasses both concepts. The central emblem of sacrifice is the crucifixion of Jesus Christ and the torments he endured before-hand. This sacrifice is believed by Christians to have expiated the sins of humanity, thus making it possible for God and humanity to be reconciled. The sacrifice of Christ provides Christians with an example by which to regularly expiate their sins, so that they remain in God's grace.

The route to reconciliation for ordinary Christians is via repentance, as demonstrated in such stories as the well-known parable of the 'prodigal son', in which a father forgives a penitent son who had squandered his inheritance. Repentance works when the penitent demonstrates remorse, does penance, and promises to restructure one's life (see Etzioni 1999). The performance of these three elements demonstrates to God that the penitent recognizes that he or she has sinned, is willing to 'pay' for this sin, and is committed to reformation. If rendered propitious as a result, God may offer forgiveness, thus expiating the penitent of the burden of sin and paving the way for reconciliation. A central aspect of this process is that it is not enough for the penitent to simply perfunctorily 'go through the motions'. The penitent must truly believe in his or her actions, lest God withhold forgiveness.

The Christian tradition of reconciliation provides the basic pattern for secular processes of reconciliation throughout the West, whether between individuals, between perpetrators and victims in the justice system, or between national states. The main difference between Christian and secular reconciliation is that, whereas the former takes place with God, the latter is among humans. Thus, whereas the Christian ritual describes a process by which individuals or groups

---

responsibility in the tragedy, the principles also recommended that their response 'not be dominated by legal concerns, but…be quick and pastoral' (Anglican Church of Canada 1993).

expiate their sins in order to be reconciled with God, the secular ritual describes a process by which individuals or groups 'expiate' their 'sins' (i.e. expelling the burden of moral pollution caused by a transgression from their personal or collective identities) in order to be reconciled with humanity. This difference has important implications: whereas in the Christian tradition, God, as an omniscient being, will always know whether the sinner is truly penitent or simply 'going through the motions', in the secular tradition, there will always be a degree of uncertainty. In the secular tradition, if the aggrieved party believes that the penitent is insincere, the penitent will remain polluted and reconciliation will not occur. To reduce this uncertainty, the penitent must take particular care in the performance of his or her sincerity. And, as we shall see below in the case of the Anglican Church of Canada, this condition of reconciliation is made even more difficult when it is on behalf of a group rather an individual.

Because of their Christian affiliation, for the group of Anglicans that sought reconciliation on behalf of the church, the residential schools represented both an affront to their moral norms and a sin against God. Reconciliation was thus taken up in order to achieve the dual aim of secular reconciliation with Aboriginal Anglicans and theological reconciliation with God. This duality is reflected in Michael Peers apology, where he repents to both audiences: 'I accept and I confess before God and you, our failures in the residential schools. We failed you. We failed ourselves. We failed God' (Anglican Church of Canada Online). Unfortunately for Peers and his cohort, for the reasons just explicated above, the secular aspects of their effort made reconciliation much more difficult to achieve, in that they needed to take particular care to perform to Aboriginals and other Canadians their *sincere* commitment to reconciliation. In order to demonstrate that the church was sincere, it was not enough for certain church elites to perform repentance; they also needed other church members to commit to it. Marked ambivalence or disagreement about the consequences of the residential schools would have opened the church to the charge from Aboriginals and other Canadians that the church had not really changed its ways, which would have hindered the possibility of reconciliation and left the cultural trauma unrepaired.

Performing Remorse

The route to reconciliation got underway in earnest in May 1991, after a presentation by the Council for Native Rights (CNM) to the National Executive Council on the residential schools experience that included testimonials from several former students of the Anglican-run

residential schools (CNM 1993). Members of the NEC were clearly moved by the presentation; following this, they appointed an ad-hoc committee specifically dedicated to helping the church respond to the residential schools issue (NEC 1991). This committee, referred to as the Residential Schools Working Group (RSWG), was given a three year mandate to 'assist the Anglican Church of Canada in responding to the residential schools issues in an ongoing, sensitive and just manner, to the end that Christ's healing and reconciliation will be recognized' (RSWG 1992). This mandate was carried out according to three distinct objectives: 1) facilitate healing among former students and their communities; 2) educate non-Aboriginal Anglicans about the negative consequences of the Anglican-run residential schools, and; 3) encourage the federal government to acknowledge its responsibility for the deleterious effects of the residential schools (RSWG 1995). From a meaning-centred perspective, the role of this group can be seen to have been to symbolically perform the church's commitment to repentance.

The RSWG was composed of eight members, who were equally divided between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals and between clergy and lay people. Its members were drawn from various bodies of the national church, including the NEC, the Program Committee, the Council for Native Ministries, and the aforementioned newly formed Ecumenical Group on Residential Schools. The group also included two paid staff; Shirley Harding and John Bird, who were cross-appointed as Special Assistants to the Primate on the Residential Schools. Harding was a former nurse from Vancouver, British Columbia, who had experience working on Aboriginal issues primarily as the chair of a group based at Christ Church Cathedral in Vancouver committed to working with Aboriginal People in downtown Vancouver (Harding 1992). Bird was a journalist and editor of the *Anglican Magazine* from Bobcaygeon, Ontario, whose experience with Aboriginal issues were primarily via a manuscript he had written on an Anishnabe community's struggle for control of a local river system (Bird 1992). Harding and Bird were both non-Aboriginal. This came on the advice of Lavern Jacobs, one of the Aboriginal members of the group:

'it would be unfair to ask native people to take responsibility for cleaning up a mess they had no part in making. The residential schools were imposed on native people by the dominant society and the main issue is for the church to come to understand that the system was wrong. That's not the native people's job.' (RSWG ca. 1990-93)

In mandating the second main objective for the RSWG, church elites had intuited that for reconciliation to succeed they needed to do more than demonstrate at the elite level their new-found remorse. Because they were performing reconciliation on behalf of the church, they needed to convey to the rest of the non-Aboriginal members of the church the need to be remorseful. Thus, the RSWG was tasked with transforming the attitudes of other non-Aboriginals. To do so, the members of the RSWG were able to draw on their privileged place within the church. Aside from the added legitimacy that this lent their work, this also assured that they had sufficient funds to crisscross the country and gain access to important symbolic spaces, such as the General Synod and the diocesan Synods. Equally important, the RSWG also had access to the church's means of symbolic production.

As in the other struggles over the meaning of the residential schools within the Anglican Church of Canada discussed in this thesis, the struggle in the 1990s was a struggle for the imaginations of church members; in this regard, appeals for psychological and emotional identification figured just as prominently as did appeals to reason. The primary route to achieving such identification was via a series of docudramas. In 1992, the RSWG commissioned Lisa Barry, a Senior Producer in the Anglican Church of Canada's video production company, Anglican Video, to produce a video on the residential schools. The expressed intent of the video was to make non-Aboriginals aware of the negative impact of the residential schools so as to enable the 'church to confess to God and to Native Peoples' (RSWG ca. 1989-1992). With this in mind, Barry produced the church's first and most widely viewed docudrama on the subject of the Residential Schools (Anglican Video 1992).[18] By 1994, there were over 150 copies of the film in circulation and it had become the most popular borrowed video from the Church House Resource Centre in Toronto. It went on to win Ontario's Silver Birch Award for documentaries and was broadcast 8 times between 1993 and 1994 on the United Church of Canada's television program, *Spirit Connection* and on the Anglican Church of Canada's television program, *Vision TV* (RSWG ca. 1991-94).

---

[18] Anglican Video produced three docudramas devoted to the Residential Schools: *Search for Healing: Anglican Residential Schools Revisited* (1993); *Dancing the Dream: the First Nations and the Church in Partnership* (1993); and, *Native Stories* (1993). Although *Dancing the Dream* was expressly produced in relation the Convocation at Minaki and the apology that occurred there, *Search for Healing* was far more instrumental in communicating the tragic meaning of the residential schools and Peers' apology. As such, I focus upon it here. *Native Stories*, a much more emotional and graphic film, was not available for mass distribution.

Some of the actors in the video feature members of the RSWG, including Gladys Cook, an Aboriginal member of the RSWG representing the Council of Native Ministry, who tended to take on the role of 'elder' in the RSWG and was herself a third generation product of the residential schools and a victim of rape by school staff. The film begins by showing a variety of black and white photos of depicting aspects of the residential school experience. The photos include Aboriginal youth dressed in school uniforms and sporting European hair styles, overseen by white adults, either praying in parishes or seated in class rooms. While the camera is panning over the photos, a series of statements about the residential schools and the pivotal role played by the Anglican Church in them, appear on screen. This is accompanied by mournful-sounding music. Following the introduction, two elderly female former students described their experiences at the residential schools while seated in a garden. At one point, one of the women breaks down in tears. Following this a young man describes the painful experiences that his mother had endured and the impact that this had on him and the rest of family. In order to reinforce the film's performative affect, the RSWG created a study guide to go along with the film (RSWG ca. 1989-1992). The study guide includes painful stories by former students and clips of articles detailing the schools' multi-generational negative impact on Aboriginal communities.

Notably, the negative consequences of the residential schools that are highlighted by the film and the study-guide are not the criminal abuses endured by the students, but the assault on their culture. Indeed, in the film, physical or sexual abuse is completely absent. For example, rather than discuss her experience with rape, Gladys Cook variously mentions being prevented from speaking her language, having to cut her hair, and, the cultural alienation she felt when she returned to her community. When she does break down in tears, it is while recollecting an occurrence when a residential school staff member took away a parting gift that had been given to her by her mother. Why the focus on assimilation rather than on abuse? Here the strategy employed by the film and study-guide seems to be similar to the one employed by the AFN, which was to broaden the focus of the social drama and, in so doing, widen the definitions of 'victim' and 'perpetrator'.

Focusing on the residential school system's underlying 'civilizing mission' rather than on physical and sexual abuse suggests that the 'victims' of the residential schools encompassed more than just the victims of abuse and that the 'perpetrators' of injustice encompassed more than just the perpetrators of abuse. With respect to the latter, the implication is that the whole of the church was tainted by guilt, by virtue of the fact that the 'civilizing mission' had been

carried out in its name. By extension, as members of the fallen church, so too were the non-Aboriginal members of the audience tainted. In this way, the intent of the film and study-guide can be seen to have been to engender feelings of shame among non-Aboriginal audiences, so as to stimulate a desire for repentance and reconciliation. By contrast, if the film had focused more specifically on abuse, the definitions of 'victim' and 'perpetrator' would have been much more circumscribed. The intent in such a case would likely have been to trigger anger (directed at the abusers) rather than shame (directed inwards).

For this author, the combination of watching the video and reading the study guide triggered a powerful emotional and psychological identification with the victims and a sense of shame regarding Canada's treatment of Aboriginal peoples. One reason that the film is so successful may be because it is able to project an 'authentic realism' (see Renov 1993). There are no obvious actors here: the personal recollections are made by 'real' former students and their families. The narrative style they use also helps to convey their authenticity; recollections are unprompted and flow uninterrupted, thus appearing unscripted. This style is embedded in the deep Christian pattern in the West of revealing one's 'inner' self through confession that was dramatically expanded in the secular sphere with the advent of psychoanalysis. Somewhat ironically, the film also does much in the way of specifically facilitating a connection with a non-Aboriginal Canadian audience. The actors' hair style and clothes are typically euro-Canadian. Also, when speaking, they employ a dialect that is closer to non-Aboriginal English Canadian norms than is found among Aboriginals in Canada.

Armed with the video, members of the RSWG set out to convey to non-Aboriginal Anglicans the negative consequences of the residential schools. Although the archival material is somewhat opaque on how the film was received by non-Aboriginal audiences, what is available does suggest that it met with a degree of success.

The members of the RSWG capitalized on their access to social power by 'premiering' the video at the 1992 General Synod, the most important gathering of Canadian Anglicanism, which occurs every three years. Following the film, the audience was asked to write down their reactions to the film. Although the full record of these comments no longer exists, there are reproductions of selected comments in the Church House Archives in Toronto. Judging from these comments, the film had a powerful effect on many non-Aboriginal members of the audience. Prior to the screening, many respondents seemed to have had little previous knowledge of the intent or impact of the residential schools. This perception seems to have

been challenged and in some cases transformed by the film. One respondent, for example, writes: 'the juxtaposition of intent of the church with the result of the "missionary enterprise" calls for a deep reflection…and re-examination of the missionary enterprise.' Similarly, another respondent wrote, 'I hadn't heard before the insight that native family life suffered tremendously when children were removed from their families…How do we develop the speaking/hearing/healing process at the corporate level' (RSWG ca. 1992-1994). Although not generalizable, the selected comments preserved in the archives are illustrative of the impact of the film on the audience. It is also telling that immediately after the General Synod, the RSWG received 30 orders for the film by members of the audience.

After the General Synod, the members of the RSWG criss-crossed English Canada with the film; they visited over 15 dioceses and attended 6 diocesan synods, and numerous parishes, meetings and conferences. These visits tended to follow a usual pattern: show the video and discuss its implications. When presenting the video to non-Aboriginals, they would also try to have a former student present, who would precede the presentation with personal reflections on his/her experience. As in the case of the 'premiere,' often these performances seemed to successfully 'fuse' with many of the audience members, as evinced by comments from the RSWG and selected comments from surveys carried out after the presentations. For example, one RSWG report states:

> 'to say that the information about residential schools is a shock, never heard before, would be an understatement. The impact of the video "search for healing", and discussion often left people speechless, in tears, angry, confused, guilty and filled with shame.' (RSWG ca. 1992-1995)

Similarly, after a presentation at Christ Church Cathedral in Vancouver, Harding reported:

> 'the stories of pain, hurt, and anger and healing that were shared will never be forgotten by anyone that was there…the mood was immediate, electric, intense, and healing in a way that I yet do not understand.' (RSWG ca. 1992-1995)

The presentation of the film at the Diocese of Cariboo, which ceased operation in 2000 as a result of court costs arising from abuse claims, seemed to have been particularly intense and was followed by an apology by former Bishop James Cruikshank. After the presentation, one audience member wrote:

'I was appalled at what has happened to our Native brothers and sisters. My question is what can you as a group do to get this out to all the country!' (RSWG ca. 1992-1995)

Yet, much as the film seemed to successfully convey its message to many audience members, for others, it failed. Indeed, from the first presentation of the film onwards, the film seemed to consistently elicit a negative reaction among a minority of the non-Aboriginal viewers. For example, a draft of the final report of the RSWG states:

'The staff and working group have encountered a significant degree of denial about the stories they have heard. Some believe that the stories and abuses are exaggerated, or were isolated incidents, or are outweighed by the positive impact the education provided. An almost always response was to compare the experience of residential schools with their boarding school experience, therefore to dismiss it and say what is the big deal.' (RSWG ca. 1992-1995)

This negative feedback is borne out in the selected comments on the film presentations. In some of these comments, the unequivocal condemnation of the residential schools that is put forward in the film, is simply too much. For example, after the presentation of the film to the NEC, one member described a 'feeling of manipulation', whilst another felt that there had been 'an unfortunate tendency for presentations not to be balanced' (RSWG ca. 1992-1995). Similarly, after the film's 'premiere' at the General Synod, one audience member writes (RSWG ca. 1992-1995), 'I realize there are many issues over which we, as a church community, must acknowledge have been wrong but are there also some good elements that might have been associated with the schools?'. Another audience member (RSWG ca. 1992-1995) writes, 'could no one person be found who had positive comments on their school experience'?

Other negative reactions to the film stemmed from a view that it ignored the possibility that many former staff members had tried to do their best. For example after the presentation at the Cariboo Synod, one audience member wrote:

'I think we must realize that the people teaching in the schools likely thought that they were doing right. Hindsight is wonderful but we must be careful not [to] judge the past without the benefit of being there.' (RSWG ca. 1992-1995)

Counter-Performance

Opposition to the national church's wholesale condemnation of the residential schools, as expressed in the RSWG's work, found articulation in the person of Bernice Logan, a retired teacher from the Province of Nova Scotia who taught in the residential schools for four years in the early 1950s. From 1991 onwards, Logan provided a highly visible critique of the new direction taken by the church. In numerous letters to the Primate's office, the members of the RSWG, the NEC, and even the federal government, Logan expressed the feeling that she and other former staff members had been betrayed by the church (RSWG ca. 1991-1995).

Logan's deep sense of betrayal arose from the fact that she had actually devoted a portion of her life to the church's civilizing mission, which was in contrast to most other church members in the 1990s. For Logan, the condemnation of the civilizing mission amounted to a condemnation of the work she had dutifully carried out. To avoid such condemnation, Logan directed much of her efforts at countering the attempt by church elites to broaden the definition of 'perpetrator'. From Logan's perspective – as a former staff member who claimed to not have committed abuse – such an attempt wrongly tainted her as a 'perpetrator.' Her performative struggle, then, was to circumscribe the definition of 'perpetrator', so as to distance herself and other staff members from its polluting taint. For example, in an interview in the Anglican Journal, Logan asserts, 'evil deeds done by some must never negate the good work done by others' (De Santis 2003).

In an effort to drum up support for her struggle, Logan contacted over 100 former staff members to gauge their opinions of the church's new direction and formed a support group called the Association of Former Indian Residential School Workers. Logan also wrote a two volume, 700-page illustrated book aimed at conveying the positive aspects of the residential schools. Although the first volume failed to find a publisher, the second volume was published in 1993 (Logan 1993). After Peers' apology, which I will discuss shortly, Logan re-doubled her efforts. By 2003, Logan was demanding an apology from the Primate to former school staff members 'who have suffered through the process of litigation, accusation and pain' (De Santis, 2004). In 2004, she finally found some success in her efforts at the General Synod, when John Clarke, former Archbishop of the Diocese of Athabasca, introduced a resolution on her behalf, which 'acknowledged the dedication of teachers, supervisors and support staff, including native people' (De Santis 2004). Logan's struggle was also recently boosted in 2009 by Eric Bays, former Bishop of Qu'Appelle, who published a book dedicated to portraying the 'positive' aspects of the

residential schools (Bays 2009). Yet, although Logan has recently seen some success, her efforts to mount a counter-performance largely failed. In contrast to the previous social dramas I analysed, in the 1990s, the defenders of the sacred meaning of the residential schools were by now highly marginal from the sources of social power within the church. The context of the abuse scandal exacerbated this situation.

Despite Logan not being able to counter the church's condemnation of the residential schools, she did manage to convey her sense of betrayal. The RSWG found itself in a position where it needed to address her concerns and the concerns voiced by others. This became particularly pressing following an anxious meeting with the NEC attended by John Bird, in which he was 'greeted with a letter…from Bernice Logan…[who] felt that everything she had ever worked for was being negated' (RSWG ca. 1991-1995). Initially, the RSWG was divided over how to respond. One member suggested sympathetically that 'the staff were in fact victims of a system that did not know how to use lay people…often the staff were the ones that made the system more humane' (RSWG ca. 1991-1995). Others in group felt that such a view minimised Aboriginal People's suffering:

> 'our principal focus here has to be what happened to Aboriginal People as a result of the schools. While there is a concern for the problems and upset of the former staff, the real, deep damage that has been done has been done to Aboriginal Peoples. Are we shifting our concern too much to former staff?' (RSWG ca. 1991-1995)

The challenge for the RSWG was therefore to find a way of accommodating grievances voice by Logan and other former residential school staff, whilst still conveying the message that the residential schools had had overwhelmingly negative consequences on the students and their communities. Similar to the way in which commemorations of the Vietnam War in US distinguish between the war's disputed objectives and the heroism of its soldiers (See Wagner-Pacifici 1991), the strategy that was eventually adopted was to distinguish between the 'system' and the people that staffed it. In making such a distinction, church elites opened up a space for acknowledging that some former staff members had been well-intentioned, whilst still condemning the 'system' in which they had operated. In a written response to Logan, Bird writes:

'I need to be clear that I understand that the majority of the missionary staff of the residential schools were there with the best of intentions and with the welfare of the students uppermost in mind…I still need to say however that I have seen much evidence of serious and long-term emotional hurt and confusion in native people who attended those schools themselves, or even in many of those whose parents attended them. The residential schools system was based on a misguided (not malicious perhaps, but certainly arrogant) belief that we in the European-based society knew what was best for native people, namely assimilation into our society.' (Bird 1993)

Bird's distinction between staff and system became the established response by church elites to the challenge mounted by Logan and others. However, despite this accommodation, church elites took care to avoid being seen to *defend* the role played by the former staff members in the residential schools. Given the wider Canadian context, in which it was increasingly clear that physical and sexual abuse had been widespread in the residential schools, it would have been extremely awkward to be seen to be defending the former staff members and the attempt to reconcile with Aboriginals would surely have failed. Thus, whilst Bird acknowledged that 'it is not at all our intention to put the blame resulting from the residential schools on the former staff', he was also careful to add 'except, of course, in the case of that minority who actually were abusive' (Bird 1993). This careful representation of the past was also reflected in Peers' official apology – to which I know turn.

Apology

The question of whether Michael Peers should offer an apology on behalf of the church arose during a meeting in March 1993 between the members of the RSWG and the House of Bishops.[19] After the meeting, RSWG internally discussed the possibility of an apology. A consensus emerged that that an apology should indeed take place. The general feeling was that the national church had performed enough of the background work needed to move towards reconciliation. One member stated, 'we have earned the right to say that we are sorry'. It was, in the words of another committee member, 'the *kairos* moment' (RSWG ca. 1991-95). The decision was made to advise Peers and the NEC that he should apologize and that he should do so at the forthcoming National Native Convocation that was to be held in August. The

---

[19] According to the minutes of the meeting, former Bishop Douglas Hambridge suggested that an apology had the potential to create a 'ripple effect from local to national' (RSWG 1993). Another former Bishop, Tom Morgan, agreed, stating that 'this would be a good time for an apology' (RSWG 1993).

suggestion was accepted by the members of the NEC, who gave Peers a mandate to apologize. In this section, I bring to light the meaning of Peers' apology. My central claim is that it provided the church with a liminal ritual by which to finally put to rest the spectre of the residential schools and thereby initiate the process of reconciliation with Aboriginal Anglicans. From a Turnerian perspective, Peers' apology enabled the trauma drama to move from the redressive phase towards its reintegrative phase.

Victor Turner argues that in all societies rituals control social change: 'ritual is by definition associated with social transition' (Turner 1977: 77), or, as he puts it elsewhere, 'many societies ritualize social and cultural transition' (Turner 1969: 95). As such, in Turner's view, rituals are particularly important in concluding the redressive phase of social dramas and providing an opportunity for the final phase of reintegration to occur. Although Turner developed his theory of rituals in the context of traditional social contexts, he later went on to explore it in modern contexts. Turner found that in modern contexts, rituals were freer and tended not to involve all members of the social group or be experienced in the same way by all members and 'were entered into more as a matter of choice than obligation' (Turner 1982: 55). Turner encapsulated such modern rituals as 'liminoid', rather than properly 'liminal'. Building on Turner, Jeffrey Alexander (2006b: 11) calls attention to the possibility that, in the modern context, as opposed to the pre-modern, rituals can fail. To succeed, Alexander argues, the participants in modern ritual performances must be convinced that the performers are sincere.

Since the 1970s, official apologies have become the principal ritual by which social groups seek to expiate their 'sins' and thus move into the reintegrative phase. Bernhard Giesen (2004: 133) has pointed to the 'deep' underlying religious myths that provide the basic structure for official apologies, suggesting that they are based on the Judeo-Christian mythology that an 'innocent person can, in an extraordinary public act, humiliate himself in order to relieve the burden of collective guilt from his people'. It is this underlying mythical pattern, Giesen argues, that structured Willy Brandt's famous *Kniefall* in 1970, and which gave rise to the proliferation of official apologies throughout the world since then.

In performing an official apology, then, Peers was to be the symbolic Christ-figure, whose ritual performance would expiate the fallen church of its sins and initiate the process of reconciliation with Aboriginal Anglicans. To do so, however, he had to take particular care to demonstrate his sincerity. Given that Peers was apologizing for transgressions on behalf of the church rather than on behalf of himself, to be effective, he had to be seen by the participants to

144

represent the collective identity of the fallen church. Here I am before you, Peers needed to communicate to his audience, not as Michael Peers, but as an embodiment of the actions and attitudes that led to the destructive policy of the residential schools. For Peers to project even a modicum of the sincerity needed to succeed, much as in theatrical performances, all the elements of the ritual needed to be properly attended to. Here is where agency interacts with structure, even if the agent himself is unaware of the basic interpretive work in which he or she is engaged (Alexander & Mast 2006: 2).

Alexander (2006a) suggests that successfully conveying the intended meaning of a ritual performance is contingent on the degree of emotional and psychological receptivity among the participants. In this regard, the second national Anglican Native Convocation, which took place over three days at Minaki, a hamlet in Northwest Ontario, and which was nearly wholly devoted to the residential schools, proved an ideal *mise-en-scène* for Peers' ritual apology. Held during the phase of mounting crisis in the wider national social drama, the convocation was wholly consumed with working through the traumatic memory of the Residential Schools. As one member of the RSWG later stated:

'[it was a] profound experience. Main focus was around the residential schools; we had a day actually but ended up being two and a half days…the pain became very evident from the beginning. Plan for the day was scrapped and we ended up in a very large circle with story after story being told…' (RSWG ca. 1991-95).

This collective outpouring of grief facilitated the development of a *conscience collective* among the participants, thereby helping Peers to connect with his audience. The site of the convocation was also significant because of its location: although Aboriginals live in all regions of Canada, as one travels north, away from the major cities, their proportion of the population increases dramatically (see Driedger 1996). The result is to leave an impression that one is leaving the Canadian 'ethnoscape' – to borrow Arjun Appadurai's (1990) term – and entering the Aboriginal 'ethnoscape'.

Thus, in keeping with the pattern of self-sacrifice, as the highest representative of the Anglican Church of Canada, Peers' travelled thousands of kilometres from Toronto into 'native country', endured three highly emotional days of victims' stories of abuse and pain at the hands of church and state, and, at the end of this, in front of an assembly of several hundred

Aboriginal Anglicans, gravely offered an apology that he had previously memorized. In his statement of apology, Peers repeats 'I am a sorry' three times, apologizing for: the system as a whole; for attempting to removing the signs of Aboriginal identity; and, for the various abuses that occurred in the schools. Because of such injustices, Peers describes the residential schools as 'a failure to God', analogous to 'Jesus' suffering and death' and the 'bombing of Hiroshima'. To convey the national church's commitment to change, Peers promises 'to you my best efforts, and the efforts of our church at the national level, to walk with you along the path of God's healing' (Peers 1993).

Judging from the participants' response, Peers successfully conveyed his sincerity. Participants to the ritual performance went away feeling that the performance had been authentic and that social change could now take place, as indicated by Vi Smith's response, delivered on behalf of the Aboriginal participants:

'…we acknowledge and accept the apology that the Primate has offered on behalf of the Anglican Church of Canada. It was offered from his heart with sincerity, sensitivity, compassion and humility. We receive it in the same manner. We offer praise and thanks to our Creator for his courage. We know it wasn't easy. Let us keep him in our hearts and prayers, that God will continue to give him strength and courage to continue with his tasks.' (Smith 1993)

Peers' apology provided the liminal ritual by which to move the trauma drama into its final phase. It is in this phase that collective identity undergoes a process of reconstruction. In the course of such reconstruction, Peers' apology has provided the new foundational symbol. In this regard, the apology has played a similar role to that played by the Hendry Report. Much as the Hendry Report provided the church with a framework for performing a newly reconstructed collective identity after the crisis in the 1960s, so too has Peers' apology. Ensuring that Peers' apology obtains its performative destiny and finally relieves the church of taint of the residential schools demands that church members perform the new identity promised by Peers. Such are the material consequences of reintegrative rituals.

In what way does Peers' apology provide a new framework for action in relation to the residential schools? As opposed to the ambivalence with which the residential schools had been represented in the progressive narrative put forward by Hendry in 1969, Peers offered no such ambivalence. In equating the residential schools with the bombing of Hiroshima, he

unambiguously represented the residential schools as an immoral enterprise that had highly deleterious consequences on its students and their communities. Peers' apology can therefore be seen to have been an effort to instantiate a new tragic meaning of the residential schools. In his celebrated essay on the Holocaust, Alexander suggests that, as opposed to progressive narratives,

> '…tragic narratives focus attention not on some future effort at reversal or amelioration…but on the nature of the crime, its immediate aftermath, and on the motives and relationships. Instead of redemption through progress, the tragic narrative offers what Nietzsche called the drama of the eternal return. As it now came to be understood, there was no 'getting beyond' the story of the Holocaust. There was only the possibility of returning to it: not transcendence but catharsis.' (Alexander 2002: 30)

In this regard, the tragic narrative of the residential school system that was performed by Peers provided a new framework for action in relation to it. According to the tragic meaning of the residential schools, church members needed to engage with the deleterious consequences of the residential schools and seek to make amends for them. Rather than be relegated to the past as occurred previously, the new tragic meaning of the residential schools demanded that the past enter the present.

Since Peers' apology, church elites seem to have correctly intuited the need for ongoing engagement with the deleterious impact of the residential schools. Indeed, the apology is officially referred to as a 'living apology'. In this regard, Ali Symons, editor of *Ministry Matters*, a church publication aimed at Canadian Anglican leaders, writes:

> What is a living apology? It is not a constant prostration in search of forgiveness from a maligned group. Aboriginal Anglican leaders have extended an invitation to walk together. This is the kind of forgiveness only Christ can enable. Now we must actually do the walking, step by step, in conversations and relationships and programs, trying to build right relations between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. This is how the apology lives. (Symons 1998)

The Anglican Church of Canada has since offered significant funds towards healing via the Anglican Healing Fund, has vigorously supported the movement demanding reparations from the Canadian state and has participated in the ongoing Truth and Reconciliation Commission. As

I will discuss in the section below, the church has also supported the movement for Aboriginal self-determination within the church.

Reintegration or Schism?

The resolution of social dramas can result in two different outcomes: 'reintegration of the disturbed group' or the 'social recognition and legitimization of irreparable schism between the contesting parties' (Turner 1974: 39). Interestingly, in this particular drama, it is possible to read both outcomes. On the one hand, the unequivocal rejection of the 'civilizing mission' by church elites has led to Aboriginality and Anglicanism being increasingly reconciled. Thus, in 1994, Aboriginal Anglican leaders met to discuss the future of their spirituality. It was determined at the meeting that there remained a deep desire to remain affiliated with the Anglican Church of Canada, but as an autonomous institution where the specifically English cultural elements of Anglicanism would be replaced with Aboriginal elements.[20] In 1995, the General Synod approved the new direction and, in 2005, the office of a National Indigenous Bishop was officially created, with episcopal and pastoral responsibilities as well as full authority and jurisdiction for Aboriginal communities across Canada, and which would be elected by a council of Indigenous Anglicans. In 2008, on the occasion of its 15 year anniversary, Peers' apology was the object of a commemorative ceremony.

During a native healing ceremony at the 2001 General Synod, with Peers standing nearby, the first and only Aboriginal Diocesan Bishop and former residential school student Gordon Beardy unexpectedly forgave Peers:

> 'I would like to say that I forgive you and I want to forgive your church which has become my church. I forgive your people who have become my people. I accept your apology because you have worked so hard to break down the barriers. Where things that were condemned before, today you receive them with joy. Where once we were outsiders, today we are with you, as a friend, as a leader, as a brother. So, I extend my hand. My children will hear what I said. My grandchildren will hear. For it is in forgiving that we can find peace and it is in rebuilding that we will become strong again as nations' (as cited in Larmondin 2001).

---

[20] This is expressed in the publications, *Our Journey of Spiritual Renewal* (1994), *A Convenant* (1994) and *A New Agape* (2001).

Leanne Larmondin (2001) reports that following Beardy's statement, 'the Bishop and Primate clasped hands and embraced for a half minute, both of them near tears.' Although Beardy performed his forgiveness out of his own volition and it cannot therefore be seen to have been an 'official' act representative of other Aboriginal Anglicans, it nevertheless illustrates a remarkable shift that is ongoing in Canadian Anglicanism. None of the other official apologies by representatives of the other former partners in the residential schools, including the apology by Prime Minister Stephen Harper, have yet given rise to an expression of forgiveness by an Aboriginal leader.

However, the initiation of a phase of reconciliation between Aboriginality and Anglicanism has also meant that the cultural boundary between Aboriginal Anglicans and non-Aboriginal Anglicans may become further solidified. As Aboriginals have begun to carve out a distinct Aboriginal Anglican religious identity, non-Aboriginal Anglicans have been put in a position of needing to reflect on the cultural elements of their own collective identity. This has been hailed by some in the church. For example, retired minister David Giuliano, writes: 'any dialogue or exchange between Christianity and Native spirituality requires that we bring a sense of our own ways and traditions' (Giuliano 1991). However, given the influx of non-British Anglicans from the Caribbean and Africa into the Anglican Church of Canada as a result of immigration, identifying the cultural elements of Canadian Anglicanism is problematic. Similar to the case of the wider English Canadian identity, Anglicanism was once expressed through British symbols and traditions, but an increasingly diverse membership calls this into question. It is unknown, and beyond the scope of this chapter, whether a truly post-colonial Canadian Anglican church can be realized.

Afterword

Since the 1990s, the trauma drama within the church can be said to have entered a phase of 'calming down'. In such a phase: 'the spiral of signification flattens out, affect and emotion become less inflamed, preoccupation with sacrality and pollution fades' (Alexander 2004: 22). Does this mean that the spectre of the residential schools has finally been expiated from the church or will it re-emerge to trigger yet another crisis? Although the ongoing efforts of church elites to engage in acts aimed at reconciliation, as exemplified by the view of Peers' apology being a 'living apology', indicate that the taint of the residential schools has not yet been expiated from the church's identity, it does not appear that the church will undergo another

crisis of meaning. The mounting crisis in the 1990s triggered a 'trauma of the perpetrators' in the church because of the ambivalence with which the residential schools were narrated in the church. In the years since then, the new narrative that Peers performed – that the residential schools were unequivocally wrong – has become the established narrative in the church. As discussed above, this new narrative provides a framework for responding to any further crises that may arise in the ongoing national drama over the residential schools.

Whilst the ongoing work by the Indian Residential Schools Truth and Reconciliation Commission may produce new facts regarding the tragedies associated with the residential schools – such as the recent revelations that the bodies of students who died while at school were often deposited in unmarked mass graves (see Curry 2008) – they are unlikely to cause a crisis of meaning within the church. As long as church members continue to perform the tragic meaning of the residential schools, the church will likely remain to immune to the potentially polluting taint of such revelations. As a result of the crisis in 1990s, the church can be said to have finally distanced itself from what was once one of the cornerstones of its collective identity.

Of course, because the national drama over the residential schools looks set to continue for several years to come as a result of the ongoing Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), there is always a possibility that the defenders of the sacred meaning of the church's role in the school system might try again to mount counter-performance. For example, in the broader Canadian drama, non-Aboriginal Canadians might begin to tire from, or even resent, what might be viewed as seemingly constant demands for redress for the residential schools. In such a case, a new meaning might begin to be attached to Harper's apology, in which it is seen as a symbol of finality, by which it is interpreted as having put an end to further struggles over the residential schools. Thus, as TRC carries out it work, and potentially continues to bring to light new tragedies, we may find that non-Aboriginal Canadians, who may have expected Harper's apology to have ended the drama, to no longer be receptive. It is possible that such a scenario would influence how the residential schools are represented within Canadian Anglicanism. Indeed, the recent in-roads by the defenders of the sacred meaning of the residential schools, as exemplified by a motion at a recent General Synod that acknowledged the 'dedication' of former staff members and the publication by Eric Bays, former Bishop of Qu'Appelle, of a book meant to portray the 'positive' aspects of the residential schools (Bays 2009) might be indicative of such a shift. All of this is to suggest that, while the Anglican Church elites seem to have

successfully settled a tragic meaning of the residential schools for the time being, because of segmentation within the church and in the Canadian society, there is always a possibility that a struggle over its past might re-surface. As such, Peers' apology may have to 'live' for many years to come.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I sought to bring to light the meaning of Peers' apology. To do so, I discussed the context in which the apology was performed by drawing on the theory of cultural trauma put forward by several researchers in the Strong Program. Whereas the previous struggles over the meaning of the residential schools did not necessitate that their meaning be fundamentally transformed in order for the re-integrative phase to occur, in the struggle over meaning that erupted following Fontaine's allegations, the moral taint that had become attached to the residential school system was so great that the church's collective identity risked becoming engulfed by it. For this reason, I interpreted the struggle over meaning in this chapter as a trauma drama rather than a social drama. It was in such a context that Peers performed an official apology. From this perspective, as a symbol of repentance, the intent of the official apology can be interpreted as having been directed at expiating the polluting taint of the residential schools from the church's collective identity in order to initiate a phase of reconciliation with Aboriginal Anglicans.

Because Peers' official apology was performed on behalf of a complex group, it was not enough that he convince Aboriginal Anglicans of his authenticity in order for it to successfully expiate his church's collective identity. To expiate the church's collective identity, he also needed to convey the meaning of his performance to the other non-Aboriginal members of the church, lest it be interpreted by Aboriginal Anglicans as a personal apology rather than one carried out on behalf of the church. Fortunately for Peers and his cohort, by contrast to the other case-studies I analysed in this thesis, in the 1990s, social power was now firmly in the hands of those who saw the church's historic civilizing mission as a moral pollutant and the defenders of the sacrality the church's past were by now extremely marginal. The carriers of the meaning of Peers' apology were therefore able to make use of the church's most sophisticated means of symbolic production, such as video, and to make use of the church's most important *mise-en-scène*, such as the General Synod, to convey its intended meaning.

151

As a result of the intensive period by which the carriers of Peers' official apology performed the tragic meaning of the residential schools to the wider church membership, I suggested that a new meaning of the residential schools had been established and that a phase of reconciliation had been initiated – in other words, a process of expiation was now underway. This argument finds support in the renewed effort by Aboriginals to engage with Anglicanism and in the recent performance of forgiveness by Beardy. However, because the national drama over the residential schools is ongoing and because the church retains a degree of segmentation, I suggested that the carriers of the intended meaning of Peers' apology would likely have to perform and re-perform its meaning for many years to come. However, for the time being, the church seems to have successfully instantiated a new sacred narrative of its identity. After nearly 100 years, the church has finally taken responsibility for the full scope of the deleterious consequences of the residential school system and the pattern of social dramas over the church's role in the residential schools seems to have finally come to an end.

Conclusion

Introduction

The main objective of this concluding chapter is to summarize the argument that I have presented over the course of the previous chapters. Following this, I will outline the significance of the thesis and discuss potential criticisms of my analysis and how future research might address them.

Summary of Argument

After reviewing the literature on Canada's Indian residential school system, I found that an important question that had not been adequately addressed is why the route to official acknowledgement by church and state of the school system's failings was so protracted, despite that many of these failings were known from the outset of the 20th Century onwards. The central aim of this thesis was to help resolve this question and thus provide an original contribution to the study of the residential schools. To do so, I analysed a wide array of archival material and secondary historical sources related to a multi-generational struggle over the residential schools within the Anglican Church of Canada using a meaning-centred approach referred to as the 'Strong Program'. This approach took me in search of the way in which meaning structured debates over the various failings of the residential schools. My aim was to see whether the meaning that was attributed to the residential school system by key actors who were involved in its operation hindered acknowledgement of its deleterious consequences.

In response to why official acknowledgement by Anglican Church of Canada of the residential school system's failings was so protracted, I found that this was, in part, a result of the highly weighted sacred meaning that was initially attached to them. As such, it was the representation of the residential schools as a sacred enterprise carried out in the spirit of the church's centuries old 'civilizing mission' to Aboriginal peoples in North America that hindered acknowledgement of the school system's failings. In order for the church to acknowledge the various criticisms against the residential schools, their sacred meaning therefore needed to be polluted and replaced with a new meaning. This could only occur once the balance of social power had shifted away from the defenders of the sacred meaning towards its critics – a process

that involved several generations, widespread ideological change and the rise of Aboriginal identity politics. I identified three main phases in this process, which I summarize below.

In the first phase, the sacred meaning of the residential school system provided a framework for action in relation to it. With the sacred meaning firmly attached to the residential schools, missionaries, administrators, and other staff members who became involved in them understood themselves to be involved in a proud tradition established by their ostensibly heroic predecessors, who had braved isolation and harsh environmental conditions to bring Anglicanism and British civilization to the 'heathen red man'. Similarly, the sacred meaning of the residential schools provided lay members of the church with a rationale for donating funds to sustain the residential school system. As more and more Anglicans became involved in the school system, this served to reinforce its sacred meaning. This is because individuals who were, or had been, involved in the residential schools had personal reasons for protecting and reifying the sacred meaning. Not only was the memory of their predecessors at stake, but so too was the memory of their own work. It was for this reason that those who were directly involved in the residential school system were the most ardent defenders of its sacred meaning.

The sacred meaning that was attached to the residential school system meant that it persisted deep into the 20th Century, despite the ever increasing costs of operating it and the publication of numerous reports suggesting that it was failing in its aims. For example, as a result of their sacred meaning, instead of withdrawing from the residential schools or experimenting with a new system of education, the Anglican Church held fast in supporting them. The sacred meaning that was attached to the school system meant that the only acceptable way of responding to criticisms was to try to improve it rather than do away with it altogether – as would likely have been the case if it had been represented like any other school system.

Even when the Canadian government decided in 1948 to replace the residential schools with a system of day schools as a result of a rapidly expanding population of school age Aboriginals and the steady decline in the infrastructure of existing schools, the residential schools retained their sacred meaning within the Anglican Church of Canada. Although the church was less and less able to shoulder the material burden of the residential schools, and elites therefore welcomed the new policy, they nevertheless continued to represent the church's historic work in the residential schools as a sacred endeavour, which it had ostensibly

heroically carried out when the Canadian government had been unable or unwilling to provide education to Aboriginals.

It was only during a massive ideological sea change within the Anglican Church of Canada in the 1960s that the sacred meaning of the church's long history of involvement in the residential schools and the civilizing mission began to finally be undermined. The 1960s saw a new generation of Anglicans enter the church's hierarchy. In the same period, there was also a massive surge in Aboriginal activism in Canada, which took aim at the historic maltreatment of Aboriginals by church and state. Like many other Canadians in the 1960s, the new generation of Anglicans championed issues related social justice and were much more sympathetic to Aboriginal demands and concerns than their predecessors. This group of Anglicans was prepared to condemn the church's historic work among Aboriginals and sought to instantiate a new mission for the church. Unfortunately, the defenders of the sacred meaning of the church's historic work among Aboriginals continued to retain enough social power so as to prevent a wholesale condemnation of such work.

After the government formally terminated the role of the Anglican Church in the residential schools in 1969, the church adopted new progressive mission, as exemplified by the Hendry Report. The report demanded that church members work toward a better relationship with Aboriginals, in which they would begin to work on their behalf. In adopting the Hendry Report, church members sought to decouple the church's identity from its centuries-long involvement in the civilizing mission and to unite church members that were divided over the meaning of that mission. However, by focusing on the future at the expense of the past, they avoided focusing on the potential deleterious consequences of their long involvement in the civilizing mission, especially as it was carried out in the residential schools.

In the decades that followed the adoption of the Hendry Report, the progressive mission that it represented provided a new sacred framework for action in relation the church's work among Aboriginals. For example, the church created new institutions within the church designed to provide Aboriginal Anglicans with more agency and supported Aboriginal demands against the Canadian government. During this time, participation in the new progressive mission reified its sacred meaning. It is possible the progressive mission might have succeeded in decoupling the church from its polluted past, as time inexorably wore on. However, this was not to be the case. In the 1990s, church elites found themselves forced to return to the past.

In the 1990s, public allegations by thousands of former students that they had suffered from a variety of abuses while at residential school forced church elites to reconsider the ambivalent meaning of the residential schools that had been established at the end of the 1960s. In response to the allegations, church elites sought to fully expiate the church of the moral taint of the school system by finally acknowledging unambiguously that it had been deleterious on its students and their communities, as exemplified by former Primate Michael Peers' official apology in 1993. Peers' apology established a new, 'tragic' meaning of the residential schools, which initiated the third and final phase in the church's route to acknowledging the deleterious consequences of the residential schools. Because the defenders of the sacred meaning of the residential schools were by this time extremely marginal, they were not able to counter Peers' apology or the carriers of its intended meaning. The result was that Peers' apology was highly successful; since then, among church elites, Aboriginality and Anglicanism have entered a phase of reconciliation.

As a result of Peers' successful apology, I argued that the pattern of periodic social dramas in the struggle over the meaning of the residential schools has ended. In the years since the apology, the tragic meaning of the residential schools has become further established. This new meaning provides a cognitive framework for responding to any further crises that may arise in the ongoing national drama. Thus, whilst the ongoing work by the Indian Residential Schools Truth and Reconciliation Commission may produce new facts regarding the tragedies associated with the residential schools, these new facts are unlikely to trigger a crisis of meaning within the church. As long as church members continue to perform the new tragic meaning of its past, the church will remain immune to the polluting taint of such potential revelations.

Significance of Thesis

Prior to this thesis, most of the research on the residential school system had been directed at filling empirical gaps in scholarly knowledge on the residential school experience and its impact on the students and their communities. In other words, much of the research on the residential schools has been framed by 'what' questions. The primary aim of this thesis was to move the study of the residential schools towards 'how' and 'why' questions. As such, I sought to provide the first study aimed explaining why official acknowledgement of its various failings was so protracted. By focusing on resolving my question through a comparative historical case-study of the Anglican Church of Canada, this thesis also provided the first discussion of the long

relationship between Anglicanism and the residential schools, from the creation of the school system in the 19th Century until the abuse scandals in the 1990s.

My decision to engage with a meaning-centred approach to resolve my thesis question brought to light some factors that should, at the very least, trigger a pause for critical reflection among scholars on the residential schools. Although I agree that ongoing research on the many failings of the residential school system and its deleterious consequences on its students and their communities is of eminent importance, it is also important to investigate the residential schools from the perspective of those involved in operating them. If not, this latter group will begin to appear more and more as a monolithic group and we will lose sight of potential internal struggles and nuances. Given a context in which the terrible tragedies that occurred in the residential schools are still coming to light, and the increased tendency to refer to the school system as an attempted genocide as a result, researchers seem unwilling to go in-depth into the study of the individuals and groups responsible for perpetrating this tragedy. Unfortunately, as in the case of John Milloy's (1999) book, which I discussed in Chapter Two, the result is puzzlement over their seeming irrational attachment to residential schools. Although this study was not meant in any way to excuse the protracted route by which church and state eventually took responsibility for the many failings of the residential schools, it should at least help researchers to understand why this was the case.

My close analysis of the internal struggle within the church over the residential school system reveals just how important it was for many of its defendants. Many administrators, missionaries, staff members and church members were truly convinced that the residential school system was an expression of the church at its best and were prepared to donate time and money to ensure that it endured and that the memory of their predecessors were protected. Certainly many of those involved in the residential schools did not feel this way. Too many perpetrated terrible acts against the students and too many looked the other way. Many others were probably more driven by factors such as material gain, power or prestige. But, as my analysis demonstrates, others seemed to be emotively convinced of the sacred meaning of the residential schools. As a result, the school system endured for far too long, and, after it was terminated, its failings went unacknowledged for far too long.

In engaging with the Strong Program, a secondary aim of this thesis was to provide the first analysis of the cultural process by which a group or institution eventually takes responsibility for perpetrating wrongdoing against another group. In doing so, I hoped

specifically to extend the approach put forward by Bernhard Giesen (2004), which I critiqued in Chapter Two for not paying close enough attention to the impact of external and internal forces in producing a 'trauma of the perpetrators' within a group. By paying close attention to changes in the external and internal context as they related especially to the balance of social power as well as generational, ideological and material change, I hope that I have brought to light some important insights that will be of use in understanding comparable cases. In particular, this thesis should help researchers to resolve why some groups and institutions are often unwilling to take responsibility for perpetrating wrongdoings against another group and why others are willing to do so.

My analysis also has important policy implications for the Canadian state and other formal institutions engaging in comparable efforts to make amends for past wrongs. In this regard, I argued that Peers' apology succeeded because church elites have sought to intensively convey its intended meaning to the wider membership. Thus, if state elites in Canada truly intend for such endeavours as the ongoing Indian Residential Schools Truth and Reconciliation Commission to bring about a phase of reconciliation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginals, then there must be an effort to convey the meaning of the TRC to the wider non-Aboriginal Canadian public on a truly massive scale. Unfortunately, this does not seem to be the case (see Stanton 2011).

Potential Criticisms

As stated, there were two main objectives of this thesis: to contribute to the study of the Indian Residential School System using an approach referred to as the Strong Program and to enhance the applicability of the Strong Program by applying it to a new case. It was not the objective of this thesis to engage with the various epistemological criticisms of the Strong Program or consider alternative epistemologies. This thesis is therefore potentially open to criticism from researchers who are hostile to the Strong Program. From within the realm of social constructivism, those who are aligned with the more left-leaning approaches associated with Bourdieu and others, which I discussed in Chapter Two, might object to the way in which I have characterised the motivations of those who sought to defend the record of the residential schools, in which the meaning of the school system trumped other factors.

As I mentioned in Chapter Two, Bourdieu's (1984) most celebrated contribution to the social sciences was to bring the 'materialist mode of questioning' into the sphere of cultural

production. In doing so, he sought to demonstrate that the type of cultural products that are produced and the meanings that are attributed to them are simultaneously structured by social stratification and sustain such stratifications. A Bourdieusian approach to understanding the defenders of the residential schools might therefore have sought to uncover the role that the school system played in sustaining their social status, whether in terms of materiality, power or prestige. In such an analysis, the defence of the residential school system by reference to its sacred meaning would therefore have been viewed as an unconscious strategy aimed, ultimately, at defending social status. In other words, the meaning of the residential schools would have been treated as a 'dependent variable'.

I can accept that a Bourdieusian investigation of the meaning of the residential schools on the part of Anglican administrators would certainly bring to light important factors in social behaviour that were absent in this thesis. And, as such, I would welcome such a study for the reason that it would increase our overall understanding of the residential schools. However, I doubt that such a study would seriously undermine the argument that I have made in this thesis. I believe that any study that underplays the role of meaning as a social force too much would result in a mischaracterization of the defenders of the residential schools. In my view, treating the highly emotive way in which the residential schools were defended as but a thinly disguised strategy would ignore a key aspect of social actors' behaviour.

In a Bourdieusian analysis, the defenders of the residential schools would likely be represented as scheming, strategic individuals engaged in a struggle to defend their social status. Although such an analysis would surely be insightful, problematically, it would willfully ignore the way in which social actors themselves chose to defend the residential schools. As social analysts, we can never truly know the full picture of social actors' inner motivations, so surely it is more compelling to take their statements and actions at face value, rather than ignore these factors altogether in an effort to uncover an ostensible ulterior motive. And surely this would be more compelling in the case I have analysed in this thesis. For example, how else can we truly understand the behaviour of the defenders of the sacred meaning of the residential schools in the 1990s? Why would a group of elderly and highly marginal individuals choose to defend a school system that was increasingly being represented as a genocide analogous to the Holocaust? In this case, a Bourdieusian approach seems less compelling than Alexander's approach. The members of this group had little in the way of social status to lose. But if we see

them as engaging in a struggle to defend a central aspect of their lives' work, which many believed was carried out in the service of their church, their actions make much more sense.

Another criticism of this thesis might come from analysts who work within a Foucauldian framework. From such a perspective, my initial decision to focus on internal debates among non-Aboriginal Anglican elites might be questioned. Just as Eyerman's (2008) study of the variety of meanings that African Americans have attributed to slavery might be critiqued for not focusing enough on the broader racist American societal structure, so too might my study be criticised for focusing too much on micro processes, and hence missing aspects of the ostensibly more important macro processes. For example, Dean Neu (2000) draws on aspects Foucault's theory of governmentality to suggest that the bureaucrats, administrators and staff members who were involved in the residential schools were all implicated in a part of a broader colonial effort whose main objective was the cultural genocide of Aboriginals. From such a macro perspective, Neu attributes little importance to the individual motivations of former administrators and the possibility of struggle between them. What is important, in his view, is that they were all involved in a genocidal enterprise.

I do not deny that Neu offers an important perspective in that it foregrounds the broader colonial context in which the residential schools operated and their deleterious impact. However, by completely ignoring the perspective of the individuals and groups who were actually involved in operating the residential schools, his approach is not very effective in seeking to explain why such individuals and groups were involved in the school system and why so many of them defended it. Over the course of the long history of the residential schools not one of the Anglicans I researched provided colonialism or genocide as a reason for defending the school system. In my view, to understand their behaviour thus requires a closer analysis than the one offered by Neu.

Potential Future Research

How would my argument stand up in relation to the other social actors formerly involved in the residential schools and what new insights might analysis of these cases bring to light? Although social change in the other protestant churches tracks the Anglican Church of Canada fairly closely, it would be especially interesting to apply my approach to the case of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada. As we saw in Chapter 3, unlike the protestant churches, the Catholic Church's initial response to the government's decision to close the residential school system was

to fight it. This suggests that established representations of the residential schools and the role of the Catholic Church in the Canadian social life were markedly different than what I found was the case within Canadian Anglicanism. As I demonstrated in this thesis, the Anglican Church of Canada's membership has traditionally been drawn from the more elite sectors of English Canada and, as such, its collective identity has historically been represented as being indelibly tied up with (English) Canada's national identity. Participation in the residential school system was thus, in part, narrated as duty to the British Empire and, subsequently, to the Canadian nation. By contrast, the Roman Catholic Church's membership has historically been drawn from French Canada, which has often been at odds with the Canadian state (which has been historically dominated by English Canadians). Indeed, this dynamic was particularly the case in regards to education in western Canada, where English Canadian administrators were historically hostile to French language education. How did this impact upon the way in which the residential schools were narrated within the Catholic Church? Did such a narrative play a role in the Catholic Church's decision to resist the closure of the residential schools?

Analysis of Canadian government's perspective using my framework would be potentially more difficult and potentially more controversial. Because of this, it is possible that the Canadian case might be held up as an exemplar of an inherent weakness in my argument. The churches are much smaller, more unified organizations than the Canadian government, which is highly segmented and is subject to multiple influences. Moreover, Aboriginal education was much less important to government policy-makers than it was within the churches. It is thus perhaps less controversial in the case of the churches to suggest that at various points in time a particular meaning was attached to the residential schools, which subsequently structured the behaviour of individuals involved in them. Can such a claim be borne out in the case of the Canadian government? Or, would we have to turn to another heuristic framework designed to privilege other social forces? Although this is certainly in need of following-up, I submit that a meaning-centred analysis would still have much to offer in an analysis of the perspective of government administrators.

For example, even if, after the initial phase of creating the residential schools, the meaning of the residential schools became increasingly unsettled among government administrators, they would have still needed to confront the fact that the school system had by that time taken on great symbolic significance within the churches. At least at the outset of the 20th Century, when the churches were still a powerful force in Canadian society, effecting policy

change would thus have required administrators to engage with the sacred meaning that had become attached to the residential schools. Thus, we saw in Chapter 3 that, upon proposing to replace the residential school system with a system of day schools, governmental administrators needed to engage in a performative struggle to pollute the meaning of the residential schools. Also, even if the meaning of the residential schools among government administrators was found to have become rapidly unsettled as the 20th progressed, it would still be extremely interesting to see what impact this had on the government's response to the 1990s era. Is this why the government at first refused to share blame with the churches for wrongdoings committed in the residential schools? Or why an official apology from the Prime Minister was much more delayed than were the official apologies from the leaders of the churches?

Similarly, I believe that the framework I have developed in this thesis could be used to uncover new insights in the behaviour of former students and Aboriginal activists in relation to the residential schools. I touched on this perspective in my sweeping history of the school system in Chapter 3, but much more could be done to flesh this out. Problematically, in the study of the residential schools, former students have tended to be treated as a monolithic unit, thereby ignoring the possibility that there was also an internal struggle among them over the meaning of the residential schools. An investigation of this could do much in the way of helping to explain why acknowledgement of the deleterious consequences of the residential schools was so protracted. For example, I noted in my review of the literature on the school system that, until the 1960s, many elite Aboriginals, such as former Anglican Reverend Edward Ahenakew, portrayed their experience in a highly positive light. This was a far cry from the way in which the school system was represented by many Aboriginal elites in the 1990s, when it began to be described as genocide. The cultural process that led to this transformation begs for further research. Was there, for example, a struggle among Aboriginal intellectuals over whether to narrate their predecessors as victims? What is the status of this struggle now? Is there a movement to replace the narrative of victimhood with one focusing on past triumphs? Responding to such questions using an approach like the one I have put forward here could provide an important corrective to this area of research. Until now, analysts of this transformation have made use of the increasingly popular psycho-social approach to collective suffering. This suggests that former students were delayed in fully attacking the residential schools because they suffered a kind of mass trauma, in which their sufferings were psychologically suppressed until in the 1990s (e.g. Wasserman 2005). Such an approach leaves

out the sociological and political elements of the process that the Strong Program is designed to bring to light.

Just as this thesis could lead to new insights on the residential schools, it could also help uncover new insights in comparable cases. For example, although Ron Eyerman (2001) has used a meaning-centred analysis to explain the relationship between slavery and African Americans, there has not yet been a similar study of the relationship between slavery and White Americans. Such a study could help resolve why White Americans have thus far withheld reparations for slavery, yet readily supported reparations in other cases, such as the internment of Japanese Americans in the Second World War. Slavery has become the most hotly debated case in the field of reparations politics, yet, as with the study of the residential schools, it has remained remarkably immune to social scientific analysis. Instead, the field is marked by impassioned normative commentators who either express their fervent desire for reparations (e.g. Winbush 2005) or against them (e.g. Horowitz 2003). This gap is prevalent in other comparable cases, such as the 'stolen generations' in Australia or the mass murder of Kurds by the Turkish state in the 1930s. These cases and others cry out for attention by researchers working in a meaning-centred tradition of social research.

Bibliography

Ahenakew E (1965) Little Pine: An Indian Day School. *Saskatchewan History* 18: 55-62.

Alexander JC, Smith P and Sherwood S (1993) The British are Coming . . . Again! The Hidden Agenda of 'Cultural Studies'. *Contemporary Sociology* 22(3): 370-375.

Alexander JC (1995) The Reality of Reduction: The Failed Synthesis of Pierre Bourdieu. In: Alexander JC (Ed.) *Fin-de-Sìecle Social Theory.* London: Verso, 128-217.

Alexander JC (Ed.) (1990) *Durkheimian Sociology: Cultural Studies.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Alexander JC and Smith P (2003) The Strong Program in Cultural Sociology: Elements of a Structural Hermeneutics. In: Alexander JC *The Meanings of Social Life: A Cultural Sociology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Alexander JC (2002) On the Social Construction of Moral Universals. *The European Journal of Social Theory* 5:1: 5-86.

Alexander JC (2004) Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma. In: Alexander JC, Eyerman R, Giesen B, Smelser N and Sztompka P. *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Alexander JC, Eyerman R, Giesen B, Smelser N and Sztompka P (2004) *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Alexander JC and Mast J (2006a) Introduction: Symbolic Action in Theory and Practice: the Cultural Pragmatics of Symbolic Action. In: Alexander JC, Giesen B and Mast J (Eds.) *Social Performance: Symbolic Action, Cultural Pragmatics, and Ritual*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Alexander JC (2006b) Cultural Pragmatics: Social Performance Between Ritual and Strategy. In: Alexander JC, Giesen B, and Mast J (Eds.) *Social Performance: Symbolic Action, Cultural Pragmatics, and Ritual*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Alexander JC (2009) The Social Construction of Moral Universals. In: Alexander JC with Jay M, Giesen B, Rothberg M, Manne R, Glazer N, Katz E, Katz R. *Remembering the Holocaust: a Debate*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Alexander JC (2011) *Performance and Power*. London: Polity Press.

Alexander JC, Jacobs R and Smith P (2012) The Rise of Cultural Sociology Introduction. In:

Alexander J, Smith P and Jacobs R (Eds.) *Oxford Handbook of Cultural Sociology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Alexander JC and Breese E (2011) Introduction: On Social Suffering and Its Cultural Construction. In: Eyerman R, Alexander JC and Breese E (Eds.) *Narrating Trauma: On the Impact of Collective Suffering*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, xi-xxxv.

Anglican Church of Canada (1938) *The Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools: This Material was Provide by Rev. T.B.R Westgate, D.D.*. M.S.C.C. 9-5. Popular Information Series. GS 75-103, Box 130. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Anglican Church of Canada (1969) *Bulletin 202: Native Rights in Canada.* Toronto: Social Action Unit, Anglican Church of Canada.

Anglican Church of Canada (1970) *Bulletin 201; Recent Statements by the Indians of Canada, General Synod Action 1969, Some Government Responses, Suggested Resource.* Toronto: Social Action Unit, Anglican Church of Canada.

Anglican Church of Canada. (1993) A Submission by the Anglican Church of Canada to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, November 1993 [brief]. Native Ministries. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Anglican Church of Canada. Anglican Church of Canada's Apology to Native People [internet]. http://www.anglican.ca/rs/apology/apology. (Accessed on 15 July 2010).

Anglican Church of Canada. Response to the Primate [internet]. http://www.anglican.ca/rs/apology/apology.htm. (Accessed on 15 July 2010).

Anglican Church of Canada. A Living Apology [internet]. http://www.anglican.ca/rs/apology/index.htm. (Accessed on 15 July 2010).

Anglican Church of Canada. 1993. *Search for Healing: Anglican Residential Schools Revisited*, Toronto: Anglican Video [Video: DVD].

Anglican Church of Canada. (1993) *Dancing the Dream: the First Nations and the Church in Partnership*. Toronto: Anglican Video [Video: DVD].

Anglican Church of Canada (1993) *Native Stories*. Toronto: Anglican Video [Video: DVD].

Anglican Church of Canada (N.D.) *A Brief Prepared by the ACC for Submission to the RCAP at a Special Consultation between Members of the Commission and Representatives of the Historic Mission Churches, Citadel Hotel, Ottawa, On, November 8-9'.* Native Ministries, GS 94-02, Box 1. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Anglican Forward Movement (1921) *Report of the Executive Committee*. Reports. GS 75-38, Box

1. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Anglican Forward Movement (N.D. [ca. 1919]) *A Debt We Owe*. Educational Pamphlet Series, No 8. GS 75-38. Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Annett K (2001) *Hidden From History: The Canadian Holocaust*. Vancouver: Truth Commission into Genocide in Canada.

Anonymous (1919) *Letter to Diocesan Organizers Re Securing Lay Speakers for January*. Correspondence. Anglican Forward Movement. GS 75-38, Box 2. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Antonio RJ (2007) Locating the Civil Sphere. *The Sociological Quarterly* 48(4): 601-13.

Appadurai A (1990) Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy. *Theory, Culture and Society* 7(2–3): 295–310.

Aubry J (1994) 'Atrocities' alleged in mission schools: Report: Interviews Reveal Pains of the Past. *Vancouver Sun*. August 8, A1.

Austin J (1975) [1956] *How to Do Things with Words*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Austin A and Scott JS (Eds.) (2005) *Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Axtell J (1985) *The Invasion Within: the Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Barkan E (2000)*The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Barkan E and Alexander K (Eds.) (2006) *Taking Wrongs Seriously: Apologies and Reconciliation*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Barker J (1998) Tangled Reconciliations: The Anglican Church and the Nisga'a of British Columbia. *American Ethnologist* 25(3): 433-51.

Barman J, Hebra Y and McCaskill D (1986) *Indian Education in Canada: The Legacy*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.

Barron LF (1988) The Indian Pass System in the Canadian West, 1882-1935. *Prairie Forum* 13(1): 25-42.

Barth K (2004) *The Doctrine of Reconciliation: Church Dogmatics*. Maiden, NY: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Barthes R (1977) *Image-Music-Text*. London: Fontana.

Battani M, Hall DR and Powers R (1997) Cultures' structures: Making meaning in the public

sphere. *Theory and Society* 26(6): 781-812.

Bays E (2009) *Indian Residential Schools – Another Picture*. Toronto: Biaco.

Bealy J (1966) Eulogy for a Truant. *Cahoots Magazine* [Internet].

    http://www.cahootsmagazine.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=182

Berton P (1965) *The Comfortable Pew: A Critical Look at the Religious Establishment in the New*
    Age. Toronto: Lippincott.

Bibby RW (1986) *Anglitrends: A Profile and Prognosis: A Study Carried Out for the Anglican*
    Diocese of Toronto. Toronto: Anglican Diocese of Toronto.

Bibby RW (2002) *Restless Gods: The Renaissance of Religion in Canada*. Toronto: Stoddart.

Blake SH (N.D.) *To the Members of the Board of Management of the Missionary Society of the*
    Church of England in Canada. Blake, Samuel Hume, 1835-1914. MM52 B467.4. GS 75-
    103, Box 3, File 1. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Blake SH (1908) *The Church's Missions Amongst Aborigines in America*. Blake, Samuel Hume,
    1835-1914. MM52 B467. GS 74-103, Box 3, File 1. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada /
    General Synod Archives.

Blake SH (1908) *Letter to His Grace the Archbishop of Rupert's Land Regarding Indian Schools*.
    Blake, Samuel Hume, 1835-1914. MM52 B467.1. GS 74-103, Box 3, File 1. Toronto:
    Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Blake SH (1909) *Memorandum on Indian Work*. Blake, Samuel Hume, 1835-1914. MM52 B467.
    GS 74-103, Box 3, File 1. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Berger PL and Luckmann T (1966) *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise on the*
    Sociology of Knowledge. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Bonvillain N (1989) Gender Relations in Native North America. *American Indian Culture and*
    Research Journal 13(2):1-28.

Borneman J (1999) Can Public Apologies contribute to peace? An argument for retribution.
    Anthropology of East Europe Review 17(1).

Brasfield CR (2001) Residential School Syndrome. *B.C. Medical Journal* 43(2): 78-81.

Bréton R (1988) From Ethnic to Civic Nationalism: English Canada and Québec. *Ethnic and*
    Racial Studies 11(1): 85–102.

Berry JW (1999) Aboriginal Cultural Identity. *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 19(1): 1-36.

Brave Heart MY (2003) The historical Trauma Response Among Natives and its Relationship With
    Substance Abuse: A Lakota illustration. *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs* 35(1): 7-13.

Brooks RL (1999) *When Sorry Isn't Enough: the Controversy over Apologies and Reparations for Human Rights*. New York: New York University Press.

Bryce PH (1907) *Report on the Indian Schools of Manitoba and the North-West Territories*. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Bryce PH (1922) *The Story of a National Crime: Being an Appeal for Justice to the Indians of Canada; the Wards of the Nation, our Allies in the Revolutionary War, our Brothers-in-arms in the Great War.* Ottawa: James Hope and Sons.

Bull LR (1991) Indian Residential Schooling: The Native Perspective. *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 18:5-64*.*

Burke K (1974) *The Philosophy of Literary Form: Studies in Symbolic Action*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Cairns A (2011) Review of Knalfa L and Westra H (Eds.) *Aboriginal Title and Indigenous Peoples: Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. BC Studies,* 176.

Caldwell G (1967) *Indian Residential Schools: a Research Study of Child Care Programs of Nine Residential Schools in Saskatchewan*. Ottawa: The Canadian Welfare Council.

Canada (1996) *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*. Ottawa: The Commission.

Canada Our Mandate. *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* [internet] http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/index.php?p=7 (Accessed on 15 July 2010).

Cody HA (2002 [1908]) *An Apostle of the North: Memoirs of the Right Reverend William Carpenter Bompas.* Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.

Cunningham M (1999) Saying Sorry: The Politics of Apology. *The Political Quarterly* 70(3): 285-93.

Anonymous (1952) Indian Schools Need Funding. *The Canadian Churchman*. April: 2.

Bishop of Keewatin (name unknown). Untitled. Submission to the Committee on Indian and Eskimo Affairs. House of Bishop's Committee. GS 75-14. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Cardinal H (1969) *The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians*. Toronto: MG Hurtig.

Carney RJ (1971) *Church-State and Northern Education: 1870-1961*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Alberta.

Carter S (1985) Controlling Indian Movement: The Pass System. *NewWest Review* May: 8-9.

Caruth C (Ed.) (1995) *Trauma Exploration in Memory*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

CBC Digital Archives. Shocking Testimony of Sexual Abuse [internet]

http://archives.cbc.ca/society/education/topics/1622-11177/. (Accessed 18 August 2010).

Chalmer JW (1972) *Education Behind the Buckskin Curtain:* A *History* of *Native Education in Canada.* Edmonton, Alberta: University of Alberta Book Store.

Claes R and Clifton D (1998) *Needs and expectations for redress of victims of abuse at residential schools*. Ottawa: Law Commission of Canada.

Coates K (1984) "Betwixt and Between": The Anglican Church and the Children of Carcross (Choutla) Residential School, 1911-54. *BC Studies* 64: 27-47.

Cody HA (2002) [1908] An Apostle of The North: Memoirs of the Right Reverend William Carpenter Bompas. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press

Cole D and Chaiken I (1990) *An Iron Hand Upon the People: The Law Against the Potlatch on the Northwest Coast.* Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre.

Collier RB & Collier D (1991) *Shaping the Political Arena*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Corntassel J and Holder C (2008) Who's Sorry Now? Government Apologies, Truth Commissions and Indigenous Self-Determination in Australia, Canada, Guatemala and Peru. *Human Rights Review* 9(4): 465-89.

Corrado RR and Cohen IM (2003) *Mental Health Profiles for a Sample of British Columbia's Survivors of the Canadian Residential School System*. Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation.

Creal M (2005) The Comfortable Pew Revisited. *Catholic New Times* 16 January.

Chrisjohn RD, Young SH and Maraun M (2006) *The Circle Game: Shadows and Substance in the Indian Residential School Experience in Canada*. Penticton, BC: Theytus Books.

Curry B (2008) Hunt Begins For Long-Missing Students. *The Globe and Mail*. 27 October.

Davin NF (1879) *Report On Industrial Schools for Indians and Halfbreeds*. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Davis R and Mark Z (1973) *The Genocide Machine in Canada*. Montreal: Black Rose Books.

Dayton S (1976) *Ideology of Native Education Policy*. Unpublished Masters Thesis. University of Alberta.

Debs M (2011) The Suffering of Symbols: Giotto Frescoes and Cultural Trauma. Unpublished Paper presented to the Yale CCS Conference, May 2011.

De Santis (2003) School Workers Find Their Voice: Many Former Employees Hurt and Bewildered. *Anglican Journal*. April.

De Santis (2004) Church Recognizes Former School Workers. *Anglican Journal* [Internet] http://www.anglicanjournal.com/nc/other/news-items/c/general_synod_2004/article/church-recognizes-former-schools-workers-2397//abp/166.html (Accessed 10 July 2010)

Dieter C (1999) From Our Mothers' Arms: The Intergenerational Impact of Residential Schools in Saskatchewan. Etobicoke, Ont.: United Church Publishing House.

Doll P (2000) *Revolution, Religion and National Identity: Imperial Anglicanism in British North America, 1745-1795*. Madison, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press.

Douglas M (1966) *Purity and Danger: an Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, London: Routledge.

Driedger L (1996) *Multi-Ethnic Canada: Identities and Inequalities.* Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Durkheim E (2001) *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life.* Carol Cosman (Trans.) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Duran E and Duran B (1995) *Native American Postcolonial Psychology*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Edwards K (1990) The Interplay of Affect and Cognition in Attitude Formation and Change. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 59(2): 202–216.

Edwards K and von Hippel W (1995) Hearts and Minds: The Priority of Affective versus Cognitive Factors in Person Perception. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 21(10): 996–1011.

Eriksen K (1976) *Everything in Its Path*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Etzioni A (1997) *Repentance: A Comparative Perspective*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Eyerman R (2001) *Cultural Trauma: Slavery and The Formation of African American Identity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Eyerman R (2004) Jeffrey Alexander and the Cultural Turn in Social Theory. *Thesis Eleven* 97(1): 25-30.

Eyerman R (2008) *The Assassination of Theo van Gogh: from Social Drama to Cultural Trauma*. Durham & London: Duke University Press.

Eyerman R (2011) *The Cultural Sociology of Political Assassination*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.

Eyerman R, Alexander JC and Breese E (Eds.) (2011) *Narrating Trauma: On the Impact of Collective Suffering*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.

Fahey C (1991) *In His Name: the Anglican Experience in Upper Canada, 1791-1854*. Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Ferguson B (Ed.) (1991) *The Anglican Church and the World of Western Canada, 1820-1970*. Regina, SK: Canadian Plains Research.

Fine GA (2010) The Sociology of The Local: Action and its Publics. *Sociological Theory* 28(4): 355-76.

Fournier S and Crey E (1998) *Stolen From Our Embrace: The Abduction of First Nations Children and The Restoration of Aboriginal Communities*. Toronto: D & M Publishers.

Frijda NH (1986) *The Emotions*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Furniss E (1992) *Victims* of *Benevolence: The Dark Legacy of the Williams Lake Residential School.* Vancouver, BC: Arsenal Pulp Press.

Gagnon A (2000) Canada: Unity and Diversity. *Parliamentary Affairs: A Journal of Comparative Politics*. 53(1): 12-26.

Gaver C (2009) *Solitudes in Shared Spaces: Aboriginal and Euro Canadian Anglicans in the Yukon and the Northwest Territories in the Post-Residential School Era*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Ottawa.

Gartman D (2007) The strength of weak programs in cultural sociology: A critique of Alexander's critique of Bourdieu. *Theory and Society* 36(5): 381-413.

George D (2001) A Lament for Confederation. In: Armstrong JC and Grauer L (Eds) *Native Poetry in Canada: A Contemporary Anthology*. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press.

Gibbs M (1966) *The Church and Indian Education: Paper by Mr. Michael Gibbs C.A. Principal of Carcross Residential School Presented to a clergy conference in the Yukon, September 1966*. MSCC, Series 3-4. GS 75-103, Box 95. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Gibney M, Howard-Hassman RE, Coicaud J-M and Steiner N (Eds.) (2008) *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Giesen B (2004) The Trauma of the Perpetrators. In: Alexander JC, Eyerman R, Giesen B, Smelser

NJ and Sztompka P *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*. London: University of California Press.

Giesen B (2004) *Triumph and Trauma*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.

Gill K (2000) The Moral Functions of An Apology. *The Philosophical Forum* 31(1): 11-27.

Gladstone J (1987) Indian School Days. *Alberta Historical Review* 15(1):18-24.

Goffman E (1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Doubleday.

Grant A (1996) *No End* of *Grief: Residential Schools in Canada.* Winnipeg, Ma: Pemmican Publications Inc.

Gresko J (1986) Creating Little Dominions in the Dominion: Early Catholic Indian Schools in Saskatchewan and British Columbia. In: Barman J, Hebert Y and McCaskill D (Eds.) *Indian Education in Canada: The Legacy.* Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 88-109.

Gresko J (1992) Everyday Life at Qu'Appelle Industrial School. *Western Oblate Studies* 2:71-94.

Gresko J (1970) *The Qu'Appelle Industrial School: White 'Rites' for the Indians of the Old Northwest*. Unpublished Masters Thesis. Institute of Canadian Studies, Carleton University.

Gresko J (1975) White 'Rites' and Indian 'Rites': Indian Education and Native Responses in the West. In: Rasporich AW (Ed.) *Western Canada, Past and Present.* Calgary, Alta: University of Calgary, 163-181.

Gull N (1992) *The 'Indian Policy' of the Anglican Church of Canada from 1945 to the 1970s*. Unpublished MA thesis. Trent University.

Haig-Brown C (1988) *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School.* Vancouver, BC: Tillacum Library.

Hall S, Critcher C, Jefferson T, Clarke J, Roberts B (1993) *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, The State, and Law and Order*. London: MacMillan.

Harper M (1998) *Mush-hole: Memories of a Residential School*, 2nd Edition. Toronto: Sister Vision Press.

Hashimoto A (2011) The Cultural Trauma of a Fallen Nation: Japan, 1945. In: *Narrating Trauma: On the Impact of Collective Suffering*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 29-52.

Hayes A (2004) *Anglicans in Canada: Controversies and Identity in Historical Perspective*. Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Haycock R (1974) *The Image of the Indian: the Canadian Indian as a Subject and a Concept in a*

Sampling of the Popular National Magazines Read in Canada, 1900-1970. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press.

Heins V and Langenohl A (2011) A Fire That Doesn't Burn? The Allied Bombing of Germany and the Cultural Politics of Trauma. In: *Narrating Trauma: On the Impact of Collective Suffering*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 1-28.

Henderson J and Wakeham P (Eds.) (2009) Aboriginal Redress. *A Special Issue of ESC: English Studies in Canada* 35(1).

Hendry C 1998 [1969] *Beyond Traplines: Does the Church Really Care?* Toronto: Anglican Book Centre.

Hodgins BW and Milloy JS (2003) The Resistance of Little Charlie Wenjack and His Legacy at Trent University. In: Hodgins BW, McNab D and Lischke U (Eds.) *Blockades and Resistance: Studies in Actions of Peace and the Temagami Blockades of 1988-1989*. Waterloo, Ont: Wilfrid University Press, 221-228.

Horowitz D (2003) *Uncivil Wars: the Controversy Over Reparations for Slavery*. New York: Encounter Books.

Iguartua J (2007) *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945–1971*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Indian and Eskimo Association of Canada (IEA) (1960). C.A.S.N.P. Papers. Trent, Ont: Trent University Archives.

lng R (1991) The Effects of Residential Schools on Native Child Rearing Practices. *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 18: 65-118.

Inter-Departmental Committee on Indian and Eskimo Affairs (1960) *A Position Paper Concerning the Stance of the Anglican Church to Indian Work Prepared for Discussion Purposes*. MSCC, Series 3-4. GS 75-103, Box 95. Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Inter-Department Committee on Indian and Eskimo affairs (1960) *The Ministry of the Anglican Church of Canada to Canadian Indians*. MSCC, Series 3-4. GS 75-103, Box 95. Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Jaine L (Ed.) (1995) *Residential Schools: The Stolen Years.* Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan Press.

James M. (2008) Wrestling With the Past: Apologies, Quasi-Apologies, and Non-Apologies in

Canada. In: Gibney M, Howard-Hassman RE, Coicaud J, Steiner N (Eds.) *The Age of Apology: Facing up to the Past.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Johnston B (1988) *Indian School Days.* Toronto: Key Porter Books.

Jones T (1963) *Speeches and Papers*. MSCC, Series 2-15. GS 75-103, Box 26. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Jones T (1967) *Anglican Response to Caldwell Study of Residential Schools*. MSCC, Series 3-4. GS 75-103, Box 95. Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Juteau D (1979) The Evolution of Nationalism in Québec. In: Elliot JL (ed.) *Two Nations, Many Cultures*. Scarborough, ONT: Prentice-Hall, 60–74.

Kaufmann E (2004) 'The Decline of the WASP in the United States and Canada,' in Kaufmann E (Ed.) *Rethinking Ethnicity: Majority Groups and Dominant Minorities*. London: Routledge, 61-83.

Kurasawa F (2004) Alexander and the Cultural Refounding of American Sociology. *Thesis Eleven* 79(1): 53-64.

Kelemen RD and Capoccia G (2007) The Study of Critical Junctures: Theory, Narrative and Counterfactuals in Historical Institutionalism. *World Politics* 59, 3 (2007), pp. 341-369

Kirmayer L, Simpson C and Cargo M (2010) Healing Traditions: Culture, Community and Mental Health Promotion with Canadian Aboriginal peoples. *Australasian Psychiatry* 11(1): 15-23.

Kitzan CJ (1996) The Fighting Bishop: George Exton Lloyd and the Immigration Debate. Unpublished MA Thesis. University of Saskatchewan.

Knockwood I (1992) *Out of the Depths: The Experiences of Mi'kmaw Children at the Indian Residential School at Shubencadie, Nova Scotia.* Lockeport, NS: Roseway Publishing.

Larmodin L (2001) Native Bishop Forgives Church and Primate. *Anglican Communion News Service* 12 July.

Lane P (Writer) (1986) Circle of Healing. *Man Alive*. Toronto: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

LaRocque ED (1994) Violence in Aboriginal communities. *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, The Path to Healing*. Ottawa: Canada Communications Group.

Lazare A (2004) *On Apology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leerssen J (2001) Monument and Trauma: Varieties of Remembrance. In: McBride I (Ed.) *History and Memory in Modern Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 204-222.

Lewis MR (1966) The Anglican Church and its Mission Schools Dispute. *Alberta Historical Review* 14:7-13.

Logan RB (1993) *The Teaching Wigwams*. Dartmouth (CA): The Shingwauk Collection

MacDonald D (2007) First Nations, Residential Schools, and the Americanization of the Holocaust: Rewriting Indigenous History in the United States and Canada. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 40(4): 995-1015.

Maclean H (1978) The Hidden Agenda: Methodist Attitudes to the Ojibwa and the Development of Indian Schooling in Upper Canada. Master's Thesis, University of Toronto.

Manson S, Beals J, O'Nell T, Piasecki J, Bechtold D, Keane E and Jones M (2002) Wounded Spirits, Ailing Hearts: PTSD and Related Disorders Among American Indians. In: Marsella AJ, Friedman MJ, Gerrity ET and Scurfield RM (Eds.) *Ethnocultural Aspects of Post-traumatic Stress Disorder: Issues, Research, and Clinical Applications*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 255-284.

Marsh D (1969) Hendry Rapped. *Canadian Churchman*. June 1969.

Marsh D (1969b) Indians AND Eskimos. *Canadian Churchman*. July-August 96(8).

McCallum H and McCallum K (1975) *This Land Is Not For Sale*. Toronto: ABC Publishing.

McCallum H and McCallum K and Olthuis J (1976) *Moratorium: Justice, Energy, the North, and the Native People*. Toronto: ABC Publishing.

McCullum H (2004) *Radical Compassion: the Life and Times of Archbishop Ted Scott, tenth Primate of the Anglican Church of Canada*. Toronto: ABC Publishing.

McLennan G (2004) Rationalizing Musicality: a Critique of Alexander's 'Strong Program' in Cultural Sociology. *Thesis Eleven* 79(1): 75-86.

Meier AJ (1998) Apologies: What Do We Know? *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 215-231.

Melling J (1967) *Right to a Future: Native Peoples of Canada*. Toronto: ABC Publishing.

Miller JR (1987) The Irony of Residential Schooling. *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 14(2): 3-14.

Miller JR (1992) Owen Glendower, Hotspur and Canadian Indian Policy. In: Miller JR (Ed.) *Sweet Promises:* A *Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada.* Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 323-352.

Miller JR (1996c) *Shingwauk's Vision:* A *History of Native Residential Schools.* Toronto: University

of Toronto Press.

Miller JR (1996a) Reading Photographs, Reading Voices. In: Brown JSH and Vibert E (Eds.) *Reading Beyond Words.* Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press.

Miller JR (1996d) Denominational Rivalry in Indian Residential Education. *Western Oblate Studies* 2: 139-155*.*

Miller JR (2000) *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Miller MJ (2001) *Where the Spirit Lives*: An Influential and Contentious Television Drama About Residential Schools *American Review of Canadian Studies* 31(1-2): 71-84.

Milloy JS (1996b) Suffer the Little Children: A History of Native Residential Schools in Canada. Ottawa: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Report, *Seven Generations* CD-ROM.

Milloy JS (1999) *'A National Crime': the Canadian Government and the Residential School System,1879-1986*. Winnipeg, Ma: The University of Manitoba Press.

Minnow M (1998) *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (MSCC) (1902-1910) Minutes. Board of Mission and Board of Management. M.S.C.C. Series 1-2. GS 75-103, Box 2. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Moine L (1975) *My Life in* a *Residential School.* Regina, Sk: Provincial Chapter 1.0.D.E., Saskatchewan, in cooperation with the Provincial Library of Saskatchewan.

Morris A (2007) Naked Power and the *Civil Sphere*. *The Sociological Quarterly* 48(4): 615-28.

Morrissette PJ (1994) The Holocaust of First Nation People: Residual Effects on Parenting and Treatment Implications. *Contemporary Family Therapy: An International Journal* 16(5): 381-392.

Mortimer H (1981) *You Call Me Chief: Impressions of the Life of Chief Dan George*. Toronto: Doubleday Canada.

Munn EG (1967) Response to Jones' Request Concerning Contribution of Our Church to Development of Native Canadians. House of Bishop's Committee. GS 75-14. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Nagel J (1997) *American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Red Power and the Resurgence of Identity and Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

National Indian Brotherhood (1972) *Indian Control of Indian Education: Policy Paper Presented*

To the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Ottawa: The Brotherhood.

Neal AG (1998) *National Trauma and Collective Memory: Major Events in the American Century*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

Neu D (2000) Accounting and Accountability Relations: Colonization, Genocide and Canada's First Nations. *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal* 13(3): 268–288.

Neu D and Therrien R (2003) *Accounting for Genocide: Canada's Bureaucratic Assault on Aboriginal People*. Blackpoint, NS: Fernwood Publishing.

Nichols RL (2003) Myths and Realities in American–Canadian Studies: Challenges to Comparing Native Peoples' Experiences. *American Review of Canadian Studies* 33(4): 597-606.

Nobles M (2008) *The Politics of Official Apologies*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Nock D (1988) *A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy: Cultural Synthesis Versus Cultural Replacement.* Waterloo, Ont: Wilfred Laurier University Press.

Novick P (1999) *The Holocaust and Collective Memory*. London: Bloomsbury.

Patterson EP (1972) *The* Canadian Indian*: A History Since 1500*. Toronto: Collier-Macmillan Canada Ltd

Ogloff JRP and Vidmar N (1994) The Impact of Pretrial Publicity on Jurors: A study to Compare the Relative Effects of Television and Print Media in a Child Sex Abuse Case. *Law and Human Behavior* 18(5): 507-25.

Olick JK 2007 *The Politics of Regret: On Collective Memory and Responsibility*. New York: Routledge.

Peers M (1993) *Letter to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Anglican Church of Canada*. Residential Schools Working Group. GS97-08, Box 1. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Peers M (1993) *Letter to the Former Staff*. Residential Schools Working Group. GS97-08, Box 1. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Persson D (1986) *The Changing Experience of Indian Residential Schooling**: Blue Quills**, 1931-1970**.* In: Barman J, Hebert Y and McCaskill D (Eds.) *Indian Education in Canada: The Legacy*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Peterson J (1985) Many Roads to Red River: Métis Genesis in the Great Lakes Region, 1680-1815. In: Peterson J and Brown JSH (Eds.) *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America*. Omaha: Nebraska University Press.

Pettit J (1993) From Longhouse to Schoolhouse: The Mohawk Institute 1834-1970. Unpublished Masters Thesis. University of Western Ontario

Pettit J (1997) To "Christianize and Civilize": Native Industrial Schools in Canada. Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Calgary.

Phillips RB (2004) Commemoration/(de)celebration: Super-Shows and the Decolonization of Canadian Museums, 1967-1992. In: Gabriel B and Ilcan S (Eds.) *Postmodernism and the Ethical Subject*. Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Pierson P (1994) *Dismantling the Welfare State? Reagan, Thatcher, and the Politics of Retrenchment*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Porter A (2004) *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914.*Manchester: Manchester Univesity Press.

Porter E (1981) *The Anglican Church and Native Education: Residential Schools and Assimilation*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Toronto.

Portman WG (1967) Indian Centennial: What to Celebrate? *Canadian Churchman*. December 94(1).

Powell C (2011) *Barbaric Civilization: A Critical Sociology of Genocide*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Raibmon P (1996) "A New Understanding of Things Indian": George Raley's Negotiation of the Residential School Experience. *BC Studies* 110: 69-96.

Reading J (1999) *An Examination of Residential Schools and Survivor Health*. Ottawa: First Nations and Inuit Regional Health Survey National Steering Committee.

Regnier R (1995) The Sacred Circle: an Aboriginal Approach to Healing Education at an Urban High School. In: Battiste M and Barman J (Eds.) *First Nations Education in Canada: the Circle Unfolds*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 313–329.

Reilly T (2008) The Fruit of Our Elders' Dreams…' Lights and Sidelights on the Geo-Story of Indigenous Episcopacy in Canada. *Unpublished presentation. Presented to Association of American Geographers, 15 April 2008*. [Internet] http://dspace1.acs.ucalgary.ca/handle/1880/47928. (Accessed 10 July 2011).

Renov M (1993) *Theorizing Documentary*. London: Routledge.

Residential Schools Working Group (ca. 1989-1992) *A Study Guide for Use With Search for Healing*. R.S.W.G. Videos, 1989-1992. GS 97-08. 4030.2. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Residential Schools Working Group (ca. 1992-1995) Selected Comments on "A Search for Healing". R.S.W.G. Videos, 1989-1992. GS 97-08. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Residential Schools Working Group (ca. 1991-1995) Minutes of Meetings, 1991-1995. GS 97-08, Box 1. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Residential Schools Working Group (ca. 1992-1995) Reports to Primate and Program Committee, 1992-1995. GS 97-08, Box 1. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Residential Schools Working Group (ca. 1991-1994) Reports to NEC, 1991-1994. GS 97-08, Box 1. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Rivera LA (2008) Managing 'Spoiled' National Identity: War, Tourism and Memory in Croatia. *American Sociological Review* 73(4): 613-34.

Robertson LH (2006) The Residential School Experience: Syndrome or Historic Trauma. *Pimatisiwin* 4(1): 2-28.

Smith D, Varcoe C and Edwards N (2005) Turning Around the Intergenerational Impact of the Residential Schools on Aboriginal People: Implications for Health Policy and Practice. *Canadian Journal of Health Research* 37(4): 38-60.

Smith V (1993) Response to the Primate at the National Native Convocation, delivered by Vi Smith on behalf of the elders and participants Minaki, Ont., Saturday, August 7, 1993. [Internet] http://www.anglican.ca/relationships/trc/apology/english/. (Accessed 10 July 2011)

Snow A (1999) Residential School Trauma: A Dynamic Study of Issues, Their Effects, and Resolution. In: Mussel MJ (Ed.) *Journey towards Wellness: From Trauma and Loss to Cultural Healing and Restoration*. Saskatoon, SK: Native Mental Health Association of Canada, 58-63.

Stannard D (1992) *American Holocaust: The Conquest of the New World*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Stanton K (2011) Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Settling the Past? *The International Indigenous Policy Journal* 2(3): 1-18.

Steinmo S, Thelen K & Longstreth F (Eds.) (1992) *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Stout MD and Kipling G (2003) *Aboriginal People, Resilience and the Residential School Legacy*.

Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation. Aboriginal Healing Foundation Research Series

Strong R (2007) *Anglicanism and the British Empire, 1700-1850*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Symons A (2008) What is a 'Living Apology'? *Ministry Matters: Inspiration for Canadian Anglican Leaders*. [Internet] http://www.ministrymatters.ca/archives/2008/fall-2008/what-is-a-%E2%80%9Cliving-apology%E2%80%9D/. (Accessed 10 July 2010)

Tait CL (2003) *Fetal Alcohol Syndrome among Aboriginal People of Canada: Review and Analysis of Intergenerational links to Residential Schools*. Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation.

Tavuchis N (1993) *Mea Culpa: A Sociology of Apology and Reconciliation*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Tims JW (1908) *The Call of the Red Man for Truth, Honesty and Fair Play.* MM 29.7 T38. GS 75-103, Box 3, File 1. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Torpey J (2006) *Making Whole What Has Been Smashed: On Reparations Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Torsti P (2007) How to Deal with a Difficult Past? History Textbooks Supporting Enemy Images in Post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 39(1): 77-96

Trevithick S (1998) Native Residential Schooling in Canada: A Review of the Literature. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 18(1): 49-86.

Turner V (1974) *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Turner V (1982) *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play*. New York: Performing Arts Journal Publication.

Turner V (1987) Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites of Passage. In: Mahdi LC (Ed.) *Betwixt & between: Patterns of Masculine and Feminine Initiation*. London: Open Court Publishing, 3-19.

Usher J (1971) 'Apostles and Aborigines: the Social Theory of the Church Missionary Society,' *Histoire Sociale-Social History* 7: 28-52

UCC Observer (2008) Hugh McCullum, 1931-2008. [Internet] http://www.ucobserver.org/faith/2008/10/hugh_mccullum/ (Accessed 10 July 2010).

Vinitzky-Seroussi V (2002) Commemorating a Difficult Past: Yitzhak Rabin's Memorials. *American Sociological Review* 67:30–51.

Wagner-Pacifici RE (1986) *The Moro Morality Play: Terrorism and Social Drama*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wagner-Pacifici R and Barry S (1991) The Vietnam Veterans Memorial: Commemorating a Difficult Past. *American Journal of Sociology* 97:376–420.

Wagner-Pacifici R (2000) *Theorizing the Standoff: Contingency in Action*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Walton JA (1967) Untitled. Submission to the Committee on Indian and Eskimo Affairs. House of Bishop's Committee. GS 75-14. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada / General Synod Archives.

Ward C (1997) *A Little Matter of Genocide: Holocaust and Denial in the Americas 1492 to the Present*. San Francisco: City Lights Books.

Wasserman J (2005) God of the Whiteman! God of the Indian! God Al-fucking-mighty!: The Residential School Legacy in Two Canadian Plays. *Journal of Canadian Studies* 39(1): 25-58.

Weaver S (1972) *Making Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda, 1968-1970*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Westfall W (1990) *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario*. Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Willis J (1974) *Geniesh: An Indian Girlhood*. Toronto: New Press.

Winbush RW (2003) *Should America Pay: Slavery and the Raging Debate on Reparations*. New York: HarperCollins.

Woolford A (2009) Ontological Destruction: Genocide and Canadian Aboriginal Peoples. *Genocide Studies and Prevention*. 4(1): 81-97.

Yin R (2003) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.