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Physical Culture as Citizenship Education at Pelican Lake Indian Residential School, 1926-1970

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree in Doctor of Philosophy

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Physical Culture as Citizenship Education at
Pelican Lake Indian Residential School, 1926-1970

(Thesis format: Monograph)

by

Braden Paora Te Hiwi

Graduate Program in Kinesiology

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The School of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
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Abstract

Pelican Lake Indian residential school, also known as Sioux Lookout Indian residential school, was an Anglican run institution that was a part of the Canadian residential school system; the school operated from 1926 to 1970. It is well established in the literature that the Department of Indian Affairs intended to evangelize, assimilate, and civilize its students, but the function of citizenship in the residential schools is less well known. The focus of this study was to examine physical culture activities, specifically sport, exercise, and recreation as a form of training for citizenship. In particular, I centered this research on the intent and purpose that local administrators at Pelican Lake School identified in their use of physical culture activities. I used archival sources about the school to examine the issue, primarily using correspondence between local school administrators, such as the local Indian Agents and the Principals at the school.

Prior to World War II, Indian Affairs' education policy was shaped by the ideas of assimilation, evangelization, and civilization, but after the War it changed to a focus on integrated education as the preferred policy option. This study of Pelican Lake School is contextualized by this policy change, and includes chapters that specifically examine physical culture at Pelican Lake School during the pre-War policy period (1926 to 1944), during the policy transition (1945 to 1951), and the post-War policy period (1952 to 1970). The central rationale for implementing physical culture activities at Pelican Lake School was to develop the character traits of a sportsman, predominantly in the boys, which was understood as developing the character traits of the desirable citizen. Despite the changes in the approach to citizenship within the residential school system, physical culture activities

continued to attempt to assimilate the students into a Euro-Canadian vision of physical culture and citizenship. Interestingly, local level school administrators began to justify and value the use of physical culture activities because they believed it brought about enhanced control of the school by developing more disciplined and compliant students.

Keywords

Physical Culture, Physical Education, Sport, Pelican Lake School, Sioux Lookout, Indian Residential School, First Nations, Education, Department of Indian Affairs, Anglican Church.

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this study my parents, Brian and Sandra. They have given me everything I have ever needed, including the confidence to pave my own road and to head down it without thinking twice.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my wife Jen for all her support and patience through the long and winding road to the finish line. This was not possible without you by my side.

Thank you to my children Liana, Kyla, and Gracie for being the best teachers I have ever had.

Thank you to my parents and sister, Brian, Sandra, and Liana for their unconditional love and support, along with my extended family in New Zealand and in Canada who have been behind me all the way.

Thank you to my advisory team, Dr. Michael Heine and Dr. Janice Forsyth for your patience and all the things you have done along the way to help me out.

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Thank you to the Exam Committee, Dr. Nancy Bouchier, Dr. Don. Morrow, Dr. Darwin Semotiak, and Dr. Susan Hill for their good questions and thoughtful feedback, as well as the many other faculty members who have all helped me in different ways and at different points through this process.

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List of Abbreviations

| | |
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| ISA | Indian School Administration |
| MSCC | Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada |
| TRC | Truth and Reconciliation Commission |

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Chapter 1

1 Introduction

In July of 2015 the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada released a summary report of its findings, *Honouring the Truth: Reconciling the Future*.¹ The TRC had been established seven years prior to the report's release; its mandate was to investigate and record histories about the Indian residential school system. The dominant narrative from the perspective of the students, as *Honouring the Truth* demonstrates, includes profound cultural loss, physical, psychological, and sexual abuse, death and disease, amongst other destructive legacies that resulted from the actions of Church and state in the administration of the schools.² The intent of the TRC is to use the histories of the Indian residential school system to facilitate reconciliation in the relationship between First Nations and non-First Nation people. The summary report cites Phil Fontaine, former Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, and a former residential school student himself, who, when addressing the Senate of Canada connected the idea of reconciliation to a notion of citizenship: "Reconciliation then, implies a solemn duty to act, a responsibility to engage, and an obligation to fulfill the promises inherent in an advanced democratic and ethical citizenship."³ In what ways did the history of the residential school system shape the citizenship of its students? And would our understanding about this history, as Fontaine contends, have implications for the future of Canadian citizenship for First Nations peoples? Only a limited body of research in the historiography of residential schools has examined the role of citizenship in the education of its students, and in this study I hope to contribute to our understanding of this issue by examining the role of physical culture practices in guiding citizenship in the students. Specifically, I will examine the administration of physical culture

practices at Pelican Lake Indian Residential School, an Anglican run institution not far from the northern Ontario town of Sioux Lookout.

1.1 Pelican Lake Indian Residential School

The decision to build Pelican Lake School came from both Indian Affairs and the Anglican Church (through the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada), so that First Nations children in the remote areas of Ontario had better opportunities for schooling.⁴ The school was also known as Sioux Lookout Indian Residential School because it was located just 10 kilometers west of the town of Sioux Lookout, Ontario.⁵ The school sat in a heavily wooded area on the shores of Pelican Lake, which is part of Lac Saul traditional territory. The main building was a three-story structure that included classrooms, two playrooms, a medical dispensary, two hospital rooms, a chapel, and girls and boys dormitories.⁶ The school was established in 1926, and by the 1940s had a student population between 150 and 160 pupils.⁷ Many of the students were drawn from northern Ontario communities in Treaty Nine territory,⁸ and many also came from the closest reserve, Lac Saul. The language groups of these communities included Ojibway, Cree, and Swampy Cree.

Typical of other residential schools, the students were in class from 9am until 4pm, with half the day spent on chores, work, and training, and the other half on academics.⁹ However, the students' days were also organized and regulated before and after school hours, and religious instruction was part of their routine. Students were typically instructed in grades one through eight. After World War II, the school took on responsibilities as a hostel, as many of the children would travel to Sioux Lookout to receive their educations in the provincial system. By 1970 the school had officially closed down, but the facility

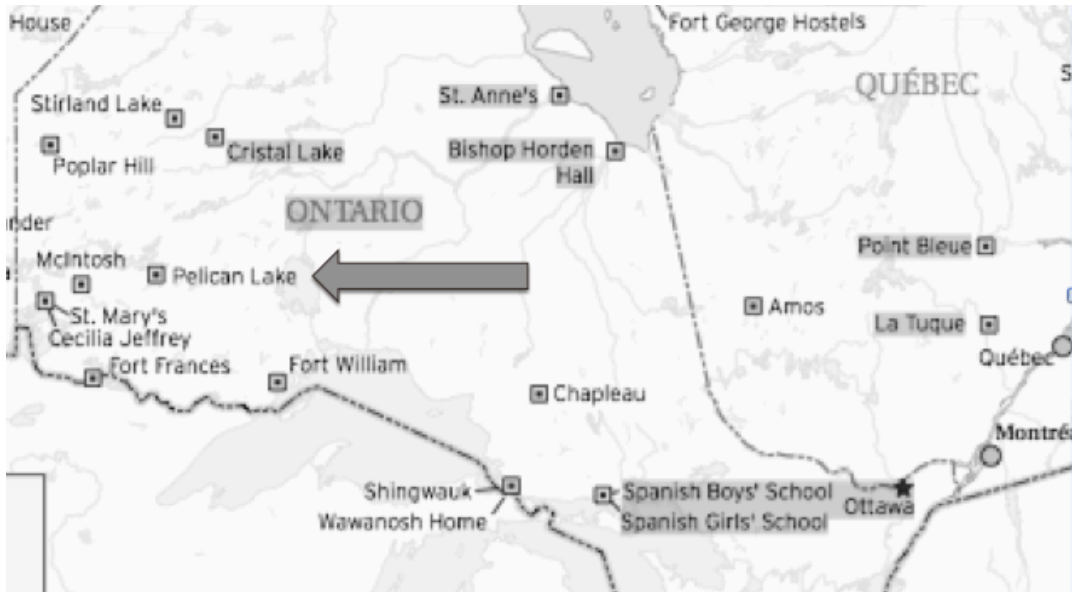


Figure 1. Map of residential schools in northern Ontario. The location of Pelican Lake School is highlighted by the arrow.¹⁰

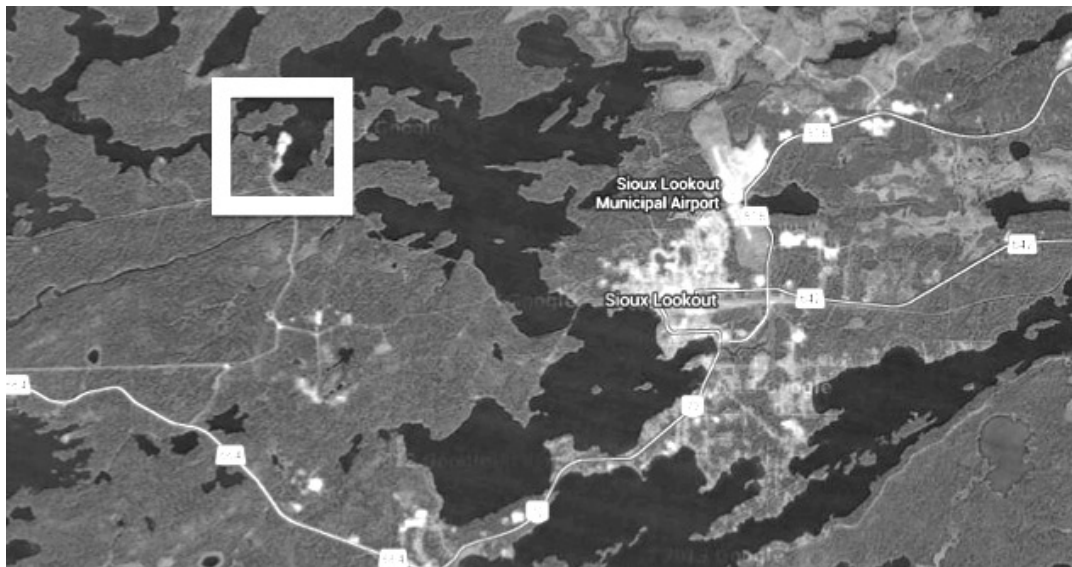


Figure 2. Satellite map of Sioux Lookout, Ontario and its surrounding area. Pelican Lake Indian Residential School was located in the center of the area highlighted by the box.¹¹

continued to operate as a residence for students in the 1970s. Eventually the Nishnawbe Aski Education Council (the education body of the Nishwabe Aski Nation for Treaty Nine territory) took over complete control of the property and school. The residential school has since been demolished, but a new First Nations school on the same site currently educates children from northern Ontario.

Little is recorded about Pelican Lake Indian Residential School in the academic literature. The most comprehensive source on the school is a small chapter in Donald Auger's, *Indian Residential Schools in Ontario*, which briefly outlines many facets of life at the school, including classroom instruction, organized recreational activities, and details of infrastructure. Another source of information is a history written about the town of Sioux Lookout, *Tracks beside the Water*, which includes a few short accounts from students and former staff concerning their experiences at the school.¹² One very interesting story to come from Pelican Lake School took place in 1951, as the school's midget hockey team, the Black Hawks, toured the provincial and national capitals to play hockey. The young boys travelled all the way from northern Ontario to Ottawa and Toronto for three hockey games; it was also an opportunity to visit the cities' main attractions, including the parliament buildings, the national archives, and the national museum to impart an education about modern Canadian life among the young boys.¹³ The purpose of the trip was to produce loyal First Nations citizens, while also promoting the integration of First Nations and White youth through competitive sport. Otherwise, small snippets of information can be found about Pelican Lake School in other sources, such as Jim Miller's *Shingwauk's Vision*.¹⁴

1.2 Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study is to examine the perspectives of local school administrators in their use of physical culture activities at Pelican Lake School, from 1926 to 1970.¹⁵ The administration of physical culture activities will be considered in light of the approach by Indian Affairs to use residential schools as a means for imparting a citizenship education; in other words, residential schools were intended to develop the students to take on the traits of a good citizen required to eventually attain citizenship status and become a “good” citizen.

To contextualize my study of physical culture activities at Pelican Lake School, I will place the school’s history within my understanding of the key policy objectives of Indian Affairs. The policy of Indian Affairs changed over time, and therefore I organized my study of Pelican Lake School within time periods of differing approaches. The first period (1926-1944) under analysis begins with the school’s inception and ends just prior to World War II, a period in which assimilation and civilization were the primary paths for citizenship. The second period (1945-1951) spans the era from the end of World War II to 1951; during this era, citizenship policy began its transition from civilization to integration as a means for promoting citizenship. The final period (1952-1970) extends from the education revisions contained within the Indian Act amendments of 1951 to the closure of Pelican Lake School. The post war period saw more intensive efforts to use physical culture activities in the residential schools system and is characterized by a new approach to citizenship. I will examine how the various local authorities of the Anglican Church and state sought to produce desirable citizens from First Nations youth through the use of organized sport and physical activity.

1.3 Literature Review

In 1857 the Province of Canada put into place *The Act to encourage the gradual civilization of the Indian Tribes in the Province, and to amend the laws respecting Indians*.¹⁶

The Act legislated the enfranchisement process, whereby a male Indian could apply to renounce his Indian status so that he could attain British citizenship. In no uncertain terms, the Act's preamble outlines its intended function:

WHEREAS it is desirable to encourage the progress of Civilization among the Indian Tribes in this Province, and the gradual removal of all legal distinctions between them and Her Majesty's other Canadian Subjects, and to facilitate the acquisition of property and of the rights accompanying it, by such Individual Members of the said Tribes as shall be found to desire such encouragement and to have deserved it."¹⁷

The enfranchisement policy sought to remove Indian status from individuals one person at a time, so that gradually it would terminate the political distinction of First Nations communities. To successfully enfranchise, an Indian was required to prove to a decision-making board his readiness for Canadian citizenship, which meant having a basic level of education, being free of debt, and being of good moral character.¹⁸ The officials working in Indian Affairs believed, however, that they would need to actively guide the process of civilization because they understood Indian people as living in a child-like state of development and would therefore require paternal care and guidance to reach the appropriate level of civilization. However, without additional policies to support First Nations peoples' transition to civilization, the Act was ineffectual. The residential school system was a critically important policy used by Indian Affairs to guide the civilization of First Nations peoples to become ready for enfranchisement.

Indian Affairs used a number of key ideas in the implementation of the residential school system that elucidate its intended function, and these ideas changed over time. From the 1880s through to the 1940s, Indian Affairs used the ideas of civilization, assimilation, wardship, segregation, and evangelization as important goals for First Nations education.¹⁹ After World War II, the civilization and evangelization goals became less important; wardship was replaced with citizenship status; and integration became a new term that was used to characterize First Nations policy.²⁰ The remainder of the literature builds on the understanding that the residential schools were used by Indian Affairs to prepare the students to eventually take up citizenship, and is divided into the period prior to, and then the period following, World War II. It is this framework of understanding about the residential school system that I then turn to and use to assess the literature on physical culture.

1.3.1 The Policy of Indian Affairs on the Indian Residential School System, 1880 to 1945.

Indian Affairs intended the residential school to be more than classroom instruction; the school systems primary function was to impart social transformation among the students. More specifically, Indian Affairs intended to impart a transformation that would transition First Nations from backwardness to progressiveness, from antiquity to modernity, from heathens to Christians, from subsistence economics to an industrial or agricultural economy, from First Nations cultures to Euro-Canadian culture, and ultimately from outsiders to insiders.²¹ In other words, the residential school system was a social engineering project that was used by Indian Affairs to provide students with a basic set of skills so that they could contribute to the government's vision of a desired citizen.²²

The focus of the residential school system from 1850 to World War II was the absorption of First Nations into the state, which Indian Affairs sought to accomplish with two related processes; the first was cultural assimilation and the second was political assimilation. Cultural assimilation sought to impose Euro-Canadian culture that would replace First Nations peoples' cultural practices. For instance, First Nations were taught to stop speaking their traditional languages in the residential school system so that English and French could be adopted.²³ Assimilation could also be political. When an Indian enfranchised he would no longer be a member of his First Nation community and instead would be absorbed into the country as a member of the state.

The civilization process was central to Indian Affairs policy, which framed First Nations societies as primitive when compared to civilized European societies, and therefore First Nations were in need of development. The basis of Indian Affairs' belief in the need for civilization was grounded in ethnocentric ideas and racist assumptions.²⁴ For example, settlers believed First Nations societies to be backward, degenerate, incapable, weak, immoral, and ultimately a doomed way of life in the face of civilized advances.²⁵ For settler society, the civilizing mission was self-serving and altruistic. It was self-serving because it advanced the interests of the state at the direct expense of First Nations. They also believed it to be benevolent because government officials, missionaries, and the general public believed they were helping First Nations peoples to advance and progress; but because it was based on racist assumptions it was ultimately damaging. Wardship was another key idea used by Indian Affairs that was closely connected to the concept of civilization. The federal government unilaterally decided to treat First Nations peoples like dependents or wards,

because settler society saw them as being incapable of reaching the height of civilization without its guidance.²⁶

One of the hallmarks Indian Affairs' approach to developing and civilizing First Nations peoples in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century was that it was often done in isolated spaces and with policies of segregation. A key feature of the residential school system was to remove children from the influence of their families and communities, and therefore enable the students' civilization in isolation before being reintroduced to Canadian society when they were ready for citizenship.²⁷ Although Indian Affairs used civilization and assimilation in complementary ways, assimilation is slightly different because it does not have to involve complete civilization, which was the case when Canadian citizenship was bestowed on First Nations in the 1950s regardless of their perceived level of civilization. Nor did achieving civilization necessitate inclusion into the Canadian nation-state, as separate yet civilized First Nations communities was part of Indian policy in the first half of eighteenth century.²⁸

Another feature of the civilization mission by Indian Affairs was the teaching and indoctrination of the Christian Faith in First Nations peoples. The federal government organized and funded the residential school system, but it was a church-state partnership that best describes the organizational leadership of the school system; a Church group was assigned the responsibility for administering each individual residential school, while Indian Affairs administered the school system as a whole.²⁹ Both the Churches and the federal government operated the residential school system within a mutually agreeable framework.

The Anglican Church and the federal government had a their own central objectives for the residential school system, but these goals are best understood as deeply intertwined and

interdependent. For the federal government, the residential school objectives of civilization and assimilation were of central importance to First Nations policy. However, Indian Affairs understood First Nations peoples' conversion to Christianity to be more than simply relevant to education, assimilation, and civilization, but rather an essential part of becoming Canadian.³⁰ The Churches on the other hand, pursued evangelization as a primary objective. By the turn of the twentieth century, however, it was clear that replacing First Nations culture was the Anglican Church's approach to evangelization.¹ In fact, the Anglican Church believed that First Nations would be unable to fully embrace Christianity without first having an understanding of civilization.³¹ These ideas are summed up by the chairman of the Anglican Church's Indian Committee, Samuel H. Blake, who in 1906 said the long term goal of the education system was "conducting our Red Brethren in due time to the position of self-reliant Christian citizens of our dominion."³² Thus while the objectives of Indian Affairs and the Anglican Church emphasize and frame the Indian problem slightly differently, their interdependence meant that Indian Affairs and the Anglican Church worked together within a highly consistent framework in First Nations education until the end of their relationship in 1969.³³

1.3.2. The Policy of Indian Affairs on the Indian Residential School System, 1945 to 1970.

After World War II there were many changes in Canadian society and politics, and residential school policy was no exception. One of the key shifts in residential school policy at this time was to move away from the civilization mission that was based on the assumption of the superiority of Euro-Canadian culture and race, which became increasingly hard to justify after World War II.³⁴ Canadian criticisms of Nazi racism, the valiant efforts of First

Nations veterans fighting against such racist ideals, a global shift in politics that recognized human rights, the notion of equality, and a move to left liberal politics, made the inferiority of First Nations culture a difficult position to hold for the federal government.³⁵ Thus the policy of raising First Nations up to the level of Euro-Canadian culture become less politically tenable, and the civilizing mission consequently faded from this time on. Similarly, imposing the Christian religion on pupils through the state as a way to reach civilization was also no longer the preferred option, and as such, the evangelization efforts became less important to the school system, particularly for Indian Affairs.

The wardship of First Nations peoples in Indian Affairs policy was overshadowed by a new approach to citizenship after 1945; the change in the thinking of Indian Affairs was due in large part to the idea of equality that became centrally important to the political landscape in Canada after World War II. In 1957, Canadian citizenship was imposed on First Nations peoples, after a century of enfranchisement policy that excluded First Nations peoples from being citizens, unless they could display what Indian Affairs considered an appropriate level of civilization.³⁶ Indeed, Jim Miller has characterized the residential school education in the post-War period as being education-for-citizenship in a liberal democracy.³⁷ Thus, there was quite a radical shift in policy away from enfranchising individual Indians in order to be granted citizenship, and instead Indian Affairs moved toward uniform citizenship as the favored approach in its policy.

Another shift in the policy of Indian Affairs after World War II was to move away from policy that sought to work with First Nations peoples in isolation, and instead Indian Affairs wanted to include First Nations people within the state by treating them the same as other Canadians.³⁸ By making First Nations equal to non-First Nations, the federal

government could more readily absorb them into society. From this time on, integration became a popular idea in Indian Affairs policy. Another part of the process of integration was to focus on reducing structural differences, most notably segregated structures, such that separate welfare provisions, education systems, or laws would be seen as undesirable by the federal government.³⁹ Thus, the segregated approach that was an original feature of the residential school system became a problem for which integration was the solution.

Another key change in the administration of Indian Affairs policy that was of particular relevance to the residential school system was that the relationship between Indian Affairs and the churches began to wane. New stakeholders became influential in Indian policy-making, including academics, non-profit organizations, and the general public.⁴⁰ For example, during the Special Joint Committee (1946) that was tasked with reexamining the Indian Act, church groups did not take a central leadership role in changing residential school policy towards integration. Indian Affairs' post-War policy sought firstly to work closely with provinces to provide First Nations education, and also to use the residential school system as a secondary and temporary education preference.⁴¹ Thus, residential school policy formulation from this time onward sidelined Church leadership. By 1969 the government's formal relationship with the Churches in running the schools ended, and the Anglican Church accepted the movement of their residential school students into day schools as a necessary step for First Nations peoples.⁴²

The key ideas and goals of the residential school system that were held by Indian Affairs and the Churches outlined here, provide a framework for understanding how physical culture policy was developed and implemented in the residential school system. The remainder of this literature review examines the physical culture practices in the residential

school system in light of this policy contextualization, and is separated into the two time periods.

1.3.3 Physical culture in the Indian Residential School System, before 1945.

The literature on residential schools has shown some interest in physical cultural practices, but there are still many details that are unknown. There is evidence that at least some schools used games, physical activities, and sport as a routine part of life. Donald Auger provides a brief historical overview of all the residential schools in Ontario, many of which included physical activities, scheduled time for physical activities, and had photos of games and sports teams.⁴³ In his research, Auger references physical culture at the following schools in Ontario: St. Margaret's, McIntosh, Sioux Lookout, St. Anne's, Hordon Hall, Shingwauk, Spanish, and The Mohawk Institute. Although this work provides a descriptive snapshot, it does show that some schools had some program of physical culture. Miller notes that British sports had been used during the 19th and early 20th centuries, but had been fully replaced by hockey, baseball, and basketball by World War II.⁴⁴ However, physical culture in individual schools or the residential school system has not been a large focus of historical research in Canada. For example, Mary-Ellen Kelm's history of health in British Columbia residential schools, with its central focus on the colonization of the body, makes no reference to physical culture practices.⁴⁵

The extent to which physical culture was implemented, how it was implemented, its effects on students, and how this developed over time is not fully known, however the literature does provide a good outline of many of the major elements of physical culture, and some important themes. During the first half of the 20th century, drill, calisthenics, and

gymnastics exercises were common in the residential school system, although sport and games were also used during this time. However, no physical culture policy existed in the residential school system prior to 1950; instead, activities were usually promoted based on the whim of individual teachers, priests, or Indian Affairs agents, rather than any widespread institutionalized efforts that were uniformly implemented across the system. It is also likely that – in the context of extremely limited budgets – physical education was often seen as a cost-effective way to deal with the health issues that plagued the school system.⁴⁶

The use of drill and physical training was a popular activity that was used by teachers to promote obedience and discipline. The use drill and physical training was also used in the provincial system with similar purpose, but in residential schools they were also intended to civilize and assimilate First Nations youth. This was viewed as important in order for First Nations to become self-reliant citizens, and establish a workforce that was designed to replace tribal allegiances and First Nations economic systems with those of private property ownership.⁴⁷ Mass displays of drill and calisthenics would help to promote evidence of this civilizing effect, which was intended to achieve long-term substantive change in the social values and economic capability of the students.⁴⁸

The entire day of residential school students was regulated, including recreation and leisure periods. Sports and recreation were used to reinforce the appropriate behaviors for the ‘good’ life - that is, the Euro-Canadian way of life.⁴⁹ These activities were not to be the unorganized games of the ‘uncivilized,’ but were to be organized, structured, and supervised sport, games, and training.⁵⁰ The intent of this process was not merely to replace traditional First Nations physical activities, but to instill the ideological value system of individualized

pursuit of success that was required to become a successful citizen, and to promote a distinctly Canadian sense of identity, through sport and physical culture.⁵¹

There is a greater focus on physical culture in the residential school literature from the United States, and this contribution is particularly strong prior to World War II. For example, John Bloom's *To Show What an Indian Can Do*, is a book length investigation that focuses on the history of sports at American Indian residential schools, to which there is no Canadian counterpart.⁵² This is largely due to the prominence of sport in the American education system (shaped by a greater focus on physical culture in the mainstream education system during this era), and the cultural importance of sport in American society. Sport was not just an extra-curricular activity but also a central part of education, and as such, play and recreation were used extensively in the United States during the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century.⁵³ This was quite different from the regimented physical cultural practices that were typical in Canada. Carlisle and Haskell schools are two of the most prominent sporting examples of American residential schools, but in general histories of other American residential schools there is often more discussion on physical culture than in the Canadian context.⁵⁴

Sport also enabled more positive experiences for the students in the United States, even if the same civilizing and ethnocentric ideas underpinned its implementation. Opportunities for sport success, success against whites, and the cultural capital associated with dominant sports performances provided more positive opportunities for American Indian students.⁵⁵ This came out of a model of competitive sports predominantly for boys, often in competition with white teams, which was often accompanied by significant media and spectator interest.⁵⁶ For example, William Medina's study of the Sherman Institute examines at length the role of

competitive sports in maximizing school publicity and enhancing school reputation.⁵⁷ There was no similar or comparable system of sport across the Canadian residential school system prior to the 1940s.

Physical cultural practices in Canada were thus designed to dispossess First Nations of their cultures and replace them, in the name of civic advancement, with civic norms, Canadian patriotism, and Canadian identity.⁵⁸ This process sought to instruct prospective citizens in the duties and privileges of British, and later Canadian, citizenship. By replacing First Nation cultures with Canadian culture, First Nations students would be trained for inclusion within the state, and this would come at the cost of displacing traditional political affiliations connecting them with their communities.⁵⁹ Although these activities were designed to dispossess First Nations of their culture, identity, and connection to their communities, sports and games often afforded an opportunity to develop self-confidence, build allegiances amongst students, and allow competition against White students thereby promoting First Nations identity.⁶⁰

1.3.4 Physical Culture in the Indian Residential School system, 1945 – 1970.

After World War II, with Indian Affairs bureaucrats looking to close the residential school system down, the focus of physical culture policy changed significantly. The policy change now sought to use First Nations education to foster inclusion, integration, and social cohesion between First Nations and non-First Nation peoples. The literature reflects an increased focus on physical culture, in particular the use of sport and recreation. For example, Celia Haig-Brown cites extra-curricular activities during the 1940s at Kamloops Residential School in British Columbia as one of the only positive features of a largely

repressive institution.⁶¹ For some students, sports provided respite from harsh discipline and depressing environments at the schools. Also discussing the period of the 1940s, Basil Johnson's work reflects on his experiences at Spanish Residential School and the prominent role sport played (primarily hockey, football, and baseball) for all members of the school, and in particular those who made the school team.⁶² He says that recreation activities like sport, games, and rehearsals were part of their daily routine, and were scheduled twice a day.⁶³ Johnson also noted that Sunday afternoons, weather permitting, were set aside for baseball, softball, or hockey, depending on the season.⁶⁴ Furthermore, competitive teams were eventually developed and they played other schools in the area (public and First Nations schools), and this provided opportunities to develop a positive reputation for the students.⁶⁵

By 1950 the promotion of organized sport, in particular competition with other schools, formed the basis of Indian Affairs's physical culture policy throughout the country. Sport was considered an effective way for "intermingling of the races socially in public schools and in community sport... [as it would] accelerate the assimilation of the Indian people and contribute to their acceptance in business and society by the 'whites' on an equal basis."⁶⁶ This process was designed to be one of mutual engagement. First Nations would learn what it meant to be a good Canadian from interactions with Whites, and the latter would learn to better get along with First Nations. This engagement was seen as important if First Nations were to ever be accepted as equals in Canadian society.

An acknowledgement of the growing importance of physical culture, and its ability to contribute to Indian Affairs' policy goals, was reflected in the creation of the position of Supervisor of Physical Education and Recreation. Jan Eisenhardt occupied this position from 1950-1951, and sought to bolster First Nations' pride through developing a sport system that

would help bring First Nations into the modern nation as self-reliant and equal Canadians.⁶⁷ Eisenhardt attributed physical culture activities with the effect of providing progress and development, and as such he attempted to use these activities as a tool to move First Nations towards a higher order of civilization through the development of a fully organized sport system.⁶⁸ In addition, this process would develop the physical health of the students, along with their moral and social development.

Physical culture was identified as being of particular benefit in producing desirable social values in students, as well as achieving the larger policy goals of the federal government and Anglican Church. For example, a representative of the Anglican Church said in 1953 that “many of our schools participate in inter-school and inter-community sports” and were therefore “proving of great benefit in developing, not only an understanding of fair play and cooperative effort, but also in breaking down racial barriers.”⁶⁹ Thus the larger social and political goals of Indian Affairs were sought by school administrators, and were connected to the development of First Nations youth for inclusion into Canadian society.

In the residential school system, Indian Affairs’ implementation of physical culture activities took on the function of developing First Nations youth as Canadian citizens through policies designed to effect assimilation, integration, and civilization. These goals have changed over time, shifting from regimented physical training and drill, to a more inclusionary atmosphere of sport and recreation during the post-World War II era. The use of physical culture in both eras was central to the continued colonization of First Nations peoples, because physical culture was implemented for the purposes of the federal government and within a Euro-Canadian framework for the development, organization, and participation. The literature examining physical culture in the residential school system lacks

many historical details, but it does illustrate many dominant themes, including assimilation, civilization, integration, health, and citizenship.

1.4 Contribution to the Body of Knowledge

There is a dearth of academic literature examining physical culture practices in the residential school system.⁷⁰ In this study I will seek to contribute to the literature by describing the ways in which physical culture was administered at Pelican Lake School, by contextualizing it within the function of the wider residential school system. No previous study has attempted to examine the entirety of a school's physical culture program, and therefore this study will provide a unique contribution to the existing literature. A more robust understanding of physical culture activities in the residential school system will add to our broader understanding of the residential school experience.

The overarching objectives of physical culture policy in the residential school system have been outlined by existing literature, and include health, assimilation, civilization, imparting gender norms, integration, and citizenship.⁷¹ Yet there is little information about the administration of physical culture activities at the local level. This study provides the opportunity to understand the differences and similarities in the intent and results of physical culture activities at the local level compared with the national level. This is of particular importance because many of Indian Affairs' lofty ideals and ideologically driven policy goals for the residential school system may turn out to be at variance with the implementation of these policies at the school level.

Janice Forsyth has pointed out the importance of citizenship in the use of physical culture activities in the residential school system in her study of how the Indian Act had

come to shape First Nations' sport practices.⁷² While Forsyth's insight is telling, additional research could build on her work as she did not account for varying understandings of citizenship, or how the definition of citizenship can change over time. Jim Miller has pointed to education-for-citizenship as central to the residential school curriculum in the post-World War II period of liberal democracy, and thus indicates the explicit emergence of citizenship education in residential schooling during this time period.⁷³

Despite some authors pointing to the value of citizenship as an important idea in the residential school system, there is a dearth of research that uses citizenship as a lens with which to examine the residential school system. There are three notable exceptions; Andrea Nicolas Bear's study, and the work of Battiste and Semaganis, provides a broad analysis of citizenship in the education of First Nations peoples.⁷⁴ Nicholas provides a strong argument that a principle function of residential schools was to create subjects of the state through a process of civilization that was designed for political control and power. A study conducted by Mary Jane McCallum examined the role of Girl Guides in shaping citizenship in young girls in residential schools, hospitals, sanatoria, and on reserve.⁷⁵ McCallum adds to the former two studies that are more general and overarching in focus, as she traces the details of how the Girl Guides sought to train and develop Indigenous girls for their role as future female citizens. I hope to further expand on this literature by examining how physical culture activities were used in the production of citizenship. Through this study I aim to build upon Forsyth's work with a more robust definition of citizenship that is contextualized within the broader policy framework of Indian Affairs. In particular, I will look to explain how physical culture was implemented prior to World War II, and also how this evolved through the changing post-War political climate Indian Affairs operated within.

1.5 Use of Terminology

A number of key terms are used throughout this study and as such require additional explanation.

1.5.1 Physical Culture

The notion of physical culture is a contested term; there is no agreed-upon definition of what it means. However, since physical culture is central to the organization and analysis of this dissertation, I offer the following as a working definition of the term: *Physical culture is a dimension of the corporeal that is concerned with shared understandings of the moving body that are centered on three distinct forms: sport, physical recreation, and exercise.*⁷⁶ Thus, physical culture is the cultural context that shapes how we engage in bodily practices, and, therefore, how individuals and groups come to think about the practices associated with the moving body and attach meaning to those practices. This definition will provide a measure of continuity between various physical activities as they develop over time. The three forms of physical culture that I will be examining in this dissertation - sport, physical recreation, and exercise - are described in more detail below. These definitions are important because they will center my attention on the key concepts that will be used for my analysis.

Sport is a competitive form of physical activity that is organized in a formal way. Bernard Suits points to sport as a particular kind of game, which involves a physical skill, has a wide following, and has developed a certain level of stability over time.⁷⁷ Thus, games of chance (e.g., snakes and ladders), non-physical activities (e.g., chess), activities that very few people know about, and which do not have a history of strategy, rules, coaching, require technical equipment or player development, can not be understood as sports. Examples of

sport include hockey, baseball, and soccer. Physical recreation has two separate but interconnected meanings. First, it is a “state of being” as the participant becomes refreshed, regenerated, or re-created for pursuits in other areas of life (e.g., work, volunteerism, domestic life).⁷⁸ Second, it is an activity that can be used as a medium for achieving the desired state of being.⁷⁹ In this study I am focusing on the activity of recreation. In the residential school system, possible examples of physical recreation include walking, swimming, outdoor games, and skating. Exercise is a physical activity that seeks to enhance the body and bodily functions for aesthetic, fitness, and/or health concerns.⁸⁰ In the residential school system the types of exercises could include, for example, gymnastics, weight training, running, calisthenics, and drill.

Of course, there are many connections and overlaps between the three types of physical culture. For instance, exercise can be used in the development of an athlete for sport, or as a form of recreation. However, the fact that they are all organized and structured activities that work in and through the moving body is what connects them, and this connection is what distinguishes my definition of physical culture from a broader understanding of the term. A broader definition of physical culture could include elements like body modification, corporeal punishment, or the physicality of work, illness, and sexual intimacy. Understanding the impacts on the heavy demands of work and chores on the residential school pupils, the lived experience of constant hunger, or the cutting of pupils’ hair to conform with Euro-Canadian styles, are examples of shaping the understandings of the body of a residential school student that is beyond the scope of this study. Thus, sport, physical recreation, and exercise activities will guide this reconstruction of the administration of Pelican Lake School.

1.5.2 First Nations and Indian

In this study the terms I use most frequently are that of “Indian” and “First Nations.” Indian is a social, racial, and legal term used to describe a group of Indigenous peoples in Canada who are subject to the Indian Act (1876). The term is considered inappropriate and outdated in most circumstances, although legal contexts are one prominent exception. The term “status Indian” refers to someone who is legally recognized by the Federal government as being subject to the Indian Act. However, some individuals consider themselves as being a member of a First Nations community, but through various government policies their ancestors lost legal Indian status. I use the word First Nations to refer to the groups of peoples formally known as Indians as it better reflects First Nations peoples’ definition of themselves. I use the word Indian in two ways. Firstly, I use the word in titles or common phrases, such as *Indians Affairs* or the *Indian residential school system*. Secondly, I use the word Indian to refer to a policy construct or idea embedded within Indian policy, and not the group of people subject to Indian policy. At times, I use the phrase “status Indian” to emphasize the legal status of the person rather than the person himself. Differentiating the use of Indian and First Nations can sometimes be difficult because First Nations peoples are obviously shaped by Indian policy. Where possible however, it is necessary to distinguish when I am referring to a group of peoples (i.e., First Nations) and when I am referring to a policy idea (i.e., Indian), so that First Nations people are not reduced to the idea of the Indian.

1.5.3 Citizenship Education

Scholars have referred to the connection between the twin goals of citizenship and education as “citizenship education,” which the set of ideas that guide the process of social, moral, political, and physical regulation and production, in which specific understandings of what it means to be a desirable subject of the state are pursued and developed in a student population.⁸¹ The connection between citizenship education and physical culture in schools has received only a small amount of attention in the literature. What is the link between citizenship education and physical culture? The use of physical culture in the Canadian public school system dates back to the second half of the 19th century and has played an important role within society, from developing men for war, teaching immediate obedience, and/or fostering a sense of nationalism, to name but a few effects.⁸² The focus of this study is on the development of Canadian citizens in First Nations students *through* the moving body. More specifically, I will focus on the ways in which physical culture, including organized sport, recreation, and exercise, was used within the Canadian residential school system to achieve the broader goals of the church and state, using Pelican Lake School as a case study.

1.6 Method

I used archival research as the method of data collection for this dissertation, which was conducted in repositories relevant to Pelican Lake Indian Residential School. Archival research is appropriate to understand the perspectives of local school administrators in their use of physical culture activities at the school. Through my research I collected evidence that includes: official government and church letters, circular letters, personnel letters, notes, memorandums, photos, a number and variety of government and church reports, calls for

tenders, newsletters, journals, pamphlets and brochures, bulletins, church magazines, school magazines, annual reports, general and specific budget information, maps and diagrams, school registrars, newspaper articles, and a scrapbook. The key administrators involved at the school included the Indian Agents, Anglican inspectors of the school, the school principals, and perhaps to a lesser extent the regional supervisors and the superintendents of education at Indian Affairs. It is the correspondence between these key actors that played a central role in examining the research issue.

The two primary repositories used for this study came from the primary organizations that administered Pelican Lake School, Indian Affairs and the Anglican Church. Located in Ottawa, Ontario The National Archives of Canada houses the archives of Indian Affairs. Record Group 10 was centrally important because it includes the “Indian School File” that contains Indian Affairs’ residential school documentation. Search parameters I used included; sport, physical culture, physical education, drill, health, calisthenics, gymnastics, Pelican Lake School, Sioux Lookout School, and Sioux Lookout Agency. The vast majority of records collected were found in files about Pelican Lake School generally, rather than in files that indicated particular reference to physical culture activities. During the same trip to Ottawa, I went to the Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada Library in Gatineau, Quebec. The library contains many resources including a rare books collection. Of particular note, the rare book collection contains many copies of the Indian School Bulletin, which was an Indian Affairs publication sent to guide the education at residential and day schools. All *Indian Affairs Annual Reports* from 1926 to 1970 were also collected and read for Pelican Lake School content.

The General Synod Archives of the Anglican Church in Toronto, Ontario was the other major repository used for this study, and it contained a very extensive volume of files. The search parameters I used were similar to the ones used in the archives of Indian Affairs, although church specific additions included the relevant Dioceses (Keewatin) and Parish (Southern Region) files, as well as the files of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, the Indian School Administration, and some key personnel involved in the administration of Pelican Lake School. One of the most useful sources found at this archive for this study were the reports of the Superintendent of the Indian Schools Administration, who frequently visited and reported on Pelican Lake School.

Another important repository I used is the Jan Eisenhardt Collection, left by the first Supervisor of Physical Education for Indian Affairs (1950-1951); the collection is catalogued and stored at the International Center for Olympic Studies at Western University. It includes official correspondence, departmental memos, personal letters and journals, various newspaper clippings, original photographs, and reports about the Indian Affairs program during Eisenhardt's tenure there. I also conducted an online search through the database of the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre at Algoma University. This repository contains information about various residential schools throughout Canada. There were a small number of files that I was able to retrieve electronically. Again I found files with generic titles regarding Pelican Lake School and no files specifically about physical culture, despite the large number of search terms that were used. A small number of files were collected from the National Residential School Survivors Society website, along with the website of the Red Lake Regional Heritage Centre.

The Sioux Lookout Community Museum was another important source of information for this study. There is no database for searching for materials at this museum, and as such I worked with the museum coordinator to collect relevant artifacts or documentation. The Museum was the source of a number of documents, the vast majority of which were from the Sioux Lookout newspaper *The Daily Bulletin*. The Museum contains scattered issues of the newspaper throughout the 1950s, and many issues from the 1960s. Lastly, Anglican newspapers and magazines were searched. Issues of *The Church Messenger of Canada* were collected between 1929 and 1941. The largest Anglican publication, *The Canadian Churchman*, was also collected from 1926 to 1970. To my surprise, the latter did not yield much information specific to Pelican Lake School.

1.7 Limitations

Library and Archives Canada imposes access restrictions on certain parts of their collections relevant to this study. Files that are deemed by Library and Archives Canada to contain sensitive and personal information can be legally restricted to the general public. In particular, the information of many records within the Indian School Files is not publically known. Consequently, I was unable to access sources of information that likely would have been relevant to this research.

1.8 Delimitations

The central delimitation is my choice to investigate Pelican Lake School. Although individual school histories play an important role in informing the literature about the residential school generally, this study primarily investigates the school, and people who lived at the school or worked with the school. The second major delimitation is directly

connected to the first, which is the time line of analysis. This study begins with the schools establishment in 1926 and then continues through to the schools closure in 1970. This timeframe is useful to analyze the implementation of physical culture in the policy context of citizenship and physical culture prior to and after World War II.

1.10 Chapter Outline

There are three chapters of original research that comprise this dissertation, and these will be outlined here. In chapter two I look at the establishment of the school, and the ways in which administrators used physical culture activities before World War II. Prior to looking specifically at Pelican Lake School, I first outline Indian Affairs' perspective on physical culture in the residential school generally, so as to better contextualize the administrators' use of physical culture at the school. I argue that Indian Affairs had a set of ideas and practices intended for shaping the physical body of the students in order to advance their policy of assimilation, civilization, and citizenship. The administrators at Pelican Lake School used physical culture in ways that were quite consistent with the national policy on physical culture. However, the policy was stronger in its vision and intent than it was in its application at Pelican Lake School, as administrators struggled to fully implement the desired policy goals due to inadequate resources.

Starting at the conclusion of the former chapter, chapter three begins in 1945 at the end of World War II and continues through to the Indian Act amendments of 1951. In this chapter I examine the development of Pelican Lake School's first sport team. With the construction of a flooded sheet of ice in 1948, hockey came to be a significant part of school life. The focus of this chapter is on understanding the intent and purpose of administrators' implementation of physical culture, and hockey specifically, during this period. An important

rationale in the use of physical culture practices was the intended development of character in the boys. Another key justification for school administrators' use of hockey for the boys, and skating for the girls, was that they believed it brought a significant measure of student compliance and therefore enhanced administrator control of the school, particularly when it was going through a period of significant pupil discontent and school disorder.

The final chapter of original research, chapter four, investigates Pelican Lake School from 1952 to its closure in 1970. This chapter is shaped by Indian Affairs' changing post-War citizenship policy that sought to promote citizenship through integration and equality. I argue that administrators used physical culture in ways consistent with the broader citizenship policy of Indian Affairs. Specifically, school administrators used sport to develop the traits of a good sportsman, which were also understood to be the desired character traits of a citizen. I also argue local administrators found the practical benefits of enhanced student compliance were important to their intended promotion of physical culture activities in the 1950s and 1960s, but this was beyond the idea of citizenship education that shaped residential schooling. This was a continuation of the administrators' rationale in the use of physical culture activities since the establishment of the rink in 1948. School administrators had a strong desire to implement physical culture activities and much of their efforts were devoted to enhancing the inadequate facilities, most notably the pursuit of a gymnasium. As was the case at Pelican Lake School in the 1930s and 1940s, as well as in the residential school system broadly, inadequate resourcing was a key constraint in providing physical culture infrastructure. The physical culture program in the 1960s, in large part because of the school gymnasium, had developed and broadened the administrators' capacity to deliver opportunities for sport, games, and recreation. In Chapter five, to conclude this study, I will

comment on the use of physical culture activities as a citizenship education from the school's beginnings to its end, and I will also provide recommendations for future studies.

Endnotes

¹ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Honoring the Truth, Reconciling the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission*; 2015, http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Honouring_the_Truth_Reconciling_for_the_Future_July_23_2015.pdf

² Ibid, 37-133.

³ Ibid, 217.

⁴ Donald Auger, *Indian Residential Schools in Ontario* (Nishnawbe Aski Nation, ON: Nishnawbe Aski Nation, 2005), 93.

⁵ Both names were used widely to reference the school. I chose to use the name Pelican Lake School because it provides a clear distinction between entities that carried "Sioux Lookout" in their names, such the town of Sioux Lookout, the Sioux Lookout Agency (an administrative region used by the Department of Indian Affairs), and the Sioux Lookout Hospital.

⁶ Auger, *Indian Residential Schools*, 93.

⁷ Ibid, 95.

⁸ Treaty 9 territory refers to the land base of various northern Ontario Communities who signed Treaty 9 with the federal government of Canada.

⁹ Ibid, 96.

¹⁰ "Sioux Lookout," Google Maps.
<https://www.google.ca/maps/@50.1154083,-91.9570583,15031m/data=!3m1!1e3>

¹¹ Map, Residential Schools of Canada, www.trc.ca,
http://www.myrobust.com/websites/trcinstitution/File/pdfs/2039_T&R_map_nov2011_final.pdf. Note the image shown here is only a partial representation of the entire map.

- ¹² Sioux Lookout and District Historical Society. *Tracks Beside the Water. Book 1* (Sioux Lookout, ON: Inter-Collegiate Press, 1982), 719-21. Sioux Lookout and District Historical Society. *Tracks Beside the Water. Book 2* (Sioux Lookout, ON: Inter-Collegiate Press, 1982), 146-47.
- ¹³ Janice Forsyth, "Bodies of Meaning: Sports and Games at Canadian Residential Schools," in: *Aboriginal Peoples and Sport in Canada: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Issues*, eds. Janice Forsyth and Audrey Giles (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), 27.
- ¹⁴ Jim Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 172, 275, 294-95, 324, 336, 365, 367, 319, 361.
- ¹⁵ The exact end date of the school was not evident in the primary sources but it is likely that it had closed by 1970, which is why it was used as the end date for this study. The institution did continue past that point as a residence only. In the early 1960s many of the older pupils lived at Pelican Lake School as a residence but went to Sioux Lookout to attend day school. During the 1960s the younger pupils continued to live and be educated at the Pelican Lake School. But by 1970, or perhaps some time in the early 1970s, Pelican Lake School became solely a residence for all pupils. There is some conflicting evidence about the closing date of the Pelican Lake School residence. Auger has suggested that Pelican Lake School existed until 1973. Auger, *Indian Residential Schools*, 97. The TRC report however, states that the closing date of the residence was 1978. Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Honoring the Truth, Reconciling the Future*, 359. The latter cites a primary source document as evidence of the 1978 closure, and is likely the correct date.
- ¹⁶ Province of Canada, *Statutes*, 20 Victoria, 3rd Session, 5th Parliament (Toronto, 1857).
- ¹⁷ *Ibid*, 84.
- ¹⁸ Jim Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 140.
- ¹⁹ Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 75, 184-5. James Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Indian Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), 18-19, 37, 251. J Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy," in: *As Long as the Sun Shines and the Water Flows*, eds. Ian Getty & Antoine Lussier (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), 29-38.
- ²⁰ Andrew Ross, "Wardship to Citizenship: Integrated Education and Canadian First Nations Policy Change, 1945-69" (Masters Thesis, Carleton University, 2001), 29-31.
- ²¹ Milloy, *A National Crime* 23-29. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 184-89.
- ²² Milloy, *A National Crime*, 25.

- ²³ Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 199-200.
- ²⁴ Ibid, 185-86.
- ²⁵ Ibid, 186-87.
- ²⁶ Augie Fleras and Jean Elliott, *The Nations Within: Aboriginal-State Relations in Canada, the United States, and New Zealand* (Toronto, ON; Oxford University Press, 1992), 42.
- ²⁷ Milloy, *A National Crime*, 23-26.
- ²⁸ Ibid, 19.
- ²⁹ Ibid, xiii.
- ³⁰ For example, Prime Minister John A. Macdonald believed in the importance of developing First Nations into better men through the education system, and that developing good Christian men was also a priority of the highest order. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 103.
- ³¹ Norman Gull, "The "Indian Policy" of the Anglican Church of Canada from 1945 to the 1970s" (Masters Thesis, Trent University, 1992), 15.
- ³² Ibid, 12.
- ³³ Ibid, 31.
- ³⁴ Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 183-216.
- ³⁵ Ross, "Wardship to Citizenship," 27-29.
- ³⁶ John Leslie, "Assimilation, Integration or Termination? The Development of Canadian Indian Policy, 1943-1963" (PhD diss., Carleton University, 1999), 285,388.
- ³⁷ Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 156-57, 277.
- ³⁸ Fleras and Elliot, *Nations Within*, 42-3.
- ³⁹ Ibid, 42-4.
- ⁴⁰ Leslie, "Assimilation, Integration or Termination," 112.
- ⁴¹ Gull, "Indian Policy of the Anglican Church," 87.
- ⁴² Eric Woods, "The Anglican Church of Canada and the Indian Residential Schools: A Meaning-Centered Analysis of the Long Road to Apology" (Phd Diss., London School of Economics, 2012), 107.
- ⁴³ Auger, *Indian Residential Schools*.
- ⁴⁴ Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 271-272.

- ⁴⁵ Mary-Ellen Kelm, *Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia, 1900-50* (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 1998), 557-81.
- ⁴⁶ Janice Forsyth, "Bodies of Meaning," 22-3. Also see Milloy, *A National Crime*, 77-108, and Kelm, *Colonizing Bodies*, 57-80. Both authors look at the overwhelming health issues present in the residential school system, and discuss their connection to Indian Affairs policy.
- ⁴⁷ Janice Forsyth, "The Indian Act and the (Re)Shaping of Canadian Aboriginal Sport Practices," *International Journal of Canadian Studies*, 35 (2007), 102.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 103. Forsyth, "Bodies of Meaning," 22-25.
- ⁴⁹ Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 208. Forsyth, "Indian Act," 105. Forsyth, "Bodies of Meaning," 26.
- ⁵⁰ Milloy, *National Crime*, 37. Forsyth, "Bodies of Meaning", 26.
- ⁵¹ Forsyth, "Indian Act," 106-107. Forsyth, "Bodies of Meaning," 26. Janice Forsyth and Michael Heine, "A Higher Degree of Social Organization:" Jan Eisendarft and Canadian Aboriginal Sport Policy in the 1950s," *Journal of Sport History* 35, no. 2 (2008), 269-70. The promotion of a Francophone rather than British identity would have taken place in the schools located in Quebec.
- ⁵² John Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do: Sports at Native American Boarding Schools* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).
- ⁵³ *Ibid*, 17, 33-37.
- ⁵⁴ For example, sports and physical cultural practices received attention in: Clyde Ellis, "What a Lot of Fun, But of Course, that wasn't the School Part:" Life at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920," in: *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*, eds. Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean Keller & Lorene Sisquoc, (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 35-64. Kimberly Tsianina Lomawaima, "They Called it Prairie Light: Oral Histories from Chilocco Indian Agricultural Boarding School, 1920-1940" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1987).
- ⁵⁵ See for example the role of football at Carlisle residential school in Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do*, 1-30.
- ⁵⁶ William Oscar Median, "Selling Indians at Sherman Institute, 1902-1922" (PhD diss., University of California, Riverside, 2007), 80-82.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 74-107.
- ⁵⁸ Forsyth and Heine, "A Higher Degree of Social Organization," 262.

- ⁵⁹ Ibid, 266.
- ⁶⁰ Basil Johnson, *Indian School Days* (Toronto, ON: Key Porter Books, 1988), 62. However, sport probably did not begin to enable these possibilities until the 1930s and 1940s.
- ⁶¹ Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School*, (Vancouver, BC: Tillacum Library, 1988), 75.
- ⁶² Johnson, *Indian School Days*, 62-3.
- ⁶³ Ibid, 47.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid, 62.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid, 62-3.
- ⁶⁶ Milloy, *National Crime*, 207.
- ⁶⁷ Forsyth & Heine, "A Higher Degree of Social Organization", 271-72.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid. 271.
- ⁶⁹ Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 276.
- ⁷⁰ For work that has focused on physical aculture activities, see, Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 269-277. Forsyth, "Bodies of Meaning," 15-34. Forsyth, "Indian Act," 95-111, Forsyth and Heine, "A Higher Degree of Social Organization," 261-277.
- ⁷¹ Forsyth, "Indian Act," 104.
- ⁷² Ibid, 104.
- ⁷³ Miller suggests "education for citizenship" in a liberal democracy was the educational thrust in residential schools after World War II, and that it was widely recognized that the primary function of residential schools was to "turn out good citizens." My intent in this chapter is to trace how citizenship education was used prior to the 1940s, with a focus on how this was envisioned through physical development. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 156-7,
- ⁷⁴ Andrea Bear Nicholas, "Citizenship Education and Aboriginal People: The Humanitarian Art of Cultural Genocide," *Canadian Journal of Education* 21, no. 2 (1996), 59-107. Marie Battiste & Helen Semaganis, "First Thoughts on First Nations Citizenship: Issues in Education," in: *Citizenship in Transformation in Canada*, ed. Yvonne Herbert (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 93-112.
- ⁷⁵ Mary Jane McCallum, "To Make Good Canadians: Girl Guiding in Indian Residential Schools (M.A. Thesis, Trent University, 2001).

- ⁷⁶ David Kirk, "Physical Culture, Physical Education and Relational Analysis," *Sport, Education, Society* 4, no.1 (1999), 65-7.
- ⁷⁷ Bernard Suits, "The Elements of Sport," in: *Philosophic Inquiry in Sport*, eds. William J. Morgan and Klaus Meier (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1995), 8-15.
- ⁷⁸ Richard Klaus, *Recreation and Leisure in Modern Society*, 4th Edition (Glenview, IL: Harper Collins, 1984), 45-46.
- ⁷⁹ Ibid, 42-43.
- ⁸⁰ Kirk, "Physical Culture," 66-67.
- ⁸¹ This definition was developed based on the primacy of the education system for the development of individuals into desirable citizens; see Ken Osborne, "Public Schooling and Citizenship Education in Canada," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 32, no. 1 (2000), 9-10. It was necessary for the government to have a particular conception of citizenship in mind in shaping its citizens, and could be either explicit or implicit in government policy. Will Kymlicka, "Two Dilemmas of Citizenship Education in Pluralist Societies" in: *Education for Democratic Citizenship: Issues of Theory and Practice*, eds. Andrew Lockyer, Bernard Crick, John Annette (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 47. Whether citizenship was an implicit or an explicit element of their policy, Indian Affairs operated with a specific set of ideas that they attributed to good citizenship.
- ⁸² Don Morrow and Kevin Wamsley, *Sport in Canada: A History* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2010) 206-09.

Chapter 2

"Unlike their Playmates of Civilization, the Indian Children's Recreation must be Cultivated and Developed:" Physical Culture Policy and Pelican Lake Indian Residential School, 1926-1944

2 Introduction

An undated Anglican Church booklet about Pelican Lake Indian Residential School tells the story of an Ojibway community in northern Ontario.¹ According to this pamphlet's version of events, the Ojibway people of the Great Lakes were an "intelligent, industrious, and peaceful tribe," who were subject to others encroaching on their land. The Sioux, a "fierce, war-loving" people from the United States, were one such tribe, venturing north early in the nineteenth century. Not to be overcome in their homeland, the Ojibway community decamped from their site and stationed a lookout at a nearby-elevated spot. After the oncoming Sioux seized the Ojibway camp, the Ojibway warriors then achieved victory by surprising the Sioux. A young boy was rescued from the battle; his grandson became Chief Ackewancee, whom the Anglican Church identified as a significant adaptor of the White man's way of life. Mr. John R. Bunn, Inspector of Indian Agencies in the Province of Manitoba, kept a photo showing Chief Ackewancee alongside the Anglican Archbishop of the area (Moosenee), and wanted to deliver the photo to the first residential school built in the vicinity. It is not known if Bunn was able to deliver the photo, but his wish turned out to be quite prophetic. The elevated lookout spot came to be known as "Sioux Lookout," and it

overlooks the town of Sioux Lookout, Ontario. The grandson of Chief Ackewancee, a young boy named Henry Ogemah, was the first student at Pelican Lake Indian Residential School, which was established a short distance from Sioux Lookout over a century later, in 1926. The future of Pelican Lake School students was thus developed from an Anglican belief in a foretold and storied connection to the history and people of the area.

The Indian residential school system, which included Pelican Lake School, was a national program of education that primarily sought a social education rather than an academic one. It removed First Nations children from their homes and communities in order to undertake a totalizing transformation by replacing their traditional knowledge and ways of life with Euro-Canadian culture and identity.² The Indian residential school system was a central platform in Indian Affairs' policy goals of civilization, assimilation, and evangelization.³ The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Committee (hereafter referred to as the Committee) operated under the auspices of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (MSCC), and oversaw the day-to-day administration of the Anglican Indian residential schools in Canada.⁴ The Committee held evangelization as the primary purpose for schooling, while also promoting civilization and assimilation as key goals.⁵ Indian Affairs, on the other hand, held assimilation and civilization as the focal points, but also understood evangelization as an important part of First Nations development.⁶ Although each framed the purpose of the residential school system slightly differently, Indian Affairs and the Committee undertook a remarkably consistent and mutually reinforcing policy approach for First Nations education until the middle of the twentieth century.

Indian Affairs and the Committee pursued several actions to achieve their goals, including the creation of laws, legislation, rules and regulations, making funding decisions,

developing or cutting programs, running services, and administering institutions. For the purposes of this study, policy refers to sets of ideas that guide action (or inaction) on an issue in order to achieve desired ends.⁷ This concept emphasizes the ideas that shape the intent and purpose behind administrative action, whereas the result or outcomes of policy are not always predictable and are hard to predetermine. For example, from 1882 to 1935 a pass system was enacted by Indian Affairs in Canada West so that an Indian Agent would need to approve a pass in order for a First Nations person to be able leave the reserve, or otherwise be taken into custody by police. Originally intended as a form of racial segregation to control First Nations peoples, the pass system was often ignored by the First Nations and was never fully implemented by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police because it did not have legislative power to make it enforceable by law.⁸ Hayter Reed, an assistant Indian Commissioner, originally proposed the idea to high-ranking Indian Affairs officials including Lawrence Vankoughnet.⁹ Indeed, Reed put the pass system into action with the awareness of high-ranking Indian Affairs officials, but prior to receiving official sanction from Vankoughnet or Prime Minister John A. Macdonald.¹⁰ Thus the pass system was developed by local initiative and not by a ministerial position, and was even put in place knowing that official sanction would be a year away.¹¹ The early developments of the pass system are thus an example of how a policy can be developed and implemented in a relatively ad hoc fashion, through informal action, and without Indian Affairs claiming or officially sanctioning a policy, but nonetheless is understood as policy position of Indian Affairs.

The extent to which physical culture was implemented in residential schools, how it was implemented, the effects it had on students, and how it developed over time is not well known in detail. However, the literature provides a good outline of the major elements – the

activities and their purposes - of physical culture programs in residential schools. Student's lives were highly regimented in daily routines that included academic instruction, work, chores, prayer, organized activities (for example, in Boy Scouts or Girl Guides groups), and physical culture.¹² During the first half of the 20th century, drill, calisthenics, gymnastics, exercises, mass displays, sports, and games were used in the residential school system.¹³ These were many of the same activities that were used in the provincial education systems throughout Canada during this era.¹⁴ Physical culture was important to Indian Affairs for the way in which the activities, if 'properly administered,' were thought to instill obedience and discipline, inculcate British-Canadian norms, foster 'civilized' ideas about health, reinforce gender-appropriate roles, and teach ideals of good citizenship.¹⁵ By 1950, physical culture policy in residential schools became more fully legitimized and institutionalized, and although previous scholarship suggests that the 1950s was the first instance of an Indian Affairs' policy of physical culture, I argue that Indian Affairs had pursued a physical culture policy prior to this time.¹⁶ My argument thus extends the history of Indian Affairs' physical culture policy prior to World War II to examine the ways in which Indian Affairs actively shaped and administered physical culture for First Nations youth, using Pelican Lake School as my case in point.

In this chapter I explore physical culture policy as a means of citizenship education at Pelican Lake School specifically, and in the residential school system more generally. The timeframe for this chapter extends from the establishment of Pelican Lake School in 1926 and concludes in 1944 as the end of World War II prompted changes in Indian Affairs policy. I argue that Indian Affairs and the Committee sought to develop the physical dimension of a student as part of the promotion of citizenship education in the residential school system.¹⁷

Physical culture as citizenship education was the policy position used at Pelican Lake School. However, the policy was never fully implemented. The reasons for using physical culture, as well as not putting it into full effect, are explored herein. A variety of primary source documents are used to examine this issue, including memos, letters, reports, pamphlets, and other written statements found in the archival sources of Indian Affairs and the Anglican Church.¹⁸ My aim in this chapter is to use the history of physical culture at Pelican Lake School to contribute to three broader discussions in the literature: 1) to contribute to the history of physical culture in the Indian residential school system, 2) to help us better understand the policy purpose and goals of physical culture in the residential school system, and 3) to extend our understanding of the relationship between physical culture and citizenship education in the residential school system during the first half of the 20th century.¹⁹ Indian Affairs sought to promote “good citizenship” in and through the schools, but this point has received limited attention by researchers; where it is discussed, it is often made as part of a broader argument.²⁰ As a result, there is a dearth of research using citizenship as a lens through which to analyze the Indian residential school system.²¹ Questions remain about what “good citizenship” meant to Indian Affairs and the Committee, how citizenship was promoted and implemented, and how it changed over time.

I begin by defining what I mean by citizenship education because this guides my investigation of physical culture in residential school policy. Indian Affairs and the Committee used the idea of citizenship education to promote their vision of student development. Next, I will outline the physical culture policy of Indian Affairs and the Committee for First Nations students, which largely reproduces the general citizenship education goals of the residential school system. From here, I turn to the history of Pelican

Lake School. Administrators at Pelican Lake School desired physical culture activities that reflected the citizenship education goals promoted by Indian Affairs and the Committee nationally; however, the implementation of physical culture by Anglican staff at Pelican Lake School was limited. Many of the struggles and limitations of the residential school system, including a lack of resources, resulted in a shortage of trained instructors, facilities, and equipment that came to shape a somewhat restricted program of physical culture at Pelican Lake School.

2.1 Citizenship Education

When the Province of Canada passed *The Act to encourage the gradual civilization of the Indian Tribes in the Province, and to amend the laws respecting Indians* in 1857, it legislated its own assimilationist agenda and put in place the legal mechanism that would end an individual's Indian status and replace it with British citizenship. An Indian, as defined in the *Indian Act*, would need to earn citizenship after successfully proving competency in speaking English, attaining a basic level of education, and having good moral character.²² Indian Affairs defined "Indian" in contradistinction to an ideal "citizen." While Indian Affairs posited a "citizen" as someone who was free, independent, and capable of managing his own affairs, "Indian" was understood by Indian Affairs to be a ward of the state and a recipient of government patronage.²³ In other words, Indians were defined as incapable of taking full responsibility for their own affairs.²⁴ Indian Affairs saw enfranchisement as its ultimate objective and successful conclusion of its civilization policy for Indians; the residential school system was a cornerstone to achieving that goal.²⁵

Citizenship education is the set of ideas that guide the process of social, moral, political, and physical regulation and production, in which specific understandings of what it

means to be a desirable subject of the state are pursued and developed in a student population.²⁶ The citizenship education policy that was pursued by Indian Affairs and the Committee framed student development as the training of particular character traits that aligned with and facilitated assimilation and enfranchisement. Citizenship education was thus important to both organizations' overall objectives because they thought that it would instill the proper disposition among a population that was badly in need of training for the new social, political, and economic order. As such, Indian Affairs and the Committee attempted to impart a diverse, but coherent set of desired traits in the boys and girls in their care,²⁷ traits they deemed necessary to the logic of civilization used to transform a ward into a citizen.²⁸ Indeed, Indian character often received more attention by the Committee than did First Nations peoples' religion or culture.²⁹ Indian Affairs and the Committee sought to promote discipline, health and hygiene, Christian morals, British-Canadian social mores, and individual self-responsibility.³⁰ A related character trait targeted by the Committee was the protestant work ethic, which promoted hard work, frugality, thrift, and diligence as the basis for accumulating individual wealth.³¹

An example of the Committee attempting to impart character development can be found in a series of pamphlets that were designed to provide instruction and training for the various staff positions in Anglican schools.³² In these pamphlets, the boys' instructor and matron were directed to promote character in the students by modeling "filial affection, obedience and dutiful respect, in addition to cleanliness, tidiness, and orderly discipline" as Christian parental figures ought to do.³³ Mary Jane McCallum's research on role of Girl Guides in promoting a self-disciplined, trustworthy, and thrifty citizen in female students is particularly strong as it shows the gendered nature of citizenship; the girls received training

that included service for others, for domestic duties and raising the family, and for keeping good health and hygiene.³⁴ For the Committee, the culmination of instilling character traits in students was often framed as “Christian citizenship,” which connected the key goals of citizenship and evangelization as the very purpose of the school system.³⁵ The development of the student for work, health, and life would be achieved through a Christian framework of education that would constitute the successful production of the desirable subject of the state.³⁶

In particular, Indian Affairs and the Committee identified the character trait of self-reliance as a key marker for understanding if a person was fit to handle the various responsibilities of individual freedom that a citizen required. For example, the ideal citizen was thought to be someone who was economically self-sustaining and fiscally prudent; they had to take responsibility for meeting their own needs rather than relying on the state or another person for assistance. Indian Affairs had been using the concept of self-reliance as a focal point of its civilization policy since the 1870s, and it continued to use this idea as part of its conceptualization of the desired citizen throughout the first half of the 20th century.³⁷ Indian Affairs and the Committee believed the concept of self-reliance was useful because it facilitated the development of other desirable character traits, such as thriftiness and industriousness that were essential for their policy to succeed.³⁸

The first superintendent of education in Upper Canada, Egerton Ryerson, had a significant influence on the promotion of physical culture in Canadian provincial education systems, which he envisioned as developing the physical, social, intellectual, and moral dimensions of the self.³⁹ One powerful expression of character development in Canadian students through sport was the notion of Muscular Christianity.⁴⁰ Muscular Christianity was a

British concept of the development of good Christians through sport and games by instilling character traits such as courage, toughness, self-reliance, and sportsmanship.⁴¹ The ideals of Muscular Christianity remained particularly strong within the Anglican Church in Canada during the twentieth century, as they, for example, continued to read Muscular Christian literature produced in England.⁴² An important function of Muscular Christianity was that the virtues a student developed on the field, for example courage, were understood to be transferable to contexts off the sports field, such as in work, social, and political life.⁴³ Indian Affairs and the Committee used citizenship education as a tool for character development in residential schools that was specific to the transition of First Nations students into British citizens, and was consistent with the ideals with Muscular Christianity.

2.2 Physical Culture Policy in the Residential School System, 1926-1945

Indian Affairs and the Committee positioned physical culture as a feature of residential school education. Indian Affairs was clear about the intended curriculum for its schools, which were to “adopt the course of studies for the province in which they are situate [sic]. Emphasis is placed on the subjects of language, reading, domestic science, manual training, agriculture and physical training.”⁴⁴ The development of physical labor skills and a strong work ethic was a major feature of the residential school system, and were key rationales for the half-day system.⁴⁵ The half-day system allocated half of the student’s day to classroom instruction, and the other half to chores and labor instruction. In 1938, Indian Affairs reported on the expanding variety of opportunities for physical skills and physical development in residential schools, which were equipped to provide instruction in “agriculture, gardening, carpentry work, boat-building, tailoring, dressmaking, cooking,

hand-loom weaving, and physical culture.”⁴⁶ The focus on physical development was part of a holistic approach to development by Indian Affairs and the Committee, which sought to improve “the physical, intellectual and moral fibre of the Indian.”⁴⁷ One example of an Indian Affairs program that sought the holistic development of its students was a scholarship program that enabled graduates to continue their education in public high schools, universities, or business colleges.⁴⁸ The scholarships were to go to the most promising academic students who were “physically fit,”⁴⁹ although the meaning of fitness was not defined. Rather than promoting athleticism, Indian Affairs’ desire for physical fitness was likely a reflection of the need for able-bodiedness in work, life, and military service, which required a degree of strength and stamina. Decisions had to be made as to whom would best succeed in these environments. Students who did not have full physical capacity, were considered less than ideal, and deficits could include anything from poor eye vision to a history of disease.⁵⁰ Thus, the physical dimension of the self was a priority for Indian Affairs’ and the Committee’s residential school policy.

A popular line of thinking within the Anglican Church was that the physical dimension of the self was subordinate to the “higher” social, intellectual, or moral dimensions of the person.⁵¹ The dangers of the glorification of the body for its own sake were to be avoided. For example, in an article about physical fitness, the Anglican publication *The Canadian Church Messenger* instructed Church members to keep their bodies “fit” while also keeping them “in due subordination to the mind that rules them, and submit ourselves body, soul, and spirit, to the sovereignty and the guidance of the Holy Spirit of God.”⁵² Anglican residential school staff would have used the physical dimension of the self to facilitate the development of their students’ other “higher” faculties. The key elements of citizenship education used in

physical culture policy were to teach students how to use leisure time appropriately, to develop good character, and to be healthy through the practice of hygienic habits.⁵³ These elements of physical culture policy were sought through the use of calisthenics, exercise, drill, breathing exercises, as well as sports, games, and recreational activities.

The 1930s and 1940s saw the emergence of the modern workweek that enabled more Canadians to have access to leisure time. The federal, provincial, and municipal governments were becoming involved in administering sport and recreation,⁵⁴ and emergent ideas about democratic citizenship promoted the right of recreation for all citizens.⁵⁵ As a result, questions about appropriate use of leisure time became an increasingly important issue for Canadians.⁵⁶ The Anglican Church was interested in moral reform through recreation and discussed how idleness and wasted leisure time could lead to physical and moral weakness.⁵⁷ For example, *The Canadian Church Messenger* noted that “unoccupied hours have probably more influence upon character than occupied hours,” as the choice of leisure activities “is not only an index of the personality: it may spell enrichment or deterioration.”⁵⁸ In other words, Anglicans believed in the power of recreation to shape, both positively and negatively, a person’s character.

Indian Affairs and the Committee believed that First Nations people were savage, uncivilized, and thus incapable of knowing how to make good use of their leisure time.⁵⁹ Teaching appropriate leisure time use to First Nations youth became an increasingly important as the productive use of leisure time became more important for the general Canadian population. Physical culture had to be purposeful and conducted with proper instruction.⁶⁰ A distinguishing feature of the paternalism in the instruction of physical culture activities for First Nations students was that school administrators, through rigid forms of

organization and supervision, always directed the activities; neither students nor their parents played a leadership role in physical culture activities. Under the watchful guidance of residential school staff, and through British-Canadian forms of organized physical culture, Indian Affairs and the Committee believed they could train First Nations youth to be productive users of leisure time, contributing to their transformation to good citizens. All of the recreational activities used were popular British-Canadian activities, as traditional First Nations games, sports, and physical activities were incongruent with the assimilation and civilization agenda of Indian Affairs.⁶¹

The promotion of health was a key feature of Indian Affairs' and Committee's physical culture policy for citizenship education in the residential schools.⁶² For instance, in the *Annual Report* of 1932, Indian Affairs noted that health in the residential school system "receive[d] special attention. Good medical supervision has been arranged and much thought is given to physical education, proper diet and sanitation."⁶³ In 1936, Indian Affairs reported that "a special effort is made in the matter of physical education and fairly comprehensive medical and dental supervision and treatment are provided."⁶⁴ Indian Affairs positioned physical culture policy as a key site for health promotion, alongside other policy initiatives that included medical treatment and sanatoria, diet and nutrition, safe and well-ventilated buildings, and education on how "civilized" peoples were to practice healthy lifestyles and hygienic habits.⁶⁵

Indian Affairs instructed teachers and principals on how to teach calisthenics exercises; they were to be "frequently accompanied by singing to afford variation during work and to improve physique."⁶⁶ The attention to detail was sometimes remarkable. Teachers were advised to "lay stress on physical activities that will strengthen the chest and neck."⁶⁷ The

focus on the chest and neck were intended to promote respiratory health. Indian Affairs' instruction to its teachers in the 1920s was consistent with Indian Affairs' 1910 booklet *Calisthenics and Games*, as both focused on calisthenics exercises, strengthening the respiratory system, and promoting outdoor exercises and games.⁶⁸ For instance "exercise no. 2 deep breathing" instructed students to "place the hands on the hips with the elbows well back; thumbs to the rear and fingers to the front. On the command 'Inhale,' inflate the lungs to full capacity; on the command 'Exhale,' let go the breath, forcing all out possible [sic]. Repeat freely four to six times."⁶⁹ Indian Affairs' policy of using physical culture to improve health and physique through exercises and games was established by 1910, continued through the 1920s, and remained in place until at least the early 1950s.⁷⁰ The lasting damages to student health in the residential school system suggests that the seemingly comprehensive set of health policy tools that included physical culture, were largely ineffective in the protection of the student health.

Character development, to be effected through drill, calisthenics, physical exercise, sports, recreation, and games, was another feature of physical culture in the residential school system.⁷¹ For example, Indian Affairs instructed teachers to use drill to set the tone for disciplined classroom work "as it will tend to procure a working connection between the students' and the teacher's mind and will assist in obtaining the attention and prompt discipline so necessary before real work can be commenced."⁷² The Committee used sports and games to instill the Muscular Christian idea of playing the game for its own sake and not for external reward, identifying it as a necessary condition to mold desirable character.⁷³ The Committee advised teachers to incorporate supervised play and recreation into their daily curriculum, so as to teach students how to "play the game" properly and, by extension, how

to use their leisure time wisely.⁷⁴ Indian Affairs wanted their education system to develop a desirable ethical framework in the students and, as such, they instructed teachers to use physical culture to foster “the spirit of fair play” as part as the student’s overall moral development.⁷⁵

Physical culture activities in the residential school system were more than just leisure time amusements or a break from the work and chores of residential school life. Instead, mundane and seemingly insignificant activities like skating or a simple ball game reflected Indian Affairs’ political problems of the highest order: how to solve the Indian problem by civilizing and assimilating them, and how to produce a desirable citizen. What it meant to be a good participant in physical culture, such as being disciplined in drill or displaying team spirit in a game of baseball, was the strategic use of physical culture to transform First Nations children into committed British subjects of Canada.

A common thread in Indian Affairs’ and the Committee’s definition of intended benefits of physical culture was that they sought student development primarily at the level of the individual, and this was consistent with citizenship policy specifically and Indian Affairs policy generally. One-by-one each student would eventually develop to the point where they would give up their status, take on the necessary social and moral qualities of the citizen, and live a more civilized life. The process for enfranchisement was thus an individual process. After World War II, Indian Affairs continued its enfranchisement policy, but began to expand its reach to citizenship to include First Nations peoples as a collective and not just as individuals.⁷⁶ Indian Affairs ended individual citizenship development when, in 1961, it removed the enfranchisement section from the Indian Act, and did so only after the federal government imposed Canadian citizenship on First Nations in 1956.⁷⁷ Imposing Canadian

citizenship onto First Nations was done without their input or consent, and was part of the federal government's push for assimilation. Thus, citizenship was unilaterally granted to all status Indians rather than through the previously unsuccessful policy of individual enfranchisement. Physical culture as a means of citizenship education prior to World War II thus focused on development at the level of the individual student.

Indian Affairs funded physical culture in residential schools and, therefore, placed a fair degree of importance on physical culture because it warranted expenditures in the context of limited resources for the school system.⁷⁸ Prior to the 1950s, government funding for the Indian residential school system was extremely limited, and this had severe implications for the development of physical education programs in those institutions.⁷⁹ In the Indian Affairs *Annual Reports* from 1916 to 1928, individualized school budgets show that only five schools requisitioned sports equipment.⁸⁰ However, from 1929 to 1931, twenty-three of the eighty residential schools requisitioned sport equipment, which may indicate an increased interest in sports and games in residential schools during this specific time period, or from this time onward.⁸¹ After 1932, no further spending information on physical culture is recorded in the *Annual Reports*.⁸²

Lastly, gender was an important element of physical culture, as it sought to reinforce Euro-Canadian gender roles. Activities for boys were to be active, vigorous, and strenuous, while girls were provided with activities that taught them to be passive, see themselves as fragile subjects, and to be cooperative rather than competitive. School administrators used gentle exercises, like walking, skating, and swimming, and non-physical recreation, such as playing with dolls for girls, whereas drill, strength and fitness exercises, and sports were reserved for boys.⁸³ The pursuit of physical fitness for manual labor or the development of

masculine character traits, such as courage, toughness, and a protestant work ethic, were the intended effects of citizenship training for boys. Historian Jim Miller notes that the fervent belief in appropriate gender roles was so strongly embedded within the actions of residential school administrators and staff that ideas about proper male and female behavior were simply taken for granted.⁸⁴ The physical culture evidence that I examined bears out Miller's observation, as Indian Affairs and the Committee did not make reference to gender in their statements to school staff and administrators in how to implement physical activities—gender was inherently woven into their everyday life, so that the messages and meanings gender conveyed would be reinforced through the types of activities that the staff implemented for the boys and girls in their care. Individual residential school histories can be used to paint a fuller picture of the ways in which the national physical culture policy was implemented at the local level, to which I now turn through the case of Pelican Lake School.

2.3 Pelican Lake School

In 1925 the MSCC and Indian Affairs sent representatives to identify a suitable location for a new Indian residential school in northern Ontario. The party met in the town of Sioux Lookout, Ontario, located on the Canadian National Railway approximately 250 miles east of Winnipeg, Manitoba. The expedition to identify a site for the new school was undertaken by Indian Affairs architect Mr. Orr, Missionary to the Indians in the Diocese of Keewatin, Rev. M. Sandersan, President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Hodder, Rector of Sioux Lookout, Rev. L. C. Secrett, Indian Agent, Captain F. Edwards, and The Field Secretary to the MSCC, Major T. B. R. Westgate, the latter two of which had specific knowledge of the local area.⁸⁵ On May 15, 1925 the party left Sioux Lookout by boat on Pelican Lake to assess the prospective locations the party had discussed the previous day.⁸⁶ A small number of sites

were inspected throughout the day and the group deemed the majority of them unsuitable. The group rejected one site because it was too close to white communities, which in time might surround the school; another would have made transportation to the school site difficult; and the other would likely come with a time delay to finalize the competing claims to the plot of land between the Canadian National Railway and the federal government.⁸⁷ The group unanimously decided on a heavily wooded area of 287 acres on the shores of Pelican Lake, located approximately 6 miles by boat to the town of Sioux Lookout and just 2 miles to a stop on the Canadian National Railway.⁸⁸

After careful consideration of the site, the group identified a number of favorable qualities about the location. Firstly, the group was pleased that the site was accessible for church and government representatives to visit or inspect, and that it could easily be sent provisions via boat and railway.⁸⁹ Another feature the group admired about the location was that water surrounded the area on all sides, except to the south, which was cut off by the railroad, and thus the school grounds and activities would be unaffected by others.⁹⁰ The group also believed the site had over 100 acres of good farming land that would be a great asset to the school.⁹¹ As was the case throughout the residential school system, the farm at Pelican Lake School would be an essential part of the school's operation and was intended to make the school largely self-sustaining. However, Westgate and Edwards saw drainage of the land as a problem.⁹²

Another benefit valued particularly by the MSCC, was that it provided access to Anglican First Nations in northern Ontario. The MSCC identified several First Nation communities that the school could service, including Islington, The Dalles, Wabuskang, Grassy Narrows, Eagle River and Wabigoon, Ignace, Lac Seul, and Frenchman's Head.⁹³

The MSCC counted 856 Anglican members in these communities, from which the children would be secured to populate the institution.⁹⁴ Pelican Lake School would eventually serve an area 265,000 square miles in size that stretched 600 miles east, 700 miles west, and hundreds of miles north.⁹⁵ Most of the students came from families and communities in remote areas, where they continued to live their traditional lifestyle patterns and economies. Therefore the transition to residential school life was particularly significant for a large number of Pelican Lake School students.⁹⁶

By May of 1926 construction on the school site had begun. Mr. Scarret and the public school inspector for the district of Sioux Lookout, Mr. Shannon, oversaw its development.⁹⁷ 14 acres of land had been cleared, the majority of which would be set aside for the gardening of vegetables, as well as oats and hay for horses and cattle.⁹⁸ The main school building was largely complete, and so was the barn, so Westgate recommended the addition of a poultry house, ice house, cold storage room, an implement shed, and a piggery.⁹⁹ The main school building was a three-story structure that included classrooms, two basement playrooms, a medical dispensary, a chapel, and girls' and boys' dormitories.¹⁰⁰

By the mid-1920s, the MSCC administered 18 residential schools in different regions of the country, including schools with fewer than 20 students and schools that served over 100 students.¹⁰¹ Pelican Lake School was set to be a large Anglican institution that would, when running at capacity, operate with 125 students and extend the church's influence beyond its other northern Ontario schools, specifically St. John's (Chapleau, ON), Bishop Hordan Hall (Moose Factory, ON), and Shingwauk (Sault Ste. Marie, ON).

By the summer of 1927, Pelican Lake School was nearly complete, but was not yet ready to take on a full complement of students. At this point, the student population consisted



Figure 3. Areal view of the main school building and the barn, circa 1927.¹⁰²



Figure 4. Front view of main school building, circa 1930.¹⁰³

of only nine males.¹⁰⁴ The boys were not there for classroom instruction. Rather, they were there to build and develop the school for its eventual use.¹⁰⁵ The use of student labor served the dual purpose of establishing self-reliant institutions that would require minimal government financial support, while providing students with the kind of training Indian Affairs thought was appropriate for First Nations people.¹⁰⁶ The main school building was completed in 1927. It sat next to a barn, a poultry house, an implement shed, a boat house, and an ice house.¹⁰⁷ Repairs, extensions, and additional buildings were still required, along with a variety of equipment not yet provided to the school. The primary reason the school was not fully operational was that the water system was not yet functioning.¹⁰⁸ However, a number of staff was now working at the school, including Reverend F. J. F. Marshall, a



Figure 5. Pelican Lake School's first principal, Reverend F. J. F. Marshall (1926-1940).¹⁰⁹

missionary with extensive experience working with First Nations communities; he was soon appointed Pelican Lake School's first Principal.¹¹⁰ For Marshall to administer the school successfully, he required a range of skilled and dedicated staff that could direct a large number of students while making the institution self-sufficient. Along with Principal Marshall and his wife, Pelican Lake School had a farmer, an engineer, a general assistant, a head matron, an honorary head matron, a senior teacher, a junior teacher, a kitchen matron, a boy's supervisor, a girl's supervisor, and a laundress-seamstress.¹¹¹ It was a formidable task to operate the school with such a small number of staff.

By the winter of 1928, the school was still not fully operational due to continued delays in completing the school's water system, yet, the student population had grown to 31, with a small number of girls in residence.¹¹² Developing and managing the physical environment was a large feature of school life. The MSCC worked hard to level and prepare the grounds, and at this stage the farm was far from ready to supply the school at capacity.¹¹³ In 1928, when Pelican Lake School underwent its first official inspection, the assessor, a representative of the MSCC, commented on the lack of recreation space; "Goodness! Where do the children play?" he wrote. "What a stupendous task it will be to clear this land for cultivation."¹¹⁴ Preparing cleared land, and then leveling the land was an ongoing task that required a great deal of (male) student labour at the school. The lands would always be less than ideal for sport and recreation, and poor drainage was an ongoing issue that local administrators failed to resolve. The fields were still a problem decades later, as the Superintendent's report for Pelican Lake School in 1952 described the school grounds as a "morass of mud."¹¹⁵ The snow covered grounds in the winter, and the muddy fields in the



Figure 6. Tree stumps yet to be cleared on the school farm, circa 1928.¹¹⁶

spring and fall, made outdoor activities difficult, if not impossible, to do.

In 1928, Mrs. Marshall, the wife of Principal Marshall, requested donations of discarded skates from the Church for the students to have “outdoor fun.”¹¹⁷ The Women’s Association of the Anglican Church played an important role in supplying additional equipment to Anglican schools, including clothing for the 811 students attending the 18 Anglican residential schools throughout the country, as well as some used recreation equipment.¹¹⁸ Although Mrs. Marshall’s interest in skating predates the official opening of the school, a lack of skate blades for students remained a problem through to the late 1940s.¹¹⁹ Since the school’s beginning, the lake was important to the school’s recreation program, with swimming in the summer and skating or hockey in the winter.¹²⁰ Indoor play and recreation was also provided. There were designated play and recreation rooms in the basement of the main school building. However, rainwater kept seeping into the basement,

thus curtailing indoor activities for long periods of time.¹²¹ Principal Marshall once reported that the water problem was so bad that the basement was almost like a swimming pool, which limited its use and made portions of the school an unsafe and unhealthy place to inhabit.¹²² Indian Affairs had a policy of providing physical exercise in large and well-ventilated buildings during inclement weather.¹²³ The lack of a safe and healthy recreation space at Pelican Lake School, as with most other residential schools throughout Canada, shows that the idealized vision for physical culture that was being promoted through policy was disconnected to the realities of everyday school life. The water system was finally completed in 1929, making Pelican Lake School finally ready for full operation.¹²⁴

The official opening of Pelican Lake School in the fall of 1929 welcomed 103 students, with the potential of more students coming to fill it to capacity.¹²⁵ The children varied in age from six years old to teenagers; however, children as young as two and a half were admitted if officials determined they did not have a suitable home.¹²⁶ At this point, most of the buildings were completed. The facilities included the main school building, the barn, a hennerly, a store-room, an implement shed, a boat house, an ice house, and a workshop.¹²⁷ The MSCC reported good progress on clearing the land, but acknowledged that continued clearing and leveling around the school would require significant labor and many more years of hard work.¹²⁸ The farm was not yet producing an adequate food supply, which forced Marshall to purchase vegetables and animal feed.¹²⁹ Marshall remained Principal till he fell ill in the late 1930s and then died in 1940.¹³⁰ At times his son George Marshall, and at other times Fred Mayo, took up the role as Acting Principal through particularly severe periods of Principal Marshall's illness. In 1941, Reverend A. B. Cheales was made Principal by the MSCC, and likely started in September of that year.¹³¹



Figure 7. Family arrives at school on canoe, circa 1930.¹³²

Two teachers instructed at the school: a junior teacher for the younger students and a senior teacher to instruct up to grade eight. The junior students attended school from 9 a.m. till 4 p.m. Many could only speak their traditional language and, thus, learning English became a priority.¹³³ In the early 1930s, the vast majority of students were in grades one and two. By the latter half of the 1930s, as students moved up instructional levels, some students had graduated to grades four, five, and six, though, the vast majority of students were still in grades one, two, and three.¹³⁴

The older students received half-day instruction in the classroom, while the other half of the day was spent doing manual labor. The girls were provided with training in laundry, baking, dairy, sewing, nursing in the home, and housekeeping by keeping the dormitories clean and tidy.¹³⁵ The boys worked the farm under the supervision of the farm instructor.

Their jobs included the seeding, cultivation, and harvesting of garden produce, as well as learning how to care for the horses, cattle, and pigs.¹³⁶ A second important element of their work training was being a “woodsman” – “training” that, not surprisingly, involved clearing bush and removing tree stumps from the school lands.¹³⁷ The boys cut and stored 70 tons of ice per annum (for cold storage) and chopped and prepared over 800 cords of wood annually to fuel the school furnaces.¹³⁸ The volume of work expected from the boys did not go unnoticed. In 1945, Indian Agent Gifford Swartman suggested the amount of time they spent doing chores took away their time for organized sports and games, where they were to learn important lessons in character development. He thus recommended that Pelican Lake School shift to coal as the fuel source so that more time could be spent doing these activities.¹³⁹



Figure 8. Boys at work on the farm, circa 1930.¹⁴⁰



Figure 9. Boys cutting ice for cold storage, circa 1930.¹⁴¹

Religious instruction was another important facet of schooling at Pelican Lake. The chapel served a variety of functions for students and staff, as it accommodated communions, festival services, confirmations, marriages, Sunday school, and Baptisms.¹⁴² All students were required to participate in Church activities, especially confirmation and communion.¹⁴³ The Principals provided religious instruction as a regular part of school routine. Church service for students and staff was held on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays at 7 p.m., while Sundays included Sunday school in the morning and church service in the evening.¹⁴⁴ Additionally, a sewing club, Boy Scout Troop, Wolf Cub Pack, Women's Association (of the Anglican Church) group, and a Girl Guide Company were offered to students. However, many of these activities were likely provided intermittently. For example, in 1938, Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, and a Cub Troop were offered, but not any other organization.¹⁴⁵ In fact, the Girl Guide Company at Pelican Lake School was established in 1938 as the first

company in the area, and it predated the establishment of the Girl Guide Company in the town of Sioux Lookout by four years.¹⁴⁶ Girl Guides activities were popular in the residential school system, the aim being “to develop good citizenship among the girls.”¹⁴⁷

In 1930, Principal Marshall received a letter informing him how to expense various items, including athletic equipment, in the school budget.¹⁴⁸ Indian Affairs provided opportunities for Principals to requisition spending on physical culture activities. The following year, Principal Marshall requisitioned athletic equipment as a school expense to Indian Affairs.¹⁴⁹ However, he only once requisitioned spending on physical culture activities for the school’s annual budgets from 1926 to 1932.¹⁵⁰ The next record of a Principal requisitioning athletic equipment for Pelican Lake School was in 1938, when acting Principal Mayo asked the Committee to purchase sporting equipment and uniforms.¹⁵¹ However, the



Figure 10. Two young girl guides in front of the school, 1940s.¹⁵²



Figure 11. Confirmation class of 1940.¹⁵³

Committee informed Mayo that he should instead expense such equipment to Indian Affairs within the regular school budget.¹⁵⁴

The two instances of requisitions for athletic equipment suggests that the primary source for athletic equipment was free and donated equipment, otherwise physical culture would have been restricted to activities that did not require equipment. It also suggests the Principals were not fully aware of the funding system and requirements, unless they were specifically instructed. There were no additional funds set aside for physical culture in Indian Affairs' funding system. Instead, Principals had to fit physical culture spending within their budgets determined by a set per capita rate, which was low and made it very difficult for them to spend their limited resources on much needed sport and recreation supplies.¹⁵⁵ For example, skate blades and boots, as well as everyday clothing, were provided to Pelican Lake School by the Women's Association of the Anglican Church, which provided recreation

equipment to Anglican schools to meet a need not filled by Indian Affairs.¹⁵⁶ Fundraising and donations secured directly by the schools or by church groups and charitable organizations were a boon for Indian Affairs, as they would enhance the system without additional costs.

A central philosophical justification for the use of physical culture by administrators at Pelican Lake School is reported in a Committee pamphlet designed to promote and attract prospective students and staff to the school.¹⁵⁷ This pamphlet is one in a series of pamphlets designed by the Committee to highlight the work being carried out in their schools.¹⁵⁸ The pamphlet on Pelican Lake School expressed a clear vision for its recreation program:

Unlike their playmates of civilization, the Indian children's recreation must be cultivated and developed, as they lack the knowledge of creating their own amusements. Strange as it may seem, the average Indian cannot swim, so that their recreation becomes an education. Once taught, they become keen, and display good sportsmanship and courage.¹⁵⁹

Thus, the Committee and staff at Pelican Lake School were acutely aware of the potential benefits of physical culture as a means of developing desirable character traits as part of the civilizing benefits imparted by organized activities.

The Committee also reported that “a thoroughly competent instructor” led physical training at Pelican Lake School.¹⁶⁰ Yet, qualified instructors were hard to come by. When that reality is combined with the problem of continual staff turnover at the school, offering competent instruction was likely intermittent. Prior to the 1950s, the staff at Pelican Lake School used informal games, recreation, and fitness more than organized competitive sport. Calisthenics, sack races, swimming, and skating for boys and girls were identified in the Pelican Lake School pamphlet, along with baseball and hockey – but these sports were more

about recreation rather than competitive play.¹⁶¹ The staff also organized hunting and fishing trips for the older boys, whose success was attributed by the Committee to their “natural instincts and marksmanship.”¹⁶² In 1945, Indian Agent Gifford Swartman bemoaned the “lack of recreational opportunities [as] very noticeable,” and went on to note that “under proper supervision this would go a long way toward developing character and physique.”¹⁶³ Thus the fitness, health, and character benefits of physical culture were not being fully realized at the school.

Compared with other Anglican residential schools, Pelican Lake School appeared to be similar to St. John’s (Chapleau, ON) and St. Cyprian (Peigan Reserve, AB) schools, which were also reported as having offered some sports, but tended to focus on fitness and recreation.¹⁶⁴ There were other Anglican schools, such as St. Paul’s (Cardston, AB), St. Micheal’s (Alert Bay, BC), and Old Sun (Blackfoot, AB) that the Committee reported as



Figure 12. Sack races, circa 1930.¹⁶⁵



Figure 13. Girls doing calisthenics, circa 1930.¹⁶⁶



Figure 14. Boys on sleighs, circa 1930.¹⁶⁷



Figure 15. Hockey rink on Pelican Lake, 1930s.¹⁶⁸



Figure 16. Students bathing in Pelican Lake, circa 1930.¹⁶⁹

running organized league systems, providing opportunities for competitive and “manly” play for boys, encouraged (limited) participation in sports by girls, and offered competitive play against white teams,¹⁷⁰ though schools offering these types of opportunities appear to be in the minority. More research needs to be done on individual schools to assess the difference between what officials reported and what was provided on a regular basis. Given the history of Pelican Lake School during this era, it is likely that the positive spin that could easily be surmised from the promotional pamphlets belies the limited and *ad hoc* opportunities for sports that were actually provided for students.

According to the Committee, health was an important focus for administrators at Pelican Lake School. The Committee noted that close attention was paid to children’s health, which included lessons in sanitation, trained nurses at the school, access to additional nurses and doctors from Sioux Lookout, first aid and sanatoria bedrooms in the school’s main building, and cod liver oil was said to be given daily.¹⁷¹ Yet, developments at the school through the 1930s suggest that disease, health concerns, and even student deaths were regular occurrences. In May 1930, Principal Marshall reported an outbreak of influenza, with two students contracting pneumonia; a nurse was dispatched to the school to help manage the health scare.¹⁷² In the spring of 1935, a young female student was being cared for by the Nurse Matron; the student was later sent to the Sioux Lookout hospital where she died from tuberculosis exacerbated by pneumonia.¹⁷³ The following year, in 1936, measles struck several students in two separate bouts, with most of the students eventually recovering to full health.¹⁷⁴ However, that same year, two girls and three boys became seriously ill and passed away, with tuberculosis being named the cause of death in four of cases and measles being named the primary cause in the other.¹⁷⁵ In 1937, Principal Mayo described the school as

being overtaken by an “epidemic” of “colds and coughs” in which 109 of 121 students were affected,¹⁷⁶ as well as a few cases of pneumonia, and several cases of whooping cough and chicken pox.¹⁷⁷ Mayo oversaw the inoculation of the students, which he hoped would ward off further losses,¹⁷⁸ but that same year he dismissed two students from the school because they were considered incurable,¹⁷⁹ and two other young girls died of pulmonary pneumonia, with tuberculosis, whooping cough, and chicken pox cited as contributory factors.¹⁸⁰ In December 1937, another young boy became seriously ill; he passed away of tubercular meningitis early in 1938.¹⁸¹ Also in December, six students infected with communicable diseases were sent to sanatoria to stop further contamination.¹⁸² In 1939, Principal Marshall reported that all but three girls and ten boys contracted the flu, which shows how communicable disease could easily spread throughout the school.¹⁸³

From 1940 to 1944, disease continued to be a scourge at Pelican Lake School. In September 1940, 40 of the 100 students contracted measles.¹⁸⁴ A nurse was sent to the school to combat the likelihood of all students becoming infected. Two months later, another report noted 15 cases of measles at the school.¹⁸⁵ In 1941, yet another outbreak of the measles afflicted the students, although the Principal noted that this outbreak did not have a serious long-term impact on student health.¹⁸⁶ In 1942, an outbreak of high temperatures and sore throats spread throughout the school, keeping 50 girls and 22 boys in their beds.¹⁸⁷ The severity of the outbreak stopped classroom instruction, as the teachers were enlisted in caring for the sick. Thus, poor health disrupted the school routine.¹⁸⁸ In the fall of 1944, Principal Cheales reported an outbreak of diphtheria¹⁸⁹ — on and on go the reports. The situation was so pervasive that, throughout the 1930s and 1940s, the Committee sent infected students to sanatoria to help control the spread of diseases. Indian Affairs, refusing to adjust its budget,

stated it “regretfully” could not send more students to sanatoria because it lacked the funds to do so.¹⁹⁰

Through the course of the administration of Pelican Lake School, Indian Affairs and the Committee provided the staff with a vision and rationale for promoting physical culture among the children in their care. However, a number of factors limited the implementation of the vision for physical culture at the school, which reflected the Committee’s regret at being unable to provide adequate physical culture opportunities in their schools across the country.¹⁹¹ Throughout their involvement at Pelican Lake School, Indian Affairs and the Committee remained steadfast in their commitment to the assimilation, education, and evangelization of their students. The administrators of Pelican Lake School were clear that the culmination of classroom instruction, labour training, religious instruction, health instruction, extra-curricular activities, and physical culture activities, was to impart “more than merely scholastic education... [as] each child may be given a thorough grounding in Christian ideals, coupled with a practical knowledge, so that he or she may improve their own people, and thus hasten the time when all the Indians will be intelligent, God-fearing citizens of Canada.”¹⁹²

2.4 Conclusion

It is clear that Indian Affairs and the Committee were well aware of the ways in which the physical dimension of the self could be used to further their policy agenda prior to the systematic expansion of physical culture in residential schools in the 1950s. The use of instructions to teachers, the instructional booklet on calisthenics and games, and the funding policy for physical culture activities are evidence of a policy history that sought to shape recreation and physical activity for First Nations youth since 1926, and perhaps since the

establishment of the residential school system in the late nineteenth century. Indian Affairs and the Committee used a consistent set of ideas in guiding their policy for shaping physical culture activities. An understanding of citizenship education, in which particular traits and characteristics of a desired citizen are promoted and developed in students, was shown to cohere with the use of physical culture. In particular, health, the productive use of leisure time, and building character were the primary expressions of the promotion of citizenship through physical culture during this time period.

Indian Affairs and the Committee envisioned the transformation of the individual student to a citizen, in part, through the imposition of a state-sanctioned program of physical culture. Thus First Nations leadership and direction in physical culture activities was irrelevant to Indian Affairs policy at this time. The policy of Indian Affairs was that physical culture should always be organized and supervised by school staff, and also that the desired individual development in the student required participation in Euro-Canadian physical culture prior to World War II. This approach stands in sharp contradistinction to Indian Affairs' policy of the 1950s, where Indian Affairs actually encouraged First Nations peoples' administration and organization of their recreational practices.¹⁹³ This suggests a radically different approach to citizenship training in Indian Affairs physical culture policy at that time. Prior to the war, citizenship education through physical culture activities was primarily targeted towards the boys. The approach of citizenship education using physical culture activities was consistent with the broader residential school policy goals and, too, it was reflected at the local level in the case of Pelican Lake School.

An investigation at both the national level and at a local level was useful in examining physical culture policy, because it enabled an understanding of the rationale and intent

behind the promotion of physical culture across Canada, while also appreciating the ways in which local level policy can differ and reproduce the national policy. The national level contextualization of physical culture policy focused on Indian Affairs' vision and intent regarding physical culture in the residential school system. However, Indian Affairs' policy for physical culture was stronger in its vision than its implementation, at least in the case of Pelican Lake School. Of particular importance at the school were a number of factors that limited time, opportunities, and resources in implementing the desired physical culture policy; these included heavy work demands, little support for principals, and a lack of facilities, qualified instructors, and equipment. Otherwise, the policy intent at Pelican Lake School was quite consistent with the national policy, with student fun being a factor identified at the local level but not at the national level. Therefore citizenship education was an important guiding principal in the residential school policy prior to an explicit focus on citizenship education in residential schools after World War II.

Endnotes

- ¹ Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission [IERSC], The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the MSCC. The Sioux Lookout School, no date, General Synod Archives of the Anglican Church [GS], 75-103, Box 131, File 4. Pelican Lake Indian Residential School was also known as Sioux Lookout Indian Residential School.

- ² The most complete account of the Canadian residential school system is Jim Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1996).
- ³ James Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Indian Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), 36-38.
- ⁴ The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Committee was the key organization in administering Anglican residential schools. However, the Committee operated within the umbrella of the MSCC and any major policy decisions were vetted by the MSCC, who in turn were responsible to the General Synod of the Anglican Church.
- ⁵ Norman Gull, "The "Indian Policy" of the Anglican Church of Canada from 1945 to the 1970s" (Masters Thesis, Trent University, 1992), 5.
- ⁶ Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 103.
- ⁷ Adapted from Thomas Birkland, *An Introduction to the Policy Process: Theories, Concepts, and Models of Public Policy Making* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 2005), 17-18.
- ⁸ F. Laurie Barron, "The Indian Pass System in the Canadian West, 1882-1935," *Prairie Forum* 13, no.2 (1988), 34-35.
- ⁹ *Ibid*, 27-30.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid*, 27-30.
- ¹¹ *Ibid*, 27-30.
- ¹² At least some daily routines included time for physical culture and recreation. For example, see Basil Johnson, *Indian School Days* (Toronto: ON, Key Porter Books, 1988), 47. Donald Auger, *Indian Residential Schools in Ontario* (Nishnawbe Aski Nation, ON: Nishnawbe Aski Nation, 2005), 31.
- ¹³ Janice Forsyth, "Bodies of Meaning: Sports and Games at Canadian Residential Schools," in: *Aboriginal Peoples and Sport in Canada: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Issues*, eds. Janice Forsyth and Audrey Giles (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), 21-25.
- ¹⁴ From roughly the 1850s on, Egerton Ryerson's system of physical education - which was largely comprised of drill, calisthenics, and gymnastics - significantly shaped physical culture in Canadian schools. Nancy Francis & Anna Lathrop, "'Children who Drill, Seldom are Ill.'" Drill, Movement and Sport: The Rise and Fall of a 'Female Tradition' in Ontario Elementary Physical Education - 1850s to 2000," *Historical Studies in Education* 23, no. 1 (2011), 61-80. Morrow, D. "The Strathcona Trust in Ontario, 1911-1939," *Canadian Journal of the History of Sport and Physical Education* 8, no.1

(1977), 72. Frank Cosentino & Maxwell Howell, *A History of Physical Education in Canada* (Toronto, ON: General Publishing Company Limited, 1971), 44-5. Don Morrow & Kevin Wamsley, *Sport in Canada: A History* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2005), 180-190.

¹⁵Janice Forsyth, “The Indian Act and the (Re)Shaping of Canadian Aboriginal Sport Practices,” *International Journal of Canadian Studies*, 35 (2007), 101-04. Forsyth, “Bodies of Meaning, 21-25.

¹⁶ Janice Forsyth and Michael Heine, ““A Higher Degree of Social Organization:” Jan Eisenhardt and Canadian Aboriginal Sport Policy in the 1950s.” *Journal of Sport History* 35, no. 2 (2008), 272-73.

¹⁷ At the center of understanding the impact and effects of residential schools are the ways in which students would have engaged in, used, experienced, and resisted school policy in ways variant to the intent of the residential schools. However, for the purpose of this paper, I overlook this perspective to in order to focus on the administration of the schools. Because of my primary focus on policy I have covered more precisely what was intended, desired, and understood about physical culture, than I have examined the effects of the physical culture on the students.

¹⁸ The following repositories were searched: Library and Archives Canada, the General Synod Archives of the Anglican Church, the Jan Eisenhardt Collection at the International Centre for Olympic Studies at Western University, the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre at Algoma University, the Sioux Lookout Museum, and the Sioux Lookout Library. I also searched the following newspapers and publications; *The Canadian Churchman*, *The Church Messenger of Canada*, and the Sioux Lookout newspaper *The Daily Bulletin*.

¹⁹ Forsyth, “Indian Act,” 108-09. Forsyth, “Bodies of Meaning,” 31.

²⁰ Miller suggests “education for citizenship” in a liberal democracy was the educational thrust in residential schools after World War II, and that it was widely recognized that the primary function of residential schools was to “turn out good citizens.” My intent in this paper is to trace how citizenship education was used prior to the 1940s, with a focus on how this was envisioned through physical development. Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision*, 156-7, 277. For examples of the literature pointing to citizenship as a primary purpose of residential schools, see Eric Porter, “The Anglican Church and Native Education: Residential Schools and Assimilation” (PhD Diss., University of Toronto, 1981) 147. Gull, “Indian Policy of the Anglican Church,” 34. And Milloy, *A National Crime*, 20-22.

²¹ I found three papers on this topic. Andrea Bear Nicholas, “Citizenship Education and Aboriginal People: The Humanitarian Art of Cultural Genocide,” *Canadian Journal of Education* 21, no. 2 (1996), 59-107. Marie Battiste & Helen Semaganis, “First Thoughts on First Nations Citizenship: Issues in Education,” in: *Citizenship in*

Transformation in Canada, ed. Yvonne Herbert (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 93-112. Mary Jane McCallum, "To Make Good Canadians: Girl Guiding in Indian Residential Schools (M.A. Thesis, Trent University, 2001). The focus of the two former papers is general and overarching, while McCallum examines the role of Girl Guides in training for citizenship. Through this study I hope to contribute to these works by providing insight about the role of physical culture activities in promoting citizenship.

- ²² Jim Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 140. Also see John Crossley, "The Making of Canadian Indian Policy to 1946" (PhD Diss., University of Toronto, 1987) 334-35, as he quotes at length the relevant sections of the Enfranchisement Act of 1857.
- ²³ Crossley, "Canadian Indian Policy," 210-221.
- ²⁴ Milloy quotes the perspectives of Sir John A. MacDonald, who accepted "the onerous duty of ... their [the Indians] guardianship as of persons underage, incapable of the management of their own affairs." Cited in Milloy, *A National Crime*, 20.
- ²⁵ Crossley, "Canadian Indian Policy," 223.
- ²⁶ This definition was developed based on the primacy of the education system for the development of individuals into desirable citizens; see Ken Osborne, "Public Schooling and Citizenship Education in Canada," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 32, no. 1 (2000), 9-10. It was necessary for the government to have a particular conception of citizenship in mind in shaping its citizens, and could be either explicit or implicit in government policy. Will Kymlicka, "Two Dilemmas of Citizenship Education in Pluralist Societies" in: *Education for Democratic Citizenship: Issues of Theory and Practice*, eds. Andrew Lockyer, Bernard Crick, & John Annette (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 47.
- ²⁷ For instance, Indian Affairs advised teachers to instill an array of desirable qualities in the students, including "independence, self-respect, industry, honesty, thrift, self-maintenance, citizenship and patriotism." Department of Indian Affairs, *Daily Register for Recording the Attendance of Indian School Pupils* (Ottawa, ON: Government Printing Bureau, 1927).
- ²⁸ Developing First Nation peoples as independent individuals was a central idea in the logic of civilization. Crossley, "Canadian Indian Policy," 263. Porter discusses how the transition from savage to civilized required the development of the late 19th century virtues of industry, responsibility, and self-sufficiency. Porter, "The Anglican Church and Native Education," 118-9.
- ²⁹ Porter, "The Anglican Church and Native Education," 117-120. Indian Affairs' focus on character was based upon the idea that the Indian was a savage that had poor character traits, such as being thriftless, indulgent, defiant, superstitious and lacked proper social skills.

- ³⁰ Norman Knowles, ““By the Mouth of Many Messengers”: Mission and Social Service in Canadian Anglicanism,” in: *Seeds Scattered and Sown: Studies in the History of Canadian Anglicanism*, ed. Norman Knowles (Toronto, ON: ABC Publishing, 2008), 174. As described by T. B R. Westgate, of the Indian And Eskimo Commission, in 1931. Alan Hayes, *Anglicans in Canada: Controversies and Identity in Historical Perspective* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 220-21. Ken Coates, ““Betwixt and Between:” The Anglican Church and the Children of the Carcross (Chooutla) Residential School, 1911-1954,” *BC Quarterly*, no. 64 (winter 1984-5), 33.
- ³¹ Steven J. Overman, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Sport: How Calvinism and Capitalism Shaped America's Games* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2011), 56-57.
- ³² For the series of booklets describing the roles of staff positions at Anglican Schools, see GS 75-103, Box 131, File 5.
- ³³ IERSC, An Outline of the Duties of Those Who Occupy Positions on the Staff at the Society’s Indian Residential Schools: No. II The Matron, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 5. IERSC, An Outline of the Duties of Those Who Occupy Positions on the Staff at the Society’s Indian Residential Schools: No. IV The Boy’s Supervisor, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 5.
- ³⁴ McCallum, “To Make Good Canadians,” 3,103.
- ³⁵ The MSCC was clear that the very “the aim of these schools is to fit the pupils to take their places in the life of the community as Christian citizens.” MSCC, *The Canadian Indian: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 1.
- ³⁶ Coates, “Betwixt and Between,” 46.
- ³⁷ For example, in 1931 Indian Affairs notes “ever since Confederation it has been the definite aim of the Government to make Indians self-supporting.” Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report* (Ottawa, ON: Dominion of Canada, 1931), 7. For the last few generations Indian Affairs’ policy was “designed to encourage the Indian to support and sustain himself.” Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report* (Ottawa, ON: Dominion of Canada, 1931), 194. Indian Affairs makes this connection specifically with the purpose of residential schools, when it stated that “it is the aim to make graduates of these institutions [residential schools] self-supporting members of their respective communities.” Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report* (Ottawa, ON: Dominion of Canada, 1936), 20.
- ³⁸ Crossley, “Canadian Indian Policy,” 263.
- ³⁹ Francis & Lathrop, “Children who Drill,” 64-67. Morrow & Wamsley, *Sport in Canada*, 181. Ryerson’s vision of physical culture as character education was intended to develop Canadian citizenship. Bruce Kidd, “Muscular Christianity and the Value-Centered Sport: The Legacy of Tom Brown in Canada,” *The International Journal of*

the History of Sport 23, no. 5 (2006), 703. Jean Barman provides an example of how “good,” “upright,” and Christian character was central to British Columbia private schools during the 1920s. The most central element in the development of character in Barman’s study was the physical, rather than the academic or moral dimension of the self. Jean Barman, “Sports and the Development of Character,” in: *Sports in Canada*, Morris Mott ed., (Mississauga, ON: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1989), 234-46.

- ⁴⁰ Bruce Kidd, “Muscular Christianity,” 706.
- ⁴¹ Francis & Lathrop, “Children who Drill,” 63-4. Morrow & Wamsley, *Sport in Canada*, 181. Knowles says that recreation was used by the Anglican Missionaries to promote discipline, team spirit and patriotism. Knowles, “Seeds Scattered and Sown,” 174.
- ⁴² David Howell & Peter Lindsay, “Social Gospel and the Boy Problem, 1895-1925,” in: *Sports in Canada*, ed. Morris Mott (Mississauga, ON: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1989), 224.
- ⁴³ Kidd, “Muscular Christianity,” 701.
- ⁴⁴ Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, (Ottawa, ON: Dominion of Canada, 1926), 16.
- ⁴⁵ Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision*, 157-158. Prior to World War II, Indian Affairs did not place the development of academically strong students as a high priority in residential schools.
- ⁴⁶ Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, (Ottawa, ON: Dominion of Canada, 1938), 191.
- ⁴⁷ IERSC, An Outline of the Duties of Those Who Occupy Positions on the Staff at the Society’s Indian Residential Schools: No. IV The Boys Supervisor, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 5. Letter, T. B. R. Westgate, to R. A. Hoey, 24 September 1940, Library and Archives Canada [LAC], Record Group [RG] 10, Volume 6215, File 470-5, Part 4.
- ⁴⁸ However, only a small fraction of residential school students received this funding during the interwar period, and the program was eliminated due to the financial pressures brought about by World War II. Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision*, 162-64.
- ⁴⁹ Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, (Ottawa, ON: Dominion of Canada, 1929), 18. Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, (Ottawa, ON: Dominion of Canada, 1936), 21.
- ⁵⁰ The focus of physical culture in the provincial education system during the 1920s and 1930s was targeted toward fitness and health, rather than athleticism in sports and games, and it is likely that Indian Affairs reflected the similar interests in fitness. Morrow and Wamsley, 192-94.

- ⁵¹ This was consistent with physical culture in the provincial systems. Francis & Lathrop, "Children who Drill," 64.
- ⁵² Ebenezer Scott. "Present-Day Ideologies and Christian Ideals: X – Physical Fitness," *The Church Messenger of Canada* XIV, no. 10 (1939), 6.
- ⁵³ These features reproduce many of the key features of physical culture training identified in the literature. Forsyth, "Indian Act," 101-04. Forsyth, "Bodies of Meaning," 22-23. Coates, "Betwixt and Between," 33.
- ⁵⁴ The pro-rec program in British Columbia is a pivotal development for provincial involvement in the administration of recreation in the 1930s, the National Physical Fitness Act (1943) was the federal government's first piece of physical culture legislation, and municipalities became key administrators of local level recreation in the late 1940s.
- ⁵⁵ Shirley Tillotson, "Time, Swimming Pools, and Citizenship: The Emergence of Leisure Rights in Mid-Twentieth-Century Canada," in: *Contesting Canadian Citizenship: Historical Readings*, eds. Rober Adamoski, Dorothy E. Chunn, & Robert Menzies (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2002), 216.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 200-01.
- ⁵⁷ No author, "Leisure," *The Church Messenger of Canada* V, no.8 (1930), 1. Archdeacon Fotheringham, "The Church and Leisure," *The Church Messenger of Canada* VII, no.5 (1933), 7.
- ⁵⁸ Archdeacon Fotheringham, "The Church and Leisure," 7.
- ⁵⁹ Porter, "The Anglican Church and Native Education," 117-20.
- ⁶⁰ IRSC, An Outline of the Duties of Those Who Occupy Positions on the Staff at the Society's Indian Residential Schools: No. III The Teacher, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 5. IRSC, An Outline of the Duties of those who Occupy Positions on the Staff at the Society's Indian Residential Schools: No. IV The Boys Supervisor, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 5. Department of Indian Affairs, *Daily Register*.
- ⁶¹ Physical culture practices express cultural priorities, interests, and values, and Indian Affairs and the Committee sought to make those cultural assumptions and values of physical activity and recreation time distinctly British-Canadian. Victoria Parashcak, "Reasonable Amusements: Connecting the Strands of Physical Culture in Natives Lives," *Sport History Review* no.29 (1998), 121-22. Forsyth, "Indian Act," 98-100.
- ⁶² Although Mary-Ellen Kelm's work is the most comprehensive study of health, Indian Affairs policy, and the First Nations body, she does not cover the use of physical culture activities in the residential school system in British Columbia. Mary-Ellen

Kelm, *Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia, 1900-50* (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 1998), 57-82.

⁶³ Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, (Ottawa, ON: Dominion of Canada, 1932), 11.

⁶⁴ Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, (Ottawa, ON: Dominion of Canada, 1936), 21.

⁶⁵ Two sources that examine these areas in more detail are Kelm, *Colonizing Bodies*, 57-80, and Milloy, *A National Crime*, 77-108.

⁶⁶ Department of Indian Affairs, *Daily Register for Recording the Attendance of Indian School Pupils*, (Ottawa, ON: Government Printing Bureau, 1923).

⁶⁷ Department of Indian Affairs, *Daily Register for Recording the Attendance of Indian School Pupils*, (Ottawa, ON: Government Printing Bureau, 1923).

⁶⁸ Department of Indian Affairs, *Calisthenics and Games, Prepared for Use in All Indian Schools* (Ottawa, ON: Government Printing Bureau, 1910).

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 7.

⁷⁰ Indian Affairs instructions to teachers through the booklet *Calisthenics and Games* in 1910, as well as instructions to residential school staff about physical culture in 1927 and 1951, were consistent in their focus on exercises for cardiovascular strength, respiratory power, and general health, as well as the promotion of outdoor activities and games. Department of Indian Affairs, *Calisthenics and Games, Prepared for Use in All Indian Schools* (Ottawa, ON: Government Printing Bureau, 1910). Department of Indian Affairs, *Daily Register for Recording the Attendance of Indian School Pupils*, (Ottawa, ON: Government Printing Bureau, 1927). Department of Indian Affairs, *Daily Register for Recording the Attendance of Indian School Pupils*, (Ottawa, ON: Government Printing Bureau, 1951).

⁷¹“Running, jumping, ball games and similar sports are vitally important as a means of molding the child’s character and for general exercise.” Department of Indian Affairs, *Calisthenics and Games*, 17.

⁷² *Ibid*, 5.

⁷³ Barman, “Sports and the Development of Character,” 242. The use of recreation in Anglican schools was designed to promote discipline, team spirit, and patriotism. Knowles, “Seeds Scattered and Sown,” 174.

⁷⁴ IERSC, *An Outline of the Duties of Those Who Occupy Positions on the Staff at the Society’s Indian Residential Schools: No. III The Teacher*, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 5.

- ⁷⁵ Department of Indian Affairs, *Daily Register*.
- ⁷⁶ The shift to development at the community level was not unprecedented. For example, prior to the enfranchisement policy in the 1850s, Indian Affairs policy focused First Nation development at the community level and not at the individual level. Crossley, “Canadian Indian Policy,” 313.
- ⁷⁷ John Leslie, “Assimilation, Integration or Termination? The Development of Canadian Indian Policy, 1943-1963” (PhD diss., Carleton University, 1999), 285,388.
- ⁷⁸ Milloy, *A National Crime*, 66-67, 87-88, 125-126, 273-275.
- ⁷⁹ Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision*, 273.
- ⁸⁰ Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, (Ottawa, ON: Dominion of Canada, 1921), 147. Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, (Ottawa, ON: Dominion of Canada, 1923), 167, 170. Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, (Ottawa, ON: Dominion of Canada, 1924), 135.
- ⁸¹ Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, (Ottawa, ON: Dominion of Canada, 1929), 129. Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, (Ottawa, ON: Dominion of Canada, 1930), 129, 130, 131, 132, 133. Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, (Ottawa, ON: Dominion of Canada, 1931), 131, 132, 134, 135, 136.
- ⁸² From 1932 to 1935 budget item descriptions in the Indian Affairs *Annual Reports* became much less detailed, to the point where sports equipment would not likely have been identified. By 1939 individual school budgets ceased being recorded in the annual reports. It is also possible that Indian Affairs spent money on staff, buildings, facilities, and playgrounds, but these could have been itemized in the budgets under more generic expenses, like buildings or maintenance. Donations and fundraising may have been other avenues for providing equipment, which would obviously not be found in school budgets. Finding additional sources, including school budgets located within individual school archival files, would be helpful in establishing a clearer picture of physical culture funding across the residential school system.
- ⁸³ Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision*, 217-250. Forsyth, “Indian Act,” 103-104.
- ⁸⁴ Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision*, 217-218.
- ⁸⁵ T. B. R. Westgate, Report of the Field Secretary MSCC, on the Site Selected for the New Indian Residential School in the Lac Saul Area in the Diocese of Keewatin, no date, GS 75-103, Box 23.
- ⁸⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁷ *Ibid*

- ⁸⁸ Ibid. Letter, F. Edwards to the Department of Indian Affairs, 6 August 1925, LAC, RG 10, Volume 6216, File 470-9, Part 1. IERSC, The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the MSCC. The Sioux Lookout School, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 4.
- ⁸⁹ T. B. R. Westgate, Report of the Field Secretary MSCC, on the Site Selected for the New Indian Residential School in the Lac Seul Area in the Diocese of Keewatin, no date, GS 75-103, Box 23.
- ⁹⁰ Ibid.
- ⁹¹ Ibid.
- ⁹² Ibid. Letter, F. Edwards to the Department of Indian Affairs, 6 August 1925, LAC, RG 10, Volume 6216, File 470-9, Part 1.
- ⁹³ T. B. R. Westgate, Report of the Field Secretary MSCC, on the Site Selected for the New Indian Residential School in the Lac Seul Area in the Diocese of Keewatin, no date, GS 75-103, Box 23.
- ⁹⁴ Ibid.
- ⁹⁵ IERSC, The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the MSCC. The Sioux Lookout School, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 4. See Auger, *Indian Residential Schools*, 98, for a more specific breakdown of the student's home communities
- ⁹⁶ IERSC, The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the MSCC. The Sioux Lookout School, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 4.
- ⁹⁷ T. B. R. Westgate, Report of the Field Secretary MSCC, on his visit to Sioux Lookout and Moose Fort Schools, June 1927, GS 75-103, Box 23.
- ⁹⁸ Ibid.
- ⁹⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁰ Donald Auger, *Indian Residential Schools*, 93.
- ¹⁰¹ T. B. R. Westgate, Report of the Field Secretary MSCC, on his visit to Toronto, the Shingwauk home, the Chapleau and Sioux Lookout Schools, June 1928, GS 75-103, Box 23. The Anglican Residential schools in operation in 1927 were located in, Carcross, Alert Bay (Boys'), Alert Bay (Girls'), Hay River, Lesser Slave Lake, White Fish Lake, Wabasca, Blackfoot, Blood, Peigan, Onion Lake, Lac la Ronge, Mackay, Elkhorn, Saulte St. Marie, Chapleau and Moose Factory.
- ¹⁰² "Pelican Lake Indian Residential School: Photo Album." Archives.almogau.ca. 2012. <http://archives.almogau.ca/main/sites/default/files/PelicanLake.pdf>

- ¹⁰³ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁴ T. B. R. Westgate, Report of the Field Secretary MSCC, on his visit to the Sioux Lookout and Chapleau Schools, Ottawa, Port Hope, Toronto, and other centres, July 1927, GS 75-103, Box 23.
- ¹⁰⁵ Lawrence Baxter, a former Pelican Lake School student, spoke of his father's experiences of work rather than schooling at Pelican Lake School in the 1920s. *Healing the Generations*. Directed by Joe Beardy (Wolf Clan Productions), VHS.
- ¹⁰⁶ Miller *Skyscrappers Hide the Heavens*, 135. Residential schools however, never became financially self-supporting entities.
- ¹⁰⁷ T. B. R. Westgate, Report of the Field Secretary MSCC, on his visit to the Sioux Lookout and Chapleau Schools, Ottawa, Port Hope, Toronto, and other Centres, July 1927, GS 75-103, Box 23.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁹ IERSC, The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the MSCC. The Sioux Lookout School, no date, GS, 75-103, Box 131, File 4.
- ¹¹⁰ The Keewatin Diocesan Dorcas Secretary, "Report of the Dorcas Secretary Treasurer," *The Living Message* 37, no.11 (1926), 349.
- ¹¹¹ T. B. R. Westgate, Report of the Field Secretary MSCC, on his visit to the Sioux Lookout and Chapleau Schools, Ottawa, Port Hope, Toronto, and other Centres, July 1927, GS 75-103, Box 23. It is not known how many of these staff, or the staff throughout the school's history, were First Nations peoples. Although this aspect of the staff is not covered in this study, additional research in to the cultural and racial background of the staff would be important to help understand how the school functioned and how the students experienced the school.
- ¹¹² The Keewatin Diocesan Dorcas Secretary, "Report of the Dorcas Secretary Treasurer," *The Living Message* 37, no.11 (1926), 349.
- ¹¹³ T. B. R. Westgate, Report of the Field Secretary MSCC, on his visit to Toronto, the Shingwauk home, the Chapleau and Sioux Lookout Schools, June 1928, GS 75-103, Box 23.
- ¹¹⁴ The Keewatin Diocesan Dorcas Secretary, "In the Wilds of Western Ontario," *The Living Message* 39, no.5 (1928), 148.
- ¹¹⁵ Indian School Administration, Superintendent's Visit to Sioux Lookout Residential School, 24 October 1952, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 9.
- ¹¹⁶ "Red Lake: Residential Schools" Virtual Museum Exhibit, Red Lake Regional Heritage Centre.

http://www.museevirtuel-virtualmuseum.ca/sgc-cms/histoires_de_chez_nous-community_memories/pm_v2.php?id=search_record_detail&fl=0&lg=English&ex=0000353&hs=0&sy=loc&st=Pelican+Lake+Indian+Residential+School%2C+Sioux+Lookout%2C+Ontario%2C+Canada&ci=&rd=86687#

- ¹¹⁷ The Keewatin Diocesan Dorcas Secretary, “In the Wilds of Western Ontario,” 148.
- ¹¹⁸ The Keewatin Diocesan Dorcas Secretary, “Report of the Dorcas Secretary Treasurer,” *The Living Message* 37, no.11 (1926), 349.
- ¹¹⁹ IERSC, The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the MSCC. The Sioux Lookout School, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 4.
- ¹²⁰ Ibid.
- ¹²¹ Letter, T.B.R. Westgate to The Secretary at the Department of Indian Affairs, 7 July 1927, LAC, RG 10, Volume 470-5, File 6215, Part 1. MR C-7944. This was typical of many schools that had perennial problems with buildings and maintenance. Auger, *Indian Residential Schools*, 21-23.
- ¹²² Letter, Rev. J. Marshall to The Secretary at the Department of Indian Affairs, 15 August 1930, LAC, RG 10, Volume 470-5, File 6215, Part 2. MR C-7944.
- ¹²³ Department of Indian Affairs, *Calisthenics and Games*, 3.
- ¹²⁴ T. B. R. Westgate, Report of the Field Secretary MSCC, on his visit to the Sioux Lookout School, October 1929, GS 75-103, Box 23.
- ¹²⁵ Ibid.
- ¹²⁶ IERSC, The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the MSCC. The Sioux Lookout School, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 4. The MSCC notes that young children were admitted because they were orphaned and without a home.
- ¹²⁷ T. B. R. Westgate, Report of the Field Secretary MSCC, on his visit to the Sioux Lookout School, October 1929, GS 75-103, Box 23.
- ¹²⁸ Ibid.
- ¹²⁹ Ibid.
- ¹³⁰ Minutes of Meeting, IERSC, 10 December 1940, GS 75-103, Box 19.
- ¹³¹ Minutes of Meeting, Executive Committee of the MSCC, 11 February 1941, GS 75-103, Box 5, File 4.
- ¹³² IERSC, The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the MSCC. The Sioux Lookout School, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 4

- ¹³³ IERSC, The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the MSCC. The Sioux Lookout School, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 4.
- ¹³⁴ Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, (Ottawa, ON: Dominion of Canada, 1932), 55. Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, (Ottawa, ON: Dominion of Canada, 1935), 48. Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, (Ottawa, ON: Dominion of Canada, 1939), 264.
- ¹³⁵ Ibid.
- ¹³⁶ Ibid.
- ¹³⁷ Ibid.
- ¹³⁸ Ibid.
- ¹³⁹ Cited in, Auger, *Indian Residential Schools*, 96. During the 1950s the school was powered by electricity, and thus the work demands for the boys was eliminated in this respect.
- ¹⁴⁰ IERSC, The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the MSCC. The Sioux Lookout School, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 4
- ¹⁴¹ Ibid.
- ¹⁴² IERSC, The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the MSCC. The Sioux Lookout School, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 4.
- ¹⁴³ Auger, *Indian Residential Schools*, 96
- ¹⁴⁴ Sioux Lookout and District Historical Society, *Tracks Beside the Water: Book 2* (Sioux Lookout, ON: Inter-Collegiate Press, 1982), 146.
- ¹⁴⁵ Minutes of Meeting, IERSC, 18 January 1938, GS 75-103, Box 19.
- ¹⁴⁶ No Author, "Sioux Lookout Girl Guides Enroll 42 Recruits at Meeting on April 30th." *The Times Observer*, 6 May 1942.
- ¹⁴⁷ Ibid. For an extended discussion on the role of Girl Guides in training residential school girls for citizenship, see Mary Jane McCallum, "To Make Good Canadians: Girl Guiding in Indian Residential Schools (M.A. Thesis, Trent University, 2001).
- ¹⁴⁸ Letter, A.F. Mackenzie to Rev. J. Marshall, 17 April 1930, LAC, RG 10, Volume 470-5, File 6215, Part 2. MR C-7944.I
- ¹⁴⁹ Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1931, I-32.
- ¹⁵⁰ After 1932, the format in the *Annual Reports* changes and makes it impossible to record sport supplies in the reports of school budgets, and after 1939 the school budgets are not reported in Indian Affairs' *Annual Reports*. As a side note, other spending on

physical culture, such as facilities or playground equipment, would not have shown up in the budgets.

¹⁵¹ Minutes of Meeting, Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission, 18 January 1938, GS 75-103, Box 19.

¹⁵² “Pelican Lake Indian Residential School: Photo Album.” Archives.algomau.ca. 2012. <http://archives.algomau.ca/main/sites/default/files/PelicanLake.pdf>

¹⁵³ IERSC, The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the MSCC. The Sioux Lookout School, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 4.

¹⁵⁴ Minutes of Meeting, Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission, 18 January 1938, GS 75-103, Box 19. The school budgets at this time were calculated based on a set figure per student attending the school, and equipment for organized activities (like the Boy Scouts) were not able to be requisitioned to Indian Affairs, and instead required fundraising or donations.

¹⁵⁵ Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision*, 273.

¹⁵⁶ The Keewatin Diocesan Dorcas Secretary, “Report of the Dorcas Secretary Treasurer,” *The Living Message* 39, no.11 (1928), 384.

¹⁵⁷ IERSC, The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the MSCC. The Sioux Lookout School, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 4.

¹⁵⁸ For several examples see, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 1.

¹⁵⁹ IERSC, The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the MSCC. The Sioux Lookout School, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 4.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ G. Swartman, Quarterly Report on Sioux Lookout Agency, March 1945, LAC, RG 10, Volume 6216, File 470-5, Part 6.

¹⁶⁴ IERSC, The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the MSCC. St. John’s Indian Residential School, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 1. IERSC, The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the MSCC. St. Cyprian Indian Residential School, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 4.

¹⁶⁵ IERSC, The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the MSCC. The Sioux Lookout School, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 4.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

- ¹⁶⁷ “Pelican Lake Indian Residential School: Photo Album.” Archives.algomau.ca. 2012. <http://archives.algomau.ca/main/sites/default/files/PelicanLake.pdf>
- ¹⁶⁸ IERSC, The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the MSCC. The Sioux Lookout School, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 4.
- ¹⁶⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁷⁰ Ibid. IERSC, The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the MSCC. Old Sun Indian Residential School, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 4. IERSC, The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the MSCC. St. Paul’s Indian Residential School, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 4.
- ¹⁷¹ IERSC, The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the MSCC. The Sioux Lookout School, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 4.
- ¹⁷² Minutes of Meeting, Indian Residential School Commission, 20 May 1930, GS 75-103, Box 18.
- ¹⁷³ Memorandum of an Inquiry to the Cause and Circumstances of the Death of [N.N.], 17 April 1935, LAC, RG 10, Volume 6216, File 470-23, Part 1.
- ¹⁷⁴ Minutes of Meeting, Indian Residential School Commission, 17 November 1936, GS 75-103, Box 18.
- ¹⁷⁵ Memorandum of an Inquiry to the Cause and Circumstances of the Death of [N.N.], 15 November 1936, LAC, RG 10, Volume 6216, File 470-23, Part 1. Memorandum of an Inquiry to the Cause and Circumstances of the Death of [N.N.], 24 February 1936, LAC, RG 10, Volume 6216, File 470-23, Part 1. Memorandum of an Inquiry to the Cause and Circumstances of the Death of [N.N.], 5 November 1936, LAC, RG 10, Volume 6216, File 470-23, Part 1. Memorandum of an Inquiry to the Cause and Circumstances of the Death of [N.N.], 27 October 1936, LAC, RG 10, Volume 6216, File 470-23, Part 1. Memorandum of an Inquiry to the Cause and Circumstances of the Death of [N.N.], 25 October 1936, LAC, RG 10, Volume 6216, File 470-23, Part 1. Memorandum of an Inquiry to the Cause and Circumstances of the Death of [N.N.], 21 December 1936, LAC, RG 10, Volume 6216, File 470-23, Part 1.
- ¹⁷⁶ Minutes of Meeting, Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission, 28 September 1937, GS 103-75, Box 19. Minutes of Meeting, Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission, 19 October 1937, GS 103-75, Box 19.
- ¹⁷⁷ Minutes of Meeting, Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission, 28 September 1937, GS 103-75, Box 19.
- ¹⁷⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁷⁹ Minutes of Meeting, Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission, 6 April 1937, GS 103-75, Box 19.

- ¹⁸⁰ Memorandum of an Inquiry to the Cause and Circumstances of the Death of [N.N.], 19 October 1937, LAC, RG 10, Volume 6216, File 470-23, Part 1. Memorandum of an Inquiry to the Cause and Circumstances of the Death of [N.N.], 17 October 1937, LAC, RG 10, Volume 6216, File 470-23, Part 1.
- ¹⁸¹ Memorandum of an Inquiry to the Cause and Circumstances of the Death of [N.N.], 7 January 1938, LAC, RG 10, Volume 6216, File 470-23, Part 1.
- ¹⁸² Minutes of Meeting, Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission, 10 May 1938, GS 103-75, Box 19.
- ¹⁸³ Minutes of Meeting, Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission, 14 March 1939, GS 103-75, Box 19.
- ¹⁸⁴ Report of the Secretary of the Commission on his Visit to the Chapleau and Sioux Lookout Schools, 30 September 1940, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 2.
- ¹⁸⁵ Minutes of Meeting, Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission, 5 November 1940, GS 103-75, Box 19.
- ¹⁸⁶ Minutes of Meeting, Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission, 8 April 1941, GS 103-75, Box 19.
- ¹⁸⁷ Minutes of Meeting, Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission, 13 May 1943, GS 103-75, Box 19.
- ¹⁸⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁸⁹ Minutes of Meeting, Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission, 13 October 1944, GS 103-75, Box 20, File 1.
- ¹⁹⁰ Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, (Ottawa, ON: Dominion of Canada, 1935), 10. The director of Indian Affairs lamented the lack of funding reserved for First Nations health as he compared the \$30 per person the government spent annually on Canadian citizens health while less than \$10 per person annually was allocated for First Nations health. Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, (Ottawa, ON: Dominion of Canada, 1934), 11.
- ¹⁹¹ MSCC, *The Canadian Indian: Our Responsibility and Opportunity*, November 1945, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 1. Mary Ferrabee, "President's Address," 335-36.
- ¹⁹² IERSC, *The Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the MSCC. The Sioux Lookout School*, no date, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 4.
- ¹⁹³ Forsyth & Heine, "A Higher Degree of Social Organization," 270-272.

Chapter 3

“A Rink at this School is Almost as Essential as a Classroom:” The Use of Hockey in the Administration of Pelican Lake Indian Residential School, 1945-1951

3 Introduction

In April of 1951, Indian Affairs organized a southern Ontario tour of a bantam hockey team from Pelican Lake Indian Residential School.¹ The tour provided the young First Nation boys with the opportunity to compete against ‘White’ bantam aged teams from Ottawa and Toronto.² The Pelican Lake School team, named the Sioux Black Hawks, played two games at the Auditorium in Ottawa and one at Maple Leaf Gardens in Toronto. The Black Hawks were treated to stays at lavish hotels, as well a tour of the main attractions in each city. Such a peculiar event prompted me to wonder why a hockey team from a small residential school in northern Ontario was taken on an all-expenses paid hockey tour? Was it really about hockey? The tour seemed to fall outside the normal range of Indian Affairs’ activities, particularly in light of the debilitating under-funding that plagued the residential school system.³ Furthermore, I wondered how physical culture was important to the educational objectives at Pelican Lake School. How did physical culture fit into the policy objectives of Indian Affairs and the Anglican staff at this school? At first glance, the positive assumptions so powerfully connected to physical culture, such as enhanced self-esteem, connectedness to community, and health promotion, seem to be at odds with the horrors of the dominant

narrative about residential schools.⁴ It was through these contrasts that I began to question the role of hockey at Pelican Lake School.

Shortly after World War II, Indian Affairs began to increase its promotion of physical culture within residential schools. For example, in 1950 Indian Affairs hired Jan Eisenhardt to the department's first ever position of the Supervisor of Physical Education and Recreation.⁵ At this time the purpose of physical culture in residential schools aligned with Ottawa's assimilationist and integrationist policy goals.⁶ Yet little is known about the intent and use of physical culture from the perspective of local school administrators, such as principals, church representatives, and regional Indian Affairs agents. The focus of this chapter is to identify Pelican Lake School administrators' intent and purpose in their use of physical culture between 1945 and 1951. The beginning of this timeframe aligns with Indian Affairs' growing interest in physical culture and culminates in 1951 with the Black Hawks tour of southern Ontario. I argue that Pelican Lake School administrators primarily valued the way in which physical culture fostered student compliance and discipline. For the Anglican Church and Indian Affairs more broadly, the Black Hawks provided a publicity opportunity that extended beyond the walls of Pelican Lake School. School administrators leveraged the Black Hawks as publicity tool to promote the message of good character and sportsmanship developed by the students in their education, and therefore the Black Hawks could exhibit the strength of Anglican and Indian Affairs' residential schooling.

To begin, I briefly describe Pelican Lake School and its physical culture opportunities prior to the construction of the school rink in 1948; during this time physical culture was provided but in fairly limited capacity. Then I move to the administration of Pelican Lake School in 1947 and 1948, when Pelican Lake School administrators were going through

particularly difficult time with student ill-discipline and a lack of control at the school. This period of time points to the school administrators' desperate need for an increase in student control and compliance. Then, at length, I move to the establishment of the rink, the Black Hawk hockey team, and the expansion of hockey throughout the school till 1951. Finally, I describe the administrators' belief in the remedial benefits that hockey brought to the school, such as a complete reduction in student truancy.

3.1 Pelican Lake School and Physical Culture Activities Prior to 1948.

Pelican Lake School was officially opened with a maximum capacity of 125 boys and girls in 1929,⁷ and by the late 1940s the school's capacity had increased to approximately 150 pupils. The pupils were taken from northern Ontario, many of which came from Treaty Three and Treaty Nine Territories.⁸ The school suffered from many of the limitations, challenges, and deficiencies experienced throughout the residential school system. Like all other residential schools, it was underfunded, the state of school infrastructure was in desperate need of repair and improvements,⁹ in the 1940s the school was overcrowded,¹⁰ and poor staff and low staff retention were also ongoing issues for the ISA.¹¹

School administrators used discipline and order as the bedrock of school routine that included a lot of chores and work to help with the operation of the school. The boys' work included farm work, outdoor work, and, when available, training in the workshop; while the girls' work included laundry, cleaning, and cooking.¹² The chores and work around the school were intended to train the pupils in manual labor skills, which administrators' believed were an important part of the pupils' education and future employment prospects. The ISA's policy on classroom instruction had changed in the mid 1940s to shift to full day

instruction from the half-day system, which resulted in a change to full day classroom instruction at Pelican Lake School.¹³ Prayers and religious education were also regular features of school life, and short chapel services were held twice daily, at 8 a. m. and 7 p.m. for both pupils and staff.¹⁴

Administrators at Pelican Lake School had a history of using calisthenics, sports, and games, to civilize the pupils through the development of good character in the boys during 1930s and early 1940s.¹⁵ Yet, a lack of opportunity, equipment, facilities, and instructors limited the physical culture program during that time.¹⁶ Insufficient physical culture opportunities were common in the residential school system and by the ISA's own admission, the low standard of work in their residential schools had "been apparent in classrooms and other departments. In some cases, by reason of lack of younger workers, there are scarcely any athletic activities."¹⁷ In 1945 Indian Agent Gifford Swartman lamented a distinct lack of recreational opportunities at the school, and he further noted that this deficiency required much greater attention.¹⁸ Swartman was firm in the belief that First Nations boys had a natural predilection for sport, which could be leveraged to build stronger bodies and better character.¹⁹ Adequate athletic facilities and equipment were thus of the essence.

In 1947 Henry Cook, the Superintendent of the ISA who undertook the majority of residential school inspections, reported about winter physical culture activities, including the use of toboggans and he also expressed a desire to get skis for the boys for the following winter.²⁰ Additionally, there were several skate blades available for use on a rink on Pelican Lake; the blades were attached to boots with wire.²¹ In 1947 Cook reported that there was no hockey at the school at that time, and the skate blades were not in use for want of suitable

boots.²² The report went on to recommend the construction of a rink, but noted that this would require additional resources;²³ and additional resources were hard to come by in the residential school system. Therefore constrained opportunities for physical culture activities were available for the students, predominantly the boys, up to 1947.

3.2 An Administrative Low Point at Pelican Lake School: Student Ill-Discipline and Poor Management, 1948-1949.

In October of 1948, G. R. Turner of the ISA wrote a special memorandum regarding the poor conditions he noted when inspecting Pelican Lake School. As it would turn out, this report marked the beginning of a particularly troubling period in the school's history. Turner described the buildings and premises as being in a "deplorable state of untidiness," and because livestock roamed freely about there was "manure all over the place."²⁴ In particular, Turner took umbrage with the significant state of ill-discipline among the students. At dinnertime, he reported, there were "stragglers" into meals, dining without first cleaning up, still wearing their caps in the dining room, and displaying disorderly conduct.²⁵ For Turner, student ill-discipline and lack of control were the school's central problems. Turner noted that principal "Evans is definitely not exercising proper control over the children, as well as some of the staff."²⁶ As an example, Turner noted that Evans was working with three pupils spreading gravel while the engineer stood by and watched.²⁷

In his report, Turner capitalized the most scathing statement about the state of ill-discipline at the school for emphasis, recounting a conversation he had with a staff member. Turner reported that the Matron "wished I would come more frequently as the behavior of the children was so improved since my arrival."²⁸ "I", Turner reflected emphatically, "SHUDDER TO THINK WHAT IT MUST HAVE BEEN BEFORE I ARRIVED AS IT

DEFINITELY WAS MUCH WORSE THAN I HAVE SEEN IN ANY OF THE OTHER SCHOOLS I HAVE VISITED.”²⁹ Despite Turner’s concerns, he recommended for Evans to stay on as principal as long as he received “some straight talk and advice.”³⁰ However, in a later note, Cook observed that Evans had not changed his personal conduct, nor had he pursued discipline in the students or improved his office administration.³¹ In being so remiss, Cook believed Evans had “damned the ISA and government in the treatment of the Indians.”³²

A few months after Turner’s report, however, Evans was gone and Reverend Wickenden was reinstated as principal in January of 1949. The ISA hoped that Wickenden would be able to rectify the problems at the school. Wickenden found the transition process to be extremely difficult because of Evan’s poor management and lack of support for himself.³³ During January of 1949, Wickenden did his best to organize the office administration and “to get some discipline into the boys,” but the number of staff available for supervising the boys hampered his efforts.³⁴ Although the ISA had noted that the girls were well clothed and well behaved, the boys were described as “terribly out of hand even yet.”³⁵ Although Wickenden continued to struggle with pupil discipline, the ISA was pleased to see that he was able to retain the school staff during this trying period:

all the white female staff members, save Mrs Williams, show effects from the last 2-3 months at Sioux in having lost weight and zest. Only the faithfulness of two or three prevented a mass resignation of staff. Wickenden’s presence and work has helped considerably. More help is urgently needed in the supervising end of things for both boys and girls.³⁶

The poor state of affairs at the school was part of a broader trend of problems in the Anglican school system, of which the ISA was acutely aware.

By the mid-1940s, the Anglican Church was in the midst of an internal debate about whether, in view of the evident problems and lack of success, educational work in the residential schools should be continued.³⁷ In 1946, the Board of Management for the General Synod of the Church of England set up an Indian Work Investigation Commission whose terms of reference stated that “a period of 3 years be set [extended in 1949] in which the operation of the Residential Schools shall be re-organized, the standards raised, the conditions improved, and the expenses brought within the available income; and that such schools as can not be brought within the policy of re-organization, or operated in such a way as to be a credit to the Church, shall be discontinued.”³⁸ Indian Affairs began to sideline church leadership since 1946, yet the ISA did not completely end its partnership with Indian Affairs in running their schools until 1969.³⁹ An Anglican Bishop argued for the continued need to operate the school because:

this school serves extremely wide area to the north [sic], east and west of Sioux Lookout, an area where there are few and, in most sections, no Indian Day schools, it is essential that this residential school be maintained in partnership with Government. Consequences of closing such a school or withdrawing from existing partnership would deprive many of our Indian children of opportunity for education under Church auspices and open the door for uncontrollable influences over a wide region.⁴⁰

The ISA steadfastly adhered to its argument that the culprit for the “disturbing lower standards of clothing and feeding of children” was Indian Affairs’ “penny pinching” policy.⁴¹

Without question, Indian Affairs had contributed to the poor state of Pelican Lake School; it could not simply be attributed to the deficient school culture and Wickenden's failed leadership. By June of 1949, the ISA had replaced Wickenden with Reverend Wilson, who they hoped would usher in a new era of leadership, order, and pupil discipline. During the time of Wilson's tenure, the sport of hockey came to be increasingly important at the school. Since this development served to contextualize Wilson's time as leader of the school, it will be considered here first, before examining Wilson's leadership in particular.

3.3 The Development of Hockey at Pelican Lake Indian Residential School, 1948-1951

Until the fall of 1948, the only facility for skating and hockey had been a small rink cleared on Pelican Lake. By October of 1948, interest in building a rink grew and the ISA was asked to approve the use of lumber from a dismantled building for a rink,⁴² and by November of 1948 the rink was under construction.⁴³ Swartman was likely the key instigator of the rink, as Principal Evans and the ISA were unaware of the particulars of the cost of the rink, although Swartman did ask for some ISA financial support for its construction.⁴⁴ The rink was located on the playing field behind the school, and it thus had to be constructed every fall and dismantled every spring to allow for use of the playing field during the warmer months.⁴⁵ The addition of the rink was one of two key developments in 1948; it would come to have a dramatic impact on the school.

With a new and improved skating facility at hand, Swartman approached Art Schade, a local businessman from Sioux Lookout, to gauge his interest in working with Swartman to form a hockey team.⁴⁶ Schade enthusiastically agreed and around Christmas of 1948 the Black Hawk club and its administrative structure was established: Chade was the president,

Wickenden the honorary president, Swartman the secretary, Peter Seymour of Pelican Lake School was the coach; four others rounded out the executive committee.⁴⁷ The team was called the Black Hawks, and just like many other minor hockey teams their namesake and insignia were adopted from professional hockey teams, in this instance the Chicago Black Hawks. Swartman was the key figure in forming the team, but the Black Hawks were the result of a collective effort that included support from Indian Affairs, the ISA, Wickenden, as well as donations and support from Sioux Lookout citizens.⁴⁸ The Black Hawks were entered as a bantam team into the Sioux Lookout and District Hockey League.⁴⁹

The forming of the Black Hawks was an expression of the significant growth of sport and sport teams in residential schools after World War II. The policy shifts at Indian Affairs, with its interest on integration and a growing focus on sport, led to the rapid expansion of residential school sport teams across the country.⁵⁰ By 1949, Indian Affairs began reporting on successful Indian hockey teams in the *Indian School Bulletin*, an instructional and informational booklet sent out to all residential school staff.⁵¹ The establishment of a competitive Indian residential school sport team such as the Black Hawks was uncommon in the late 1940s, but within five to ten years sport teams in residential schools were the norm rather than the exception.

In December of 1948 the boys began the tryouts for the Black Hawk team on the new school rink. None of the boys had skates or sticks, and both were supplied by donations from local citizens as well through a grant from Indian Affairs.⁵² Astonishingly, and despite a history of some hockey being played at the school, none of the boys trying out for the team had ever skated before, and thus the establishment of the inaugural hockey team was no mean feat. Within a few days of practice, the coaches reported that a dozen boys could skate the

length of the ice without falling.⁵³ In goal were Ernest Wesley (Albany) and Kelly Bull (Lac Seul); on defense were David Wesley (Lac Seul), Jeremiah McKay (Trout Lake), and Louis Waswa (Fort Hope); and the forwards were Albert Carpenter (Osnaburgh), George Carpenter (Osnaburgh), Walter Kakeptetum (Deer Lake), Frank Wesley (Albany), Luke Yapput (Osnaburgh), Tommy Wynn (Fort Hope), and Stanley Wesley (Osnaburgh).⁵⁴ The first game was scheduled for the Sioux Lookout Memorial rink in the first week in January of 1949.

3.3.1 The Inaugural and Second Seasons, 1948-1949 and 1949-1950

Coach Seymour was a school staff member who graduated from St. Mary's Indian Residential School, and was described by the ISA as a "good carpenter and sports promoter," who spent a lot of time with the boys and was a good influence on them.⁵⁵ The Black Hawks



Figure 17. The Black Hawks, circa 1950.⁵⁶

went on to lose their first game of their inaugural season, but showed improvements throughout the competition.⁵⁷ The Sioux Lookout Rangers were a team sponsored by the Canadian Legion in Sioux Lookout, and they eventually beat the Black Hawks in the playoffs on their way to winning the Sioux Lookout and District championship.⁵⁸

In the following season, the Black Hawks once again entered the Sioux Lookout Minor Hockey League in the Bantam division, and the team remained largely unchanged. In goal was Mathew Strong (Pikangikum); defense was Jeremiah McKay (Trout Lake) and David Wesley (Lac Seul); and the forwards were Albert Carpener (Osnaburgh), George Carpenter (Osnaburgh), Walter Kakepetum (Deer Lake), Frank Wesley (Albany), Luke Yapput (Osnaburgh), Henry Spence (Lac Seul), Tommy Wynn (Fort Hope), Stanley Wesley (Osnaburgh), Kelly Bull (Lac Seul), John Yesno, and Angus Wesley (Albany).⁵⁹ The Black Hawks played a pre-season exhibition game against an older midget team from Sioux Lookout, and a 3-1 Black Hawk win was an auspicious sign of things to come.⁶⁰ In the 1949-50 season the Black Hawks gave up only 14 goals in 13 games, and lost only one game in both the regular and post-seasons on their way to winning the Sioux Lookout and District hockey championship.⁶¹ This was a far cry from an inability of any Black Hawk player to skate the length of the ice without falling just one season ago: the Black Hawks were a revelation. In March of 1950, the *Indian School Bulletin* reproduced an article originally written in the local Sioux Lookout newspaper, *The Daily Bulletin*, which spoke of the success and style of play the Black Hawks brought to hockey in the Sioux Lookout district:

Monday night at the local arena the Indian Residential School Black Hawks played a brand of hockey never before seen by local fans so far this season.

The Hawks thoroughly shellacked an over-sized Hudson team by a 6-1 score.

The arena was really packed at last night's encounter and there was never a dull moment during the fast, hard-hitting game put on by both clubs. The last time these two teams met the Hawks were edged out by Hudson 3-2 but there was no doubt in anyone's mind as to who played a superior brand of hockey last night and the Hawks really deserve credit for their fine win.⁶²

As Sioux Lookout champions, the Black Hawks then travelled to Geraldton, Ontario to play the highly rated Geraldton Bantam team for the Thunder Bay District championship.⁶³ The Black Hawks beat Geraldton in three straight games.⁶⁴ Meanwhile, the Black Hawk boys were making a name for themselves off the ice, as well, not just for their success on the ice. The manager of the hotel the boys stayed at in Geraldton let them know that they would be welcome back anytime as he noted "it was the first hockey team which had ever behaved properly!"⁶⁵

Also in the 1949-1950 season, the Black Hawks travelled to Kenora to play in their first all-Indian residential school tournament that included Fort Francis, Cecilia Jeffrey, and McIntosh schools. Jan Eisenhardt and Indian Affairs began to encourage small hockey tournaments between Indian residential schools, in particular to provide opportunities for competitive play, as many residential schools had long distances to travel to play against others. Meanwhile, at the school, any interested student had the opportunity to play and develop as a hockey player, although this probably excluded the female students.⁶⁶ Cook noted that all children used the rink "whenever possible."⁶⁷ Thus by the winter of 1950, games of hockey for the boys, and also skating for boys and girls were at the heart of the physical culture program at the school.⁶⁸



Figure 18. Boys playing hockey at Pelican Lake School, circa 1951.⁶⁹

In the summer of 1950 Eisenhardt was a guest at the Sioux Lookout Rotary Club to award the hockey prizes for the local hockey league. Eisenhardt stood upon the stage and one by one, the Black Hawk players filed past and received a wooden trophy, whereupon each boy turned toward the audience and said “thank you.”⁷⁰ From conversations with locals at the award event, Eisenhardt deduced that citizens who had a rather low opinion of First Nations peoples began to change their minds because of teams such as the Black Hawks, who when given an equal chance demonstrated that they were able to achieve something great.⁷¹

In June of 1950 the ISA became disappointed in Indian Affairs’ reporting of residential school sport team results in the *Indian School Bulletin*; it expressed its alarm at what it saw as the lack of credit for the teams’ success attributed to the Anglican principals or staff.⁷² Turner found this particularly egregious because the Roman Catholic schools’ principals and staff were given credit for their teams’ successes.⁷³ Furthermore, in the case of the Black

Hawks, credit was given specifically to Swartman, and therefore to Indian Affairs but not the Anglican Church.⁷⁴ Principal Wilson and Swartman did not cooperate well, and Wilson reported to the ISA that Swartman was actively excluding Wilson and his staff from the Black Hawks' activities. For example, Wilson was locked out of the Black Hawk locker room and was prevented from attending the Thunder Bay District championship game in Geraldton.⁷⁵ Tellingly, the official team photo for the season included Swartman, Schade and some members of the administrative group of the Black Hawks, but not Wilson.⁷⁶

In light of this slight to Anglican Church public standing, the ISA then lodged a complaint with Indian Affairs, requesting for fair representation and acknowledgment of Anglican sport teams in the *Indian School Bulletin*. Indian Affairs simply responded by informing the ISA that credit would be given to Anglican clergy as long as they sent reports of the activities and successes of each principal, to Indian Affairs.⁷⁷ Consequently, the ISA issued a circular to all Anglican principals regarding the publicity benefits of school sports teams. The ISA circular requested principals to “please ensure therefore that complete accounts of the activities of hockey, baseball, softball and other athletic teams at your school are forwarded in future direct to the Indian Affairs Branch...If we do not give Indian Affairs these particulars, naturally we shall suffer from the publicity angle in comparison to the Roman Catholics.”⁷⁸

The Black Hawks' successes were good publicity for the ISA because they afforded an opportunity to provide evidence of the strength and quality of the Anglicans' educational work with First Nations youth, to parents, future staff, and the general public. The Black Hawks could engage Canadians' interest in hockey, show the success of residential school schools, and prove that First Nations peoples could compete against Whites on equal terms.

The rivalry with the Roman Catholic Church was a further motivating force for the use of public relations promotions by the ISA, since the use of physical culture performances as a publicity tool became increasingly important.⁷⁹ The production of such good publicity was thus one important function the hockey team performed for the school specifically and the ISA and Indian Affairs more generally.

3.3.2 Improving Facilities at Pelican Lake School

The success of hockey at the school notwithstanding, the playing fields at the school were still quite uneven and during his 1950 visit to the school, Eisenhardt recommend three days of heavy bulldozing to improve the sub-standard condition of the fields.⁸⁰ By 1951 Phelan reported that the school's playing fields were "fairly good," although he still requested a backstop for baseball or softball and markings for other sports.⁸¹ Between 1945 and 1951, the poor condition of the fields and a lack of facilities limited quality play, sport, and games. The increased supply of equipment and work done to improve fields and facilities by 1950 did align with Indian Affairs' policy to further develop physical culture in the residential school system. Therefore the school can be seen as one example of a school that developed its physical culture program and received tangible benefits from Indian Affairs' policy initiatives; this also included benefits for the younger pupils.

School administrators provided young students with playgrounds for play, recreation, and exercise as more appropriate activities before moving on to more complex activities like sport. Playground equipment and play areas at the school were substantially improved shortly after World War II, but they were divided along gender lines. In 1947, the boys had some equipment for play, but the swings, for example, were not operational because parts were needed before they could be used.⁸² To improve the situation for the youngsters, Principal

Wilson used playground equipment resourced by Indian Affairs to develop a boys' playground.⁸³ The work to develop such a playground was carried out by the older boys as part of the manual workshop training.⁸⁴ Providing manual labor skills, while also providing resources for the school, was central to the original philosophy of the half-day system (half a day classroom instruction, half a day manual training) that was first developed in 1847 and used in Anglican residential schools until 1947.⁸⁵ However, manual training was not always offered to the pupils. In the summer of 1949 there were no facilities for manual skills training, but by the fall a building had been converted for this purpose.⁸⁶ Tools were ordered in the spring of 1950.⁸⁷ In 1951, the boys' playground project was undertaken and finished, complete with working swings and teeter-totters in an enclosed area surrounded by a small fence.⁸⁸ A few years earlier in 1947, requests were made for a small slide for the girls, but as was often the case, it took multiple requests before this equipment was acquired. In 1951, after the improvements to the boys' playground, Turner and Phelan made requests to develop a girls' playground through another boys' manual workshop training project.⁸⁹ Improvements to the infrastructure at the school were often delayed, and in this instance the girls' playground was put on hold because there was insufficient and unqualified staff to complete the project by the end of that year.⁹⁰

3.3.3 The 1950-1951 Season

In the winter of 1950, Paul Martin (Senior), Minister of National Health and Welfare, and Dr. Percy Moore, Director of Indian Health Services travelled to Sioux Lookout to officially open the new Sioux Lookout area Indian hospital, which was built to extend and improve services to many communities across northern Ontario. During their visit, Martin and Moore attended a Black Hawk exhibition game.⁹¹ Martin was so impressed with the team

that he began to work in cooperation with the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Walter Harris, to organize a Black Hawks hockey tour with stops in the national and provincial capitals. Dr. Moore affirmed that the Black Hawks were one of the finest minor teams he had ever seen in action.⁹² The Black Hawks tour was eventually scheduled to take place in April of 1951, with two games in Ottawa and one in Toronto against competitive playground teams. But before the Black Hawks went on their tour, they had the 1950-1951 season of hockey to play, coached by former National League player Johnny McDonald, and assisted by the manual training instructor, Bruce McCully.⁹³

In January of 1951, the Black Hawks were undefeated, and played two games at the Sioux Lookout Memorial Arena against an all-star Dryden team, beating them 12-3 and 8-3.⁹⁴ The following month, the Black Hawks finished the Sioux Lookout and District Hockey competition with two wins over the Rangers on February 9 and 12 respectively, to take the Fuller trophy (named after the Sioux Lookout mayor) for the Sioux Lookout and District Hockey title.⁹⁵ That same month the Black Hawks travelled to Fort William, Ontario to play two exhibition games. The team included: Lawrance Beardy (Trout Lake), Dave Wesley (Lac Seul), Chris Cromarty (Trout Lake), Albert Carpenter (Osnaburgh), Walter Kakepetum (Deer Lake), Ernie Wesley (Albany), Frank Wesley (Albany), Kelly Bull (Lac Seul), Ronnie Wesley (Albany), Agrippa Beardy (Trout Lake), Henry Spence (Lac Seul) and Lawrence Carpenter (Osnaburgh).⁹⁶ It was the first time the Black Hawks played on artificial ice; they took a 5-3 loss to the Port Arthur Rangers and scored a 5-0 win against the Columbus Canadians of Fort William.⁹⁷

Indian Agent Swartman collected a number of newspaper articles about the Black Hawks, which often pointed to its remarkable style of play. One journalist reported that the



Figure 19. Black Hawks, circa 1951.⁹⁸

crowd's "reaction to the famous All-Indian team was unanimously favorable," and he went on to note that the "Black Hawks showed unusual skating, stickhandling and shooting ability and were even more conspicuous for their fine positional play."⁹⁹ "Sticking strictly to their positions at all times," another journalist noted, "the Hawks drew repeated applause from delighted spectators with their accurate passing plays, particularly when breaking up gang attacks by the opposition."¹⁰⁰ The Sports Editor of the *News Chronicle*, Dick Elliott, pointed to the Black Hawks style of play as a refreshing case study on how to play hockey, which evoked his purist vision of hockey from a bygone era:

The old timers who ask, what is wrong with hockey today, undoubtedly would have taken heart had they watched the bewitching All-Indian bantams from

Sioux Lookout. To our way of thinking, those brown-skinned young artists from the north could do more for the prestige of Canada's national game than any meticulously selected bunch of adults you could name, professional or amateur. Sure, why not send such a team on a world cruise? They'd set Britain and the continent agog with their fine interpretation of a game that for years now has been moving steadily towards the same classification as professional wrestling. And the kids proved, moreover, that there is nothing wrong with hockey today that can't be cured, that two of the fundamentals of the game – playing the puck and position – still are profitable as well as pleasant to the eye.¹⁰¹

Dick Elliot was not alone in his interpretation of the Black Hawks accomplished style of play. A letter to the editor was published in a local newspaper under the heading of "One Man's Opinion". The contributor rhapsodized:

If anyone had told me kids of to-day could play like these Indians, I'd say they were crazy. You don't see any of the white kids play like that. Honestly there was more hockey played in that kid game than you would see in Junior or Senior games. They play the same style and system I would try and teach them, were I a coach. It was amazing to see such wee tots holding up their heads while stick handling to make sure of their passing and to see where their opponents were. Its hard to realize they have such stick handling and skating ability after a couple season's of play.¹⁰²

The admiration underlying these journalists' columns, which often slipped into hyperbole, points to the sheer exceptionalism of the team.

In February of 1951, the Black Hawks travelled to participate in the annual Kenora hockey tournament with other residential school teams. Following the round robin phase of the tournament, the Black Hawks beat McIntosh 4-2 and Cecelia Jeffrey beat St. Mary's 1-0 in the two semi-final games.¹⁰³ Although the Black Hawks then lost to Cecilia Jeffrey in the tournament final, the press coverage was still favorable for the Black Hawks. The *Kenora Miners* newspaper noted that "the well balanced Sioux Lookout team who went down twice to the huskier Cecelia Jaffray pucksters, nevertheless made a splendid impression with their fine hockey, good positional play, and never-say-die spirit, and on a good sheet of ice might have come closer to the honours."¹⁰⁴ Back in Sioux Lookout, the *Daily Bulletin* reported a Black Hawks playoff game against the Chiefs of Port Arthur. The Black Hawks lost the first game of a three game series¹⁰⁵ and went on to lose the series. The Black Hawks had played a lot of hockey but the season was not done yet; still to come was a tour of southern Ontario, the highlight of the hockey season.

The small, remote, and close-knit First Nations communities in northern Ontario, and the under-funded, struggling, and problem-ridden residential school that their children went to, were worlds apart from an all-expenses paid tour of the modern, metropolitan, and bustling cities of Toronto and Ottawa. Not a single Black Hawks player could have ever dreamed his education could include something as unlikely as this hockey tour. Travelling with the team were the key personnel from the Black Hawk committee, including Wilson, Swartman, Schade, and the Mayor of Sioux Lookout and club president, W. Fuller; McCully served as coach.¹⁰⁶ The tour consisted of three hockey games, one game each against the East Browns and Combines of Ottawa and then one game against Shopsy's of Toronto. The transition from a semi-permanent rink constructed from salvaged lumber and located in the

woods of northern Ontario, to Ottawa's Auditorium and Toronto's Maple Leaf Gardens shows how far the boys had come.¹⁰⁷ Two former professional hockey players and current members of parliament, Wilfred "Bucko" McDonald and Lionel Conacher, refereed the East Browns game.¹⁰⁸ The Black Hawks beat the East Browns and then later lost to the Combines.

Media coverage of the Ottawa games collected by Swartman included articles from the prairies, where H. L. Jones of the *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix* highlighted the clean play of the Black Hawks, as "there was no scalping, rough-house or angry words. Just clean play, goodwill all around and smiles, especially Indian smiles."¹⁰⁹ Other newspaper coverage of the Black Hawks focused on good sportsmanship in victory: "the Black Hawks went about their chores in a business-like manner and even if they did pin defeat on the Browns they made it painless by presenting their opponents with lacrosse sticks as a token of friendship between the second and third periods."¹¹⁰ The *Evening Citizen* commented on the spectator enjoyment provided by the Black Hawks' style of play, as "hockey fans who passed up the show missed a fast, clean match that thrilled the spectators from start to finish."¹¹¹ H. L. Jones pointed out the most expressive example of the Black Hawks sportsmanlike conduct, when "Walter Kakepetum, scored two goals, but got the night's only penalty as Bucko sent him off for hooking."¹¹² The *Ottawa Citizen* added that Kakepetum "was so bewildered that he couldn't find the sin-bin. Ironically enough, who should lead him to it but Bucko McDonald and Lionel Conacher."¹¹³ The irony alluded to was the reversal of roles, as the typically clean and sportsmanlike Black Hawk player was lead to the penalty box by former professional players who were known for their rough play.

From the Auditorium the Black Hawks travelled to Maple Leaf Gardens, where they took on and lost to the local Shopy's team. Media coverage in Toronto also pointed to the

contrast between the Black Hawks style of play and that of competitive Canadian hockey teams. *The Telegram* was appreciative of the way in which Shopsy's played without their normal aggressive edge, commenting that the team "weren't playing as rough as they, or any local minor club can. Normally an aggressive outfit, they played this one clean on the sportsmanlike instruction of Coach Oscar Brooks and Manager Jack Humphreys. Even at that they absorbed all six penalties."¹¹⁴ Thus the victory in the first game, and good competition in the two losses may have to some degree reflected the tour's exhibition function rather than it being a test of the Black Hawks in the contemporary, competitive style of play. Other press coverage reported that even when the Black Hawks were losing "they never lost even part of their determination. Though four goals behind in the period's dying moments, they were still playing with everything at their command. Still, they weren't rough. In fact, they were given no penalties, compared to five issued to the Toronto team."¹¹⁵ From a publicity point of view, the significant Black Hawk media coverage clearly paid dividends for the ISA and Indian Affairs; the press coverage of their sportsmanlike play provided public validation of the ISA's and Indian Affairs' claimed goals of competitive First Nations athletes developing good character.

From a strictly competitive standpoint, two losses and one win did not amount to a particularly successful tour for the Black Hawks, yet what happened off the ice was, for the tour organizers, an equally, if not a more important, aspect. Black Hawks manager Schade noted that from an educational perspective the tour was "well worth" the cost,¹¹⁶ and Bruce McCully, the manual training teacher and coach of the Black Hawks, noted that "these three days in Ottawa will be worth three year's schooling for the boys."¹¹⁷ The education referred to was the key motivation behind the tour, and it did not involve reading, math, or science,

but was about what it meant to be a citizen. The Black Hawks tour itinerary was full of educational activities and also included meetings with a number of dignitaries to mark the occasion. Upon arriving in Ottawa, the Black Hawks were greeted by the Mayor of Ottawa before going to the national parliamentary buildings.¹¹⁸ The Kenora Member of Parliament provided the Black Hawks with a guided tour of the House of Commons.¹¹⁹ To conclude the first day of the tour, the Black Hawks did a sightseeing trip, and went for a swim at the Hotel Chateau Laurier pool.¹²⁰

After waking in the Hotel Chateau Laurier in the following day, the boys headed to a guided tour of two Canadian civic icons, the National Museum and the National Archives.¹²¹ Prior to the East Brown's game the Black Hawks were greeted by Governor-General Alexander and a veritable who's who of the senior leadership of Indian Affairs to celebrate the occasion, including: the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Walter Harris; Minister of National Health and Welfare, Paul Martin; Deputy Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Laval Fortier; Director of Indian Affairs D. M. Mackay; Director of Indian Health Services, Dr. Percy Moore; and Superintendent of Indian Education, Philip Phelan.¹²² In Toronto, the Black Hawks continued to sightsee, including a trip to Queen's Park to meet the Premier of Ontario, Leslie Frost, an old friend of Swartman's. Newspaper coverage noted that Frost was so impressed with the Black Hawk team that "he took them all through the House of Parliament, showed them where he sat – where the speaker sat – where the opposition sat – showed them all over the House itself and let them sign the official register! He seemed to have a grand time – and the boys ... well they were just speechless."¹²³ Frost was one of the parliamentarians and bureaucrats who enjoyed publicity snapshots with the boys, which were

arranged both on and off the ice.¹²⁴ Additionally, the Black Hawks publicity campaign also included appearances on radio shows.¹²⁵

In the summer of 1951, which extended the 1950-1951 season, the Black Hawks travelled to Fort William where they played and lost two exhibition games.¹²⁶ The emerging Montreal Canadian superstar Maurice “Rocket” Richard signed autographs and featured in a photo opportunity with the boys after refereeing their game, which was a highlight of the trip for the Black Hawks boys.¹²⁷ The young Ojibway and Cree boys had become a well-known team and a compelling story in many rinks and households across the province, and the role of the Black Hawks, and hockey generally, had also become an important part of life back at Pelican Lake School.

3.4 Hockey and Administrative Improvements at Pelican Lake School, 1949-1951.

By June of 1949, Wilson had taken the reins at Pelican Lake School. Turner, of the ISA, reported that “Wilson is making a conscientious effort to carry out his duties,” and also that “a very great change for the better has taken place as regards discipline, tidiness of the children and general appearance of the premises.”¹²⁸ In November 1949, Cook again reported good news, referring to Wilson’s good management of the staff, noting furthermore “credit is due Wilson and most members of his staff for the improvements they have brought about. There is still plenty to be done but progress is being made.”¹²⁹ In April 1950, Cook reported that Wilson was doing a good job. Cook was able to report that the children were “tidy and happy and well behaved without being brow-beaten. Wilson claimed that interest in the hockey team was a grand thing for the school.”¹³⁰ During the fall and winter of 1949-50, the

rink had become extremely popular amongst the students and was in use “whenever possible.”¹³¹

In June 1951, the Cook’s report again noted the success of Wilson’s principalship, as well as good discipline among the students:

The school gives the appearance of being a happy and efficient one. The staff seem congenial and interested in their work and loyal....The children are cheerful, willing to talk and most respectful. They are well-turned out. All of them seem very enthusiastic about sports and games and show unbounded energy in them. ... The Principal seems to have everything well under control and to be well-liked by both staff and children although he is firm and strict.¹³²

Wilson had thus brought about a measure of obedience, discipline, and student control, at the same time as the interest and participation in sports and games became increasingly reported by the ISA, and important in the life of the school. The enhanced discipline and developments in sport were no coincidence for Fred Matters, Regional Supervisor of Indian Affairs, who reported:

Generally speaking, the condition of the school has further improved since my last visit. The Principal and staff appear to work well together and the children are quite lively, speak freely and look healthy. There is no doubt that the morale of the school has improved beyond measure during the last two years. Part of this can be credited to the work of the principal and the staff, also in large measure to the spirit that has been developed through sports, mainly hockey.¹³³

Not only had student discipline been developed, and control of students tightened, but also sport was said to have raised the spirit and morale of the school. Although hockey was only for the boys, and the Black Hawks were a small group of only 12 boys, the impact of hockey and the rink on school morale was significant. The remedial benefits of hockey on school morale were thus considered to be a school-wide effect by Matters. Indian Agent Swartman noted another example of the importance of the corrective impact of hockey on student ill-discipline at the school. In July of 1951, Swartman was unequivocal in his regard for hockey as a means for enhancing student compliance. He argued that “a rink at this school is almost as essential as a classroom because there had been no truancy since the rink has been in operation.”¹³⁴ Although the number of truants prior to the building of the rink in the fall of 1948 is not known, the reduction in truancy was a key yardstick of increased student compliance for Swartman.

Prior to World War II, there is an absence of a history of using sports and games in residential schools as a means for combating poor student discipline, delinquency, and insubordination, which was a reflection of the relatively minor role of sports in many residential schools. The role of sports and games in Canadian public education during this time was also insignificant because sport was not considered a legitimate curricula activity.¹³⁵ However, this was not necessarily the case abroad. For example, J. A. Mangan has demonstrated that since the inception of sports and games in public school education in Victorian England, the principals at Marlborough and Harrow boarding schools used sports and games specifically to combat student ill-discipline and the destructive use of unsupervised leisure time.¹³⁶ Similarly, David Kirk has shown that this process continued through to mid-twentieth century English education, as physical culture was justified as a

powerful tool used expressly to maintain social control of students by combating juvenile delinquency and even criminal activity.¹³⁷ Thus Pelican Lake School administrators had tapped into a dimension of social control that sport offered to education administrators, which was enabled by the post-War growth of sport as a legitimate educative activity, and the increasing cultural importance and prominence of sport in Canada at that time.

Wilson was initially well liked and praised by the ISA during his tenure at the school for his good management and use of sport to provide order to the school. However the staff become very unhappy with Wilson whom they eventually characterized as stubborn and dictatorial, at which point, in 1953, Cook recognized that Wilsons' usefulness as a principal at Pelican Lake School was over.¹³⁸

3.5 Conclusion

For Indian Affairs and the ISA, the function of the Black Hawk tour had multiple layers. Indian Affairs' and the ISA's desire for sport to build character - to develop a moral code that called for fair play and sportsmanship as indicators of personal development - was corroborated and emphasized as a central message in the media reports of the Black Hawks. The media coverage made constant reference to the Black Hawks' 'clean' play, humility in victory, and a 'never say die' competitive spirit. Black Hawk sportsmanship and fair play was best captured in the media coverage through the symbolism of Walter Kakepetum's bewildered and failed search for the penalty box. Indian Affairs and the ISA intended the lessons of morality and what it meant to be a good athlete, to be translated into what it meant to be a good person off the ice. Indeed the pleasant, well-behaved, and polite boys impressed those whom they encountered on this tour as well as on their various hockey trips.

The ethical reputation and style of play of the Blackhawks was, when compared to professional and even minor competitive Canadian hockey, a nostalgic expression of values that many hockey fans and coaches believed ought to be followed. Newspaper journalists' used this romanticized view of hockey - that aligned with the clean, fast, and talented positional play of the Black Hawks –as a statement of desired values that were inconsistent with the increasingly physical, aggressive, and cynical nature of competitive hockey. Indian Affairs' vision of good character and the ideal sportsman was an ideologically driven goal pursued with using the Black Hawks team as a tool, but it was disconnected from the reality of the southern teams they played on their tour, who chose to play in a less physical and competitive way in their matches with the Black Hawks.¹³⁹ It was more important to Indian Affairs for the Black Hawks to embody the ideal sportsman, than to be competitive in the same way as White teams. The irony of the intent to develop good sportsmen was striking because the ethical superiority of the Black Hawks far outstripped the supposedly developed and civilized White hockey players, on a tour that was intended to encourage the Black Hawk players to aspire to reach the heights of progress of White athletes, White citizens, and White society.

Furthermore, Indian Affairs intended the off-ice activities, such as experiencing the lifestyle of capital cities, the national institutions of cultural and civic importance, or the meetings with numerous Canadian dignitaries, to have lasting educational value. The education intended by Indian Affairs rationalized the progress of modern, urban life, of the developments of civilization, and the opportunities and way of life that Canadian society offered. Indian Affairs presented this perspective to the Black Hawks in a lavish and carefully constructed tour offered exclusively for the boys, and the print and radio media

retold this story to the Canadian public. The Black Hawk tour however was worlds apart from the residential school experience of students throughout the country.

Indian Affairs had recently identified integration as an overriding policy objective, and sport would be one tool for its realization; the Black Hawks tour articulated well to this purpose. The target of the Black Hawk's media coverage, which included the spectators at the games, the readership of many newspapers, and the audiences of the radio coverage, was primarily intended for a White rather than a First Nations audience. Indian Affairs was well aware that integration also required White participation, interest, and understanding in order to be successful, and they therefore leveraged the Black Hawks to propagate and substantiate the idea of First Nations integration.

The ISA also became very interested in the publicity benefits of residential school sport teams, and wanted its recognition in enabling sporting success, particularly when compared to the Roman Catholic schools. Prior to World War II, the role of school sport publicity had been marginal in Canada with little or no legitimacy given to sport in the school curriculum, nor did competitive school sports develop a popular following. For the ISA, the positive media coverage and the success story of the Black Hawks provided evidence of their good work with First Nations youth; it was a welcome respite from the litany of discipline, health, staff, educational, and financial problems associated with their schools. Likewise, Indian Affairs were keen to use the glowing media coverage to point out the successes of their schooling policies, along with those politicians who wanted to be associated with Black Hawks through public media opportunities. The ISA and Indian Affairs used competitive sport as a powerful vehicle for producing positive messages that showed that integration, character building, and social development was a product of residential schooling. Rather

than a politician or bureaucrat producing a bland report for Canadians about the educational or civilizing results of the residential school system, these athletes could perform evidence of development in an entertaining spectacle right in the public eye. Unknowingly, they could perform themselves as successful projects of civic improvement, for the White and admiring spectator.

In the years following World War II, Pelican Lake School was a difficult place for students, staff, and administrators, although for different reasons. Superintendent Cook described the school as “much worse” than he had seen at any other school. Staff found their work so trying and debilitating that they lost weight and could not care for themselves, let alone the pupils. A lack of care likely contributed to the runaways at Pelican Lake School. Administrators were well aware that runaways were a sign of unhappy students who wanted to act on their repudiation of school life.¹⁴⁰ School morale was depressingly low. Cook was also extremely disappointed with the local leadership at the school, which he described as “damning” the ISA’s and Indian Affairs’ treatment of First Nation children.

In contrast, the Black Hawks hockey team provided a limited group of boys the opportunity to experience fun and enjoyment. A host of positive experiences, including many trips to Sioux Lookout for games, additional trips to nearby towns, further trips to Kenora, Geraldton, Thunder Bay, the extravagant tour of Southern Ontario, and meeting and being referred to by professional players - including “Rocket” Richard - were a far cry from the daily struggle for survival in residential school life at the residential school. Furthermore, the impressive results of the team as covered above, such as the win-loss records, local and regional titles, and trophies won, would have added to this positive and uplifting experience. The Black Hawks success can be contrasted with the normal conditions of very limited

opportunities for these students in the residential school system. Indeed, the boys went on to take the opportunity to eventually beat White students in a genuinely competitive arena, and this was likely the sole instance of such an event in the lives of the young Pelican Lake School students.

The effects of hockey on the school was not directed solely at the Black Hawks players, but permeated the entire school: participation in hockey involved those who wanted to make the team but did not, the younger boys who would have aspired to be future Black Hawks, as well as other boys interested in hockey. Cumulatively, the boys were part of a hockey culture in which they were described as having “unbounded energy” for the sport. Many boys took up the opportunity for fun, competition, and recreation, to escape from the struggles of daily life at the school, albeit temporarily. Although the girls were excluded from hockey, the ISA reported that the rink was used by boys and girls for hockey and skating “whenever possible.”¹⁴¹ The rink and hockey thus brought a new dimension to school life for all pupils.

From the perspective of the school administrators, hockey reduced student ill-discipline and completely eliminated truancy. The use of physical culture and sport in the successful production of obedient, disciplined, moral boys of good character provides a powerful explanation of the underlying ideology that led to increased discipline among the students. Perhaps too, the pragmatic effects of enhancing of school morale, providing fun and enjoyment, a break from the challenges of residential school life, a genuine opportunity for success, and a sense of accomplishment for the pupils, also contributed to the student compliance at the school. ISA and Indian Affairs administrators came to believe in the use of

hockey as a means to enhance student acceptance of their authority and of the educational, religious, and integrating goals at Pelican Lake Indian residential school.

Endnotes

- ¹ Pelican Lake Indian Residential School is also known as Sioux Lookout Indian Residential School.
- ² Janice Forsyth & Kevin Wamsley, (2005, May). 'Championship of Nowhere in Particular': The Sioux Lookout Black Hawks and the Instantiation of Canada's Residential Schools. Paper presented at the *North American Society for Sport History Annual Convention*, Green Bay, WI.
- ³ James Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Indian Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), 67.
- ⁴ Ibid, 51-88. Jim Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 183-216, 317-342. Roland Chrisjohn, Sheri Young, and Michael Maraun, *The Circle Game: Shadows and Substance in the Indian Residential School Experience in Canada* (Penticton, BC, Theytus Books Ltd., 2006), 19-22.
- ⁵ Janice Forsyth and Michael Heine, "'A Higher Degree of Social Organization:': Jan Eisendardt and Canadian Aboriginal Sport Policy in the 1950s," *Journal of Sport History* 35, no. 2 (2008), 267.
- ⁶ Ibid. 264-65. Janice Forsyth, "The Indian Act and the (re)Shaping of Canadian Aboriginal Sport Practices," *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 35 (2007),105.
- ⁷ See Chapter 2, 63.
- ⁸ Donald Auger, *Indian Residential Schools in Ontario* (Nishnawbe Aski Nation, ON: Nishnawbe Aski Nation, 2005), 98. The specific home community for every pupil on the class registry between 1941 and 1950 can be found in Indian Residential School Quarterly Return: Sioux Lookout, December 1941 to December 1950, Library and Archives Canada [LAC], Record Group [RG] 10, Volume 6214, File 470-2, Part 1.
- ⁹ Superintendent's Visit to Sioux Lookout, 28 January 1949, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 6.

- ¹⁰ Extract from Report of J. M. Ridge to Dr. Moore, 1 October 1945, LAC, RG 10, Volume 6216, File 470-5, Part 6.
- ¹¹ For example, from 1945 to 1951 there were five principals: Reverend, A. B. Cheales (1941-1945), Rev G. W. Fisher (1946), Rev. D. C. Wickenden (1946-47, 1949), Mr. J. Evans (1948) and Reverend S. J. Wilson (1949-1953).
- ¹² See Chapter 2, 59-60.
- ¹³ Memorandum, Henry G. Cook, Indian Day schools and Indian Residential Schools, 20 November 1952, GS 75-103, Box 25, File 1.
- ¹⁴ G. R. Turner, Visit of Superintendent to Sioux Lookout School, 31 May - 2 June 1951, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 8.
- ¹⁵ See Chapter 2, 64.
- ¹⁶ See Chapter 2, 65.
- ¹⁷ Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, The Canadian Indian... Our Responsibility and Opportunity, November 1945, GS 75-103, Box 131, File 1.
- ¹⁸ G. Swartman, Quarterly Report Ending March, 1945, on Sioux Lookout Agency, LAC, RG 10, Volume 6216, File 470-5, Part 6.
- ¹⁹ Swartman notes that "the Indian children seem to enjoy sports and games even more than our own children do. Under proper supervision this would go a long way toward developing character and physique." Ibid.
- ²⁰ M. G. Webster, Report of Visit of Miss M. G. Webster to Chapleau, Elkhorn, and Sioux Lookout Schools, March 29 - April 8 1947, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 4.
- ²¹ Ibid.
- ²² Report of Superintendent on Visit to Sioux Lookout, 15 March 1947, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 4.
- ²³ Ibid.
- ²⁴ G. R. Turner, Special Memo Re: Sioux Lookout Indian Residential School, 18-19 October 1948, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 5.
- ²⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁶ Ibid.
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ Ibid.

- ²⁹ Ibid.
- ³⁰ Ibid.
- ³¹ Superintendent's Visit to Sioux Lookout, 28 January 1949, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 6.
- ³² Superintendent's Visit to Sioux Lookout, 28 January 1949, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 6.
- ³³ Ibid.
- ³⁴ Ibid.
- ³⁵ Ibid.
- ³⁶ Ibid.
- ³⁷ Eric Woods, "The Anglican Church of Canada and the Indian Residential Schools: A Meaning-Centered Analysis of the Long Road to Apology" (Phd Diss., London School of Economics, 2012).
- ³⁸ Henry G. Cook, Re: Indian School Administration Schools, 7 February 1951, GS 75-103, Box 25, File 6.
- ³⁹ In 1969 the Anglican Church commissioned sociologist Charles Hendry to study their involvement with First Nations education, and then adopted his findings –known as the Hendry Report - which was a critique of government paternalism in residential schools. From that time onward the Anglican Church changed its position to become allies of First Nations and defenders of their culture. For an extended discussion, see Woods, "The Anglican Church of Canada," Chapter 5.
- ⁴⁰ Henry G. Cook, Re: Indian School Administration Schools, 7 February 1951, GS 75-103, Box 25, File 6.
- ⁴¹ Ibid.
- ⁴² Letter, Henry G. Cook to Reverend J. N. Evans, 21 October 1948, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 5.
- ⁴³ A. Routly, Superintendent's visit to Sioux Lookout, 7-8 November 1948, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 5.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid.
- ⁴⁵ Letter Re: Sport and Recreation, Henry Cook to P. Phelan, 5 June 1951, LAC, RG 10, Volume 494/6-1-014, File 8274, Part 1.
- ⁴⁶ "Famous All-Indian Hockey Team Hawks Idea of ex-Bush Pilots," 17 February 1951, Sioux Lookout Community Museum [SLCM], Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."

- ⁴⁷ Black Hawks Hockey Club, SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ⁴⁸ Ibid.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid.
- ⁵⁰ Forsyth, "Indian Act," 104-08. Janice Forsyth, "Bodies of Meaning: Sports and Games at Canadian Residential Schools," in: *Aboriginal Peoples and Sport in Canada: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Issues*, eds. Janice Forsyth and Audrey Giles (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), 25-26.
- ⁵¹ Indian Affairs Branch, *Indian School Bulletin*, number 4, volume 3, 1949, Indian and Northern Affairs Departmental Library, Rare Books Collection.
- ⁵² Black Hawks Hockey Club, SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ⁵³ Ibid.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵⁵ Superintendent's Visit to Sioux Lookout, 28 January 1949, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 6.
- ⁵⁶ SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ⁵⁷ Black Hawks Hockey Club, SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ⁵⁸ Ibid.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid.
- ⁶¹ Ibid.
- ⁶² Indian Affairs Branch, *Indian School Bulletin*, number 4, volume 4, 1950, Indian and Northern Affairs Departmental Library, Rare Books Collection.
- ⁶³ Black Hawks Hockey Club, SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ⁶⁴ Ibid.
- ⁶⁵ Letter, Jan Eisenhardt to F. Matters, 2 June 1950, Eisenhardt Collection in the Centre for Olympic Studies at the University of Western Ontario [EC], Box 6, Folder 13, File 13.1, Item 6.

- ⁶⁶ Black Hawks Hockey Club, SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ⁶⁷ Visit of Superintendent to Sioux Lookout School, 4 April 1950, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 7.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid.
- ⁶⁹ "Pelican Lake Indian Residential School: Photo Album." Archives.algomau.ca. 2012. <http://archives.algomau.ca/main/sites/default/files/PelicanLake.pdf>
- ⁷⁰ Letter, Jan Eisenhardt to F. Matters, 2 June 1950, EC, Box 6, Folder 13, File 13.1, Item 6.
- ⁷¹ Ibid.
- ⁷² G. R. Turner, Report by Major-General G R Turner on Visit to Anglican Indian Residential School, Sioux Lookout, 16-17 June 1950, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 7.
- ⁷³ Ibid.
- ⁷⁴ Ibid.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid.
- ⁷⁶ Ibid.
- ⁷⁷ Circular, Henry G. Cook to all Principals, 11 September 1950, GS 75-103, Box 25, File 5.
- ⁷⁸ Ibid.
- ⁷⁹ The use of physical performances for public relations purposes was not unprecedented in residential schools. For example, Cecilia Haig-Brown's history of Kamloops Indian residential school points to the use of girls dance groups as a public relations show-piece; see, Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* (Vancouver, BC: Tillacum Library, 1988), 70-72. The growth of sport in residential schools after World War II likely resulted in an increased use of sport as a publicity vehicle by school administrators. Forsyth has pointed to the role of mass gymnastics displays as publicity tools, but these were more popular before World War II, and the emergence of competitive sports in the post-War period thus provided a new and powerful publicity tool for schools. Forsyth, "Bodies of Meaning," 23. By contrast, there is a much richer history of sport as a publicity tool in American residential schools from the late nineteenth century through the 1930s, which leveraged the cultural prominence of sport and the importance of sport in American education; the big time sports events of some American residential schools pitted American Indian students against white students in popular and highly radicalized sporting competitions. Haskell boarding school's homecoming for their famous football team of the 1920s is one example of high profile sport event that was promoted by school officials through an extensive marketing campaign, see John Bloom, "There is Madness in the Air: The 1926 Haskell Homecoming and Popular Representations of Sports in Federal Indian

Boarding Schools,” in: *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture*, ed. S. Elizabeth Bird (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996), 102-109. In another example, the Principals at the Sherman Institute used sport marketing to enhance the school’s reputation by maximizing school publicity, which included messaging about the civilized and competent American Indian that were said to be developed at the Sherman Institute; William Medina, “Selling Indians at Sherman Institute, 19-1922” (PhD diss., University of California, Riverside, 2007), 74-108.

- ⁸⁰ G. R. Turner, Report by Major-General G R Turner on Visit to Anglican Indian Residential School, Sioux Lookout, 16-17 June 1950, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 7.
- ⁸¹ Letter Re: Sport and Recreation, Henry Cook to P. Phelan, 5 June 1951, LAC, RG 10, Volume 494/6-1-014 , File 8274, Part 1. G. R. Turner, Visit of Superintendent to Sioux Lookout School, 31 May - 2 June 1951, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 8.
- ⁸² Report of Superintendent on Visit to Sioux Lookout, 15 March 1947, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 4.
- ⁸³ Letter Re: Sport and Recreation, Henry Cook to P. Phelan, 5 June 1951, LAC, RG 10, Volume 494/6-1-014, File 8274, Part 1.
- ⁸⁴ Ibid.
- ⁸⁵ Jim Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada* 3rd Ed. (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 135.
- ⁸⁶ G. R. Turner, Visit of Major-General Turner to Anglican Indian School, Sioux Lookout Ontario, 27 June 1949, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 6. Superintendent's Visit to Sioux Lookout School, 29 November 1949, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 6.
- ⁸⁷ Memo Re Superintendent’s Visit to Colonel Neary, 15 April 1950, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 7.
- ⁸⁸ Letter Re: Sport and Recreation, Henry Cook to P. Phelan, 5 June 1951, LAC, RG 10, Volume 494/6-1-014, File 8274, Part 1.
- ⁸⁹ Ibid. G. R. Turner, Visit of Superintendent to Sioux Lookout School, 31 May - 2 June 1951, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 8.
- ⁹⁰ Letter, G. Swartman to Indian Affairs Branch, 19 July 1951, LAC, RG 10, Volume 494/6-1-014, File 8274, Part 1.
- ⁹¹ "All-Indian Team to Play Here," EC, Box 6, Folder 12, File 12.1, Item 3.
- ⁹² Indian Affairs Branch, *Indian School Bulletin*, number 4, volume 4, 1950, Indian and Northern Affairs Departmental Library, Rare Books Collection

- ⁹³ "Famous All-Indian Hockey Team Hawks Idea of ex-Bush Pilots," 17 February 1951, SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ⁹⁴ "Black Hawks Beat Dryden All-Stars," 27 January 1951, SLCM Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51." "Bantam Hockey," 15 January 1951, SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ⁹⁵ Wes Heald, "Hockey Highlights: Bantams take Bantam Series with 4-1 Win Over Rangers," SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ⁹⁶ "Indian Kids Impress Losing 5-3, Winning 5-0," *Port Arthur News Chronicle*, 19 February 1951, SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ⁹⁷ Wes Heald, "Hockey Highlights: Bantams take Bantam Series with 4-1 Win Over Rangers," SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ⁹⁸ SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ⁹⁹ "Sioux Lookout Bantams Divide Exhibition Bill," *Fort William Daily Times-Journal*, 19 February 1951, SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ¹⁰⁰ Ibid.
- ¹⁰¹ Dick Elliott, "On the Side," *News Chronicle*, 21 February 1951, SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ¹⁰² "One Man's Opinion," SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ¹⁰³ "Cecilia Jaffray Won Indian Residential Schools Hockey Tournament here Saturday," *Kenora Miner News*, 27 February 1951, SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ¹⁰⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁵ Wes Heald, "Hockey Highlights," *The Daily Bulletin*, 10 March 1951, SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ¹⁰⁶ "Programme and Time Table in Connection with Ice Hockey Matches between the "Black Hawks" Bantam Team from Sioux Lookout Indian Residential School and Ottawa Playground Team," EC, Box 6, Folder 12, File 12.1, Item 1.
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁸ "Indian Youngsters Being Royally Treated on Tour," *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix*, April 1951, SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

- ¹¹⁰ "Indians Impress with Hockey Prowess," SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ¹¹¹ Wilf Bell, "All-Indians Beat Ottawa East Six," *Evening Citizen*, April 1951, SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ¹¹² "Indian Youngsters Being Royally Treated on Tour," *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix*, April 1951, SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ¹¹³ Jack Kinsella, "Twelve Little Indians Take Ottawa by Storm During Peaceful Foray," *The Hockey News*, 28 April 1951, SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ¹¹⁴ "4-Foot Brave Wows em," *The Telegram*, 17 April 1951, SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ¹¹⁵ Bob Fulford, "Indian Lads' Hockey Tour Cost \$1,800 - 'Well Worth It,'" SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ¹¹⁶ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁷ "Bush-to-Bank-Street Leaves Boys Bug-Eyed," EC, Box 6, Folder 8, File 8.3, Item 7.
- ¹¹⁸ "Programme and Time Table in Connection with Ice Hockey Matches between the "Black Hawks" Bantam Team from Sioux Lookout Indian Residential School and Ottawa Playground Team," EC, Box 6, Folder 12, File 12.1, Item 1.
- ¹¹⁹ Ibid.
- ¹²⁰ Ibid.
- ¹²¹ Ibid.
- ¹²² Ibid.
- ¹²³ "4-Foot Brave Wows em," *The Telegram*, 17 April 1951, SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ¹²⁴ "Premier Plays Host to Indian Boys," SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51." Minister of National Health and Welfare, Paul Martin, also seized a photo opportunity in an Ottawa newspaper with the Black Hawks. Wilf Bell, "All-Indians Beat Ottawa East Six," *Evening Citizen*, April 1951, SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."
- ¹²⁵ Stan Houson, "All-Indian Team on Ice Warpath: Bantams from Sioux Lookout on Lookout for Scalps," *The Telegram*, no date, EC, Box 6, Folder 12, File 12.1, Item 4.
- ¹²⁶ "Sioux Lookout Hawks Thrilled by Rendezvous," 4 July 1951, SLCM, Scrapbook of Gifford Swartman "Black Hawks 1950/51."

- ¹²⁷ Ibid.
- ¹²⁸ G. R. Turner, Visit of Major-General Turner to Anglican Indian School, Sioux Lookout Ontario, 27 June 1949, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 6.
- ¹²⁹ Superintendent's Visit to Sioux Lookout School, 29 November 1949, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 6.
- ¹³⁰ Memo Re Superintendent's Visit to Colonel Neary, 15 April 1950, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 7.
- ¹³¹ Ibid.
- ¹³² G. R. Turner, Visit of Superintendent to Sioux Lookout School, 31 May - 2 June 1951, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 8.
- ¹³³ Ibid.
- ¹³⁴ Letter, G. Swartman to Indian Affairs Branch, 19 July 1951, LAC, RG 10, Volume 494/6-1-014, File 8274, Part 1.
- ¹³⁵ Don Morrow & Kevin Wamsley, *Sport in Canada: A History*, (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2005), 194.
- ¹³⁶ Mangan showed that the use of sport as a means of social control were important rationales in these two schools prior to the Muscular Christian ideological justifications that eventually became synonymous with principals of Victorian public schools use of sport and games. J. A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 22-35.
- ¹³⁷ David Kirk, *Defining Physical Education: The Social Construction of a School Subject in Postwar Britain* (London, UK: The Falmer Press, 1992), 110-14.
- ¹³⁸ Superintendent's Visit to Sioux Lookout Indian School, 20-21 January 1953, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 10. Superintendent's Visit to Sioux Lookout Indian School, 15-18 December 1953, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 10.
- ¹³⁹ This theme was also identified by Bloom in his examination of media representation of the Haskell's football homecoming game, as their standards of sportsmanship and civility were far superior than could be expected from any White team. Bloom, "There is Madness in the Air," 106-107.
- ¹⁴⁰ Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 366.
- ¹⁴¹ Memo Re Superintendent's Visit to Colonel Neary, 15 April 1950, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 7.

Chapter 4

Developing Sportsmen, Developing Citizens: Physical Culture as an Education in Citizenship, 1952-1970

4 Introduction

When the Province of Canada passed *The Act to encourage the gradual civilization of the Indian Tribes in the Province, and to amend the laws respecting Indians* in 1857, it legislated an enfranchisement process, by which a male Indian could apply to renounce his Indian status in order to attain British citizenship; a person could never hold both.¹ The purpose of this legislation was to completely transition all Indians to British citizens, with British citizenship the ideal to be aspired to and Indian status something primitive to be left behind when sufficient civilization was achieved.² From this time on, a major dimension of the federal government's Indian policy attempted to "civilize" Indians because it understood that being a "civilized" person was a pre-requisite for citizenship.³ The process of civilization was envisioned as a long-term project by Indian Affairs, who attempted to mold young Indian boys in order for them to reach the level of civilization required before they could apply for enfranchisement. Essential to Indian Affairs' civilization policy was the residential school system, which attempted to socialize children with the intent to civilize and eventually assimilate the students into Canadian society. After a century of wholly ineffective enfranchisement policy,⁴ and in a complete reversal of Indian Affairs' previous policy, the federal government amended the Canadian Citizenship Act (1947) in 1957 to impose

Canadian citizenship on all status Indians.⁵ With a stroke of the legislative pen, the federal government wrote into law the mutual coexistence of Indian status with Canadian citizenship after 100 years of Indians being defined, in this respect, by their incompatibility with citizenship.

The notion and practice of citizenship has been, and continues to be, contested;⁶ yet little scholarship has investigated the role of citizenship in the education of the students in residential schools.⁷ Were the administrators of residential schools concerned about developing citizenship in their students? And if they were, how did school administrators attempt to impart the ideals and values of their vision of Canadian citizenship to their students? To pursue this line of inquiry, I examine how school administrators used physical culture to impart citizenship education from 1952 to 1970, using Pelican Lake Indian Residential School as a case in point. The timeframe seeks to capture the effects of Indian Affairs' post-War policy on citizenship at Pelican Lake School and continues through to the school's closure in 1970.

To provide the necessary context, I briefly describe the Department of Indian Affairs' approach to citizenship between World War II and 1970. I then survey the history of Pelican Lake School broadly, before considering physical culture specifically at the school. As had already been the case in the late 1940s, hockey remained through the 1950s as the central physical activity at the school. During that same decade however, school administrators became increasingly disheartened by the lack of recreational facilities; they identified this lack as a crucial deficiency in the school's organization. As such, the administrators spent considerable effort attempting to make improvements to the school's recreational infrastructure, but such improvements turned out to be hard to come by. The importance of

recreation to school administrators provides the important context for the initial attempts and eventual success in constructing the school gymnasium, which would enable a year-round program of physical culture. The gymnasium was built in the early 1960s, and its completion lead to a better program of recreation and physical activities, including the expansion of sport to include girls.

The documents used to examine the issue of physical culture as citizenship education are predominantly comprised of correspondence by and between school administrators that are located in both the General Synod Archives of the Anglican Church and in the Indian Affairs files at Library and Archives Canada.⁸ I argue that Pelican Lake School administrators' implementation of physical culture was guided by the idea of citizenship, but also that administrators came to value a pragmatic rather than ideological justification of their use of physical culture activities, as they believed that these activities were practical tools which could be used to enhance school morale and student compliance. In leveraging physical culture activities, administrators sought, as they had before the war, to impart the character traits of a good sportsman as way to promote the character of a desired citizen. Although character development remained consistent in physical culture policy, integrated sport with White schools became the desired approach after the War; this was very different from the segregated physical culture opportunities that sought student development in isolation from White society prior to the War. Additionally the idea of liberal equality, in which every individual in the country is accorded the same rights, responsibilities, and treatment by the federal and provincial governments, was central to Indian Affairs' newly established and inclusive approach to citizenship. As a result, equality became an important value in the administration of physical culture. However, inadequate resources at the school

did limit the ability to provide robust citizenship training, particularly for the girls, and inequities in the resourcing of residential schools points to the selectivity evident in Indian Affairs' application of the notion of equality.

4.1 The Post-War Citizenship Policy of Indian Affairs

Indian Affairs changed its citizenship policy in response to a number of significant changes to the political landscape in Canada after World War II. The political ideas of liberalism, equality, and democracy became central tenets in Canadian politics that would increasingly include First Nations peoples in Canadian politics, and a global movement for human rights also strengthened these ideals.⁹ Another factor was the political activism of First Nations organizations that were becoming increasingly powerful and organized.¹⁰ In this context Indian Affairs could no longer frame First Nations peoples in its policy as inferior and therefore the civilization dimension diminished from this time onward. Instead, Canadian citizenship was understood in universalist terms and underpinned by liberal individualism.¹¹ Furthermore, Indian Affairs bureaucrats and field agents were disillusioned with the failures of the former system of segregation, wardship, and civilization as the means for developing First Nations.¹² From the late 1940s onward, Indian Affairs began a policy of normalizing relations with First Nations, which is to say that treating First Nations peoples in the same way as other Canadians was the preferred policy direction, and a universalist form of citizenship was a central mechanism in establishing a basis for equal rights and responsibilities.¹³ In the 1950s and 1960s for example, Indian Affairs undertook training for citizenship with remarkable similarity to the process by which the federal government sought to assimilate immigrants.¹⁴ Thus the pre-War policy in residential schools was to withhold citizenship to an Indian until they had reached the social and moral development worthy of

citizenship. After the War, Indian Affairs imposed citizenship and attempted to use equal treatment to bring about the traits and values the federal government desired in its citizenry.¹⁵

Citizenship education is the set of ideas that guide the process of social, moral, political, and physical regulation and production, in which specific understandings of what it means to be a desirable subject of the state are pursued and developed in a student population.¹⁶ As such, residential school administrators would seek to impart a diverse, but coherent set of desired traits in their students,¹⁷ traits they believed were necessary to practice good citizenship.¹⁸ Physical culture teachers and administrators across the country believed that sportsmanship, fair play, cooperation with others, a competitive spirit, and obedience to the rules could be developed through physical activities. These values are a legacy of Muscular Christian ideals that have been popular in Canada since the second half of the nineteenth century, which were used by school administrators to teach young boys about masculinity, Christianity, and character.¹⁹ The values sought in a sportsman thus translated to what it meant to be a good person off the field, as was the case at Pelican Lake School prior to 1952.²⁰ The literature has pointed to the importance of citizenship education as a major policy thrust in Canadian education by the late 1940s, but little research has emphasized citizenship as a focal point in understanding the curriculum of residential schools.²¹

4.2 Pelican Lake Indian Residential School

Pelican Lake Indian residential school, also known as Sioux Lookout residential school, was located on the Canadian National Railway in northern Ontario, just kilometers away from the town of Sioux Lookout, Ontario. As was the case in residential schools throughout the country, Pelican Lake School was established in a partnership between Indian Affairs and a church group, in this instance it was the Anglican Church. The Indian Schools

Administration (ISA) was the Anglican organization responsible for the administration of its residential schools. The Anglican Church's impetus for constructing the school in 1926 was to provide educational opportunities to the Anglican First Nations of northern Ontario; eventually the school took students from an expansive area of 400,000 square kilometers. Many of the Ojibway and Cree students who attended the school were from Treaty Three and Treaty Nine territories in Northern Ontario. By the 1940s the student population had risen to approximately 150 students, and the total population remained close to that figure through to the school's final year of operation. By 1929, Pelican Lake School employed twelve staff to support the principals in running this large institution, and by the 1940s the number had increased to seventeen. By 1962, there were twenty-four staff members, consisting of the principal, a vice principal, a matron, three girls supervisors, a sewing matron, two laundresses, a kitchen matron, two kitchen assistants, two dining room assistants, a nurse, three boys supervisors, an engineer, two maintenance managers, and three teachers.²² It took many hands to keep Pelican Lake School running.

During the 1930s and 1940s the students were educated in the half-day system: the students passed one half of the day in the classroom, and spent the other engaged in manual skills training and chores. The majority of students prior to 1950 did not progress beyond the third grade, thus the school has to be considered an academic failure up to this point. After World War II, Indian Affairs began a policy of integrating First Nations students into the provincial education system wherever possible, and the ISA fully supported this move.²³ By 1961 the majority of students travelled daily to Sioux Lookout to receive their education in the provincial system, and therefore Pelican Lake School was a residence rather than a school for the older pupils.²⁴ For example, of the 160 students in 1964, 90 students travelled to

Sioux Lookout while 70 grade one and two students were educated in two classes at the school.²⁵ During the opening of a new public school in Sioux Lookout, the Ontario Minister of Education, W. G. Davis' opening speech was unequivocal with regard to the citizenship education function of provincial schooling in Sioux Lookout: it was designed "to develop the talent of the young people in their charge, and prepare them to take their place as useful citizens of our country."²⁶ The academic success of the school's students dramatically increased during the 1960s, even including several students who were able to go onto a high school education²⁷ In addition to classroom instruction, religious instruction remained compulsory²⁸ and organized recreational groups such as Girl Guides, Brownies, Cubs, and Boys Scouts were offered to the students. The school was closed in 1970 and the students were then educated in day schools across the province.

In a previous study of Pelican Lake School from 1929 to 1944, I argue that administrators used physical culture practices to instill citizenship in their students in three primary ways.²⁹ Firstly, school administrators used physical culture to instill health habits as it was thought that a citizen should take responsibility for their health and fitness. Secondly, administrators attempted to train their students in how to use leisure time productively. Leisure time was expanding and increasingly available to all citizens during the 1940s, and therefore prospective citizens needed to be trained in how to engage in productive leisure time pursuits. Thirdly, physical culture sought to develop the character traits of a good sportsman. The post-War period was not just one of an enhanced focus on citizenship but also on physical culture developed across the residential school system, with a focus on sport for integration and assimilation.³⁰ Indian Affairs valued school sport as a means of

integrating First Nations with other ethnic groups because it would facilitate their acceptance by Whites on an equal basis.³¹

Indian Affairs' enhanced policy focus on physical culture filtered down to Pelican Lake School. In 1948 a rink of flooded ice was built on the school's playgrounds, and at the same time the school hockey team, named the Sioux Lookout Black Hawks, was developed and played in the Sioux Lookout District bantam hockey league.³² From this time on hockey began to be significant part of school life. The Black Hawks played competitive hockey, and indeed became a very successful team winning local and regional titles, while hockey was also a highlight for the rest of the boys' lives back at school. Although the girls were not allowed to play hockey, they did use the rink extensively during the winter for skating, and thus the rink became a focal point of school life during the winter. Residential schooling after World War II was a historical juncture of enhanced development of physical culture and a reinvigorated effort to promote citizenship education explicitly, and understanding the ways in which the articulation of these expanding policy elements affected Pelican Lake School begins with the continuing prominence of hockey.

4.3 Hockey at Pelican Lake School, 1952-1960

The Black Hawks continued to play hockey with success thorough the 1950s. In the 1951-1952 season the Black Hawks expanded to two teams, with a Midget team being established alongside the Bantam team, and they continued their successes of previous years with one-sided victories early on during the season. There were often four other teams in the Sioux Lookout district league. For example in 1957-1958 season, the Black Hawk midgets played against the Rams, Imperials, and the Hudson Bruins.³³ Early on in that season, the

midgets win-loss record was 4-0 with 23 goals scored and only 3 goals conceded.³⁴ Despite a successful regular season, the Black Hawk bantams lost in the final that year by one goal.³⁵

The hockey culture at the school however, was much more than just the Black Hawks. Indeed, the school rink was such a big success that the Superintendent of the ISA, Henry G. Cook, reported that additional lumber was being sent to the school for a second rink, so that all children will have ample opportunity for hockey and skating.³⁶ By the 1953-1954 season the second rink was built and in good use, and was described by Cook as a “boon” for the school.³⁷ Cook was eager for the ice to be flooded at Pelican Lake School, because “the boys especially were restless and skating and hockey will allow them to let off steam.”³⁸ In 1954 a rink schedule was created in order to manage the ice time so that all children had an opportunity to use it.³⁹ Day light hours were too restrictive for the hockey-crazed school, and thus a rink operated with lights to ensure that hockey was available throughout the night. One former student recalled playing hockey well past twelve o’clock on wintery nights, as there was little else to do at the school.⁴⁰ The military style regimentation applied by school administrators to the daily routines of residential schools was softened by their pursuit of the hockey program at this northern Ontario school.

Cook was often reporting on the importance of hockey. For example in the 1957-1958 season, Cook reported “hockey, of course is the order of the day” at the school,⁴¹ and in the following 1958-1959 season he again reported “hockey is the main winter event for the boys – in fact all the children skate considerably.”⁴² By December of 1959 the hockey weather had arrived again, and the Superintendent reported “the boys are keen about hockey and the rinks are busy during any spare moments,” and also noted that both boys and girls make use of the rink for skating.⁴³ Thus the rink had been at the center of physical culture opportunities:

hockey and skating for the boys and skating for girls. There was ample athletic equipment for summer sports and games during the late 1950s, which indicates that summer physical culture had increased since the 1930s and 1940s.⁴⁴ However, the infrastructure for physical culture outside of the rink was a longstanding concern for administrators.

4.4 Administrative Concern about the Lack of Recreational Facilities, 1956 – 1961.

During the late 1940s Pelican Lake School administrators believed that student use of the rink led to enhanced student compliance and discipline in the students, while also helping to reduce student truancy.⁴⁵ In the winter semester of 1958 Cook was pleased to note that there was no truancy, which was a key indicator used by administrators to gauge student contentment and unrest.⁴⁶ Yet the lack of truancy was not enough to stop Principal Barrington from writing a letter to Cook about the need for better recreational facilities and improved conditions for staff and students. Barrington believed that if the school was to deliver on the care-taking and educational promise of a residential school, recreation and student happiness had to be improved. Cook then forwarded Barrington's letter to the Superintendent of Education at Indian Affairs, R. F. Davey, not as an item that needed a response but simply to inform Davey of the perspective of one of his residential school principals.⁴⁷ Barrington noted "the most exasperating thing about working in an Indian School is the limited amount of work we are able to do for the children with the pitiful facilities the schools are given."⁴⁸ Pitiful resources, inadequate infrastructure, dilapidated buildings, and nonexistent facilities were limitations endemic to the under-funded residential school system, and a key feature of life at the school. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s Indian Affairs increased the paltry funds available for principals, which had been scarcely enough to

cover the basics of living prior to World War II.⁴⁹ Indian Affairs' desire for equality thus enabled increased spending, but ultimately, modest increases could not overcome a legacy of deplorable conditions throughout the residential school system.⁵⁰

To explain himself further, Barrington spoke at length about a student who was expelled from the school for bad behavior. The teenage boy was moved to a school in Bowmanville, Ontario for juvenile delinquents and had recently written to Barrington about his time there.⁵¹ The boy wrote about the wonderful experience he had at the new school, particularly with the sports they had there, to which Barrington was said to note "he is now a "shining light at basketball" (something he never learned at Pelican) he must have turned out to be an athletic type because he is captain of the P.T. team in the training school."⁵² Barrington believed that the boy's life at his new school seemed to be "interesting and as full in most ways as a child's life should be."⁵³ The obvious next step in Barrington's thinking was to compare the facilities available at the two schools:

I can't help making the comparison that in Pelican with a group of good well-behaved children as I have here I cannot offer them but a fraction of what is being done for children who have offended society in some way. ... I don't want you to think I begrudge the training [prison] schools and their excellent facilities, far from it, but I feel badly that a child, and in particular an Indian child, has to be sent to prison before he can receive even proper sports training and opportunities for intelligent recreation.⁵⁴

Barrington, Cook, and the ISA were aware of the poor condition of recreation facilities at the school, and the negative impact this had on their students. Incredibly, this was not the only instance of such an account at the school. Barrington notes being informed by the local

Indian Agent, Gifford Swartman, that a number of ill-disciplined boys were sent away to a prison school and later wrote to Swartman to tell him how good their experience at prison had been.⁵⁵ More than that, the boys then suggested to Swartman that he send other Pelican Lake School boys there; it was, they said, a good place to be.⁵⁶ As far as education and recreation was concerned, being a juvenile delinquent appeared to be preferable to being a First Nation child at the school. This comparison was disheartening for Barrington, and Cook attempted to leverage Barrington's frustrations to further compel Indian Affairs to improve things at the school, and Anglican schools generally.

During Barrington's administration, from 1956 to 1960, many improvements were made to the school's buildings and supplies for the students were also increased. However, neither Indian Affairs nor the ISA made any additional funds to the school during this time; Barrington and his family had provided their personal funds to the school in order to improve the equipment and enhance the atmosphere for the students and staff. Barrington went as far as to provide some luxuries for the students.⁵⁷ He purchased various kinds of sports equipment, including hockey gear and uniforms for the Black Hawks.⁵⁸ Also, he purchased the materials for three rinks, one of which cost \$800, as well as outdoor lighting for hockey.⁵⁹ The additional rink time was a windfall that provided extra opportunities for all children to spend time playing hockey or skating, given the early dusk during wintertime. However, Barrington's efforts to raise the standard of the school's physical culture program were not always welcomed by Indian Affairs. Indian Affairs reprimanded Barrington for using school money to paint the rink boards to preserve the wood.⁶⁰ Barrington's desire to preserve these facilities was understandable given that the school had a history of needed repairs and

improvements not promptly forthcoming, and dilapidated rinks would have been a real loss for the children.

Barrington's vision for the students was for a much more rich and enjoyable experience than had been typical at the school, and it included outdoor and indoor recreation. Barrington was aware of the negative and depressing environment at the school, and he sought to improve the atmosphere and décor of the boys' and girls' recreation rooms by providing wall panels. He also brought chesterfields, a variety of chairs and tables, some games, drapes, wall ornaments and pictures, and new vinyl flooring.⁶¹ Apparently, this was contrary to the vision of some Indian Affairs bureaucrats, including regional supervisor F. J. Foss, and the former regional supervisor Mr. Reid, who reprimanded Barrington because they believed that this was a misuse of school funds.⁶² Mr. Shaw, also of Indian Affairs, on the other hand, did support Barrington in making these improvements to recreation and student enjoyment at the school.⁶³

Indian Affairs' total budget was determined by the federal government in Ottawa and indirectly shaped by the low priority attached to Indian policy by public opinion, and thus Indian Affairs operated within a context of financial constraint. At times however, Indian Affairs officials actively rebuffed efforts to improve the recreational facilities that would have helped to alleviate the unhappy atmosphere of the school. In light of the damages that the cold, unloving, and uncaring residential school system inflicted on its students, this instance of Indian Affairs' parsimony actively facilitated the continuation of the miserable state of affairs at the school. Barrington seemed to be ambivalent about the mixed reaction from Indian Affairs, and he remained firm in his conviction "that these [recreational facilities] are of tremendous value to the children in every way – [they are] places where they

can relax and really enjoy themselves.”⁶⁴ As a result, Cook reported that developments to recreational facilities led directly to children that were “much happier and more contented and that there have been no cases of truancy since they were put in operation.”⁶⁵ Cook reported that the total amount of spending by Barrington and his family throughout the school was an astounding \$30,000 over the course of his tenure as principal.⁶⁶

In 1960, the Bishop of Keewatin wrote to Foss, the local Indian Affairs superintendent, to air his concerns about the poor state of the school, even calling into question its usefulness.⁶⁷ The crux of the issue for the Bishop was the discontent of unhappy and unloved students at the school. The Bishop was direct to the point when he said:

The Residential School at Pelican Lake has over the past many years suffered a somewhat unhappy household atmosphere. Too rigid regimentation, lack of homelike surroundings and failure to regard the children as persons capable of responding to love, have contributed at times to that condition. Children unhappy at their treatment were continually running away.⁶⁸

The atmosphere of unhappiness described by the Bishop was precisely the target of Barrington’s initiative. However, the Bishop was also pleased to report that “happily these conditions have changed,” a change he attributed to the improved facilities at the school like the new recreation rooms, noting that the school was now like a “home” rather than a distant and cold institution of discipline.⁶⁹ Barrington, the Bishop noted, was achieving his desire to make the school more of a home and thereby reducing student truancy, the important yardstick of student discontent for administrators. Thus, in February of 1958 and December of 1959, Cook reported no truancy during those school terms.⁷⁰

However, improvements at the school, while surely of benefit to staff and students, did not relieve students of their mistreatment and school administrators faced another wave of truancy. In the 1960-1961 school year, some thirteen boys and girls ran away never to return, another six ran away but later returned to school, and two students' parents did not allow them to return after they come home for the Christmas break.⁷¹ Another eight students were recruited to the school but never showed up, which may have been because their parents never allowed them to attend.⁷² School administrators would notify the police of runaways, who would go to investigate the rubbish dump at the nearby town of Hudson, Ontario which was a point at which students would cross the river to return to their reserve, presumably to Frenchman's Head.⁷³

Runaways did not evade the attention of Cook, who in 1961 blamed the issue on the lack of sport at the school when he noted that "there [was] a spate of runaways beginning as of early November. Investigations show the causes to be Whittaker the supervisor – not enough activity of a sports nature."⁷⁴ Swartman and Shaw had recommended heavy strapping of the truants, but Cook acknowledged that corporal punishment did not keep the students from running away.⁷⁵ One example of the type of punishment handed out to runaways at the school, was a young girl who received one hundred lashes from a strap before her hair was cut with shears and her head shaved.⁷⁶ In early December Cook noted that truancy might cease because "the weather has [recently] allowed freezing of the ice rink."⁷⁷ Furthermore, Cook was hopeful that the provision of additional physical culture opportunities could prevent more students running away: "when the new gym goes into operation this might help too."⁷⁸ Pelican Lake School was not alone in this regard. For example, a former student of Qu'Appelle Indian residential school said that students would "go nuts" and often run away

if they could not participate in school activities.⁷⁹ School administrators believed their use of physical culture was an important factor in achieving student compliance to the authority of the school administrators, but this had primarily been achieved through use of the rink during cold weather. During the remainder of the year physical culture activities were constrained. In the context of inadequate recreation infrastructure, school administrators pressed Indian Affairs for a gymnasium to bring about a better experience for the students, and enhanced student compliance for the administrators.

4.5 Construction of the Gymnasium, 1952-1962

In 1952, Principal Wilson was the first person identified in the archival record as recommending the establishment of an indoor facility or gymnasium. Phelan and Swartman were aware of Wilson's idea to convert the old barn, which had been used to house farm animals during the 1930s and 1940s, into a gymnasium.⁸⁰ Heating the barn in the northern climate, which was regularly below -20 degrees Celsius during the winter, was a tough ask. Wilson was well aware of the difficulty of working with Indian Affairs to bring the current school infrastructure up to standard, and thus it is understandable why Wilson would attempt to be financially creative in his endeavor to solve the lack of recreational facilities. Although Indian Affairs had not officially confirmed construction of the gymnasium, action was taken when a contractor inspected the school grounds for a gymnasium in 1954.⁸¹ Swartman noted that the wood from the barn could be used for a new storage building and for the construction of a gymnasium, and therefore construction of a gymnasium would be economical.⁸² Davey agreed to raze the barn, but he did not confirm that a gymnasium would be built.⁸³

In 1954 Cook wrote to Davey that Principal Salmon, with the full support of the ISA, planned to raze the old school barn and use the lumber to construct a gymnasium.⁸⁴ Anglican

plans for the gymnasium were intensifying as Cook also asked Davey to confirm whether it was to be built, and specifically whether the cost would come out of the 1955-1956 school budget.⁸⁵ Davey replied to say that no authority had been given for such a project.⁸⁶ Davey was aware of the value of year-round recreational instruction at the school, but he remained noncommittal. He agreed with Cook that a gymnasium would improve the administration of the school, and if the project was to proceed, it might be possible to pay its cost out of the 1955-1956 school budget.⁸⁷ A month later, in December of 1954, Principal Salmon was getting discouraged after discussions about a gymnasium had seemingly died.⁸⁸ A year and a half later, in May of 1956, progress on the prospect of a gymnasium was revived when J. S. Allen, the Supervisor of Construction, had inspected the school and reported to Matters about two possible locations for a gymnasium.⁸⁹ The 1956 inspection of the School in preparation for the construction of a gymnasium gave Barrington much hope that school life would improve,⁹⁰ particular because truancy remained a major problem at the beginning of the 1956 school year.⁹¹

In October 1956, after speaking with Principal Barrington about possible solutions to the negative impact brought about by the lack of play and recreational facilities at the school, Cook forwarded some of his correspondence with Barrington to Davey.⁹² Barrington understood that asking Indian Affairs for more money would find little favour, but since he did not prefer a conversion of the barn to a gymnasium, Barrington cut to the chase:

I quite frankly don't know what to suggest short of new construction. The barn could be made over, or at least one floor of it into recreation space but the cost would be far from small, the question of heating comes into it and this is not at all cheap to install or maintain. Eventually something will just have to

be done, it should be done now as the whole situation is going to get progressively worse. The type of building outlined or rather described for me by Mr. Building Supt. Allan seems wholly a satisfactory solution to our lack of space for recreational activities. I don't know if this was talked over with you, but briefly, the basement would be used for the Manual training and home economics departments, with upstairs as gymnasium pure and simple.⁹³

Barrington thus attempted to convey to Cook the importance of a gymnasium, and his correspondence was forwarded by Cook to Davey. Cook agreed with Barrington concerning the importance of a gymnasium, telling Davey that "I have no doubt that this building would cost a large sum of money, but it does seem to be the only really intelligent answer to the problem. As you say when the rinks are in operation things may ease off but it still is only part of the problem."⁹⁴ That the rink served as a means to increase student morale, happiness, and compliance was well-understood by the ISA and had been evident to the school administrators. The rink was still performing this function at the school, but school administrators felt this should be extended beyond the season of the rink's operation to provide quality recreation all year round.

In response to the developments in the discussion, Davey assured Barrington that he would do his best to see a gymnasium built, but warned that the following year's budget had already been allocated for other infrastructure deficiencies at the school.⁹⁵ The Director of Indian Affairs, H. M. Jones reiterated this position when he informed Cook that the 1957-1958 budget for the School was completely allocated, but that should money become available the recommendation would be reexamined.⁹⁶ The other key facility for physical culture at the school was the playing field. Cook told Davey that there was one good level

space for sports activities, but this was not ideal for ball sports because balls would invariably be lost.⁹⁷ As had been the case throughout the school's history, developments to the playing fields continued to be an issue that limited outdoor activities.

In 1958 Cook told Jones that a "bad feature of the Sioux Lookout School is that it has no space for recreation for the students. No sports supervisor will stay on staff as he has no place to carry out sports activities. True we have a hockey rink but that looks after only a few of the students for a few months of the year."⁹⁸ In the context of a school beset with problems, recreation was an important source of relief from school life for students, and Cook took this message straight to the director of Indian Affairs. Cook went on to say:

Even in the best of physical conditions a school offers little for staff and pupil recreation and off-time or out-of-classroom activity. ... Could something be done to supply better recreational facilities? Unless something is forthcoming along the lines suggested the Sioux Lookout School will never be a credit to Indian Affairs Branch and it will always be a source of concern and a shame to the Church."⁹⁹

It was clear that Cook believed that a key function of recreation was to raise the spirit of the children; the lack of recreation to effect such an improvement would thus bring shame to the Anglican church's reputation. A similar message was relayed to Davey by the local Member of Parliament for Kenora-Rainy River, W. M. Benidickson, who wrote to Davey in 1958 about the depressing and shabby state of the school. He also advanced the idea that "there does not seem to be a room big enough for group play. Is it not possible to provide something near a gymnasium at this school?"¹⁰⁰ Efforts by many voices were involved in pressing Indian Affairs for a new school gymnasium.

Also in 1958, Davey was in contact with Cook regarding Indian Affairs' physical culture policy. With the growing concern regarding the need for equality in education, Davey told Cook that "Indian Schools should receive approximately the same amount of equipment as similar to non-Indian Schools in the vicinity."¹⁰¹ Cook agreed that residential school physical culture should be "on par" with other schools in the area, but was quick to point out that this would require a greater investment by Indian Affairs than had been the case.¹⁰² Cook added the ISA position that at "least the intermediate and senior children at Residential Schools have sufficient sports equipment available to them to permit them to engage in seasonal sport such as hockey, baseball, softball, basketball, etc., and that adequate playground equipment be provided for the smaller boys and girls."¹⁰³ To ensure that this policy would materialize, Cook further argued the ISA position that each residential school should have properly leveled playing fields and also a rink.¹⁰⁴ The ISA and Indian Affairs pursued identical policies with regards to physical culture programs in residential schools.

In January of 1959 Davey confirmed that a gymnasium, along with three classrooms, were scheduled to be built through the 1960-1961 school budget,¹⁰⁵ although Matters believed the gymnasium was more of a priority than the classrooms.¹⁰⁶ In the summer of 1959, developments in the construction of a gymnasium were moving forward when a group including Barrington, Education Supervisor F. J. Foss, and a regional architect, met to discuss a gymnasium for the school.¹⁰⁷ The group's discussion began with a review of two other recreational facilities, one at the Mohawk Residential school near Brantford, Ontario and the other at Wikwemikong, Manitoulin Island, Ontario. Eventually the group at the meeting decided the facility should have four primary functions: a gymnasium for physical

training; a hall for indoor sport; an indoor recreation area during inclement weather; and an assembly hall.¹⁰⁸

The group decided that a gymnasium should be large enough for floor hockey, volleyball, basketball, and if possible the latter should be the court size recommended for grade eight students.¹⁰⁹ A variety of suitable gymnasium equipment was identified, such as ropes, storage facilities for parallel bars, a horse, a box and mats, and a basketball backboard that could be lowered and raised.¹¹⁰ The group also recommended that the basement level floor to be used for storage, in particular for the school bus, while the main floor would be the gymnasium.¹¹¹ To meet the drama class requirements of the curriculum, a stage of no less than 20 feet depth was decided upon.¹¹² It was also in 1959 that Cook sent a circular to all Anglican Principals to remind them to ensure that recreation offered in their schools should prioritize that which is “character building” and of “physical benefit” to the students rather than the increasing use of television and radio as recreation. A gymnasium would provide plenty of opportunity to meet the desired ISA policy for prioritizing character development in recreation.¹¹³

A year later, in the summer of 1960 the Indian Affairs’ Chief architect, E. G. Langley, provided a blueprint for a gymnasium at the school to Director Jones, and many of his recommendations mirrored the recommendations made in the meeting of 1959.¹¹⁴ The total cost of the gymnasium was \$90 000.¹¹⁵ By August of 1961 the 108 feet by 50 feet gymnasium was under construction; it had an estimated completion date of some six months later. Although the gymnasium was not finished until the summer of 1962, some ten years after Principal Wilson’s initial efforts, it was finally complete and ready for the students in the fall of 1962.

4.6 Expanding recreational opportunities, 1962-1970.

In the fall of 1962 the gym opened to the new students for that school year, at which time Principal Orman was pleased to report that the gymnasium met a great need, in particular because of the wet weather prevailing that fall season.¹¹⁶ The gymnasium's importance had not diminished in 1963, as Cook reported that the gymnasium had "greatly contributed to the success of many activities," including a fashion show, games, basketball, and physical training.¹¹⁷ By 1964, the boys had formed a school basketball team that hosted a one-day basketball tournament, with teams from McIntosh, Fort Frances and St Mary's Indian residential schools competing.¹¹⁸ The four teams played for the Swartman Trophy, named after the local Indian Agent of twenty-five years who had recently retired.¹¹⁹ McIntosh School took the Swartman trophy home, but Principal Spence was pleased that "our boys played well and displayed their usual good sportsmanship."¹²⁰

In May of 1966 Principal Shepard looked forward to the warmer weather so that the students could participate in baseball and track and field activities.¹²¹ In the spring of 1967, the students took a trip to Winnipeg that included a gymnastic performance of the Canadian Armed Services Military Tattoo.¹²² Later that year one member of Military Tattoo was stationed at the Sioux Lookout radar base, and helped to teach gymnastic lessons at the school gymnasium.¹²³ As a result, Cook reported "gymnastic sessions for the intermediates and seniors this year have never been more popular or better attended."¹²⁴ The school gymnasium thus continued to play an important role in supporting successful physical culture opportunities throughout the 1960s.

An important development in 1964 was the beginning of girls' participation in basketball, which was the first sign of a girls' sport team some thirty-five years after the

school had opened. In the subsequent year the girls basketball team went on the school's first ever girls sport trip, travelling to Fort Frances, Ontario.¹²⁵ The boys' hockey team, by comparison, had been on numerous hockey trips every year since the 1949-1950 hockey season. In general, sport trips were an example of the unequal distribution of the benefits of sport along gender lines. Part of the explanation for the gender inequality can be found in the popularity of the decidedly masculine sport of hockey, and also a lack of funding resulting in insufficient facilities that were appropriate for girls, until the 1960s. Another key explanation in the exclusion of girls from citizenship training was the continued legacy of male privilege and a set of masculine character traits that were desired in sportsmen and in physical prowess. To meet this gap in citizenship training for girls, administrators offered other activities such as the Girl Guides, an organization whose explicit aim was the development of girls for citizenship.¹²⁶ The Girls Auxiliary, with its annual festival in Kenora, Ontario, pursued similar aims. As early as 1962 the girls travelled to the festival for fun and competition in activities such as mission studies, folk dancing, and handicrafts.¹²⁷

In the spring of 1964, Indian Affairs issued a call for tenders for improvements to the playground space of 600 feet by 600 feet, which included burying the remnants of the old barn and smoothing and resurfacing the remainder of the fields.¹²⁸ The cost of improving the playing fields was in excess of \$4,000.¹²⁹ By December of that year, Principal Spence reported that the big hill in the playgrounds had been leveled, and that the newly improved surface would be ready for sports and games in the coming spring.¹³⁰ Improvements to the playing fields have been constant throughout the school's entire history. The fields at the school were notoriously wet and muddy during the fall and spring seasons. Major landscaping efforts to level and improve the fields were undertaken in 1945, 1946, and 1950,

and again in 1964,¹³¹ but the playing fields never met reasonable standards throughout the history of the school. At each stage of improvement school administrators showed renewed hope for improved opportunities for sports and games, only for the need for additional improvements to be identified shortly thereafter. Also, school administrators continued to use Pelican Lake for swimming through the 1960s, as it had done since the school's beginning.¹³² In 1966 Cook reported that "the weather has been very good and the children were able to get in a good deal of swimming at our new and improved swimming area at the front of the school. Actually while we could go swimming they were interested in nothing else."¹³³ Thus recreational infrastructure developments continued to be made during the 1960s, including improvements to the swimming area, the playing fields, the rinks, and the gymnasium.

During the 1960s the school's extra-curricular budgets were, more or less, at the full \$1,500 allocation,¹³⁴ and principals purchased a variety of athletic equipment, including hockey gear, swim suits, badminton equipment for use in the gymnasium, baseball equipment, a ping pong table, and toboggans and sleighs for the winter time.¹³⁵ In addition, principals used the extra-curricular budget to purchase hockey prizes in 1964, and awards and trophies were purchased in 1965 and 1966 respectively.¹³⁶ Principal Shepard hosted a characteristic awards ceremony at the school in the summer of 1967. Awards included best Girl Guide, best Brownie, best Cub, and a number of awards for "cooperation and industry."¹³⁷ Among the most prominent awards were the "Girls Achievement Award" handed out to Lucy Chapman, the "Boys Achievement Award," given to Levi Duncan (who had the highest grade average for a grade seven student),¹³⁸ and the "Athlete of the Year Award," given to Ernest Gray, the standout goalkeeper for the Black Hawks.¹³⁹ Principal J. D. Shepard then rose to award the most prestigious of the year's honours, the "Principal's

Award for Citizenship,” which was given to Siloma Beardy and Simon Goodwin.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, a trophy and certificates were handed out to the “Championship Softball Team” who was led by Black Hawks coach, Mr. Anderson.¹⁴¹ Interestingly, the softball team had boys and girls as players; it was the only co-ed team in existence throughout the school’s entire history.¹⁴² Duncan Angeconeb captained his softball teammates, Levi Duncan, Dean Bunting, Billy Turtle, Patricia Wesley, Nora Gray, Clara Fiddler, Emily Carpenter, Gordon Bluecoat, Madys Ocheewasawan, Howard Anderson Jr., and Percy Omleash.¹⁴³ Awards came to symbolize and therefore substantiate student progress in academics, athletics, and citizenship.¹⁴⁴ The awards at the school served as a localized expression of intent similar to Indian Affairs’ national sport prize, the Tom Longboat award, which was awarded to a nationally recognized First Nations athlete who was also deemed to be of good character.¹⁴⁵ While physical culture activities had expanded for all students in the school, hockey continued to be the main wintertime activity.

4.7 Black Hawks Hockey, 1962-1970

Hockey continued at the school through the 1960s, including continued participation in the Sioux Lookout league. Hockey in the town of Sioux Lookout, like many towns across the country, was seen as an important affair in the development of young boys. For example, Mayor Beebe of Sioux Lookout believed that providing hockey to local boys was nothing short of a civic duty, and "out of this comes better bodies, healthier minds, better boys and better citizens."¹⁴⁶ A member of the Legion Hockey club in Sioux Lookout corroborated the importance of developing citizenship through hockey. He wrote a letter to the editor of the local Sioux Lookout newspaper, *The Daily Bulletin*, to point out the very objectives of the Sioux Lookout Minor Hockey Association, which were:

1. To encourage, foster and improve Minor Hockey in the Town of Sioux Lookout. 2. To teach boys good sportsmanship, to play fairly under all circumstances and conditions, to be generous in winning and courteous in losing, to love the game above the prize, to develop a competitive spirit, to treat officials with respect and to teach co-operation.¹⁴⁷

“In short,” the contributor clarified in no uncertain terms, “the Minor Hockey Association is endeavoring to develop good citizens.”¹⁴⁸ The priorities identified by hockey administrators in Sioux Lookout were clearly laid out, namely, winning hockey games and developing citizens out of its boys.

The Black Hawks competed in the Sioux Lookout hockey league from 1949 through to the schools closure in 1970, and from the beginning, the boys came to exemplify character traits outlined by the Sioux Lookout hockey league, such as a never-say-die spirit, a style of “clean,” “fair” or ethical play, humility in victory, and team work.¹⁴⁹ Administrators and coaches who sought to produce good sportsman were, at the same time, conducting a process for producing citizens. The coherence between school administrator’s desire to develop character and the Sioux Lookout hockey league’s function in developing character was no coincidence. The citizenship traits sought by Pelican Lake School administrators were thus not unique to First Nations children, but they deliberately replicated popular ideas about what it meant to be a good citizen. School administrators’ desire to develop good character in the boys is thus a clear expression of the intent to assimilate.



Figure 20. The boys clearing the ice, 1960s.¹⁵⁰



Figure 21. The Pee Wee Black Hawks, 1960s.¹⁵¹



Figure 22. The Bantam Black Hawks, 1960s.¹⁵²

Opportunities for play were increased at Pelican Lake School in 1964 when Swartman obtained authority to wire and install lights over the old rink at the school, as presumably the single rink with lights still did not provide enough hockey and skating to accommodate all the students.¹⁵³ In the winter of 1966 hockey was again a major feature of school life, as Principal Shepard reported:

January saw the Busy Hockey season get rolling. We entered both a Pee-Wee and Bantam Team, in the town league, this year so that the coach, Mr Anderson was kept pretty busy. Also, 6 of our boys made it to the town's Pee-Wee All Star Team. In the beginning, we were not going to enter our Bantams as this age group went up to 14 years of age and we only had one 16 year old that could play hockey. However, even with most of the team out-weighting us by a good 10 lbs per player, we took first place and held it right to the finish.

The Pee-Wee Hockey team also held first place right up to the finals when we were beaten.¹⁵⁴

A similar story characterized the 1967-1968 season, as Principal Shepard reported “hockey has once again taken up much of the boys’ time.”¹⁵⁵ Indeed, *The Daily Bulletin* reported that the Pee Wee Black Hawks had one of their finest seasons, beating the Sioux Canadians 6-1 with five overtime goals, and then beating them 4-1 with “much poise and great positional play” to take the local title.¹⁵⁶

The following season the *Daily Bulletin* reported that the Pee Wee Black Hawks, led by their captain Allen Angecneb, won the regional title, including 7-0 and 11-3 wins over the rival Wings of Sioux Lookout in an unbeaten season.¹⁵⁷ Travelling and hosting hockey matches continued to be a regular occurrence at Pelican Lake School in the 1960s. For example the Black Hawks took three trips to Dryden, Ontario, to play against the Dryden Bantams and Pee Wees in 1966; Shepard reported that the boys had a great time, in particular because they won.¹⁵⁸ In 1967, the boys made trips to Dryden and Red Lake for hockey matches.¹⁵⁹ Clearly, since the construction of the rink in 1948, hockey had developed into a pillar of sport and training for citizenship in the boys at Pelican Lake School.

4.8 Conclusion

In the view of school administrators, the character traits developed in a good sportsman transferred directly to those character traits desired in a citizen, and thus developing sportsmen was one way to develop good citizens. This was the case in both Black Hawk hockey as well as physical culture activities at school. For example, the use of awards at Pelican Lake School served to encourage the pursuit of athletics and citizenship. The

approach of developing citizenship through physical culture activities continued through the 1950s and 1960s, much as had been the case in the 1930s and 1940s, but the approach had changed to reflect the transition in Indian Affairs' citizenship policy. In the early decades of the school, physical culture was used for civilizing and developing character for eventual citizenship. By the late 1940s Indian Affairs used sport for integration as a major thrust in physical culture policy across the residential school system, and this became a key approach at Pelican Lake School. By treating residential school students as equal to Whites, which is to say that First Nations students should be treated the same as White students, school administrators believed students were better placed to take on desirable character traits. However, physical culture during this period continued to privilege masculine character traits. The use of Girls Guides and the Girls Auxiliary filled a purpose in girls' training for citizenship that physical culture was not always able to provide. The increasing participation of girls in sport and physical recreation, particularly during the 1960s, did challenge the traditional gender roles associated with citizenship, at least in the areas of sport and recreation. Thus, sport was a flexible tool because it could continue to be utilized for developing citizenship despite changes in policy approaches to the issue.

An important feature of the federal government's post-World War II intent to provide a citizenship education was the idea of equality. Thus the policies of Indian Affairs and the ISA on providing physical culture programs comparable with White schools in the vicinity, encouraging residential schools teams to play in White sport leagues, and sending students into Sioux Lookout for a provincial school education, was legitimated and rationalized by the desire to normalize First Nations peoples' relationship with Canadian society. Providing equality in physical culture activities was particularly important to Pelican Lake School

administrators because they believed that they could not provide students with a rich and well-rounded education without recreational programs. Although equality was an important policy idea that enabled local administrators to improve the provision of physical culture activities, the lack of resources ultimately prevented this from ever being fully realized in practice. The physical culture program at Pelican Lake School was thus constrained, however, hockey from 1948 onwards and physical culture generally in the 1960s were important exceptions to the gross inequality between Pelican Lake School and White schools, which had prevailed since the school's inception in 1929. Nonetheless, the lack of physical culture facilities due to chronic underfunding at Pelican Lake School indicates how selectively Indian Affairs applied the notion of equality, and therefore Indian Affairs never fully pursued the attainment of the idea in practice.

The infrastructure costs associated with facility development, notably \$90,000 for the gymnasium, the rinks and lighting systems, the newly developed swimming area, the renovations of the playing fields, and the younger children's playgrounds, were far higher than costs for equipment and qualified instructors. In the context of the administrators having the will to implement physical culture activities in an under-resourced school system, facilities became the central factor in limiting or enabling activities. The Superintendent of the ISA, Henry Cook, believed in the central importance of recreational opportunities, as the lack of activities at the school was a source of embarrassment for the ISA. All instances of improved facilities resulted in enhanced physical culture opportunities. The gymnasium, for example, had an immediate effect on enhancing recreation, physical training, sports, and non-physical forms of recreation and education. Barrington's astonishing magnanimity in his personal financial contributions was an example of how a single principal worked to improve

the morale and happiness of the students. Yet Barrington's case, along with the long history of administrators who pressed for improved recreation facilities, also highlights a much larger proportion of school life where the absence of a loving atmosphere of care and support was systemically absent. Instead the school was known as a cold and frigid institution of discipline that caused much unhappiness for many students and only served to reinforce the deficiencies felt by a lack of recreation and physical culture activities.

Administrators also fought throughout the 1950s for increased recreational opportunities for another reason; they believed in the ability of suitable recreation to control students and increase compliance. This was consistent with administrators' belief in the benefits to the school that came from the use of the rink in the late 1940s.¹⁶⁰ Indeed, it was the success of hockey and skating in conjunction with the lack of activities outside of the rink that prompted administrators to expend a great deal of effort on bringing a gymnasium to the school. At times administrators witnessed increased compliance and reduced truancy directly attributable to the physical culture opportunities they provided. Yet, attaining student compliance was never complete or final, as truancy would continue to ebb and flow with periods of enhanced happiness and compliance followed by periods of unhappiness and discontent. The use of physical culture to improve the poor state of affairs that characterized the school was not directly connected to the ideological justifications for promoting citizenship that shaped residential school education. However, many of the administrators closely connected with the school came to see the implementation of physical culture activities as a valuable tool that could be utilized as an indirect facilitator of citizenship education. Increased student compliance, discipline, and a reduction of truancy raised the morale of the staff and students, and significantly increased the ability of school

administrators to provide education and training in citizenship to the boys and girls of Pelican Lake School.

Endnotes

- ¹ John Crossley, “The Making of Canadian Indian Policy to 1946” (PhD Diss., University of Toronto, 1987), 334-47.
- ² See Chapter 2, 41-44.
- ³ Jim Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 140. The indicators of appropriate development included speaking English, attaining a basic level of education, and being of ‘good moral character.’
- ⁴ Even during a period of relatively high enfranchisement in an otherwise inept policy, the enfranchisement failed to reach the intended lofty heights of assimilation and civilization. See for example, Robin Brownlie, “‘A Better Citizen than lots of White Men:’ First Nations Enfranchisement – An Ontario Case Study 1918-1936,” *The Canadian Historical Review* 87, no.1 (2006), 29-52.
- ⁵ John Leslie, “Assimilation, Integration or Termination? The Development of Canadian Indian Policy, 1943-1963” (PhD diss., Carleton University, 1999), 285,388.
- ⁶ A broader discussion of the contested nature of citizenship is beyond the scope of this chapter and is covered elsewhere, for example: Carole Blackburn, “Differentiating Indigenous Citizenship: Seeking Multiplicity in Rights, Identity, and Sovereignty in Canada,” *American Anthropologist* 36, no. 1 (2009), 66-78. John Borrows, “Uncertain Citizens: Aboriginal Peoples and the Supreme Court,” *Canadian Bar Review* 80, no. 1 (2001), 15–41. John Borrows, “Landed Citizenship: Narratives of Aboriginal Political Participation.” in: *Citizenship in Diverse Societies*, eds. Will Kymlicka & W. Norman (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2000), 326-342. Alan Cairns, “Afterword: International Dimensions of the Citizen Issue for Indigenous Peoples/Nations,” *Citizenship Studies* 7, no. 4 (2003), 497-512. Alan Cairns, *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State* (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 2000). Claude Denis, “Indigenous Citizenship and History in Canada: Between Denial and Imposition,” in: *Contesting Canadian Citizenship: Historical Readings*,

eds. Richard Adomoski, Dorothy Chun, and Robert Menzies (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2002). Darlene Johnston, "First Nations and Canadian Citizenship," in: *Belonging: The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship*, ed. Walter Kaplan (Montreal, QC: McGill-Queens University Press, 1993), 349-368.

- ⁷ Andrea Bear Nicholas, "Citizenship Education and Aboriginal People: The Humanitarian Art of Cultural Genocide," *Canadian Journal of Education* 21, no. 2 (1996), 59-107. Marie Battiste & Helen Semaganis, "First Thoughts on First Nations Citizenship: Issues in Education," in: *Citizenship in Transformation in Canada*, ed. Yvonne Herbert (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 93-112. Mary Jane McCallum, "To Make Good Canadians: Girl Guiding in Indian Residential Schools (M.A. Thesis, Trent University, 2001). Nicholas and Battiste and Semaganis provide overviews of citizenship education in First Nations education generally, and McCullum explored the role of Girl Guides in providing citizenship training in residential schools. The focus on this chapter is both contextualized within Indian Affairs post World War II citizenship and physical culture within the residential school system.
- ⁸ At Library and Archives Canada I collected documentation from Record Group 10, including records from the "Indian School File." Similarly, I examined primary sources from the Series GS 75-103 in the General Synod Archives of the Anglican Church of Canada, which contains the papers from the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada.
- ⁹ Michael Ignatieff, *The Rights Revolution* (Toronto, ON: House of Anansi Press, 2000), 1-26.
- ¹⁰ Andrew Ross, "Wardship to Citizenship: Integrated Education and Canadian Indian Policy Change, 1945-69" (Masters Thesis, Carleton University, 2001), 27-28. Leslie, "Assimilation, Integration or Termination," 75-111.
- ¹¹ Heidi Bohaker & Franca Iacovetta, "Making Aboriginal People 'Immigrants Too': A Comparison of Citizenship Programs for Newcomers and Indigenous Peoples in Postwar Canada, 1940s-1960s," *The Canadian Historical Review*, 90(3) (2009), 433.
- ¹² Crossley, *Canadian Indian Policy*, 359. Ross, "Wardship to Citizenship," 40.
- ¹³ Augie Fleras & Jean Elliot, *The Nations Within: Aboriginal-State Relations in Canada, the United States, and New Zealand* (Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press, 1992), 42-43.
- ¹⁴ Bohaker & Iacovetta, "Making Aboriginal People 'Immigrants Too,'" 427-461.
- ¹⁵ Ross, "Wardship to Citizenship," 42.
- ¹⁶ This definition was developed from the work of Ken Osborne, "Public Schooling and Citizenship Education in Canada," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 32, no. 1 (2000), 9-10.

- ¹⁷ For instance, self-respect, industry, and thrift were examples of values teachers were instructed to promote, see Chapter 2, 42-44.
- ¹⁸ Crossley, "Canadian Indian Policy," 263. Eric Porter, "The Anglican Church and Native Education: Residential Schools and Assimilation" (PhD Diss., University of Toronto, 1981), 118-19.
- ¹⁹ Nancy Francis & Anna Lathrop, "'Children who Drill, Seldom are Ill.'" Drill, Movement and Sport: The Rise and Fall of a 'Female Tradition' in Ontario Elementary Physical Education – 1850s to 2000," *Historical Studies in Education* 23, no. 1 (2011), 63-4. Don Morrow & Kevin Wamsley, *Sport in Canada: A History* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2005), 181. Knowles says that recreation was used by the Anglican Missionaries to promote discipline, team spirit and patriotism. Norman Knowles, "'By the Mouth of Many Messengers": Mission and Social Service in Canadian Anglicanism," in: *Seeds Scattered and Sown: Studies in the History of Canadian Anglicanism*, ed. Norman Knowles (Toronto, ON: ABC Publishing, 2008), 174. Bruce Kidd, "Muscular Christianity and the Value-Centered Sport: The Legacy of Tom Brown in Canada," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 23, no. 5 (2006), 701-713.
- ²⁰ See Chapter 3, 115-16.
- ²¹ Jim Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 156-7, 277. Eric Porter, "The Anglican Church and Native Education," 147. Norman Gull, "The 'Indian Policy' of the Anglican Church of Canada from 1945 to the 1970s" (Masters Thesis, Trent University, 1992), 34. James Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Indian Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), 20-22. There is also a small body of literature looking at citizenship education in the provincial school system. Ken Osborne, "Education is the Best National Insurance: Citizenship Education in Canadian Schools. Past and Present," *Comparative and International Education* 25, no.2 (1996). 31-58. Reva Joshee, "Citizenship and Multicultural Education in Canada: From Assimilation to Social Cohesion," in: *Diversity and Citizenship Education*, ed. J. A. Banks (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2004), 127-156. Rosa Bruno-Jofre, "Citizenship and Schooling in Manitoba between the End of the First World War and the End of the Second World War," in: *Citizenship in Transformation in Canada*, ed. Yvonne. M. Herbert (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 112-133.
- ²² Indian School Administration, Newsletter, November 1962, GS 75-103, Box 30, File 3a
- ²³ Indian School Administration, Brief to the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration in Reference to a Special Deputation of the Anglican Church of Canada, 20 November 1959, GS 75-103 Box 29, File 4.Letter, H. E. Keewatin to F, J. Foss, 31 October 1960, LAC, RG 10, Volume 494/25-2-014, File 6859.

- ²⁴ Superintendent's Report on Visit to Sioux Lookout Residential School, 9-10 October 1961, GS 103-75, Box 24, File 4.
- ²⁵ Indian School Administration, Newsletter, December 1964, GS 75-103, Box 30, File 3.
- ²⁶ "Adventures in Citizenship", *The Daily Bulletin*, 16 May 1967, 6.
- ²⁷ Indian School Administration, Newsletter, December 1966, GS 75-103, Box 30, File 3c. For example three students, Johnny Carpenter, George Kenny, and Edith Thomas were in grade nine.
- ²⁸ Eric L. Barrington, Questions asked by I. S. A. Principals Regarding Chapel Service, GS 75-103, Box 29, File 10.
- ²⁹ See Chapter 2, 62-65.
- ³⁰ Janice Forsyth, "The Indian Act and the (re)Shaping of Canadian Aboriginal Sport Practices," *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 35 (2007), 105. Janice Forsyth and Michael Heine, "A Higher Degree of Social Organization": Jan Eisendarft and Canadian Aboriginal Sport Policy in the 1950s," *Journal of Sport History* 35, no. 2 (2008), 264-65.
- ³¹ Milloy, *A National Crime*, 207.
- ³² See Chapter 3, 96-98.
- ³³ "Standing of Midget Hockey Series," *The Daily Bulletin*, 9 January 1958, 6.
- ³⁴ Ibid.
- ³⁵ Superintendent's Visit to Sioux Lookout School, 20 February 1958, GS 75-103, Box 24, File 3.
- ³⁶ Superintendent's Visit to Sioux Lookout Indian School, 15-18 December 1953, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 10.
- ³⁷ Superintendent's Visit to Sioux Lookout School, 3-11 January 1954, GS 75-103, Box 24, File 1.
- ³⁸ Superintendent's Visit to Sioux Lookout Indian School, 15-18 December 1953, GS 75-103, Box 23, File 10.
- ³⁹ Superintendent's Visit to Sioux Lookout School, 3-11 January 1954, GS 75-103, Box 24, File 1.
- ⁴⁰ Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 275.
- ⁴¹ Superintendent's Visit to Sioux Lookout School, 20 February 1958, GS 75-103, Box 24, File 3.

- ⁴² Superintendent's Visit to the Sioux Lookout School, 2-3 March 1959, GS 75-103, Box 24, File 4
- ⁴³ Superintendent's Visit to the Sioux Lookout School, 10-11 December 1959, GS 75-103, Box 24, File 4.
- ⁴⁴ Superintendent's Visit to the Sioux Lookout School, 10-11 September 1959, GS 75-103, Box 24, File 4.
- ⁴⁵ See Chapter 3, 114.
- ⁴⁶ Superintendent's Visit to Sioux Lookout School, 20 February 1958, GS 75-103, Box 24, File 3.
- ⁴⁷ Henry G. Cook, Circular (59/58), 23 December 1958, GS 75-103, Box 29, File 5.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid.
- ⁴⁹ Milloy, *A National Crime*, 269.
- ⁵⁰ Efforts to improve residential schools after World War II were substantiated in funding increases in 1962, 1966 and 1969, but ultimately they could not overcome the legacy of inadequate resources and therefore these funding changes did not significantly improve the state of residential schools as Indian Affairs had hoped. Ibid, 272-3.
- ⁵¹ Henry G. Cook, Circular (59/58), 23 December 1958, GS 75-103, Box 29, File 5.
- ⁵² Ibid.
- ⁵³ Ibid.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid.
- ⁵⁷ Visit of Major-General G. R. Turner to Sioux Lookout Anglican Residential School, 5-7 June 1960, GS 75-103, Box 24, File 5
- ⁵⁸ Ibid.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid.
- ⁶¹ Ibid.
- ⁶² Ibid.

- ⁶³ Ibid.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid.
- ⁶⁷ Letter, H. E. Keewatin to F, J. Foss, 31 October 1960, LAC, RG 10, Volume 494/25-2-014, File 6859.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid.
- ⁷⁰ Superintendent's Visit to Sioux Lookout School, 20 February 1958, GS 75-103, Box 24, File 3. Superintendent's Visit to the Sioux Lookout School, 10-11 December 1959, GS 75-103, Box 24, File 4.
- ⁷¹ Superintendent's Report on Visit to Sioux Lookout Residential School, 9-10 October 1961, GS 103-75, Box 24, File 4.
- ⁷² Ibid.
- ⁷³ Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 367.
- ⁷⁴ Superintendent's Conversation with Principal Orman re: Sioux Lookout School, in Winnipeg, Man, 2 December 1961, GS 103-75, Box 24, File 4.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid.
- ⁷⁶ Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 324.
- ⁷⁷ Ibid.
- ⁷⁸ Superintendent's Conversation with Principal Orman re: Sioux Lookout School, in Winnipeg, Man, 2 December 1961, GS 103-75, Box 24, File 4.
- ⁷⁹ Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 275.
- ⁸⁰ Letter, P. Phelan to G. Swartman, 21 November 1952, LAC, RG 10, Volume 494/6-1-014, File 8274, Part 1.
- ⁸¹ Letter, F. Matters to G. Swartman, 5 November 1954, LAC, RG 10, Volume 8274, File 494/6-1-014, part 3.
- ⁸² Ibid.
- ⁸³ Letter, R. F. Davey to F. Matters, 19 November 1954, LAC, RG 10, Volume 8274, File 494/6-1-014, part 3.

- ⁸⁴ Letter, C. Cook to R. F. Davey, 4 November 1954, LAC, RG 10, Volume 8274, File 494/6-1-014, part 3.
- ⁸⁵ Ibid.
- ⁸⁶ Letter, R. F. Davey to C. Cook, 10 November 1954, LAC, RG 10, Volume 8274, File 494/6-1-014, part 3.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid.
- ⁸⁸ Superintendent's Visit to Sioux Lookout Residential School, 17 December 1954, GS 75-103, Box 24, File 1.
- ⁸⁹ Letter, J. S. Allan to F. Matters, 16 May 1956, LAC, RG 10, Volume 8275, File 494/6-1-014, part 5.
- ⁹⁰ Letter, C. Cook to H. M. Jones, 25 September 1956, LAC, RG 10, Volume 8275, File 494/6-1-014, part 5.
- ⁹¹ Superintendent's Visit to Sioux Lookout Indian Residential School, 30 October 1956, GS 75-103, Box 24, File 2.
- ⁹² Letter, C. Cook to R. F. Davey, 1 October 1956, LAC, RG 10, Volume 8275, File 494/6-1-014, part 5.
- ⁹³ Ibid.
- ⁹⁴ Ibid.
- ⁹⁵ Letter, C. Cook to H. M. Jones, 25 September 1956, LAC, RG 10, Volume 8275, File 494/6-1-014, part 5.
- ⁹⁶ Letter, H. M. Jones to C. Cook, 5 October 1956, LAC, RG 10, Volume 8275, File 494/6-1-014, part 5.
- ⁹⁷ This letter is cut off and therefore the precise statement about the location of the playing field is incomplete. However, I presume the author suggests the only good playing field is close to the lake, and therefore it is not a good place for ball sports because the balls regularly lost on the lake. Letter, C. Cook to R. F. Davey, 1 October 1956, LAC, RG 10, Volume 8275, File 494/6-1-014, part 5.
- ⁹⁸ Letter, C. Cook to H. M. Jones, 25 September 1956, LAC, RG 10, Volume 8275, File 494/6-1-014, part 5.
- ⁹⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁰ Letter, W. M. Benidickson to H. M. Jones, 10 September 1958, LAC, RG 10, Volume 8276, File 494/6-1-014, Part 8.

- ¹⁰¹ Letter, R. F. Davey to Canon Cook, 5 March 1958, GS 75-103, Box 29, File 5.
- ¹⁰² Letter, Henry G. Cook to R. F. Davey, 10 March 1958, GS 75-103, Box 29, File 5.
- ¹⁰³ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁵ Letter. R. F. Davey to Chief of Education Division, 19 January 1959, LAC, RG 10, Volume 8276, File 494/6-1-014, Part 8.
- ¹⁰⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁷ Letter, H. C. Tod to E. G. Langley, 22 April 1960, LAC, RG 10, Volume 11436, File 494/6-1-470, Part 4.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁹ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹¹ Ibid.
- ¹¹² Ibid.
- ¹¹³ Circular, Henry G. Cook to all Principals, 2 November 1959, GS 75-103, Box 25, File 14.
- ¹¹⁴ Letter, E. G. Langley to H. M. Jones, 27 July 1960, LAC, RG 10, Volume 8276, File 494/6-1-014, Part 9.
- ¹¹⁵ Memorandum, Department of Public Works, 31 August 1961, LAC, RG 10, Volume 8276, File 494/6-1-014, Part 9.
- ¹¹⁶ Indian School Administration, Newsletter, November 1962, GS 75-103, Box 30, File 3a.
- ¹¹⁷ Indian School Administration, Newsletter, Spring 1963, GS 75-103. Box 30, File 3.
- ¹¹⁸ Indian School Administration, Newsletter, December 1964, GS 75-103. Box 30, File 3.
- ¹¹⁹ Ibid.
- ¹²⁰ Ibid.
- ¹²¹ Indian School Administration, Newsletter, May 1965, GS 75-103, Box 30, File 3.
- ¹²² Indian School Administration, Newsletter, December 1967, GS 75-103, Box 30, File 3.
- ¹²³ Ibid.
- ¹²⁴ Ibid.

- ¹²⁵ Indian School Administration, Newsletter, May 1965, GS 75-103, Box 30, File 3.
- ¹²⁶ McCallum, "To Make Good Canadians," 90-91.
- ¹²⁷ Indian School Administration, Newsletter, May 1963, GS 75-103, Box 30, File 3.
- ¹²⁸ Tenders Form: Instructions to Bidders, 5 May 1964, LAC, RG 10, Volume 11436, File 494/6-1-470, Part 4.
- ¹²⁹ Letter, G. S. Lapp to C. Cook, 22 June 1964, RG 10, Volume 8277, File 494/6-1-014, Part 11.
- ¹³⁰ Indian School Administration, Newsletter, December 1964, GS 75-103. Box 30, File 3.
- ¹³¹ In the 1920s the boys spend much of their time clearing the land to produce a playing field. Furthermore, the fields were notorious for the poor drainage and the fields were often too wet and muddy for sports and recreation during the fall and spring seasons. In 1945, two large cement pads were removed from the playing fields, to make the grounds safer, and the fields were also leveled. In 1946 the fields were leveled again, which administrators hoped would result in more outdoor play. In 1950, three days of heavy bulldozing was done to level the fields again (on these issues, see Chapter 2, 56 and Chapter and 3, 103).
- ¹³² See Chapter 2, 64,67.
- ¹³³ Indian School Administration, Newsletter, December 1966, GS 75-103, Box 30, File 3c.
- ¹³⁴ This was the case from 1961 to 1967, except for 1966. Sioux Lookout Indian Residential School: Extra Curricular Activities - Expenses for the Year Ended 31 December 1961, LAC, RG 10, Volume 10301, File 494/6-1-014. Sioux Lookout Indian Residential School: Extra Curricular Activities - Expenses for the Year Ended 31 December 1963, LAC, RG 10, Volume 10301, File 494/6-1-014. Sioux Lookout Indian Residential School: Extra Curricular Activities - Expenses for the Year Ended 31 December 1964, LAC, RG 10, Volume 10301, File 494/6-1-014. Sioux Lookout Indian Residential School: Extra Curricular Activities - Expenses for the Year Ended 31 December 1965, LAC, RG 10, Volume 10301, File 494/6-1-014. Sioux Lookout Indian Residential School: Extra Curricular Activities - Expenses for the Year Ended 31 December 1966, LAC, RG 10, Volume 10301, File 494/6-1-014. Sioux Lookout Indian Residential School: Extra Curricular Activities - Expenses for the Year Ended 31 December 1967, LAC, RG 10, Volume 10301, File 494/6-1-014. In 1966 \$2073 was spent on extracurricular contrary to Indian Affairs policy. The principal spent \$1192 on sport trips and outings and therefore it is likely that the principal was able to get an exemption for the sport trips that year. Sioux Lookout Indian Residential School: Extra Curricular Activities - Expenses for the Year Ended 31 December 1966, LAC, RG 10, Volume 10301, File 494/6-1-014.

- ¹³⁵ Sioux Lookout Indian Residential School: Extra Curricular Activities - Expenses for the Year Ended 31 December 1961, LAC, RG 10, Volume 10301, File 494/6-1-014. Sioux Lookout Indian Residential School: Extra Curricular Activities - Expenses for the Year Ended 31 December 1964, LAC, RG 10, Volume 10301, File 494/6-1-014. Sioux Lookout Indian Residential School: Extra Curricular Activities - Expenses for the Year Ended 31 December 1965, LAC, RG 10, Volume 10301, File 494/6-1-014. Sioux Lookout Indian Residential School: Extra Curricular Activities - Expenses for the Year Ended 31 December 1966, LAC, RG 10, Volume 10301, File 494/6-1-014.
- ¹³⁶ Sioux Lookout Indian Residential School: Extra Curricular Activities - Expenses for the Year Ended 31 December 1964, LAC, RG 10, Volume 10301, File 494/6-1-014. Sioux Lookout Indian Residential School: Extra Curricular Activities - Expenses for the Year Ended 31 December 1966, LAC, RG 10, Volume 10301, File 494/6-1-014. Sioux Lookout Indian Residential School: Extra Curricular Activities - Expenses for the Year Ended 31 December 1961, LAC, RG 10, Volume 10301, File 494/6-1-014.
- ¹³⁷ "Awards for Indian Students," *The Daily Bulletin*, 27 June 1967, 1 and 4.
- ¹³⁸ Indian School Administration, Newsletter, December 1967, GS 75-103, Box 30, File 3.
- ¹³⁹ "Awards for Indian Students," *The Daily Bulletin*, 27 June 1967, 1 and 4.
- ¹⁴⁰ Ibid.
- ¹⁴¹ Ibid.
- ¹⁴² Ibid.
- ¹⁴³ Ibid.
- ¹⁴⁴ Forsyth, "Indian Act," 106.
- ¹⁴⁵ Janice Forsyth, "The Power to Define: A History of the Tom Longboat Awards, 1951-2001" (PhD diss., The University of Western Ontario, 2005), 92.
- ¹⁴⁶ "Mayor Calls for Support in Minor Hockey," *The Daily Bulletin*, 21 January 1970, 1.
- ¹⁴⁷ "Letter to the Editor," *The Daily Bulletin*, 16 April 1970, 3.
- ¹⁴⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁴⁹ See Chapter 3, 108-09.
- ¹⁵⁰ GS, 75-103, Red Binder "Pelican Lake Indian Residential School."
- ¹⁵¹ Ibid.
- ¹⁵² Ibid.

- ¹⁵³ Tenders Form: Instructions to Bidders, 5 May 1964, LAC, RG 10, Volume 11436, File 494/6-1-470, Part 4.
- ¹⁵⁴ Indian School Administration, Newsletter, May 1966, GS 75-103, Box 30, File 3c.
- ¹⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁵⁶ "Hawks Win Pee Wee League," *The Daily Bulletin*, 14 March 1967, 1.
- ¹⁵⁷ "Pelican Hawks - Pee Wee Champs," *The Daily Bulletin*, 28 March 1968, 1.
- ¹⁵⁸ Indian School Administration, Newsletter, May 1966, GS 75-103, Box 30, File 3c.
- ¹⁵⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁶⁰ See Chapter 3, 112-115.

Chapter 5

5 Conclusion: Physical Culture at Pelican Lake Indian Residential School

This dissertation about Pelican Lake School is the first study of physical culture of the entire history of a single residential school, focusing on the perspectives of local school administrators. Sports, recreation, games, and exercise were the types of activities used at the school. During the 1930s and 1940s, these activities were intended for physical development in fitness and health, rather than as competitive opportunities in sport, gymnastic, or drill. However, physical culture activities until 1948 were constrained by a lack of finances, equipment, facilities, good instructors, and also a relatively weak organizational structure to support principals in the implementation of physical culture programs. Another factor that significantly shaped physical culture practices of the students was gender. Boys had many more opportunities than did the girls, and this was particularly the case with regards to those sports and other activities that were more physically demanding.

With the construction of the rink and the establishment of the Black Hawk team in 1948, opportunities for quality physical culture vastly improved, if only during the winter months. These developments took place during a time in which the Department of Indian Affairs became increasingly interested in expanding physical culture practices in its schools. During the late 1940s, physical culture in residential schools was still administered in a fairly *ad hoc* fashion whereby individual principals and teachers had considerable sway in shaping how much, or little, was offered or mandated to students. For Pelican Lake School, Indian Agent Gifford Swartman was the key instigator of the expanding physical culture opportunities during the late 1940s, with support from Sioux Lookout citizens, Indian

Affairs, school principals, and the ISA. The northern climate enabled a long and consistent hockey season, and the close proximity to a relatively large hub in the north provided the school with easy access to a hockey league, which was not the case for many northern and remote schools. Hockey and skating for the boys, and skating for the girls, came to be an important part of school life for the students. For the administrators, hockey became an important tool for creating order and discipline at the school, and this point will be expanded upon below.

The Black Hawks team was a very unique part of the residential school experience for its young players. The provision of good coaching, facilities, ample opportunity to play, and at least reasonable equipment, was completely different from the rest of their school experience. In particular the opportunity to be supported in a competitive endeavour and to be genuinely successful – often beating White teams - was different from any other experience available to Pelican Lake School students from 1926 to that time; Indian Affairs had never given any of their students the opportunity to be successful in academics, sport, music, or in any other field. The indifference to the plight of Pelican Lake School students by the principals and school staff, by ISA officials, the field agents and bureaucrats of Indian Affairs, and indirectly through the public's disinterestedness in First Nations peoples' affairs, enabled a school system with little to no chance of being positive, productive, and successful. Indeed, this is an important legacy of Pelican Lake School.

During the 1950s, school administrators built upon the opportunities provided by the rink as they continued to work to improve physical culture infrastructure, such as playgrounds for the young students and the playing fields; they were also able to provide more equipment than was available in the early 1940s and 1930s. The improvements to

physical culture activities at Pelican Lake School in the late 1940s and 1950s were facilitated by Indian Affairs investments and its intent on expanding physical culture in the residential school system. Although the capacity of the school to administer physical activities had expanded, and physical culture had become a higher priority, administrators in the 1950s still struggled. They had to operate within a legacy of under-funding and inadequate infrastructure that had already constrained administrators of the 1930s and 1940s. The rink continued to be an exception to this general rule in the 1950s.

During the 1960s physical culture activities expanded. In the 1950s school administrators had pressed Indian Affairs for a gymnasium, and in 1962 their hard work paid off when the gymnasium was constructed. The gymnasium, along with the rink, playing fields, and lake, provided capacity for a year-round program of physical culture for the students. In the context of the administrators' will to provide physical culture activities, but where resources were scarce, the expense of the facilities was the key enabling or constraining factor for expanding physical culture at Pelican Lake School during the 1950s and 1960s. The under-funding endemic to the residential school system was thus a key contextual factor in the physical culture opportunities for students at Pelican Lake School. The 1960s was also a time of enhanced opportunities for the girls, particularly in sport, with the establishment their first school sport team who played basketball, and also their participation in the coed softball team. In light of the entire history of the school, the girls' participation in sport was but a fraction of that which was afforded to the boys. This administration of physical culture activities at Pelican Lake School cohered with the concept of citizenship education, which primarily involved administrators seeking to develop a set of

character traits they considered integral to the idealized subject of the state, and therefore they sought to instill these traits in the students, predominantly the boys.

5.1 Physical Culture Activities as an Education in Citizenship

At the outset of this study I outlined my intent to examine the changes of the citizenship policy of Indian Affairs, and used the time period prior to the World War II, immediately after the War, and in the two decades following the War, to focus the study of citizenship. Prior to the War, citizenship involved two interrelated processes. The first was to civilize First Nations peoples through a process of social and cultural assimilation that sought to instill the values and ideals of Euro-Canadian society. Once this development had been achieved, the political assimilation of First Nations peoples would take place through enfranchisement.¹ From this perspective, a number of policy tools to develop First Nations peoples for eventual enfranchisement were necessary for Indian Affairs. Indian Affairs used the residential school system to provide the training, socialization, and development to prepare First Nations boys to undertake the enfranchisement process. From this perspective, citizenship was implicit to the purpose of the residential school system, as social assimilation and political assimilation were two elements of the same policy process. While citizenship had been explicitly identified in the post War context in residential schools, residential schools played a central role in the development of citizenship prior to the War, although this was implicit in the process rather than explicit.

During the 1930s and the first half of the 1940s, I examined Indian Affairs' approach to physical culture activities. I identified a few key areas in the policy of Indian Affairs that were particularly important in the use of physical culture activities. The first was to teach the

children how to use leisure time “appropriately,” and also use “appropriate” Euro-Canadian activities during their leisure time. This is consistent with the research of Vicky Paraschak who has shown that Indian Affairs was interested in replacing “all this senseless drumming and dancing” for more “reasonable amusements” in First Nations peoples’ leisure time on reserves.² The second was health because practicing healthy habits was important for a productive and flourishing citizenry, and the ideal citizen would take on this responsibility. Mary Ellen Kelm has shown in detail about the ways in which British Columbia residential schools trained its students to practice healthy and hygienic habits, and Indian Affairs intended physical culture activities to contribute to that training.³ Another key area of development that physical culture was intended to be useful for was character development. The Muscular Christian legacy of sport and games was influential, and the pursuit of the ideal sportsman who always gave his best, played within the rules, always accepted the referee’s decision, was humble in victory and gracious in defeat, were all character traits that could be applied off the field, and be a valuable asset to a person in social, political, or economic life outside of physical culture.

After World War II the political context of the country changed dramatically, and this certainly affected Indian Affairs. With the political ideals of equality, liberalism, human rights, and democracy, along with enhanced political organization of First Nations groups, and a growing public consciousness of the plight of First Nations peoples, Indian Affairs had to move away from segregation, wardship, and the explicitly racist assumptions behind the policy to civilize First Nations peoples. The new approach was to include First Nations peoples as equals, which is to say they should be treated in the same way and with the same rights and responsibilities as other Canadians; citizenship was a key mechanism to reach this

end. As a result, in 1957 the Citizenship Act was amended to impose Canadian citizenship on First Nations peoples, who, for the first time, were able to hold Indian status and citizenship at the same time. Also, the policy of enfranchisement was repealed in the 1961 Indian Act amendments. These two legislative changes were the hallmarks of the new era of citizenship policy.

The citizenship policy of Indian Affairs was more than the official status of citizenship, as it also included the desire to train First Nations peoples in the values, habits, ideals, and character of the desired citizen. Prior to the legislative amendments of 1957 and 1961 noted above, the ways in which residential school students were trained for citizenship had begun to change shortly after World War II. The Special Joint Committee of 1946 made recommendations on how to update the Indian Act in the post-War political context, which included the preference for integrated education and this was then cemented in legislation in the 1951 Indian Act amendments. Indian Affairs had adopted an approach to citizenship that was based on equality as a means of including First Nations people within the country, and this shaped how physical culture activities were to be used in residential schools. One new feature of physical culture was integrated sport, which sought to bring First Nations students into contact with Whites in friendly competition, so as to better integrate First Nations into Canadian society. Another important benefit to this approach was to teach Whites about First Nations peoples and to foster their acceptance and tolerance of First Nations inclusion in society. The promotion of Euro-Canadian leisure activities, and the way in which leisure time ought to be used, continued to be a function in the administration of physical culture activities at Pelican Lake School, but this was more implicit to the approach rather than the explicit focus it received prior to the War.

The goal of integration was to eventually shift all residential school pupils into day schools, and this was largely complete by the 1970s. However, prior to the 1970s, Indian Affairs sought, in some ways, to provide an education that was equal to the public education system. As a result, physical culture programs were expanded, including a system of support for principals, encouraging sports competitions with White teams, providing better equipment and facilities, and developing more educational materials for principals and teachers. The attempts at providing a more equitable physical culture program was important to Pelican Lake School, which was part of the reason why many more opportunities were available through the 1950s and 1960s, than had been the case in the 1930s and 1940s. However, the continued under-funding of the residential school system during the 1950s and 1960s, as well as the legacy of poverty and inadequacy in the school system prior to the War, meant that physical culture activities at Pelican Lake School never came close to White school until the 1960s. Hockey, and the Black Hawk team however, were important exceptions to this rule, and were established in the late 1940s within the context of Indian Affairs push for equality and their use of sport for integration.

This examination of physical culture as a citizenship education over time helps to highlight the ways in which Indian Affairs used sport as a malleable tool to attempt to mold their students toward their political interests, vision, and policy. Rather than viewing physical culture activities as trivial matter of frivolous play, they were leveraged by school administrators as part of the overall function of Indian Affairs policy, which sought to socially and politically assimilate First Nations peoples. It is often the case that the process of developing good sportsman is framed in positive and patriotic terms. Prior to World War II, I argue that the development of sportsmen was not a politically benign process; it was also a

matter of cultural assimilation. It was not simply a matter cultural assimilation though, as it had important political implications in that it replaced, displaced, and marginalized First Nations peoples' ability to define their own participation and values in physical culture practices. I also argue one step further, that the cultural assimilation and the political assimilation of First Nations youth were two key elements of the same process. Thus the intended development of the students into sportsmen was part of a broader policy vision that sought to terminate First Nations cultures in favor of a Euro-Canadian culture, and First Nations peoples' political independence and identity for citizenship as Canadians.

In the post-War political environment, citizenship policy ceased to explicitly target First Nations cultures as inferior. Instead achieving complete political assimilation, through the unilateral imposition of citizenship became the policy approach. Canadian citizenship however, did not achieve the complete normalization of state-First Nations relations, which is to say that the termination of the distinct political status of the Indian was not complete. Instead First Nations operated with a form of "citizenship plus," which refers to a general acceptance of the vast majority of rights and responsibilities of the citizen, but also allows for important exceptions, such as the continuation of First Nations specific rights, or the continuation of Indian status. Thus after World War II, and continuing on through to the conclusion of the twentieth century, sport was used by the federal government to try and normalize relations with First Nations by integrating them into mainstream institutions, such as the institution of sport, on terms equal with everyone else and into the value system and organizational structure of Euro-Canadian sport.

5.2 National and Local Level Administration of Physical Culture Activities at Pelican Lake School

Previous scholarship has pointed to the era of Jan Eisenhardt's tenure as Supervisor of Physical Education and Recreation at Indian Affairs as the first instance of a federal policy of physical culture for First Nations peoples.⁴ I argue however, that Indian Affairs did have a coherent and consistent set of ideas that guided how they sought to use physical culture activities in residential schools, along with an identifiable purpose and function for these activities. Indian Affairs administered and directly shaped the physical culture activities of First Nations youth since 1926, and perhaps did so since the beginning of residential school system. Physical culture activities, such as exercises, outdoor play, games, drill, and calisthenics were popular activities intended for physical development. Indian Affairs instructed their teachers to provide physical culture activities, which were not just to improve the physical dimension of the student but, too, were expressly intended to develop the students morally and socially. Indian Affairs considered physical culture activities important enough to provide funding of equipment and facilities, despite very limited funds available for the schools.

The physical culture policy of Indian Affairs during the 1930s and 1940s, however, was not well developed or supported. The inadequately small budgets that Indian Affairs provided for principals made it hard for them to spend money on physical culture activities; and as a result a significant proportion of activities were likely generated through other means, such as donations. The principals at Pelican Lake School did not have a good awareness about their ability to requisition physical culture equipment, which may have been the case in other schools. There were not a lot of facilities in the schools, particularly indoor

facilities. Indian Affairs' policy on providing exercise indoors in well-ventilated rooms is an example of how policy created in Ottawa was an idealized vision for physical culture that was disconnected to the reality in schools across the country. Also, only a few supports were provided to principals, such as information and resources on how to implement physical culture activities. Although Indian Affairs had a clear vision for the use of physical culture activities and their intended benefits, it lacked support and organizational capacity to apply it consistently across the residential school system. *Ad hoc* administrative decisions at the local level thus remained a key feature of physical culture administration during this time period.

By examining the administration of physical culture at Pelican Lake School, and therefore at the local level, I was able to better understand how, and the degree to which, national level policy came to be implemented at this school. Citizenship education was a sometimes implicit, and sometimes explicit aspect of Indian Affairs policy, and this was evident in the administration of physical culture at Pelican Lake School. Training in how to use leisure time, as well as the use of Euro-Canadian activities, were positioned as a key function in the administration of physical culture at the school, which was consistent with Indian Affairs' national policy. For example, school administrators believed that without their "cultivation" and "development" of the students' recreation, the latter would not see any benefit or progress. Although Pelican Lake School administrators did not explicitly identify health as central to their use of physical culture, it is likely that this was a strong rationale implicit in their administration of the school.

Perhaps the most powerful feature of physical culture activities in the administration of Pelican Lake School was the intent to build character. School administrators sought to build character in the students during the 1930s and 1940s, but the opportunities for physical

culture activities were somewhat limited. The character building goals of school administrators became more successfully implemented after the expansion of hockey in 1948, and continued through to the schools closure. The media reports about the astonishing sportsmanship and character of the Black Hawks team offers strong evidence for the value local administrators placed on the development of character in their hockey players.

The most significant variation in the use physical culture activities at Pelican Lake School, as compared with the national level policy strategies of Indian Affairs, was the intent to increase student discipline, ease student discontent, and to enhance control and order in the administration of the school. It is not surprising that local administrators would encounter practical and pragmatic issues outside of those defined by the policy thinking of Indian Affairs in Ottawa, and this came to be a central factor in the administrators of physical culture at Pelican Lake School from 1948 to 1970. This was not a unique situation in the residential school system in general. For example, Basil Johnson has written about the ways in which sport was used as a reward to encourage students to complete their chores at Spanish Residential School.⁵ The degree to which this was an important feature of school life, or whether the principals believed it was simply a convenient side effect, is not known about Spanish school. In any case, at Pelican Lake School, control of the school itself did become a central justification for the ongoing use of, and need for, physical culture activities. School administrators identified it as central in solving the school's management crisis in 1948 and 1949, and it also motivated them to spend significant efforts in the construction of the gymnasium during the 1950s. It is hard to gauge the degree to which this rationale would have been popular in other residential schools, but it does appear the unruly, ill-disciplined, and disorderly state of Pelican Lake School was a contributing factor, at least initially.

Physical culture was not just important to the administration for health or character development, but it became a tool that was central to the administrators' understandings of the successful operation of the entire institution.

The key ideas that guided the use of physical culture activities, in particular the legacy of Muscular Christianity and the values it attributed to sport, provide a powerful explanation of the ideological orientation underlying the enhanced order of the school. The construction of disciplined subjects who were obedient to authority, well mannered, well behaved, and of sound moral judgment, are examples that could be attributed to the development effected by physical culture activities. But enhanced student compliance attributed to physical culture activities may have also had alternative origins. Perhaps the provision of genuine opportunities to be successful, to have fun, to build confidence, to escape from the daily drudgery and struggle of school life, may have made the school a more tolerable, and in some ways a positive, experience. From the perspective of the administrators, this enabled them to better pursue their goals of assimilation, integration, and citizenship values. But perhaps the students used these activities to enhance their school experience, to try and benefit from their time at school, to negotiate the troubles and challenges they faced at the school, and thereby turn activities intended to assimilate them to their own benefit.

5.3 Physical Culture, Citizenship, and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Findings.

In the TRC's preliminary report, sport features as an important part of the histories of the former students of the Indian residential school system.⁶ The stories presented by the TRC about sport highlighted the way in which students used it to help them endure their residential school experiences. The dominant and overarching narrative about the residential

school system contains many negative memories, expressing experiences of hunger, shame, neglect, and abuse.⁷ “But there were other memories too,” the report continues, “of resilience; of lifetime friendships forged with classmates and teachers; of taking pride in art, music, or sports accomplishments; of becoming leaders in their communities and in the life of the nation.”⁸ The degree with which the TRC attributes the importance of sport was striking. One student described sport as something that “kept me alive:” for others, sport offered “relief” or provided confidence, and yet another student believed that she “survived” because of sport.⁹ The power of sport was, quite explicitly, a matter of survival; another student noted, “hockey literally did save our lives.”¹⁰

At other times, the TRC points to a number of the successes of residential school students in sport, including former student and the first status Indian to play in the National Hockey League, Fred Saskamoose, or the championship winning boxing team from the residential school at Sechelt, British Columbia.¹¹ The positive sport stories coming from former students often describe inspirational feats accomplished in the most difficult of conditions, and the TRC has identified these as meaningful expressions of strength in the students. Such stories of strength need to be remembered and acknowledged across the country. While the TRC identifies under-resourcing as a factor that limited sport participation and success for students, the overall narrative in the Commission’s report assumes the contribution of sport stories to be overwhelmingly positive in their contribution to reconciliation.

I agree with the TRC that positive sport stories are an important legacy of the residential school system; however, there may be richer and more complex narratives that also come from sport. My study of the administration of physical culture activities at Pelican

Lake School provides a multi-faceted view of sport history that can be, at times, contradictory in nature; a few examples will help to substantiate this point. Local and national administrators shaped physical culture activities based on racist assumptions, including the belief that First Nations peoples' leisure time customs and the ways in which First Nations peoples used leisure time, needed to be erased and replaced with those of appropriate Euro-Canadian patterns of leisure; and yet at the same time these activities may have been used by students to provide some respite from the struggles of residential school life and afforded the students with opportunities for fun and enjoyment. In another example, local school administrators enhanced and expanded the sport opportunities at Pelican Lake School from the late 1940s on, including the opportunities afforded to the Black Hawks, but they never consulted local First Nations parents and leaders connected to the school and thereby continued to act paternalistically by assuming they knew what was best for First Nations peoples. Or lastly, the many character traits associated with the British concept of "sportsmanship" that were promoted in the young boys at Pelican Lake School, was intended to eradicate traditional values and the students' First Nations identity. The development of "sportsmen" was thus a colonial enterprise as it excluded the possibility of local First Nations values, principles, or ideals being promoted in what it meant to be a good person or athlete. Yet at the same time, it is possible that the students' parents may have welcomed some ideals of the "sportsman," such as courage, cooperation, or team spirit, if they were not connected to the termination of First Nations communities and cultures. An understanding of the complexity of sport presented in this study may come closer to the TRC's desire to capture the "truth" of sport in the residential school system, than would solely focusing on an overarching narrative of survival and successes. It is also possible, that sport in the first half

of the twentieth century, or other forms of physical culture, such as drill, calisthenics, breathing exercises, or gymnastics, provided a very different set of experiences for students that also contributes to the historiography of the residential school system.

In the opening passage of this dissertation I noted an assertion made by a former Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, Phil Fontaine, in which he suggested that our understanding of the residential school system can be used as a basis for guiding action on the future of citizenship of First Nations peoples. In this study I show that citizenship was a central idea that school administrators used to shape the purpose and benefits that were desired to result from sports activities at Pelican Lake School. The way in which citizenship was used in the residential school provides one way to reflect upon how citizenship may be of relevance to the future of sport, recreation, and exercise for First Nations peoples. In particular, this study may be helpful for thinking about the number of “calls to action” that are recommended by the TRC. The TRC, as part of its preliminary findings, made 94 separate “calls to action” that identify steps that would work toward its vision for reconciliation. Two pertain specifically to the sport delivery system and sport policy:

89) We call upon the federal government to amend the Physical Activity and Sport Act to support reconciliation by ensuring that policies to promote physical activity as a fundamental element of health and well-being, reduce barriers to sports participation, increase the pursuit of excellence in sport, and build capacity in the Canadian sport system, are inclusive of Aboriginal peoples.

90) We call upon the federal government to ensure that national sports policies, programs, and initiatives are inclusive of Aboriginal peoples, including, but not limited to, establishing:

- i. In collaboration with provincial and territorial governments, stable funding for, and access to, community sports programs that reflect the diverse cultures and traditional sporting activities of Aboriginal peoples.
- ii. An elite athlete development program for Aboriginal athletes.
- iii. Programs for coaches, trainers, and sports officials that are culturally relevant for Aboriginal peoples.
- iv. Anti-racism awareness and training programs.¹²

In his analysis of how Canadian sport policy can shape citizenship, Jean Harvey provides a good starting place to think about sport policy in terms of enhancing citizenship; Harvey identified three relevant types of policies and programs in Canada.¹³ The first are policies that promote identity, such as the various Indigenous identities promoted in the North American Indigenous Games. The second are policies that promote social citizenship; for example *Sport Canada's Policy on Aboriginal Peoples Participation in Sport* promotes social inclusion and equality within the Canadian sport system. Lastly, policies that promote the development and expression of moral qualities that are valued by Canadian society. Harvey provides the example of the increasing responsibility physical activity policy places in the hands of individuals to take care of their health, such as ParticipAction program.¹⁴

The Canadian government and the Anglican Church implemented their understanding of citizenship at Pelican Lake School, which disregarded First Nations values, culture, leadership, and aspirations about sport and citizenship, and was thus paternalistic and assimilationist in its intent, being principally founded on the assumption of the inferiority of First Nations peoples. Whether citizenship status was restricted until adequate civilization was achieved in the students, or whether citizenship ideals were imposed on the lives of the

students, citizenship was used for the purposes of assimilation because government defined citizenship, sport, and recreation were the only legitimated policy options. Canadian sport policies that legitimate and express First Nations peoples' understanding of citizenship will be better positioned to promote reconciliation. Although it is Indigenous sport leaders, organizations, peoples, and communities that will have to decide what citizenship means to them, if it should be pursued, and how it should be pursued, I will suggest some ideas that are intended to serve as examples and as discussion points. If participants at the North American Indigenous Games were to represent their Indigenous community or nation, rather than the state or province they reside in, it may better reflect Indigenous forms of identity and citizenship. The implementation of policies that result in prioritized, sustained, and funded initiatives to enhance First Nations peoples' ability to participate in the Canadian sport system on their own terms, will reduce the inequalities First Nations peoples experience within the sport system. Or perhaps sport and recreation policies that provide individuals with resources to take responsibility for their health, in conjunction with policies that enable communities to share the burden for fostering healthy communities, may better reflect some communities' vision for desired moral qualities in the engagement of their citizens in sport and physical activity. Ultimately, debates around what First Nations citizenship is, how it should be pursued, and how it relates to Canadian citizenship, are challenging and ongoing. Nonetheless, the histories of the residential school system offer a basis for thinking about how First Nations peoples were treated, how the school experience affected them, and how this may inform how First Nations peoples may relate and connect to the rest of Canadian society in the future.

5.4 Recommendations for Future Research

In this final section I will make some recommendations for possible areas of future study that may expand, extend, and complicate this study of Pelican Lake School. The first is to move beyond the point of view of local school administrators, by adding the perspectives of staff, students, and student's parents. This would be a valuable addition to this study of Pelican Lake School; such perspectives, gathered for other residential schools, as well, would provide for a much richer historical account of the physical culture practices of First Nations peoples. In particular, the literature would be strengthened if a substantial base of evidence were collected from the students themselves.

Further study of the Department of Indian Affairs and its policy to direct the physical culture practices of First Nations peoples would extend this study. Additional research that investigates Indian Affairs policy in the 1950s and 1960s would extend the work that Janice Forsyth, in particular, has contributed, and therefore add to our understanding of how physical culture expanded for First Nations peoples in the twentieth century.¹⁵ This would include further research into residential school policy specifically, but also the ways in which physical culture policy expanded to include reserves during the 1950s; this is an under-researched area and a fruitful avenue for future investigation. There may also be important links to be examined between the physical culture policy in residential schools and policies pursued on reserves during the post-World War II period.

Further areas of importance for future research include a closer examination of girls' participation in physical culture activities. The lack of opportunities for First Nations girls is well established in the literature, and a more detailed account of girls' participation would be an important contribution. It may be the case that sources indicating girls' participation are

more difficult to locate, which constitutes a challenge not unfamiliar to feminist sport historians. The benefits of physical culture activities are often unequally distributed in multiple ways, and the perspectives of those who participated in activities that came with specific privileges, such as the Black Hawks, in comparison to those who were compelled to participate in more mundane physical activities, may provide important distinctions. It is often the case that popular and successful sport teams feature prominently in the research, but an examination of the experience of the school population as a whole can provide an important contribution to our understanding of the residential school system. Lastly, it would also be of interest to examine how students and parents understood and experienced integrated sport after World War II, for the ways in which it shaped the students' sport experiences.

Endnotes

- ¹ If a First Nations man enfranchised, his children and wife would also be enfranchised. Also, if a First Nations woman married a non-status Indian then she would also lose her Indian status and take on Canadian citizenship. While the policy was channelled through the actions of men, Indian Affairs used this process to enfranchise all status Indians, including women and children. John Crossley, "The Making of Canadian Indian Policy to 1946" (PhD Diss., University of Toronto, 1987), 352-354.
- ² Victoria Paraschak, "Reasonable Amusements: Connecting the Strands of Physical Culture in Native Lives," *Sport History Review* 29 (1998), 123.
- ³ Mary-ellen Kelm, *Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia, 1900-50* (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 1998), 57-82.

- ⁴ Janice Forsyth & Michael Heine, "A Higher Degree of Social Organization": Jan Eisenhardt and Canadian Aboriginal Sport Policy in the 1950s." *Journal of Sport History* 35, no. 2 (2008), 262.
- ⁵ Basil Johnston, *Indian School Days* (Toronto: ON, Key Porter Books, 1988), 24-5.
- ⁶ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Honoring the Truth, Reconciling the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 2015; http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Honouring_the_Truth_Reconciling_for_the_Future_July_23_2015.pdf
- ⁷ Ibid, 267.
- ⁸ Ibid, 267.
- ⁹ Ibid, 110-111.
- ¹⁰ Ibid, 297.
- ¹¹ Ibid, 74, 112-113.
- ¹² Ibid, 336.
- ¹³ Jean Harvey, "The Role of Sport and Recreation Policy in Fostering Citizenship: The Canadian Experience." *Building Citizenship: Governance and Service Provision in Canada* (2001), 27.
- ¹⁴ Ibid, 35.
- ¹⁵ Janice Forsyth, "The Power to Define: A History of the Tom Longboat Awards, 1951-2001" (PhD diss., The University of Western Ontario, 2005). Janice Forsyth, "The Indian Act and the (Re)Shaping of Canadian Aboriginal Sport Practices," *International Journal of Canadian Studies*, 35 (2007), 95-111. Janice Forsyth, "Bodies of Meaning: Sports and Games at Canadian Residential Schools," in: *Aboriginal Peoples and Sport in Canada: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Issues*, eds. Janice Forsyth and Audrey Giles (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), 15-34. Forsyth & Heine, "A Higher Degree of Social Organization."

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