

Indian Residential Schools, Settler Colonialism and Their Narratives in Canadian History

Tricia Logan

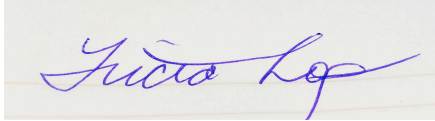
Royal Holloway, University of London

History PhD

Declaration of Authorship

I, Tricia Logan hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed

A photograph of a handwritten signature in blue ink on a light-colored surface. The signature is written in a cursive style and reads "Tricia Logan".

12 September 2016

Abstract

Canadian history is often divided on how to represent and describe the Indian residential school system. As a system of industrial-boarding style schools it forcibly removed First Nations, Métis and Inuit children from every region of Canada in order to convert them to Christianity, assimilate them into Canadian society and impose the 'national pattern' of Canada on to generations of Indigenous children. This study examines the history of Indian residential schools using oral histories of residential school Survivors, who provide details about their forced removal, treatment at the schools and intergenerational impacts they faced after leaving the schools. These narratives are placed in context with Canadian history, which often under-emphasizes the role this school system had in creating Canada as a nation-state. This study contextualizes the history of the schools and the history of Canada as settler colonial genocide. The schools did not operate in isolation and they were part of a series of political and societal mechanisms in Canada, created to extract Indigenous presence from Canada. Settler Colonial genocide in Canada is far-reaching, temporally, socially and spatially. Use of the term 'genocide' remains under debate in Canada and as it is applied to cases of genocides against Indigenous peoples. This study should be a contribution to Canadian historiographies and it should address this debate and create a position in relation to the debate. As Canada faces an era of reconciliation, these histories and contexts of settler colonialism are scrutinized but they are also used to acknowledge experiences of Survivors that were covered up in Canadian history for several decades.

Acknowledgements

Marsii and Miigwich to all of the Survivors and Elders who shared their stories and knowledge with me and with the Legacy of Hope. The knowledge I was granted was greater than anything I could fit inside a written piece of work and I hope by sharing their stories I respect and honour what was shared.

To my supervisor Dan Stone, thank you for your gifts of knowledge and experience that you shared with me. I brought my ways from 'the Dominion' and you helped me find a path and a place here. Your patience and kindness will always be remembered.

Marsii to the Legacy of Hope Foundation (LHF) and to everyone who helped create and care for the *Our Stories Our Strength Collection*. Thanks Tania Budgell and Trina Bolam for your support with the collection. A special thank you to Jane Hubbard who provided exceptional support for this study and who helped me find my way to this work. Without the support of librarians and archivists at the British Library, Library and Archives Canada, National Archives, Vatican Apostolic Library, New York Public Library and from Sergei at Kingston Library this dissertation could have never taken shape.

I feel I will not remember everyone who helped me along the way but kind thanks go to: Andrew Woolford, Jeff Benvenuto, Dirk Moses, Adam Muller, Sherry Farrell-Racette and Jonathan Dewar. To my examiners, Tom Lawson and Damien Short thank you for carrying these heavy pages with you, both literally and metaphorically. I also received a great deal of help, often in the toughest times from brilliant people who are friends of writing and friends of the past; Alexander Gent, John Robins, Elis James and Jeremy Pinkos.

Many thanks to Royal Holloway, University of London for the funding I received via the Crosslands Scholarship that was provided throughout my studies. I also received gracious gifts of places to stay, cars to drive and meals as I moved around Canada and the UK for study trips. Thank you especially to

Sara Fryer, Heather and Paul Baker, Jessica and Murray MacRae, David and Sheri Linstead, Katya and Jimmie Ferguson and Jennifer Scherr.

Go raibh maith agaibh, my friends at Irish in Britain, especially Fiona Smith and Siobhan O'Neill. I am so fortunate to have found work with you while I studied and I cannot thank you enough for adding so much to what I learned while I was in London.

To my friend Lyn Johnstone, who wrote her PhD dissertation in tandem with me and in every measure, was with me every step of the way. Through waves of coffee and numb elbows you listened to parts of my research no one else could possibly see or hear.

I have had dear friends, working along side this PhD journey that have each saved me, repeatedly. So many thanks also to Pauline Tennent who offered more kindness to me than I could handle. To my friend Ian Rich, you taught me patience and added levity to all this when I thought I was completely lost in this process.

Marsii, to my all my Aunties who passed to the spirit world and who were with me while I completed this work. To my academic Mum, Renate Eigenbrod, this dissertation came from all our conversations back in 2003. When I thought I could not finish or carry on, I carried on for you. To my Elder, Ma Tante, Rita Flamand, your gift of Michif and your lessons live on here, as well. Kitchii Marsii, Rita. Miigwetch to Jo-Ann Episkenew, my Auntie and one of my biggest supporters. Your words of encouragement are remembered, with all of your beautiful writing.

I would like to acknowledge my grandmothers in the spirit world, Katherine, Helen, Anna, Amy, Eva and Emilie who have more histories than could ever be written. They taught me about work and remembering.

All of this though, is for my parents, Thomas and Christine Logan. I am in awe of their unwavering support and words of encouragement. All of this work is for them.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	4
Introduction	10
Indian Residential Schools	15
Naming and Remembering Residential Schools	19
Raphael Lemkin, Genocide and Indigenous Peoples	22
Collective Memory and Accessibility	27
Historiographical Review	28
Canadian History	30
Canadian History and Indigenous Peoples	34
Indian Residential Schools in Canada	37
Genocide and Settler Colonial Genocide	46
Methods & Methodologies	55
Oral Histories and Orality in Indigenous Communities	60
Locations & Place Names: Significance to Indigenous Peoples	61
Chapter 2 Settler Colonialism in Canada	72
Settler Colonial Genocide and Indian Residential Schools in Canada	73
Raphael Lemkin	74
Imperial, Settler and Ecclesiastical Colonialism: Mission Schools for all	77
The Civilized and the Savage	79
The Settler Problem: ‘commence planting potatoes’	80
Agriculture and visions of ‘wasted land’	83
The ‘Halfbreed Problem’	84
Inuit	92
The Imposition of a New National Pattern	94
Religious Order in Canada	98
Nationalist Aspirations	100
The Disappearing Native	104

Rapid Social and Political Change	108
Conclusion	111
Chapter 3 Admission to Residential Schools	114
Taken	117
Admission	127
Christianization	139
Denominational Rivalry	145
Work	147
Quality of Education	157
Chapter 4 Abuse, Neglect, Resistance	162
Daily Life	163
Food & Malnutrition	171
Charity & Clergy	177
Negligence	179
Language	184
Kindness	188
Sexual Abuse	191
Resistance	196
'Ecclesiastical Rascals'	200
Reporting Abuse	202
Disease & Illness	209
Death Rates	215
Chapter 5 Memory of Residential Schools	221
Collective Memories of School Inside Narratives of Canadian History	223
Student-on-Student Abuse	229
Gender	233
Separation & Loneliness	237
Running Away	238
Discharge & Release	242
Remembering the Schools	243

Chapter 6 Intergenerational Legacies	254
Returning Home	260
‘Empty Shells’	261
Fulfilling a Role	264
Returning to Families	268
Addictions	272
Domestic and Sexualized Violence	275
Returning Home – Being a Survivor	281
Returning Home – Institutions after the Institutions	284
Intergenerational Impacts	288
Breaking Family Connections and Kinship Ties	290
Incapable of Love	295
Loss of Parenting Skills	297
Positive	300
Healing	303
Child Welfare System	305
Apology	310
Compensation	313
Conclusion	318
Conclusions	319
Bibliography	325
Appendices	
Appendix A- Lacombe’s Ladder	352
Appendix B - Maps of Residential School Locations	353

Introduction

Whatever may be the ultimate destiny of Canada, she will never have cause to regret that she grew up with the Empire.¹

Residential schools in Canada were created in the interest of the Canadian nation-state to assimilate, Christianize and civilize generations of Indigenous children in Canada. Children from all three groups of 'Aboriginal' people in Canada, First Nations, Métis and Inuit were forcibly taken to residential schools, a system that lasted over 100 years. A student's experience at the schools could range from a highly positive to a tragically negative experience. The schools are notorious in Canada for having alarmingly high incidences of physical and sexual abuse and high death rates that often went un-checked by Church and state. Currently, Canada is in an era of truth and reconciliation, apology and compensation schemes. Canadian histories and historians are presented with a challenge of how to represent these legacies of the residential schools in national memory. How Canadian historiography recognizes this school system has been polarizing and considerably under-represented in historiography, the media, and wider Canadian culture. This study will aim to review and rebuild historiography of the residential school system in Canada and reflect on how these schools, inside a larger system of settler colonialism, created the nation-state of Canada. Histories of the Indian residential school system and settler colonialism in Canada are part of a Canadian mythology that silently covers the mass removals of Indigenous peoples that accompanied the creation of the modern Canadian state. This study will also emphasize one often-questioned aspect of this mythology, the consideration of settler colonial genocide in Canada. During the tenure of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada the use of the term 'genocide' or 'cultural genocide' has emerged as a both a point of contention and the launch of a larger campaign for Indigenous rights in

¹ Charles Goldman and Rudyard Kipling, *The Empire and the Century: A Series of Essays on Imperial Problems and Possibilities by Various Writers* (London: John Murray, 1905), p. 364.

Canada.² Inquiry and research has often focused on settler colonial genocides in the United States and Australia and examination of Canada under this same rubric remains limited. The state of Canadian historiography has a great bearing on this trend. However, as of late the state of genocide scholarship has had an influence on emerging Canadian historiography, as some historians appear to either use or to avoid the use of the term *genocide* in Canada. This is a polarizing struggle, between a typically Indigenous-led narrative associated with a systematic and ongoing legacy of genocide and other historians who believe there are limits to the applicability of the term 'genocide' and settler colonial genocide in Canada. Often these limits tend to be the 49th parallel, the border separating the United States from Canada, the 'conceptual blockages' associated with narratives of European genocides and Canadian historiography.

I approached the Legacy of Hope Foundation with the intent to engage with the *Our Stories, Our Strength* collection of residential school Survivor oral histories. Over 600 Survivors of Indian Residential Schools contributed their stories to a video and audio-recorded collection of oral histories, held in trust by the Legacy of Hope Foundation in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. I was conducting research between 2009 and 2014. This was during the same time as the tenure of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Canada. At time of writing, the full collection of Survivor statements held in trust at the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation had not yet been made publicly accessible to researchers.

Moreover, a primary ambition for this study was to investigate the use of the term *genocide* and its position in relation to residential schools and settler colonialism in Canada. The term genocide manifested in the Canadian public consciousness via the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in unprecedented ways. Prior to the TRC, the term genocide was rarely used to refer to Canada and when it was, it was by Indigenous peoples and residential schools Survivors and was not as publicly debated as much as it

² Truth and Reconciliation Canada, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation of Canada* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill & Queen's University Press, 2015), p. 1.

was post-apology 2008 and after the start of the TRC.³ Additionally, when used by scholars it was a term typically used in reference to Indigenous populations in Australia or the United States.

I chose the *Our Stories Our Strength* collection of oral histories due to the temporal limits of the collection. The collection was created between 2004 and 2008, before the start of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and before media attention in Canada was fervently directed at the term 'genocide'.⁴ I intentionally focused on the oral histories collected before 2008 because Survivors were using the term 'genocide' before the term became widely used in the Canadian media or widely used by scholars. There was undoubtedly a considerable increase in the mentions of genocide and the ferocity of the debate around the term genocide in Canada during and after the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. I had been listening to Survivors share their stories since 1999-2000 and I heard the term genocide or 'it was like a concentration camp' used repeatedly. Often, I could not find the right context or space to use the term, since it was so rarely used in Canadian context before 2008-2009. I wanted to engage in statements taken during this period of time in order to demonstrate how Survivors used the term genocide before some considered that it was used for merely for 'political reasons' or as a tactic to draw attention to their stories. I did not find that was the reason Survivors used the term genocide. Before 2008, I felt it was a matter of building public understanding and a matter of vocabulary

³ On June 11, 2008, the Prime Minister of Canada Stephen Harper and members of the opposition apologized publicly for the role of the government of Canada and its Churches had in the operation of the residential school system, http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/DAM/DAM-INTER-HQ/STAGING/texte-text/rqpi_apo_pdf_1322167347706_eng.pdf, [accessed 1 March, 2017].

⁴ David MacDonald, "Five Reasons the TRC Chose Cultural Genocide", *The Globe and Mail*, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/five-reasons-the-trc-chose-cultural-genocide/article25311423/> [accessed 3 March, 2017]; Sonja Puzic, 'Residential Schools amounted to cultural genocide TRC report says', CTV news, 2 June 2015, <http://www.ctvnews.ca/canada/residential-schools-amounted-to-cultural-genocide-trc-report-says-1.2402093> [Accessed 3 March 2017]; Lauren Carasik, 'Canada confronts "cultural genocide" against aboriginal people', Aljazeera America, 16 June, 2015, <http://america.aljazeera.com/opinions/2015/6/canada-confronts-cultural-genocide-against-aboriginal-people.html> [accessed, 3 March, 2017]

that drew Survivors to the term genocide. The totality of the system is often reflected in Survivors' descriptions of the Indian residential school system as genocide.

Through the voice of Indian residential school Survivors this study develops an alternative narrative for nation building in Canada. Purpose and function in residential schools had far greater bearing on the creation of Canada than popular historical narratives tend to indicate. Additionally, Indian residential schools in Canada fit within a system of global settler colonial processes that have rarely been examined together. The Catholic and Protestant Churches in Canada also had a significant influence in the creation of both French and English Canada. Colonial interests held by the Church and the extent of the abuses committed by the Church are also analysed in this study. Church-managed industrial, boarding and residential schools fuelled colonialism and empire building. Histories of the schools are led here by the testimony of Survivors and they place Canada into a position within global colonial 'conquests' and crimes and implicate the Churches for having a far greater interest beyond benevolence and civilization.

It should be noted that the term *Survivor* has been granted to any individuals who attended and survived the Indian residential school system in Canada. The origins of the term vary and while the use is not always universal in Canada, with some choosing to use terms like; former student, attendee, convert or victim, the term is most frequently used in the Canadian context. The term pays respect to the unknown number of children who passed away or who went missing as a result of their time at residential school. At present, the full number of children who died at the schools and the location of all the children who attended are still not known. The term Survivor reflects the experience of all individuals who were able to attend the schools and who survived the system. According to the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *'The Survivors Speak'*:

A Survivor is not just someone who "made it through" the schools, or "got by" or was "making do." A Survivor is a person who persevered against and overcame adversity. The word came to mean someone

who emerged victorious, though not unscathed, whose head was “bloody but unbowed.” It referred to someone who had taken all that could be thrown at them and remained standing at the end. It came to mean someone who could legitimately say “I am still here!” For that achievement, Survivors deserve our highest respect.⁵

With a direct reference to ‘Invictus’ by William Ernest Henley and ‘bloody but unbowed’, the term Survivor and its capitalization is not taken lightly or unadvisedly. The term is imbued with strength and the use of the term Survivor implies both resistance and resilience as many carry on the work of reconciliation, today.

In part, this study will aspire to decolonize histories of these schools and integrate oral histories of Indigenous peoples in Canada into the dominant narrative. In a vast, cold and barren land, Canada’s population was either perceived as non-existent or sparse. Perhaps this empty, sparse country is billed by colonial histories as a nation too quiet and easily un-noticed? Canadian history is largely a colonial narrative of ‘conquering’ and ‘finding’ a new, pristine wilderness, often split between social and political histories of Canada. Canadian history avoids the large-scale colonial schemes, like the Indian residential school system that were utilized to dismantle Indigenous presence in the interest of ‘Canadians’. Voices of residential school Survivors reflecting on their time as children as well as their time as adults after discharge from the school drive the narrative of this study that should reveal a much broader system taking shape in its Canadian form. The shape of Canada, formed during removal of Indigenous peoples from their lands, has been historicized and named. In part, this study will also establish a frame in order to place this history in the context of *settler colonial genocide*. The terms ‘genocide’, ‘settler colonial genocide’ and ‘cultural genocide’ have been used, amidst some controversy, to describe the Indian residential school system in Canada. I came to this research after working with histories of

⁵ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Survivors Speak, Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s Press, 2015), p. xiii.

residential schools for several years in both community-based and academic settings. Often, the term genocide was used in each of those settings and it was always used tentatively or as a point of debate. While this work may not solve any portion of the debate, it is hoped it will contribute to better ways to have the debate. This is a history primarily focusing on Survivor testimonies and stories and their use of genocide that drive this analysis. Their stories serve as a starting point to demonstrate how Canadian history is often misconceived as triumph over the wilderness and how the longevity and pervasiveness of colonialism is responsible for keeping these misconceived histories alive. Central to resolving these misconceived histories is understanding the connections between colonialism and genocide that connect the Survivor narratives to the history of the 'rest' of Canada.⁶

Indian Residential Schools in Canada

The second problem of missions is basically the relationship between two civilizations, the one advanced, the other is retarded. In the Canadian context the question is one of integration *v. apartheid*. Will the interests of a stone-age culture be served best by segregation, or by integration with a European-style industrialized civilization?⁷

⁶ Canada, the 'rest of Canada', non-Indigenous Canada, the 'settler state' and the Dominion will be used interchangeably through all of the historical and contemporary contexts of this study. Canada will refer to both the geographic body of land, considered Canada after Confederation in 1867 as well as the socio-political entity that encompasses all Canadian populations. In terms of reconciliation, there are frequently used terms to differentiate between Indigenous Canada and non-Indigenous Canada. For purposes of this study, Indigenous Canadians are broadly defined as individuals who identify as First Nations, Métis and Inuit in Canada and non-Indigenous Canada, will refer to all other Canadians who do not self-identify as Indigenous. There is also an existing dichotomy between settler and colonized. This acknowledges that there have been well-established derogatory references to the 'native' as unsettled or nomadic and use of the terms implies the superiority of the colonized. Dichotomies of Indigenous and non-Indigenous as well as settler and colonized will be used in all chapters of this study. Variations in terms are for emphasis and context only and generally, they all reflect Canada's social divide, between Indigenous and non-Indigenous.

⁷ J.M.S. Careless and R.C Brown, *The Canadians, 1867-1967* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1967), p. 602.

Indigenous peoples in Canada often remember time at Residential school as part of a total experience. Whether individuals had a positive, a negative or an intermingling of both feelings about the schools, it is still something that lingers as a legacy with them. Their understanding of residential schools often encompasses the time before they were in school, their school years and on to when they left the schools to include their family life that followed when their experiences impacted their descendants and subsequent generations. Even for Indigenous people in Canada who never attended the schools, the impact of the schools' legacy carries on in their communities and families. Whether Indigenous people consider themselves urban, rural, on-reserve, off-reserve, Métis, Inuit or any other non-prescribed identity and whether they want to remember it or not, the residential school legacy is ever-present. Now, the legacy is moving more towards the attention of mainstream society. This is no longer just an Indigenous history; it is all of Canada's history. Whether 'the rest of Canada' want to engage in it or not, it will formulate their changing national identity in coming years.

What happened at residential schools is and should be something that contributes to a social memory and a part of Canadian identity. Residential Schools were open in Canada for over 100 years and for a good portion of that time the truth about the schools was only known to the children, clergy and administrators. It was well known and documented that concealing these truths only compounded the atrocious acts taking place at the schools. Many children lived in fear of punishment and retribution or shame, students remained silent and some still remain silent.⁸ Many Canadians claimed and continue to claim they had no knowledge that these schools existed.⁹

⁸ John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System 1879 to 1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), p, 297.

⁹ Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling and Reconciliation in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), p. 6.

This is a new era for the residential school legacy. Since the signing of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA), the receipt of the common experience and independent assessment payments, (CEP and IAP) the apologies, statements of regret and the re-start of the truth and reconciliation commission a new era has started.¹⁰ One barrier to the start of this new era is the counter-narrative that this is instead an end to the legacy. A message some Indigenous people are receiving with their compensation is; 'we apologized, we settled, so we're done'.¹¹ In regards to the 'end' of the residential school questions, any knowledge of the state of Indigenous communities in Canada will indicate this is not the case and in fact, this is just a start for many. There are larger trends intermingled with the impacts of the schools.

Canadians, the non-Indigenous 'rest of Canada' are being asked to engage in this era of the residential school legacy. Willingly or unwillingly they are asked to listen and to engage with this current era of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and the findings. There will be a post-TRC era that will also ask Canadians to reexamine Canada's history and national identity. One study on identity and perception of events in Canada found some of the following results:

Sahdra and Ross (2007) experimentally varied Canadian participants' identification with Canada and then asked them to recall acts of violence and hatred committed by Canadians against members of other groups. According to social identity and justice theories, participants who identify highly with Canada should be strongly motivated to view Canadians as good people who rarely commit serious wrongs. As expected, participants who were experimentally induced to identify highly with Canada recalled fewer incidents of violence and hatred than

¹⁰ Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement [IRSSA]. 2006. Available at: <http://www.residentialschoolsettlement.ca/settlement.html>

¹¹ Amy Bombay, Lena Ellsworth, Sara Fryer, Tricia Logan and Gwen Reimer, *Common Experience Payment: Impacts on Survivors' Healing Journeys* (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2009), p. 20.

did participants in the low-identity condition.¹²

The same study found that when asked about human rights violations in other countries, perpetrated by others, Canadians reacted differently than when the same atrocities were committed in their own country. The study asked Canadians specifically about harms or perceived harms against Indigenous people. Some of their findings indicated changes in perception. As the report states:

In a study evaluating these hypotheses participants learned of a government-sponsored harm against an Aboriginal Canadian community. We presented the harm accurately, except for the location. Participants learned that the government-sponsored harm occurred either in Canada or Australia. As expected, our Canadian participants blamed the Aboriginal group more and the government less for a harm that occurred in Canada rather than Australia. Participants also objected more strongly to reparations when the harm occurred in Canada.¹³

These studies pointed out correlations between how people identify themselves, their perception of national identity and their willingness to admit wrongdoing on the part of their nation. In general, there was also a sentiment expressed through the findings about Canadians' perceptions of Indigenous people, regardless of how they feel about their national identity. How Canada places the residential school legacy into its histories and social memories has long-term implications concerning how Indigenous people in Canada are perceived as members of a collective nationality. Additionally, how Canada treats Indigenous people influences how people consider

¹² K.B. Starzyk, C.W. Blatz and M. Ross, 'Acknowledging and Redressing Historical Injustices' in T. Jost, A.C. Kay, and H. Thorisdottir ed., *Social and Psychological Bases of Ideology and System Justification* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 463-479, here p. 466.

¹³ Starzyk, Blatz and Ross, 'Historical Injustices', p. 469.

Canadian identity.¹⁴ Ironically, the schools were created and administered to assimilate all Indigenous children into ‘mainstream Canadian society’.¹⁵ This would become a constructed space that simply did not welcome them. In reality, the schools generally contributed to a larger chasm between mainstream society and Indigenous communities.

Naming atrocity and remembering Indian Residential Schools

Through the voice of Indian residential school Survivors, this study develops an alternative nation-building narrative in Canadian history. The function and purpose of Indian residential schools had far greater bearing on the creation of Canada as a Dominion and as a nation-state than many academic and popular histories indicate. Moreover, Indian residential schools fit within a system of settler colonial structures and processes of settler colonial genocide that have rarely been examined together. Sociologist Andrew Woolford created a framework for settler colonial genocide in Canada that he describes in part as the ‘colonial mesh’ or ‘net’.¹⁶ This model helps to account for the role of agency in Indigenous communities and the levels of resistance they demonstrate. Meshes or nets can expand and contract, they have holes and flaws and like colonialism in Canada they are tied to nearly every part of the country. Canada casts a wide net, it is broad and it has what Woolford describes as ‘nodes’ or places of intersection, like the residential schools. His descriptions help to direct discussions of Canada away from a singular or

¹⁴ John Ralston Saul, ‘Four Barriers to Paradigm Shifting’ in *Response, Responsibility and Renewal: Canada’s Truth and Reconciliation Journey*, ed. Mike DeGagne, Jonathan Dewar and Greg Younging (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2009), pp. 309-320, here p. 311.

¹⁵ J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), p. 102.

¹⁶ Andrew Woolford, *“This Benevolent Experiment”: Indigenous Boarding Schools, Genocide and Redress in North America* (Lincoln & Winnipeg: University of Nebraska Press & University of Manitoba Press, 2015); Andrew Woolford, ‘Discipline, Territory and the Colonial Mesh: Boarding/Residential Schools in the U.S. and Canada’, in Andrew Woolford, Jeff Benvenuto and Alexander Hinton, eds., *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), p. 29-48; Andrew Woolford, ‘Nodal Repair and Networks of Destruction: Residential Schools, Colonial Genocide and Redress in Canada’, *Settler Colonial Studies*, 3, (2013), pp. 61-77.

static model of genocide. Moreover, in his comparisons with similar systems in the United States, Woolford provides us with the distinct context that we can use to examine Canada, a country often lost in histories of empire.

The Catholic and Protestant Churches in Canada had a significant influence in the creation of both French and English Canada. Colonial interests held by the Church and the extent of abuses committed by the Church are also reflected upon in this study. Ecclesiastical industrial-boarding¹⁷ schools fuelled colonization and empire-building. Histories of the schools as led by the testimonies of Survivors create the base for this study and place Canada far deeper into a position of global colonial 'conquests' and colonial crimes than has previously been indicated. Testimonies from Indian residential school Survivors, reflecting on their time inside the schools, entry into the institutions and their lives after they were discharged from the schools, drive the narrative of this study and reveal a much broader system with aims deeper than 'uplift' or civilization. Indigenous children were considered as savages and labeled sub-human so both the perceived status and their place in Church hierarchy provided license to perpetuate maltreatment. Evidence of physical and sexual abuses at industrial-boarding schools across empires is now undeniable. It is no longer possible to dismiss the high rates of abuse and neglect as only colonial treatment and 'uplift' of the savage. Abuse of children who originated from poor families or socially disadvantaged areas,

¹⁷ Industrial schools emerged as popular institutions in Britain and Western Europe during and following the Industrial Revolution. In Britain, the scheme to provide education to all classes of people signaled both a rise of modernity and rapid change in capitalism, assuring all people were educated as 'efficient economic units'. See Edward Reisner, *Nationalism and Education Since 1789: A Social And Political History of Modern Education* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1925), p. 3. European schools based on class systems utilized Industrial schools to educate lower classes as; clerks, carpenters and cooks but 'not enough to inspire them with too many disturbing ambitions for entering higher spheres of activity'. See A. McIntyre, *A Short History of Education: Revised Edition* (Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd., 1926), p. 215. See also: Ellwood Cubberly, *A Brief History of Education: A History of the Practice and Progress and Organization of Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1922), p. 406.; Jane Barnes, *Irish Industrial Schools, 1868-1908: Origins and Development* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1989).

of any 'race', often faced higher rates of abuse.¹⁸ At residential schools, children were abused in the name of state and ecclesiastic colonialism and they also became part of a phenomenon of sexual abuses carried on in the churches, worldwide. This study will consider both settler colonial genocide as well as the global trends in church-related sexual and physical abuses. Those are the relationships that form the core of this study and aim to re-examine how Canada became a nation through these forced removals. It remains a feature of settler-colonialism that churches dotted the landscape across the empires. It is important to remember that in creating a nation-state, a settler colony was also a way to expand the Church, and thus Church interests. Even apart from the state apparatus Catholic and Protestant missions had political-economic interest in creating a missionary base in the colonies.

In the chapters that follow, the testimonies of First Nations, Métis and Inuit Survivors of residential school form the structure of the narrative. Collectively, their descriptions of the system present a range of experiences from warm, loving schools where they learned and went on to excel, professionally and academically and to the other end of the spectrum, where the schools are remembered as horrific traumas, severe abuses and as many Survivors describe them: genocide. In some cases, individual Survivors may have also experienced a range of experiences, from positive life at the school to horrific trauma within their own lifetime. The work of sorting out trauma in the narratives has been done and re-done repeatedly by Survivors. They are the authorities and they are the experts.

This study attempts to bridge Survivor narratives to a broader narrative. The narrative widens when we consider how young children's lives were part of the growth of a political economy and ecclesiastical settler-colonialism. Within their narratives and with the revelation of church and state crimes

¹⁸ Karen Liebreich, *Fallen Order: A History* (London: Atlantic Books, 2004), p. 69.

against these children these systems and processes are given titles and places in Canadian histories. Canada's growing economy and her steps towards political autonomy relied upon forced removals of Indigenous peoples and upon enforcing a dominant role over Indigenous affairs. Removing children from their homes *en masse* reshaped how Indigenous people knew and related to their own families, language, gender, sexuality, morals, society, philosophies, laws and histories. Residential schools were effective and pervasive and the act of removing children from their families and communities did not occur in isolation from concurrent processes of ecclesiastic-colonial control.

Some Survivors consider their time at the schools a gift; a way to conceptualize their place in the world, for better or worse and for some it reignited their connections to family. Others simply have no words to describe the forced separation from their family and the abuse to which they were subjected. Some Survivors call the effect of the institutions operated to dehumanize them and replace their lives with a new, foreign life: 'genocide'.

Raphael Lemkin, genocide and Indigenous peoples

Revising Canadian history as settler colonial genocide and building a narrative created, in part, by forced child removals in Indian residential schools, will always meet resistance. Critics of a genocide approach draw focus to the legal mechanisms and use of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide (UNGC).¹⁹ Genocide is a term rooted in international law and its definitions are associated with the prevention or prosecution of genocide crimes. Article II of the UNGC draws the most interest in examinations of Canada's role in operating residential schools and forcibly removing children from Indigenous communities. Article II states:

¹⁹ *United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, Adopted by Resolution 260 (III) A of the UN General Assembly on 9 December, 1948. Entry into force, 12 January 1951.

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- a) Killing members of the group;
- b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- e) Forcibly transferring children from the group to the other group.²⁰**

A great deal of interest in Canada has been paid to section II, subsection (e), 'Forcibly transferring children from the group to the other group'.²¹

Throughout this study and the testimonies of Survivors it should be clear that 'transfer from one group to the other group' was conducted and attempted repeatedly, through the residential school system. This claim has also been answered, in large part by the findings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that considered these applications of the UNGC and found that 'cultural genocide' had occurred in Canada. While this is not the final word nor a legally binding declaration on residential schools in Canada the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is positioned as an authority on the history of the system. Application of the UNGC to the case of residential schools and considerations for settler colonial genocide in Canada is ongoing.

²⁰ United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNGC), Article II. My emphasis.

²¹ David MacDonald and Graham Hudson, 'The Genocide Question and Indian Residential Schools in Canada', *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 45 (2012), pp. 427-449, here p. 428; David MacDonald, 'Canada's History Wars: Indigenous Genocide and Public Memory in the United States, Australia and Canada', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 17 (2015), p. 411-431, here p. 411.

Survivors of residential schools started using the term genocide to describe their time at the schools and Canadian history has continually faced revision in light of the question of whether or not to include 'genocide'. The UNGC does not provide many legal avenues for colonial genocides and, perhaps, even fewer for Canada. Histories of residential school are still emerging after having been kept secret in Canada for decades. Without a robust or long-standing history of residential schools in Canada are we confined to using the law to define genocide?

Colonial state actors did not act alone and they were closely associated with church and private industry. There were many hands dipping into the pot of Canada's open wilderness. In light of the many actors of settler colonial genocide in Canada becomes problematic and it is irresolvable for some. Taking the lead from Survivor statements, I examined origins of genocide beyond the UNGC and the present frame of cultural genocide. I am not going to make a legal argument. Setting up an argument using 'genocide' will always be contested. I will also follow the lead of genocide scholars and use the writing of Polish-Jewish jurist, Raphael Lemkin to connect the experiences and testimonies of Indigenous Peoples to settler colonial genocide in Canada.

Indigenous communities see and feel the death to the whole self: physical, mental, emotional and spiritual. Extinction of language and the inherent connection to land, territory and ecological surroundings are connected to physical death. These are teachings embedded in different ways in First Nations, Métis and Inuit communities. These are also strikingly similar and aligned with the 'ways of killing' Raphael Lemkin saw as he created the definitions of genocide to be entrenched in the UNGC. In writing about genocide, Lemkin was creating international law and he was also able to elucidate national histories in order to see how genocide shaped

nationhood.²² Lemkin had a tendency to connect history to these trends rather than to separate them into separate processes. Key to understanding Canada's nation-building relies, in some small measure to understanding Lemkin's original concepts of genocide and in addition, how we apply those concepts to revisionist histories.

Lemkin tirelessly advocated for the ratification of the UN Convention and he continued to write about the detailed history of the term genocide. His collected works were deposited at the New York City Public Library (NYPL), the American Jewish Historical Association in New York and the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati, Ohio. In the NYPL collection, Lemkin's original writings detail specific cases of genocide and include several portions or chapters on Indigenous peoples including in Australia, South Africa and North America. There is little mention of Canada specifically but there is detail on 'Native Americans' and how their removal from North America and Latin America fit Lemkin's descriptions of genocide.

In chapter two, I tie the histories of Indian residential schools in Canada to the system of ecclesiastical settler-colonial industrial-boarding schools also present in Australia, South Africa, Wales and Ireland. Similar to the colonial systems that replicated their tactics across empires, there were also trends in specifically removing Indigenous presence that Lemkin noted as well. Considering the Lemkinian inseparability between cultural genocide and genocide as a basis for this understanding, we see how a series of his examples provides a theoretical frame for understanding the system of Indian residential schools which existed in Canada.

Lemkin's writing on Indigenous people and genocide towards Indigenous people included the use of: 20th Century legislation, creation of townships and reservations (reserves), exploitation and prostitution of Indigenous

²² Ann Curthoys, 'Raphael Lemkin's "Tasmania": An Introduction', in *Colonialism and Genocide*, ed. A. Dirk Moses and Dan Stone (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 66.

women, decline of birthrate and child mortality, stealing of children, cruelties of soldiers and settlers, liquor, natives in captivity, disease, hungry natives and what Lemkin describes as ‘misguided kindness’ as part of repeated, intended measures to remove Indigenous presence.²³ Examples cited include: South Africa, Tasmania, mainland Australia and Native Americans in the United States. It is presumptuous to assume Canada can be seamlessly transposed into his examinations of state apparatus, however, his writing on atrocities committed against Indigenous Peoples is hard to ignore in the Canadian context.

Lemkin's definition and philosophy of genocide became the foundation for international law. His definition of genocide has been used, reused and misused for decades. While the narrowing or partitioning of definitions of genocide continues by placing blinders over portions of history, there are constant attempts to broaden and see past the blinders. If we see only ‘cultural’ genocide or segments of Lemkin's definition we fracture the testimonies into pieces. Indian residential school Survivors have not presented their testimonies in pieces. Aligning testimonies against a theory written by a European jurist connects these Indigenous narratives to broader epistemological frames and to a way we can understand what happened at the schools. The schools were never independent from the existing reserve system, 20th Century legislation, disease, liquor, violence and cultural degradation. After 1947, Lemkin wrote about these same trends in Australia and South Africa, settler-colonies utilizing industrial-boarding schools and forced child removals to dispossess their Indigenous Peoples.²⁴ Partitions or parameters that exist in Canadian histories of the schools limit examination of the school system under terms of ‘culture’ or ‘misguided benevolence’.

²³ New York Public Library (henceforth NYPL), Manuscript and Archives Division, Raphael Lemkin Papers, Eight series: I. Correspondence; II. Photographs; III. Biographical and Autobiographical Sketches; IV. Public Statements and Interviews; V. Writings - Autobiography; VI. Writings - Genocide; VII. Clippings; VIII. Printed Material.

²⁴ Curthoys, ‘Raphael Lemkin’s Tasmania’, pp. 66-67; Michael A. McDonnell and A. Dirk Moses, ‘Raphael Lemkin as Historian of Genocide in the Americas’, *Journal of Genocide Research*, 7 (2005), pp. 501-529, here p. 502.

Including the term 'genocide' and Lemkin's definitions broadens these limits and breaks partitions in historical understanding.

Collective Memory and Accessibility

Collective memory must be made into an accessible memory. National commemoration can contribute directly to influencing national memory and identity.²⁵ Confronted with the truths brought to the forefront by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, social memories will change. Long absent from Canadian collective memories, the schools will now become part of a new, truthful, collective memory. How do you make these memories, as diverse and personal, as they are, accessible, so those who should and who wish to remember can do so, respectfully? Roger Simon states:

The insistence on the importance of a 'public' memory at this moment in Canadian history is a self-conscious response to contemporary inclination toward the privatization of memory. Such an insistence affirms the need for a collective space of remembering and learning quite different from the construction of memory strictly defined on individual terms.²⁶

How do you engage Canadians while maintaining respect for those who attended and survived the schools and for those who did not survive?

There are social and moral implications to naming genocide or settler colonial genocide as an updated version of Canada's national memory. Thousands have fled genocides in their home countries in order to find refuge in Canada. We ask these Canadians to consider their own memories and contexts of genocide and force them to question their own refuge. Drawing attention to Canada's crimes and imperfections implies there is a 'right' way to identify and remember Canadian history. As a child of a German immigrant parent and a Métis parent, I can see in the maps and histories of

²⁵ Regan, *Unsettling the Settler*, pp. 73-74.

²⁶ Simon, *Touch of the Past*, p. 101.

Canada that the land sold and granted to my immigrant grandparents was mere miles away from the land off of which my Métis grandparents were forced off of, mere decades before my European grandparents arrived. These are the complexities that allow the differences between genocide and settler-colonial genocides to show through. Rather than facing a matter of greater-or-lesser genocides we are perhaps faced with finding the best fit to a definition, inside national memory.

Historiographical Review

Mark the wild native
 Cheerless and alone,
 The ties of civil life and all its joys unknown!
 Rise, sons of Doubt! – the sacred page denied,
 Say “these are beings of ignobler race”.
 Go with Expediency’s presumptuous pride,
 And sweep the savage tribe from nature’s face!²⁷

In the hearts and minds of the Empire and new Canadian nation-state there is still an idyllic view of the Canadian *terra nullius*. There is warm reflection in the wild expanse of Canadian wilderness. Perhaps, it is thought of as empty and therefore, void of historical prolongation? Romance was a ‘common trope’²⁸ in the production of Canadian colonial history. Language used in the original records as well as in the modern historical record in Canada describes a unique system for the betterment of the Canadian ‘Indian’. In reality, it was a replicated system developed across Europe’s colonies including similar projects in Germany, Ireland, Australia and South Africa.²⁹

²⁷ Ann Cuthbert Knight, *A Year In Canada and Other Poems* (Edinburgh: James Ballantyne and Co., 1816), p. 22.

²⁸ A. Dirk Moses, ‘Genocide and Settler Society in Australian History’ in *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History*, ed. A. Dirk Moses (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004), p. 15.

²⁹ Goldman and Kipling, *Empire*, p. 168; Thornley Smith, *South Africa Delineated: On Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of its Tribes and Missions and of the British Colonies of Cape and Port Natal* (London: John Mason, 1850), p. 88; S. Bannister, *Humane Policy: Justice to the Aborigines of New*

The alliance between the government alongside Protestant and Catholic Churches created a missionary-based school system as well as an ideological, physical and bureaucratized intrusion on Indigenous Peoples in Canada. The role of the Churches amplified the systematic dismantling of the Indigenous presence in Canada. In the past, histories of Canada and of these schools offered a narrative of hapless settlers and misguided bureaucrats. In part, this study should highlight that these schools were not an accident or the act of a few 'bad apples' and they were not short-lived or finite events. In particular, this partnership of government and Church is still relatively unexplored with respect to settler colonialism in Canada. The narratives that engage in a fruitful debate on concepts of genocide and how they apply to Canadian history are also rarely explored. Genocides, in Canadian contexts are typically foreign. Asking Canadians to re-imagine their histories and reformulate how they relate to the term 'genocide' is demonstrative of the divisiveness that follows any discussion on the definitional debates in genocide studies. Canada's history is not exempt from these debates on how 'genocide' is used.

In late 2015 during the release of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Canada, the Commission declared that the residential schools committed 'cultural genocide'. The Commission presented 94 official recommendations or '*Calls to Action*' to the government of Canada that unmistakably declared: 'Virtually all aspects of Canadian society may need to be reconsidered'.³⁰ Over twenty of the *Calls to Action* recommend addressing Canadian history directly and request that the government of Canada make changes to kindergarten to grade twelve school curricula, changes to operations at museums and archives, continue historic research into missing children and burial sites, support the National Research Centre for Truth and Reconciliation and to support commemoration initiatives. The Commission engaged in and sparked ongoing debate on the term genocide

Settlements (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1830), p. 7; Jane Barnes, *Irish Industrial Schools*, pp. 21-22.

³⁰ Truth and Reconciliation Canada, *Summary of the Final Report*, p. vi.

and Canada's relationship to residential school history by including a declaration of 'cultural genocide'. It is at this juncture, at entering a debate on genocide where Canadian histories make a considerable departure from one another.

Ambiguities in existing colonial histories of Canada form pieces of a larger pattern. Narratives of Indian residential school in written Canadian histories and national institutions follow a pattern of erasure. Debate over the use of genocide contributes to these ambiguities. How and why Indigenous Peoples disappeared from Canada are unpopular topics. Canadian historical narrative is, like Canadian identity, often apologetic, multi-ethnic, politically correct and not nearly as past-obsessed as the narratives espoused by Canada's American neighbour.

Canadian History

Canadian identity as a peace-bearing and fair 'safe haven' relies on a historical narrative that supports the story of the peaceful creation of the nation.³¹ In contemporary Canadian historiography the presence or the absence of Indigenous histories or residential school histories can no longer be the responsibility of history-makers alone. Revising or erasing segments of Canada's history is politically and socially charged. Public attention is influencing the memory of Indigenous histories and residential schools in Canada in this contemporary era of truth and reconciliation. Indigenous communities in Canada are drawing media and public attention, both positively and negatively towards critical errors in Canada's historical narrative. The new media attention also has a way of skewing the perception of settler colonial genocide in Canada. Presence of public dialogue on genocide in Canada is important but it also creates the perception that it is being used just to 'get attention'.³² Whether or not the motives for declaring

³¹Starzyk, Blatz and Ross, 'Historical Injustices', p. 47.

³² Andrew Woolford, 'Ontological Destruction: Genocide and Canadian Aboriginal Peoples', *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 4, 1 (2009), pp. 81-97, here p. 81.

'genocide' are clear, attention is being paid to the term and gradually, Canadian histories are changing as a result.

It is difficult to declare 'history wars' in Canada since the debate on uses of genocide and Indigenous histories is still barely visible. Mention of settler colonial genocide and residential school history has entered Canadian consciousness a handful of times but often the debate is short-lived.³³ There are battles but it is hard to say decisively if there is war to be waged at this point in time. Canadian history is criticized for having no past or having no civilized past. Historians search for a coherent narrative in Canada's chronology and often come up short. Often criticized for what it misses and not for what it hits, Canadian history is also dismissed as insignificant in the shadow of the histories of her southern neighbour. There is no one theory that describes Canadian history and building its history on a generic colonialism misses the relationship between power and narrative. Settler colonialism allows, to some degree a broader version of Canada's complex, interdisciplinary histories. Indigenous, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, migrant and emergent Canada's political economy and history relies on the inter-play between state and Indigenous actors. Each component is assuring the complexities permeate the narrative to strengthen Canadian histories.

Canadian history remains under-recognized and in general it seems unassuming. If you enter any mainstream bookstore, especially those outside of Canada, you see approximately five to ten books in the 'Canada' section, typically filed under the history of the United States. One standard text found in most bookstores on the history of Canada is R. Bothwell's *Penguin History of Canada*. A 596-page read for the history enthusiast, whose author postulates on the relative inaccessibility of Canadian history: 'Canada, it's been said, has been victim of too much geography.'³⁴ Canada seems just too large and 'Its prosperity, compared with most of the rest of the world, has

³³ Tricia Logan, 'Remembering Settler Colonial Genocide of Indigenous Peoples in Canada', in *Remembering Genocide*, ed. Nigel Eltringham and Pam MacLean (New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 112-130.

³⁴ R. Bothwell, *The Penguin History of Canada* (Toronto: Penguin, 2006), p. 3.

saved many a politician the trouble of saying something original on occasions of public ceremony'.³⁵ Bland, large and seemingly innocuous, Canadian history isn't the 'dark, dusky past' of Australia or the garish, deeply patriotic display of American history. In Bothwell's *History of Canada*, the fate of the Indigenous populations was simply a 'catastrophe' brought on by Europe. Without describing that catastrophe, an historical narrative of European arrival emerges to emphasize the hard work of King Henry VII, Cartier, Cabot and Columbus. Removing detail from the catastrophic 'fates' of the Indigenous Peoples in early Canadian history and providing a generic narrative reproduces romanticism and a simplistic relationship between Indigenous Peoples and newcomers. In many ways, histories like Sarah Carter's *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy* and James Daschuk's *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* have a greater relationship to Canadian history's complexities and arguably to residential school histories overall, than generic histories of Canada's political economy.³⁶

Canada's history battles are often fought between social and political historians. There is a divide between those who believe Canada was an emergent Dominion and those that side with Canada as a 'patchwork quilt' of multi-ethnic plurality.³⁷ Often, the political histories did not include residential schools or a fair assessment of Indigenous histories. George Woodcock's 1988 *A Social History of Canada*, created a distinction between political historian and social historian in Canada. Woodcock places Indigenous Peoples and their history in Canada up against history 'itself'. Perceived as 'illiterate' and incapable of transmitting knowledge or history, Woodcock describes the Western historian's role in 'service' of the Native:

³⁵ Bothwell, *History of Canada*, p. 3.

³⁶ Sarah Carter, *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy* (Montreal: McGill-Queens Press, 1990); James Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2013).

³⁷ Raymond Blake and Jeffrey Keshen (eds.), *Social Fabric or Patchwork Quilt: The Development of Social Policy in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

People who lived in ages or places where written records did not exist really entered history only at the point when they encountered other people who were able to make a record of experience in writing. For this reason our earliest approximately reliable knowledge of the native peoples of Canada begins at the point of fatal encounter when the first literate men [met/encountered?] them and began to describe their ways of life.³⁸

Congruent with genocide writing and historical writing, Indigenous Peoples in Canada seem to be pitted up against modernity and the practice of Western history. Constructed as a people fated to disappear, historicized as an ancient people, lost to history and sucked in to a wilderness, succumbing to colonial powers, it is little wonder the depths and extents of Indigenous removals were not recorded. What Woodcock considered 'ancient cults'³⁹ were simply ruins of history. He dismisses the existence of Indigenous Peoples' histories:

They stepped out of the anonymous past in which they are represented only by the ruins of their homes, the detritus of their rubbish heaps and the conjectures of archaeologists...The moment that the native peoples encountered the literate Europeans was the moment they entered history.⁴⁰

With this in mind, the history of the missionaries in Canada, the impetus behind the residential school system and the extraction and economic development, simply become transposed into a history of European victory over this wild land or where the Natives just disappear. In this study, we see how narratives of the Survivors of residential school show a similar relationship with modernity. Early in the twentieth century it seemed unfathomable that the native children in the residential schools would

³⁸ G. Woodcock, *A Social History of Canada* (Markham: Penguin Books, 1988), p. 10.

³⁹ Woodcock, *Social History*, p. 24.

⁴⁰ Woodcock, *Social History*, p. 34.

survive Canada's entry into modernity. As 'uncivilized savages' it seemed unlikely at the time that they could endure a collision with modernity and European thought. European capitalism, industry, settlement and diseases were cited as 'reducing' Indigenous populations and Canada was; 'in truth, one vast silence, broken only by the roar of the waterfall or the cry of the beasts and birds of the forest.'⁴¹ These are the histories that were taught inside residential schools. Histories absent of Indigenous Peoples' contributions focusing instead on a triumphant narrative of Canadian 'discovery' dominated curriculum inside the schools.

Canadian History and Indigenous Peoples

Early twentieth century histories recorded Indigenous Peoples as a subject of history and rarely did Indigenous People appear as agents of change. Early written records of Indigenous peoples in Canada exist in ethnographies and journals of colonial exploration. Do the 'bystander' Canadians' claims suggesting they knew nothing about residential schools reflect Canadian history's treatment of Indigenous Peoples? Ecclesiastic institutions also created historical records of residential schools during the twentieth century as a way to record the significance of a nation-wide school system for mass Christianization. Typically, mention of residential schools in histories prior to 1970 was for the purpose of recording the achievements of Canadian Churches and as an observation over the lives of Indigenous Peoples.⁴² As Indigenous Peoples' histories emerged at the end of the twentieth century, new 'unheard' narratives revised Canada's century of political histories and settler narratives. Without the Survivor contributions though, histories still fell short of describing residential schools in their entirety. Through the 1960s and 1970s, Indigenous historians and writers of Indigenous histories often struggled against marginalization of Indigenous academics and their

⁴¹ Stephen Leacock, *The Dawn of Canadian History; Part I, The First European Visitors* (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company, 1922), p. 44.

⁴² John McLean, *The Indians of Canada: Their Manners and Customs* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1892); Eileen Jenness, *The Indian Tribes of Canada* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1933); John Ritchie, *Among the Red Indians: Or The Triumphs of the Gospel in the Land of the Wigwam and Tomahawk* (Kilmarnock: John Ritchie, Publisher, 1900).

narratives. Canadian 'post' colonial literature and histories often draw attention to this period where decolonized inclusion of Indigenous People influenced historical revisionism. Post-coloniality was simultaneously combating the effect that the residential schools had on Indigenous participation in post-secondary education as these revisionists were aware of the way that they had approached the silences in histories of Indigenous Canada. Emerging from behind the 'buckskin curtain' that hid First Nations, Métis and Inuit from the rest of Canada George Manuel's *Fourth World* and Harold Cardinal's *The Unjust Society* challenged the silences in Canadian history.⁴³ In 1969, Cardinal described the buckskin curtain:

The history of Canada's Indians is a shameful chronicle of the white man's disinterest, his deliberate trampling of Indian rights and his repeated betrayal of our trust. Generations of Indians have grown up behind a buckskin curtain of indifference, ignorance and, all too often, plain bigotry.⁴⁴

Indigenous writers and historians were asking for a shift in power. This would include a shift in Canadian history that allowed Indigenous academics to emerge. Moreover, these are the silences and the correlations between the 'servant class' being produced inside the residential schools, the low quality of education standards inside the schools and the disproportionately low levels of post-secondary attendance in Indigenous communities.⁴⁵ Histories of Indigenous education touted a standard narrative of residential schools. This included a 1974 review of Native education by J.W. Chalmers who historicized early Indigenous forms of education and the incursion of missionary control over education. Even while residential schools did not

⁴³ Harold Cardinal, *The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians* (Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig Ltd., 1969); George Manuel, *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality* (Don Mills: Collier Macmillan, 1974); Howard Adams, *Prison of Grass: Canada from the Native Point of View* (Toronto: General Pub., 1975).

⁴⁴ Harold Cardinal, *The Unjust Society*, p. 1.

⁴⁵ Blair Stonechild, *The New Buffalo: The Struggle for Aboriginal Post-Secondary Education in Canada* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2006), pp. 20-21.

feature prominently in histories during this period, their aims were made clear:

The basic principle, never formally enunciated, seems to have been to wean the Indians from the savage and pagan life of their ancestors and to integrate them into the dominant white culture and society. Because of certain characteristics of their aboriginal culture, or inherent in their nature, it was assumed that their role in an integrated society would be a humble, indeed a menial one, hopefully in agriculture or as manual labourers, possibly in skilled or semi-skilled trades.⁴⁶

Barriers between Indigenous histories and Western academia started receding in the 1960s as Indigenous resistance movements grew and the number of Indigenous writers in post-secondary institutions rose. Contributions of Indigenous writers and writers of Indigenous history challenged the existing political histories of Canada. Robert Davis and Mark Zannis' 1973 *The Genocide Machine* posed these early questions and broad inquiries into 'systematic destruction'.⁴⁷ This period of revisionism altered the perception of residential schools as a static image of mission-run schools for assimilation towards the increasingly intricate and overlapping narratives of settler colonial Canada.

Demonstrative of the complexities and multi-facets of colonial incursion into Canada, Keith Smith wrote and compiled *Strange Visitors: Documents in Indigenous Settler Relations in Canada from 1876* using a selection of curated documents tracing Canada's relationship with Indigenous people. Often, what has been missing in secondary sources and the written histories of Canada are breaking 'silences' through primary documents. While ethnographers made the Indian the subject of study and historians made curious mention of

⁴⁶ J.W. Chalmers, *Education Behind the Buckskin Curtain: A History of Native Education in Canada* (Edmonton, 1974), p. 159.

⁴⁷ Robert Davis and Mark Zannis, *The Genocide Machine in Canada: The Pacification in the North* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1973).

Indigenous peoples, what remains are primary narratives in journals, House of Commons debates, legislation, reports and treaties. Smith, like many who approach these primary documents ‘reads against the grain’ and uses what, in some cases are the remaining written documents of an event to develop a narrative about the relationship between Canada and Indigenous Peoples.⁴⁸ In this study, the interchange between primary source archival documents and oral histories creates a similar dialogue, focusing in on residential school history.

Indian Residential Schools in Canada

Prior to the 1980s and 1990s, the historical record and narrative of residential schools circulated primarily within First Nations, Métis and Inuit communities in oral histories and in Church records.⁴⁹ With little to no visibility of residential schools in Canadian histories prior to this period the key source of history were these oral histories and series of primary documents. Indian residential schools operated in Canada for most of the twentieth century seemingly unnoticed by the rest of Canada.

Written records of the schools emerged primarily in the form of Aboriginal literature in Canada. Writers like Maria Campbell,⁵⁰ Basil Johnston,⁵¹ Isabelle Knockwood,⁵² Rosalyn Ing and Celia Haig-Brown⁵³ lead a body of Aboriginal writers in Canada who recorded the truths about the residential school in Canadian literature.⁵⁴ Oral histories of the schools circulated throughout

⁴⁸ Keith Smith, *Strange Visitors: Documents in Indigenous-Settler Relations in Canada from 1876* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014) p. xvi.

⁴⁹ Milloy, *A National Crime*, p. 298.

⁵⁰ Maria Campbell, *Halfbreed* (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1973).

⁵¹ Basil Johnston, *Indian School Days* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1988).

⁵² Isabelle Knockwood, *Out of the Depths, The Experiences of Mi'kmaw Children at the Indian Residential School at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia* (Nova Scotia: Roseway Publishing, 2001).

⁵³ Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* (Vancouver: Tillacum Library, 1988).

⁵⁴ S. Trevithick, ‘Native Residential Schooling in Canada: A Review of Literature’, *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, XVIII (Brandon: Brandon University Press, 1998), p. 51.

Aboriginal communities and as silences between family members who were affected by the legacy of the schools. The oral records and Church records that existed were often hidden or were encouraged to remain as secrets. Truths about the physical abuse, sexual abuse and the student deaths at these schools were kept as secrets of Canadian Churches and the Canadian State.⁵⁵ Church and State sought to silence the thousands of Aboriginal children who were abused at these schools.⁵⁶ The weight of the responsibility for truth and history has been long held with the Survivors and victims of the school system. Coming forward with testimonies, truths and 'shameful secrets' became the responsibility of the former students. Less weight of the responsibility fell on the agencies, organizations and administrators of state and Church who perpetrated the abuse and suppressed the truths in the first place.⁵⁷ Media attention in recent years has been directed at the Catholic Church and the cover-ups of sexual abuses throughout North America.⁵⁸ This attention should not detract from similar patterns and statistics associated with the Protestant churches and abuses committed by Protestant clergy.⁵⁹ These claims represent only a fraction of the larger legacy of abuse perpetrated at these schools and protected by the Churches. Proceedings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Canada have provided evidence of both Church and state crimes as well as their now-public advocacy for Church resistance in sharing evidence of these crimes and abuses.

J.R. Miller's *Shingwauk's Vision* provides an extensive history of the residential school system. Miller originates his argument by situating the

⁵⁵ CBC, "Ottawa ordered to provide all Residential School Documents" <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/ottawa-ordered-to-provide-all-residential-schools-documents-1.1345892>, Accessed January 2014.

⁵⁶ *Crimen Sollicitationis* (Vatican: Vatican Press, 16 March 1962); Milloy, *National Crime*, p. 296.

⁵⁷ *Crimen Sollicitationis*, 16 March, 1962.

⁵⁸ Vatican Prosecutor warns bishops against covering up child abuse, *Montreal Gazette*, February 8, 2012, <http://www.montrealgazette.com/news/billion+cost+Catholic+Church+abuse+scandals+Experts/6121127/story.html>

⁵⁹ Cynthia Crosson-Tower, 'Extrafamilial Sexual Abuse, Misuse and Exploitation', *Understanding Child Abuse and Neglect* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 2005), p. 189.

reader at the Indigenous perspective of education. Firstly, he places the residential school system in the context of an already-established system of Indigenous education prior to the intrusion of missionaries and ‘new-comers’.⁶⁰ Miller evokes an interesting narrative of *inevitability*, which is currently being stumbled over by researchers engaged in this new TRC-era questioning of Church and departmental *intent*, in setting up the school system under the guise of settler colonialism. The debates and searches for validity to claims of ‘genocide’ in Canada often rely on evidence of intent within the department of Indian Affairs and the government of Canada. Revision in Canadian history reinforces the complexities of the residential school system. We have to consider that the government as well as the Churches had vested interests from Agriculture Canada and private industry. There were multiple intents and an array of aims at play in the creation and operation of the residential schools.

Miller and John Milloy conclude that the Canadian role and responsibility for the legacy of residential schools is under-addressed and needs to include appropriate representation from Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians. On government responsibility for the residential school legacy Miller states that:

If people get the government they deserve, then the people are responsible in a moral sense for what government does in their name. Canadians in general ought to shoulder their share of responsibility along with the elected politicians and the bureaucrats, and the churches’ senior administrators and humble missionary volunteers. There is plenty of responsibility to go around, and more than enough work to be done to remedy the malignant legacy of residential schools.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision*, p. 35.

⁶¹ Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision*, p. 435.

While both Miller and Milloy encourage new approaches to Canadian history their description of the history of residential school still largely avoids the debate about genocide and the crimes committed against Indigenous people in Canada.⁶² Miller and Milloy maintain that while the system was atrocious, destructive and part of a larger scheme of colonization and aggressive assimilation, the results were the consequence of negligence and part of a systemic failure.

John Milloy published *A National Crime* in 1999, just as public consciousness of the long-term impacts of residential schools started to become 'mainstream' knowledge in Canada. Both Miller's and Milloy's texts are currently considered the two central published resources on the schools. Since 1997 and 1999, both Miller and Milloy have commented and spoken on their histories of the schools. Both authors maintain, as the findings of their books have, that these schools represented cultural genocide in Canada and there was no *intent* on the part of the department of Indian Affairs, to kill children through this school system. In a 2007 *Globe and Mail* article, Milloy commented on the use of the term genocide to describe the residential school system:

The purpose of the [federal government's] policy is to eradicate Indians as a cultural group," said Prof. Milloy, who has had more access to government files on the subject than any other researcher. "If genocide has to do with destroying a people's culture, this is genocidal, no doubt about it. But to call it genocidal is to misunderstand how the system works.⁶³

⁶² Miller extends his critique of the use of 'genocide' and feels it 'discredits arguments' for reconciliation. See: J.R. Miller, review of Andrew Woolford, Jeff Benvenuto and Alexander Hinton, *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America* and Andrew Woolford, *This Benevolent Experiment*, *BC Studies*. <http://www.bcstudies.com/?q=book-reviews/colonial-genocide-indigenous-north-america> ; accessed June 10, 2016.

⁶³ J. S. Milloy in B. Curry and K. Howlett, 'Natives died in droves as Ottawa ignored warnings', *The Globe and Mail*, April 24, 2007.

The school system was there to 'replace a child's ontology',⁶⁴ essentially exchanging one ontology for another, the ontology of the oppressor. Exchanging a child's ontology and language for a 'bag of nuts' or 'buttons'⁶⁵ shows the perceived value of culture in lives of these children. Milloy identifies in the constant punishment and abuse the deep irony of the 'savagery' in the mechanics of civilizing the children.⁶⁶ Establishing a history of patterns and tracking reports and accounts of the schools, Milloy also traces important patterns in the 'complicity in the mistreatment of its wards'⁶⁷ at the schools. Milloy records the introduction of the family allowance in 1945 and the exponential growth of provincial social welfare institutions. Many see these two systems as one and the same; as transfer of children from one group to another. However, like the residential school system, historiography on the child welfare system is growing but has emerged only over the last couple of decades.⁶⁸

Plays, poems, stories, songs and novels provided testimony of Survivors of residential schools to a Canada that was not able to hear the testimonies any other way. Literature, autobiography and testimony were the written histories of residential school for several decades. Survivors amassed a series of published and unpublished, often autobiographical stories of Indian Residential Schools. Similar to the role of the revisionist historians of the late 1960s and early 1970s, these authors were creating a record as well as providing an avenue towards decolonization of Indigenous writing, in Canada.

⁶⁴ Milloy, *A National Crime*, p. 37.

⁶⁵ Milloy, *A National Crime*, p. 39.

⁶⁶ Milloy, *A National Crime*, p. 41.

⁶⁷ Milloy, *A National Crime*, p. 121.

⁶⁸ See, for example, Cindy Blackstock, 'Reconciliation Means Not Saying Sorry Twice: Lessons from Child Welfare in Canada', in *From Truth to Reconciliation: Transforming the Legacy of Residential Schools*, eds. Marlene Brant Castellano, Linda Archibald and Mike DeGagne (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2008), pp. 163-177; Cindy Blackstock, 'The Canada Human Rights Tribunal on First Nations Child Welfare: Why if Canada Wins, Equality and Justice Lose', *Children and Youth Services Review*, 33 (2011), pp. 187-194; Suzanne Fournier and Ernie Crey, *Stolen From Our Embrace: The Abduction of First Nations Children and the Restoration of Aboriginal Communities* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1997).

Basil Johnston published *Indian School Days* in 1988 and used story-telling and humour to describe childhood trauma. There was a period of residential school operation in Canada when histories or contemporary knowledge of the schools were simply not written about. Students and former students attended reunions, wrote yearbooks and created their own records but prior to the 1970s or 1980s and, many say, not until the Truth and Reconciliation era, would a book like Johnston's fall into a curriculum or become a course reading. Autobiographical histories and literature pose and answer questions that many were unwilling and unable to ask. Johnston is clear about the positive and negative impacts of the schools and the place residential schools occupy in Indigenous life in Canada. Describing himself and his fellow students as 'inmates' and his time as 'committed' the reader watches the deterioration of his connections to language and his knowledge throughout his story of how a subversive culture was created to resist each intrusion.

In 1991 Isabelle Knockwood published a memoir of her time at the Shubinacadie School in Nova Scotia. The 'Shubie school' in Shubinacadie was one of the only large-scale schools in the Maritimes and it defined many Survivor experiences in the Maritime provinces. Since 1991 Knockwood's work has been revised (2001) and has been integrated into the *Final Report for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission* in Canada. Knockwood was one of the Survivor-authors who introduced readers to stories of childhood acts of resistance and the 'little ways' children would play, laugh and resist each day, clinging to their traditions, teachings and language against the tide of forced removal. Collections like those by Knockwood and Haig-Brown provided both a testimony and also a way to record a testimony. As a child in the school you hid, you laughed behind the nuns' backs and if you disclosed your abuse, you were rarely heard or believed. Survivor narratives share testimony and details that challenge a status quo and code of silence. It is in this spirit that Knockwood's *Out of the Depths* follows the stories of Shubinacadie.

Rosalyn Ing turned the focus to subsequent generations of Indian Residential School Survivors. Her work is evidence of the burgeoning field and the contemporary nature of revised residential school narratives. In her Educational Studies dissertation at the University of British Columbia completed in 2000, Ing considered the testimonies of intergenerational Survivors in a way that was rarely done at that time.⁶⁹ Ing follows the history of the schools and the generations that came after through her own time as a Survivor of the Residential Schools. So few were willing to hear the narratives of Survivors, Ing among others created space for the voices of the intergenerational Survivors. In her analysis she shares a critical conversation with her sister, who also attended the schools. She reveals a statement that would become the basis for ongoing study of historical trauma and genocide. Her sister remarked: 'We've passed this down to our children, like it's in our genes.'⁷⁰ Ing claims that she is no expert, even having attended the schools but points to the community of experts: the Survivors.

Another central text on the legacy of the schools, *The Circle Game* by Chrisjohn, Mauran and Young is coming from more Survivor accounts and it relies on clinical psychological perspectives. Their first edition of *The Circle Game* was written at the same time as Miller and Milloy's pieces. First published in 1997, *The Circle Game* would be considered an 'alternative' position on the school system.⁷¹ Chrisjohn, Mauran and Young released a second edition of *The Circle Game* in 2006 to take the opportunity to respond to criticism over the first edition and contribute what they felt is necessary in residential school history.

Chrisjohn, Maraun and Young point out the distance that residential school histories have yet to travel. They call for changes to be made in the ways that

⁶⁹ N. Rosalyn Ing, 'Dealing with the Shame and Unresolved Trauma: Residential School and its Impact on the 2nd and 3rd Generation Adults', unpublished PhD Thesis, University of British Columbia, 2000.

⁷⁰ Ing, *Dealing With the Shame*, p. 8.

⁷¹ Roland Chrisjohn, Michael Mauran, Sherri Young, *The Circle Game: Shadows and Substance in the Indian Residential School Experience in Canada, Revised Edition* (Penticton, Theytus Books, 2006), p. 21.

residential schools are written about and thought about. It is important to note for Chrisjohn, Mauran and Young, there is no one 'standard account'⁷² and standard interpretation of Survivor accounts. There will always be more a chorus of voices contributing to the residential school history. Only now are these voices converging into mainstream thematic interpretations. This has bearing on how broader histories of the schools are presented and how it becomes imperative that the complexities of the system emerge.

In the 2003 volume *Accounting for Genocide*, Dean Neu and Richard Therrien built one of Canada's first contemporary narratives on genocide of Indigenous peoples in Canada.⁷³ Their focus on the 'bureaucratic assault' describes the pervasiveness and insidiousness of settler colonial rule in Canada. Neu and Therrien implicate state, corporations and Churches.⁷⁴ The assault does not come from one front, it is presented as an economic battle and they construct a systemic assault where Indigenous people are active agents in the process.

A case can be built from Neu and Therrien's work to construct clear connections between the historical legacy of 'governmentality'⁷⁵ and contemporary impacts on Indigenous Peoples.⁷⁶ Work to decolonize Canada's narrative relies on these connections. Drawing on historical examples and contemporary impacts acknowledges the ongoing influence of 'governmentality' and destruction of Indigenous lifeways. Neu and Therrien rely on the triad, modernity, colonialism and genocide to frame the 'loss' of Indigenous life.⁷⁷ This study utilizes a similar frame, presenting Survivor narratives through similar themes of modernity, colonialism and genocide in

⁷² Chrisjohn, Mauran, Young, *The Circle Game*, pp. 19-20.

⁷³ See also; Davis and Zannis, *The Genocide Machine in Canada*.

⁷⁴ Dean Neu and Richard Therrien, *Accounting for Genocide: Canada's Bureaucratic Assault on Aboriginal People* (Winnipeg: Fernwood, 2003), p. 5.

⁷⁵ Neu and Therrien, *Accounting for Genocide*, p. 7.

⁷⁶ See also Jennifer Huseman and Damien Short, "A Slow Industrial Genocide": Tar Sands and the Indigenous Peoples of Northern Alberta', *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 16 (2012), pp. 216-237.

⁷⁷ Neu and Therrien, *Accounting for Genocide*, p. 9.

order to construct a shared history, between the testimonies. Unlike written histories and literature on 'other' genocides, the representation of genocide in Canada is still in its infancy. With so few written compilations or monographs these pieces become foundational in comparative studies that are increasingly inclusive of Canada. Broadly speaking, Canada is relatively new to comparative genocide studies.

Construction of the 'wild and savage Indian' and the 'stateless Jew'⁷⁸ inside Neu and Therrien's argument also directs their own comparative study towards a Holocaust-centric analysis. It is a deep and dense analysis, presented in short order, to demonstrate the history of 'oppressive bureaucratization' and the dangers of heterophobia and the opposition to Indigenous 'statelessness'.⁷⁹ *Accounting for Genocide* positions Canadian Indigenous and global Indigenous histories against the Holocaust and crimes of the Third Reich. Victorian England in particular, is placed against Nazi Germany.⁸⁰ This builds a narrow scope for comparing or considering what the application of the term genocide to Indigenous histories really means. Common to similar studies of international Indigenous histories, centrality of the bureaucracy of Empire propels their argument. As Neu and Therrien state, in Canada amalgamation or assimilation was the 'only possible euthanasia' for a 'race of people' clearly deemed to their own peril by the Empire.⁸¹ Imperial preoccupations with expenditures in the colonies, free expansion and settlement pushed the bureaucratic 'cookie cutter' of colonial settlement. The replication of policy and in this case, operation of a school system is part of this 'cookie cutter' approach. Existing industrial-boarding schools in various colonies of the Empire provided a template for how to deal with the poor classes, uncivilized, un-Christian or savage children in any colonial relationship. These are the foundational ideals behind the residential

⁷⁸ Neu and Therrien, *Accounting for Genocide*, p. 15.

⁷⁹ Neu and Therrien, *Accounting for Genocide*, pp. 12-14.

⁸⁰ See also: Carroll P. Kakel III, *The American West and the Nazi East: A Comparative and Interpretive Perspective* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

⁸¹ Neu and Therrien, *Accounting for Genocide*, p. 64.

schools. Recording the intra and inter-relations between imperial projects allows for more thorough comparative study between Canada and 'other' colonial histories.

These schools 'ripped apart the very fabric of a highly evolved civilization'⁸² Neu and Therrien are clear to demonstrate how the schools were only one part of a very over-lapping, layered system of connected bureaucracies. Selling the land, collecting natural resources, controlling Indian Affairs through the air of benevolence and selling the First Nations the idea that 'The Great White Mother Queen would not let them starve', became the balance between what was to be achieved through this administration. Even though 'Victorian sensibilities prevented the outright elimination of Indigenous peoples'⁸³ the actions of the missionaries, explorers and employees of the empire's trading companies often acted on their own.

Genocide and Settler Colonial Genocide

Who declares 'genocide'? Beyond courtrooms or tribunals of the United Nations or any international governing body, declarations are currently being made and retracted with respect to Canada.⁸⁴ Genocide is a legal definition, and it is also historical, sociological, psychological, emotional, philosophical, bureaucratic, colonial and adversarial. It is as divisive as it is a point of connection. Who become the arbiters of the term and who determines the study of the phenomenon, genocide? Moreover, in Canada's histories, where so many feel that the declaration of 'genocide' is the only route to dialogue on reconciliation and restoring relationships between colonizer and colonized, to what end is the term explored or even

⁸² Neu and Therrien, *Accounting for Genocide*, p. 73.

⁸³ Neu and Therrien, *Accounting for Genocide*, p. 105.

⁸⁴ Phil Fontaine and Bernie Farber, 'What Canada Committed Against First Nations was Genocide. The UN Should Recognize it', *The Globe and Mail*, 14 October, 2013, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/globe-debate/what-canada-committed-against-first-nations-was-genocide-the-un-should-recognize-it/article14853747/> accessed January 2014; E. Wallberg, 'Canada's First Nations and Israel: Manipulating the Meaning of Genocide' <http://www.globalresearch.ca/canadas-first-nations-and-israel-manipulating-the-meaning-of-genocide/5344134> , 28 July 2013, accessed January 2014.

considered? Others feel it detracts from reconciliation and it is being misused, creating more divisions.⁸⁵

As settler-colonial and Indigenous genocides begin to receive revised or adequate historical treatment the history of colonialism in Canada also gains an increased level of attention.⁸⁶ Incongruent analyses in burgeoning genocide studies are often dominated by Australian or American histories and Canada is rarely mentioned in the texts. As revisions emerge, new histories of Canada's settler colonialism and genocide materialize. Historians writing on the residential school system are essentially divided into two categories, those that follow these trends of historical revisionism and those that do not.

Scholars of Australian history created a way forward. In the mid-1980s, Tony Barta made an important and controversial interrogation into Australia's relationship with genocide. This was an assertion that met instant resistance from Holocaust scholars reading these new developments in Australian history in the 1980s. Barta, nevertheless inquired why Australian historians 'skirted' genocide in their histories.⁸⁷ In doing so he asks us to consider the genocidal society and the collective, social, economic and political apparatuses utilized to dismantle Indigenous presence in settler colonies.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ J.R. Miller, review of Andrew Woolford, Jeff Benvenuto and Alexander Hinton, eds., *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America*, *BC Studies* and Woolford, *This Benevolent Experiment*.

⁸⁶ A. Dirk Moses, 'Revisiting a Founding Assumption of Genocide Studies', *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, 6 (2011), pp. 289-302, here p. 288.

⁸⁷ Tony Barta, 'After the Holocaust: Consciousness of Genocide in Australia', *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 31, 1 (1985), pp. 154-161, here p. 154.

⁸⁸ A. Dirk Moses, ed., *Empire, Colony, Genocide: Conquest, Occupation, and Subaltern Resistance in World History* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008); A. Dirk Moses, 'Moving the Genocide Debate Beyond the History Wars', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 54, 2 (2008), pp. 248-70; Moses, ed., *Genocide and Settler Society*; Tom Lawson, *The Last Man: A British Genocide in Tasmania* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014); Damien Short, 'Burying Genocide: Official Remembrance and Reconciliation in Australia' in *Remembering Genocide: Remembering the Modern World*, eds. Nigel Eltringham and Pam MacLean (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 176-198;

Writing about genocide from these perspectives inside Australia created a new dialogue and new ways to talk about genocide in settler-colonies, including Canada. Like Australia, Canadian history was emerging in the first decades of the 20th Century.⁸⁹ It came with the same blind spots that seemed to appear in Australia, with regard to national memory and its relationship with genocide and Indigenous Peoples.

Formidable research and critical discussion has emerged in a body of genocide research. This work has defended and questioned the singularity of Holocaust history and has examined the place for colonial and settler colonial genocides inside genocide scholarship. Origins of colonial thought and the influence on global genocides as well as the investigation into the atrocities committed against the colonized and subaltern populations of Europe's colonies has created debate inside genocide scholarship.⁹⁰ It is interesting to note that foundational work and several volumes have been dedicated to the study of genocides, archetypal examples and historical profiles have undoubtedly emerged from these volumes. Canada is rarely one of the examined cases.

In *Genocide in the Age of the Nation State: The Meaning of Genocide, Volume I*, Mark Levene positions the interactions between the 'dominant elites', emerging metropolitan societies and what he describes as the 'recipe for implicit structural violence for the vast "peripheralised" or "semi-

Damien Short, 'Australia: A Continuing Genocide?', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 12, 1-2 (2010), pp. 45-68.

⁸⁹ Raymond Evans, ' "Plenty Shoot 'Em" The Destruction of Aboriginal Societies Along the Queensland Frontier', in *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History*, ed. by A. Dirk Moses, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004), p. 150; Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event*. Writing Past Colonialism Series (London: Cassell, 1998); Patrick Wolfe, 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8, 4 (2006), pp. 387-409.

⁹⁰ Mark Levene, *Genocide in the Age of the Nation State, Volume II: The Rise of the West and the Coming of Genocide* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), p. 66; Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

peripheralised” regions on the receiving end’.⁹¹ Central to his arguments is the role of modernity in the rise of the West. Levene is aware that it imposes itself and a set of assumptions on ‘allegedly problematic human individuals or groups’ who in Levene’s view ‘fail to fit or are insufficient to the demands or indeed are surplus’ to the ordering of new Western societies or states.⁹² He creates the basis of many arguments about the aggressive push of Western states through the colonies.

In his first volume Levene clearly delineates genocide as ‘an authentic by-product of the dominant political and economic forces which – whether we like it or not – determine the shape of our lives.’⁹³ It is important to note that he also includes the case of ‘unreported genocides’ and he states:

...not so much because they disappeared down some memory hole but rather because that memory could not be manufactured into “history” in the first place, the most important and credible reporters of the events being entirely disinherited and hence, powerless.⁹⁴

There is a level of agency that connects the histories of the subaltern or the colonized to the dominant narrative. He recognizes the lack of ‘scholarly consensus’⁹⁵ on the topic of genocides in the Americas and the antipodes and he acknowledges the ongoing search for the point of ‘crystallization’⁹⁶ or converging circumstances that lead to genocidal processes.⁹⁷ Comparative studies that include Canada rely on these points of connection. Recognizing the lack of consensus, the power relationship between the colonized and the dominant narratives and the nature of ‘hidden’ or under-reported genocides allow comparisons of ‘other’ Indigenous genocides to enter broader

⁹¹ Levene, *Meaning of Genocide*, pp. 11-12.

⁹² Levene, *Meaning of Genocide*, p. 13.

⁹³ Levene, *Meaning of Genocide*, p. 23.

⁹⁴ Levene, *Meaning of Genocide*, p. 27.

⁹⁵ Mark Levene, *Genocide in the Age of the Nation State, Volume II: The Rise of the West and the Coming of Genocide* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), p. 66.

⁹⁶ Levene, *Rise of the West*, p. 66.

⁹⁷ Levene, *Rise of the West*, p. 66.

discussions of genocide studies. There has been a struggle in genocide studies, to include Canada in robust comparisons.

In Levene's second volume, *Rise of the West* he starts with the idea that modernity has a 'potential for lethally tidying up human material perceived as surplus...as extraneous "other"'.⁹⁸ In his analysis of British colonialism he states:

Having been evicted from their North American possessions, **bar Canada**, in the American war of Independence of 1775-83, much of the British direct settlement effort turned to the more temperate regions of the southern hemisphere, particularly the antipodes.⁹⁹

Historical examination of North America stops at 1775. There is discussion on the role Britain played in the United States and the antipodes, where he reiterates:

The departure of the British from North American scene- bar Canada- underlined the reason why the majority of Indians had supported them in the war and not their opponents.¹⁰⁰

There are two imperial forces controlling North America after 1775, the United States and the United Kingdom. The period following the American Revolution is also critical to the ascent of modernity and the West. A stronger argument could have been made, especially where the influence of British colonialism is involved to include Canada.¹⁰¹ Levene is by no means alone in concentrating analysis and comparisons on the United States and Australia. Canadian historiography, as discussed throughout this study, has remained under-focused on settler-colonial genocide and histories of the residential schools. The gaps in genocide literature reflect gaps in Canadian history.

⁹⁸ Levene, *Rise of the West*, p. 3.

⁹⁹ Levene, *Rise of the West*, p. 69. My emphasis.

¹⁰⁰ Levene, *Rise of the West*, p. 81.

¹⁰¹ Levene, *Rise of the West*, pp. 69 & 81.

Arguably, the trend runs in reverse as well, leaving contemporary Canadian historians to apply only a few studies to bridge their genocide debates.

Emergent writing on colonialism and settler colonial genocide is increasingly inclusive of Canada and the broader Indigenous experiences but there is still a dominant narrative on the United States and Australia. Canadian sociologists Andrew Woolford and Christopher Powell have contributed respectively a chapter, 'Ontological Destruction: Genocide and Canadian Aboriginal Peoples', in Woolford's *This Benevolent Experiment* and Powell's *Barbaric Civilization*.¹⁰² Woolford and Jasmine Thomas also contributed a chapter, 'Genocide of Canadian First Nations', in Totten and Hitchcock's *Genocide of Indigenous Peoples*. This chapter draws Canada into the body of genocide literature and at the outset, Woolford is clear: 'There is little academic and even less public discussion of genocide in relation to Aboriginal experiences of the colonization and settlement of Canada.'¹⁰³ Woolford and Thomas situate the current state of scholarship on Canada and Indigenous peoples in Canada and describe the evidence creating debate on the topic, both inside and outside of Canada.

In 2014, Woolford, Jeff Benvenuto and Alex Hinton released an edited volume: *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America*.¹⁰⁴ The volume provided perspectives on Indigenous genocide in Canada and the United States. *Colonial Genocide* contributed a timely dialogue on Indigenous peoples and genocide and it highlights an ongoing, polarizing debate in Canada. This

¹⁰² Andrew Woolford, 'Ontological Destruction: Genocide and Canadian Aboriginal Peoples', *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, 4, 1 (2009), pp. 81-97; Christopher Powell, *Barbaric Civilization: A Critical Sociology of Genocide* (Montreal: McGill-Queens, 2011); Andrew Woolford, *This Benevolent Experiment: Indigenous Boarding Schools, Genocide, and Redress in Canada and the United States* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2015).

¹⁰³ Andrew Woolford and Jasmine Thomas, 'Genocide of Canadian First Nations' in *Genocide of Indigenous Peoples, Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review*, Volume 8, S. Totten and R. Hitchcock (eds.) (London: Transaction Publishers, 2011), p. 61.

¹⁰⁴ Andrew Woolford, Jeff Benvenuto and Alexander Hinton, *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

debate exists between proponents of concepts of genocide and their relation to processes of colonialism and those who prefer a 'formal' narrative of Canadian or American history and who relegate discussion of the term genocide to a definition based on the UNGC. *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America* reinforces the critical link between the decolonization of North American histories and how they relate to inclusive definitions of genocide. At the core, it recognizes the narratives of Indigenous communities and an Indigenous world-view. Often not completely incongruent with Western understandings of the same concepts these narratives of genocide stand in recognition of the body of knowledge that exists in North America that does not necessarily originate in the West. These relationships between Indigenous knowledge and Western study should provide basis for discussion throughout this study as well. Emergence of academic focus on settler-colonialism and Canada has shifted the history of residential schools from a solitary or standard narrative into the complex 'mesh' of colonial influences stemming from original Imperial designs to contemporary 'after-effects'.

Examinations of settler colonialism and genocide derive support from comparative study. Replicated processes seen throughout empire and colonial-ecclesiastic controlled states provide evidence of what Lemkinian scholars trace as 'patterns of destruction'. Woolford's *This Benevolent Experiment* utilizes this comparative discourse to re-contextualize the Indian residential schools, settler-colonialism and genocide using examples of schools in New Mexico and Manitoba. Expanding on his framework of the 'colonial mesh' Woolford focuses on cases of individual schools in those places. Reinforcing his micro, meso and macro levels of this colonial mesh, he demonstrates the complex ways in which these sociological and historical constructs connect Survivor experiences to a way Canada and 'the West' can make space for a more inclusive understanding of the role of the schools in North America. Woolford re-emphasizes the necessity for identifying a confluence of factors in examples of colonial genocides. As we approach analyses of perpetrators, intent and genocidal 'outcomes' our understandings

of colonial genocide need to reframe these combined factors. Woolford's work uses the term 'genocide' to consider the destruction or potential for destruction of a group and to what extent use of naming 'genocide' and the role of the UNGC can protect these groups. Promoting an emphasis on the complexities, motives, processes and structures of genocide, Woolford urges us away from diminishing or singular definitions of genocide. Comparisons that he makes in *Benevolent Experiment* demonstrate how scholars can move towards greater acceptability of genocide as it applies to groups of Indigenous peoples.

Woolford and Benvenuto were guest editors of the *Journal of Genocide Research* on a 2015 issue on settler colonial genocide in Canada. A small, critical mass is gathering in support of both Indigenous perspectives and of Canadian perspectives on settler colonial genocide. This begins to answer the relative paucity of resources in both genocide scholarship and Canadian history. There is burgeoning research on under-represented or 'hidden genocides' and the bridges between the once seemingly untenable relationship between Holocaust research and 'other' genocides are being built. Genocide scholar Donald Bloxham, in *The Final Solution: A Genocide*, creates another strong argument for the Holocaust, situated in a historiography of 'other', contextualized examples of genocides. He, like other prominent genocide scholars, uses British Australia, a curious differentiation to *Australia* as an example of 'genocidal society'. With respect to British Australia, he states:

The Nazi state became a genocidal state, but this does not mean Germany was a genocidal society. Genocidal societies there have been in specific historical situations. One might be the colonial context, as say, in early nineteenth-century British Australia. When, predictably, indigenous resistance emerged to the theft of land by white settlers,

those settlers had contempt and greed and sometimes fear to do what they needed to do “to secure their future in the colonies”.¹⁰⁵

Like several other survey pieces on genocide, Canada is simply absent, overlooked or is potentially turning a corner into ‘mainstream’ genocide historiography.¹⁰⁶

The origins of the term genocide and the work of Raphael Lemkin are woven throughout these pieces. The importance of imposed national patterns was of particular interest to Lemkin. In the middle of the twentieth century Lemkin first scrutinized the patterns of settler colonial genocide in his study of Tasmania, described in his unpublished papers on the topic.¹⁰⁷ In his framework for understanding the patterns identified in settler colonial destruction of Indigenous inhabitants he describes ‘conditions leading to genocide’. Lemkin’s framework operates as a theoretical configuration more than a proscribed description of every colonial-Indigenous relationship, but he names broad patterns that he identifies as leading to genocide. While, on their own, those factors may or may not lead to any sort of genocidal impulses, or even manifest themselves in Canada, they clearly serve as a pattern in settler colonial dominant society that dismantles Indigenous presence in the colonies. There are dominant themes in Canada and in the administration of the residential school system common to clear markers of settler colonialism. In Canada, these themes formulated a system and established a new national pattern while eliminating the pattern that existed before European contact.

¹⁰⁵ Donald Bloxham, *The Final Solution: A Genocide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 272.

¹⁰⁶ See also; Dan Stone, ed., *The Historiography of Genocide* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Adam Jones, ed., *New Directions in Genocide Research* (London: Routledge, 2012).

¹⁰⁷ Raphael Lemkin, ed. Ann Curthoys, “Tasmania”, in A. Dirk Moses and Dan Stone, eds., *Colonialism and Genocide* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 74-100.

Methodologies and Methods

At its core, this is a history of the relationship between Canada and Indigenous Peoples in Canada. These are histories of colonization and decolonization and they are inextricably tied to an international framework. The residential school system prohibited use of Indigenous languages and of cultural practices and caused a massive disruption in the oral history and oral tradition that was circulating between generations of Indigenous people before the schools and churches arrived.¹⁰⁸ How Indigenous histories are told in Canada has been undeniably impacted by the residential school system, itself.

This study is both a history and a historiography of these schools, recognizing that a turning point has been reached for public inquiry into the schools. Histories of the system and a great deal of testimony have been used to support Survivors in their collective and individual claims for compensation. The past decades mark a point where Indigenous Survivors and witnesses of the system have had a safe space to come forward and have had their testimony recorded. Prior to that, their testimony was generally ignored or suppressed. Manipulation of Indian Affairs records was common during the administration of the schools and in particular, the per capita system of attendance at the schools contributed to an unreliable reporting system.¹⁰⁹ A portion of this study will also examine this suppression of information in government and Church documents. Ideally, the use of Survivors' oral histories will contribute to the investigation into suppression or denial of residential school truths.

The schools were opened in the 'public interest' of Canadians and part of the function of the schools was the erasure of pre-existing histories, known to

¹⁰⁸ Marie Battiste, and S.J. Youngblood Henderson, *Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage* (Saskatoon: Purich Publishers, 2000), p. 49.

¹⁰⁹ Milloy, *A National Crime*, p.269.

Indigenous Peoples in Canada.¹¹⁰ The systematic transformation of red children into white children meant social, political, economic and pedagogical transformation. There was a great attempt to obliterate pre-settler history in Canada. History was intentionally dismantled in the school system. Indian residential school curricula involved considerable plans for the removal of Indigenous language, orality, traditional knowledge transfer, storytelling, collective memory, identity and any trust in community leaders or Elders. Indigenous epistemologies and pedagogies were attacked through the school system and were consistently replaced with a history of the Empire and of Europe.¹¹¹ There is a deep relationship between the schools and the practice of history. Western European history was used to replace or transform generations, through these schools.

It must be understood that colonization and colonialism are not constructs of the past for Indigenous Peoples in Canada. There is no post-colonial state for Indigenous Peoples and many of the structures and systems that were early markers of colonialism in Canada are either still functioning or are being continually reinvented. It is important to note how Western academia has written about Canada and Canadian Indigenous Peoples, with this in mind. It becomes essential for Indigenous Peoples to tell their own stories, in their own ways and to use academic writing as an act of resistance. Survivors and Indigenous Elders are the authority on residential schools in Canada. Indigenous Elders and teachers are our philosophers, our theorists and our esteemed scholars. Words of our Elders and ancestors transmitted through oral histories and stories are as revered as classic, written philosophical texts in European traditions. As Indigenous scholar, Terry Tafoya reminds us about Indigenous narrative: 'Stories go in circles they don't go in straight

¹¹⁰ Larry Chartrand, Tricia Logan and Judy Daniels, *Métis History and Experiences and Residential Schools in Canada* (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2006), p. 68.

¹¹¹ Milloy, *National Crime*, pp. 37-38.

lines'.¹¹² There is a worldview and a way of telling a story or a history that may not always conform to a Western way of telling a story. What many call the 'Empire writes back'¹¹³ or the decolonization of Indigenous histories calls for the creation of alternative histories. 'To hold alternative histories is to hold alternative knowledges'. This, according to Linda Tuhiwai Smith leads us towards alternative ways of doing research and history. In *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Smith implores the decolonized writer to strengthen the validity of Indigenous writers. Smith states:

...academic writing is a form of selecting, arranging and presenting knowledge. It privileges sets of texts, views about the history of an idea, what issues count as significant and by engaging in the same process uncritically, we too can render indigenous writers invisible or unimportant while reinforcing the validity of other writers.¹¹⁴

Decolonization is not a 'total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge'¹¹⁵ nor is it an eviction notice, asking for colonizers to depart Canadian soil. It involves the promotion of an understanding of Indigenous Peoples' views and drawing Indigenous knowledge closer to the centre, away from the margins or even re-creating a new centre. Smith asks the academic writer to share the academic spaces and acknowledge how past objectification of Indigenous Peoples is another form of dehumanization. On decolonization, Smith states:

¹¹² Terry Tafoya, 'Finding Harmony: Balancing Traditional Values with Western Science in Therapy', *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 21 (1995), p. 12.

¹¹³ B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths, and H. Tiffin. Reprinted from Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989).

¹¹⁴ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, rev. edn. (London: Zed Books, 2012), pp. 101-102.

¹¹⁵ Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, p. 109.

...it is about centering our own concerns and worldviews and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes.¹¹⁶

There are alternatives and reflexive approaches towards repurposing Western academic writing and creating spaces for Indigenous writing to decolonize and in a way, humanize the Indigenous person in theory and in research. In the history of residential schools, where dehumanization and colonization of the Indigenous child was bureaucratized and were a matter of government policy, the research undertaken at the schools has become as noteworthy as the treatment of the children. As some of the 'worst excesses of colonialism',¹¹⁷ children at the residential schools were used as subjects to test nutritional experiments and medical experiments.¹¹⁸ Long the subject or object of scientific and social scientific study, the Indigenous Peoples in Canada have suffered physical and psychological harm from being studied, and have received little benefit, in return. At this stage or at this point in time any research on Indian residential schools should be mindful of this historic relationship.

History of Indian residential schools in Canada has converged on four trajectories through historical inquiry and revision. The state of residential school historiography and the approach that I take in this study relies a great deal on the state of the pre-existing histories of these schools. Each of these historical narratives relies on the other and each has influenced contemporary Canadian interpretations of the schools. They have been influenced to such a degree that it continually causes friction between settler and colonized peoples' histories in Canada. The ongoing conflict of the public desire to put whole history to rest opposes the Indigenous communities'

¹¹⁶ Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, p. 109.

¹¹⁷ Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, p. 28.

¹¹⁸ Ian Mosby, 'Administering Colonial Science: Nutrition Research and Human Biomedical Experimentation in Aboriginal Communities and Residential Schools 1942-1952', *Social History*, 46, 91 (2013), pp. 145-172.

concerns that this is just a starting point in Indigenous-non-Indigenous relations.

In this study, there are four main narratives, which both converge and conflict. Firstly, a great deal of the history that existed prior to settlement in Canada was removed through the creation of the schools. The school systems shattered both the transfer and retention of existing histories. Secondly, the schools replaced these histories with the histories of Europe and of Christianity. There was an epistemological switch that occurred forcibly and which turned Indigenous history into a recovery mechanism. Thirdly, the role that these schools had in creating Canada as a nation-state and the violations against Indigenous Peoples that took place through the creation and administration of these schools was actively erased in Canadian history, for almost an entire century. The fourth trajectory is the historiographical response to the erasure of residential school narratives from Canada's collective memory. Since 2000 and the creation of the Aboriginal Healing Foundation and what would follow with the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement and Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, a new era in residential school history and research has emerged, beyond the first four trajectories.

This study goes a step farther to challenge the existing historical narratives and position to move beyond a history for Indigenous People to a history that all Canadians should know and for which they should claim responsibility. This study also acknowledges and confronts a positivist tradition and more importantly the power structures that accompany it¹¹⁹ which often blocks the academic bridge-building between Indigenous and Western methods. Canada as a nation was created on the back of the residential school system and multiple forms of settler-colonial control of Indigenous Peoples. Expansion of settler territories, transfer of Canadian land to private properties, prevention of American annexation into Canada and mass economic and resource extraction relied heavily on these schools, thus

¹¹⁹ Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, p. 111.

contributing to colonization and the creation of a nation-state. These are actions that all relied on a colonially-driven system of research and recording that needs to be confronted as well.

Oral histories and orality in Indigenous communities

A distinction must be made between use of oral histories in Western academic study and the role of orality and oral history in Indigenous communities. Transmission of the historical record in Indigenous communities has traditionally been done in oral histories. These records have been torn down and re-built again through centuries of colonialism and the residential schools themselves, but they have always existed and have seen a renaissance in recent decades. Recognition and reemergence of Indigenous orality and language has provided the critical revision to Western-dominated histories of the 'native'. Applying oral history to the historical narratives of Indian residential schools utilizes the traditional and the testimonial side of Indigenous orality. Oral history is the historical record, but it also serves as a testimony of Survivors, who recounted crimes that were not recorded by their state or the institutions that serve it. In Canada, oral testimony has become the main impetus behind the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. With no subpoena or judicial function in Canada, the TRC in Canada relies on the Survivor testimonies to stand as a record of the residential schools in a country that remembers or even knows very little about it.

Language, oral history and orality are sacred to Indigenous communities. There are specific protocols, community standards and epistemologies attached to the use of oral histories and they are much more than merely an alternative or a supplement to written history. Traditional knowledge or traditional ecological knowledge transferred through oral history is ancestral knowledge and is considered as a gift from the ancestors. Oral stories are tangible and the knowledge is animate in Indigenous language and epistemologies. In First Nations communities, you present a gift of tobacco or other sacred medicine before you receive knowledge from an Elder or

teacher. You exchange a tangible medicine for the living knowledge you are about to receive. In this study, the term history or 'oral history' has been used interchangeably but it should be noted that the understanding of Western history and the body of knowledge transferred through oral testimony and story, circulating through Indigenous communities has its own naming system and pedagogical hierarchy.

Locations and place names: significance to Indigenous peoples

'We have been researched to death', the frequently quoted yet still unheeded critique from Indigenous communities to Western researchers has become foundational to the Indigenous response to research. Indigenous communities urge researchers to consider knowledge and the collection of knowledge from their perspective. This comes in many forms and the answers to this critique are as diverse and divergent as the people who are part of the 'study'. Central to many Indigenous communities is the relationship the researcher builds with Indigenous Peoples. Who you are and where you are from are often essential, questions that must be answered at the very beginning of this relationship. This does not only establish your position in relation to the Indigenous community, as an outsider or as an 'insider', but it also connects you to the land and your location which means as much as it does to be connected to a group of people. It matters that I come from traditional Ojibway territory, from Kakabeka Falls, Ontario. It matters that my Grandmother, Aunts, Uncles and Cousins attended residential schools. It matters that my ancestry is mixed, between First Nations, Métis and European ancestry. It matters how I was raised and it matters where I came from. It is essential to note how these locations and origins will open doors and will also become barriers. Where I position myself in relation to the study carries meaning as well. This study does not propose to write history on the land, through an Indigenous language or to use only oral histories, it will be an integration of methods. This study will expand and reconsider how to use Indigenous knowledge and testimony. Central to the study is the idea that the process of telling the story is as important as the

story itself.¹²⁰ On Indigenous methodologies, Absolon and Willett discuss the importance of location and representation:

Life changes transform our locations and thus our locations become dynamic...Indigenous knowledge and culture is dynamic – ever flowing, adaptable, and fluid. In a truly transformative research process, opinions, thoughts, ideas, and theories are in a constant flux. Yet writing a paper is one-dimensional, permanent and fixed, a snapshot of a single moment in time. Thus, to Indigenous scholars, location becomes a crucial means of contextualizing their lens and reference points in a given time.¹²¹

This study will involve the integration of methodologies while maintaining respect for both traditions, Western and Indigenous. Locating myself, a Métis Canadian, inside the British Academy and Empire means something to the creation of this history of settler colonial genocide and residential schools.

My position is often relegated to the margins of the research paradigm, neither occupying the centre nor the periphery at one time. From the margins of the research sphere, with reflexive readings of Western writing on Indigenous history and synthesis with Indigenous knowledge I will study one of the most damaging, most unknown segments of Canadian history. My studies are neither wholly Indigenous nor wholly non-Indigenous; however, my studies always rely on the examination and evaluation of the relationship of power that shifts between the two. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith describes in *Decolonizing Methodologies*:

What makes ideas ‘real’ is the system of knowledge, the formations of culture, and the relations of power in which these concepts are

¹²⁰ Kathy Absolon and Cam Willett, ‘Putting Ourselves Forward: Location in Aboriginal Research’, *Research as Resistance: Critical, Indigenous and Anti-Oppressive Approaches*, eds. Leslie Brown and Susan Strega (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2005), p. 98.

¹²¹ Absolon and Willett, ‘Putting Ourselves Forward’, p. 111.

located...When confronted by the conceptions of other societies, Western reality became reified as representing something 'better', reflecting 'higher orders' of thinking and being less prone to the dogma, witchcraft and immediacy of people and societies which were so 'primitive'. Ideological appeals to such things as literacy, democracy and the development of complex social structures, make this way of thinking appear to be a universal truth and a necessary criterion of civilized society.¹²²

My ontological and epistemological perspectives originate from this dichotomy. Much of what I draw my theories of study from are based from an ontological understanding that there are two spheres of existing knowledge and two ways of obtaining or learning about those two spheres. An Indigenous world-view and a non-Indigenous world-view exist and I negotiate my place between these two views in my area of study. I will rely on reflexivity in reading the archives, written secondary sources and critically evaluating the voice of the colonizer in the texts by examining what may exist 'between the lines'. My study will be a reflexive interpretation of both written Euro-Canadian documents and oral records of Indigenous Peoples who share the legacy of the residential school system. In some cases, the discrepancies between what is recorded in archival records and what exists in the oral records are quite considerable. Cases of physical and sexual abuse, student deaths, births, abortions and sterilization at the schools were not recorded nor were many cases of student on student abuses. Some of the most serious allegations of abuse at the schools are as anticipated, are the least likely to appear in written or accessible records. Oral histories will provide valuable context to these missing or misinterpreted segments of residential school history.

While the use of stories, orality and oral histories is found in all cultures and contexts, the use of orality and oral histories in Indigenous communities remains distinct. Knowledge transmission and acquisition in Indigenous

¹²² Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, p. 48.

communities remain at its core, based in orality. The use of stories and testimonies is not an uncommon method but it should be considered in collaboration with the knowledge base and systems that nurture it.¹²³ Knowledge in Indigenous communities is tangible. Reception of Indigenous knowledge and oral histories often follows the presentation of a tangible gift in exchange for stories and knowledge. In creating testimony from stories and knowledge, there is an inherent connection to memory, as well. While all social and cultural groups have an authority to connect memory to an ancestral past, Indigenous communities often tie the reclamation of 'blood memories' and ancestral bonds to colonialism, decolonization and to the land.¹²⁴ Story, memory and spirituality in Indigenous communities are all connected to the land and specifically, the territory of Turtle Island¹²⁵. The relationship between the mass removal of Indigenous people from their homes relates to the mass disruptions in the continuity of knowledge systems and stories. Use of Indigenous oral histories as testimony does not only represent the histories and knowledge, but it connects to a 'blood memory', language and history of the land.¹²⁶

Indigenous concepts of blood memory in context with settler colonial genocide reinforce the intrinsic connections between land, oral traditions, language and a communion with the ancestors. Indigenous peoples' blood memories carry trauma and memories of settler colonialism.¹²⁷ These same bonds also sustain Indigenous peoples after these traumatic removals from their land and their ancestors. Reclaiming and retaining language, oral

¹²³ Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), p. 97.

¹²⁴ Absolon and Willett, 'Putting Ourselves Forward', p. 115.

¹²⁵ North America

¹²⁶ Absolon and Willett, 'Putting Ourselves Forward', p. 114; Bruce Miller, *Oral History on Trial: Recognizing Aboriginal Narratives in the Courts* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), p. 30.

¹²⁷ Chadwick Allen, *Blood Narrative: Indigenous Identity in American Indian and Maori Literacy and Activist Texts* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), p. 178; N. Scott Momaday, *House Made of Dawn* (New York: HarperCollins, 1968), p. 7.

traditions, ceremony and connections to ancestors is done through these connections to blood memory and land. Gerald Vizenor describes these connections as, 'survivance', a synthesis of survival and resistance, 'an active sense of presence over absence, deracination and oblivion in history'.¹²⁸ Interconnectivity of Indigenous worldviews through blood memories reinforces the links between the cultural and physical realms, between memory and genocide and the transitions from trauma to recovery.

Indigenous history and Indigenous studies have a relatively unavoidable tendency towards interdisciplinary studies. Decolonized Indigenous studies are increasingly and justifiably gravitating away from a Western centre and are being written from a theorized periphery. A cross-section between ethnography, literature, history, oral history, sociology and economics, it is to the best extent between disciplines: decolonized. There are many parts of Indigenous knowledge and stories that are simply not meant to be written or to be shared. This connection between Indigenous and Western knowledge was explained to me in detail by an Elder and hereditary Chief, in Canada. He gave me a teaching about translating Indigenous knowledge into a Western format. He described several stories, but inside them he described a prism with the visible light refracted and reflected from an angle, that produces bands of colour. Only at a certain angle can a sliver of this light be seen. In short, he shared, as I understood it; that you have to position the prism, the study or piece of Western writing at an angle where the Indigenous world-view can be seen, even though only a sliver of it is shown. The light that enters the prism and the colours that leave the prism are different, from two different world-views, but there is a point where they connect, the prism and this one sliver, one angle; the transfer of knowledge.

There are many ways to transmit and communicate Indigenous knowledge from the periphery or from a 'new centre'. With that considered it will be unlikely that the Indigenous knowledge to be included in this study will be

¹²⁸ Gerald Vizenor, *Native Liberty: Natural Reason and Cultural Survivance* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), p. 138.

considered sacred, medicinal or restricted Indigenous knowledge. I will strive to use pre-recorded interviews and oral histories that will include song, prayer and sacred elements, but it is unlikely I will write about those segments. They are acknowledged, respected and treated with the respect of any personal, religious testimony.

I will use pre-recorded oral history interviews for the purposes of this study. I interviewed Indian Residential School Survivors in Canada for over ten years. I collected oral histories, traditional knowledge and testimonies on specific abuses from over 200 individuals from across Canada. Beyond the larger-than-a-dissertation volume of knowledge that was gifted to me in that time I have grown unwilling to place another Survivor in the position of re-telling their story for the purposes of study. Numerous Survivors demand that their stories be shared and be told widely, believing quite rightly that the shroud of silence over this history has become a crime in Canada. There have been thousands of testimonies about the schools that have been audio and video recorded for study purposes. I accessed segments of these records to inform this study. This was done with permission from the Legacy of Hope Foundation and it utilized open access, unrestricted files of individuals who gave statements in faith that their truths would be heard.

Representing Survivor stories is not a responsibility that any individual should take lightly or unadvisedly. Survivors have worked tirelessly in Canada, individually and collectively to assure their stories are heard. Many strive for a level of acknowledgement from state and church, worthy of what occurred to them at the schools. Survivor stories are often private and traumatic. My grandmother and great grandmother attended the Qu'Appelle School in Lebret, Saskatchewan. In 1984 my father used the Qu'Appelle School records that were, at the time both accessible and open to the public. He used the records to build a genealogy of my family tracing evidence of my great-grandmother's attendance in 1907. At that time my family used residential school records for the same reasons scores of families use them, to recreate genealogical evidence for fractured families.

I worked with the Aboriginal Healing Foundation (AHF) and the Legacy of Hope Foundation (LHF) starting in 2000. I chose to engage with the Legacy of Hope Foundation's *Our Stories, Our Strength* oral history collection of Indian residential school Survivor interviews partly because of my connection to the AHF and LHF and partly because of the time frame when the initial interviews were recorded. Projects funded by the AHF and LHF operated across Canada and these projects were community-based and administered by Indigenous communities, typically providing healing and support services to Survivors and their families. The *Our Stories Our Strength* (OSOS) oral history collection was created between 2004 and 2008. Survivors granted statements voluntarily and they were audio and video-recorded by a team of interviewers and filmmakers. The LHF OSOS Collection pre-dated the start of the TRC, Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement and Survivors were sharing their stories in order to be remembered, and to have their stories recorded. This is a powerful collection. The Legacy of Hope Foundation in Ottawa, Ontario, holds the records of the OSOS collection in trust. This includes the large filing cabinet that holds over 600 of the interview documents, file folders, DVD recordings and consent forms. Ceremony has been conducted several times on the collections. In each drawer of the filing cabinet, sacred medicine bundles of sage, sweet grass, cedar and tobacco are kept with the files. The files have been smudged in ceremony and sang for, by Elders and Survivors. Knowledge held inside the binders, filing folders and DVDs is sacred, it is animate and it is prayed for. Linking traumatic, Indigenous knowledge to Western academic frames will not be straightforward or simple.

During the creation of the *Our Stories, Our Strength* Collection the oral historians and production staff made every effort to provide safe and supportive environments to Survivors, while they were interviewed. Interviewees were offered tobacco before the interview, a traditional First Nations or Métis tradition, used frequently in Canada. Tobacco is a sacred medicine that is presented as a gift, before speaking in order to respect the

gift of knowledge you are about to receive in hearing a story or an oral history. Often, interviewees were also offered a rock or small stone to hold, many painted and selected by local youth, involved with the project. Many Indigenous communities in Canada consider stone a sacred item, in many languages, stone is animate and is connected inherently to the earth. After or during any part of the interview healers and counselors were available to debrief with participants. Rooms were cleansed by burning a smudge of sage and/or sweetgrass. Maintaining balance between Indigenous methods for collecting stories and the requirements of Western film-making and research through the *Our Stories Our Strength* Collection demonstrates the balanced tone this study will take when representing the stories of OSOS.

I sorted and coded the interviews using NVivo software. This is not always a popular or preferred method of 'reading' oral history. After over fifteen years working with oral histories including traditional knowledge and Indigenous language revitalization programs, I am a strong advocate for listening to oral histories in person or through audio/video recordings before using written transcripts. After transcribing interviews and transferring knowledge collected from oral histories I know that what is transmitted via unspoken body language, laughter, looks, gestures, tears, pauses and in places on the land is as important as the words that are transmitted. Especially with Survivors who may share their story for the first time, who pause for healing or ceremony and whose grief is hard to write about or record. I chose to organize the interviews using NVivo in part to insulate myself from the grief. I personally experienced exhaustion and I was often cared for by healers and Western medical professionals after collecting Survivor testimonies in person. I intentionally wanted a designated distance from the *Our Stories Our Strength* Collection, by reading the written transcripts in order to represent as many voices as I could while I manage my own relationship to the schools and Survivors. I have experienced the testimonies in person and it is time to find a way to tell their truths, as I have been asked to do so.

Primary research will also be based on archival records accessed in Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom. Journals from colonial expeditions, missionary records, colonial government correspondence and early eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries all published work on Canadian histories. This will provide a perspective on why these schools were created, what Canada and the Churches believed to have achieved through their administration and to what extent government and Churches knew about the atrocities committed at the schools. Information in the government and church archives rarely gives an accurate narrative on residential school history. Ideally, the collection of oral histories will correct some of the misinformation or contribute to the investigation into suppression or denial of residential school truths.

There is an important relationship between the Indigenous methods and Western methods, in this study. A key part of the relationship is the reflection on Indigenous epistemological inter-connection between physical, mental, emotional and spiritual spheres of life. Inseparability of the *physical* and what Western thought would consider, the *cultural* is important in the discussions that follow, on genocide and 'cultural' genocide. The same inseparability is relied upon by Lemkin and Lemkinian scholars to describe how genocide is systemic, how it is colonial and how it affects Indigenous populations as well as the histories of genocide and the Holocaust. Presenting Western theories or histories of Canada alongside Indigenous epistemologies as well as their theoretical and literal perspective is an indispensable connection to make, throughout the study. Beyond Indigenous Peoples' perspectives on 'ontological destruction'¹²⁹, interviewees in the *Our Stories Our Strength* Collection were clear about their motivation to contribute stories: they wanted to be heard and remembered. A critical thread throughout this study emphasizes the secrecy, silence and effacement of Indigenous stories through Western methods and socio-political mechanisms. A participant in OSOS and Survivor of the Mohawk Institute describes the desire of many Survivors to end the secrecy that surrounded their stories:

¹²⁹ Woolford, 'Ontological Destruction'.

I would like others to hear about it, to know what it was like in a Residential School. I would like it to be open because it was like a big secret. They didn't know what was going on in the residence. That's why I want it to be open so other people will know your story. They'll read about it, like history, just to be known so when I'm not around my story will still be read about.¹³⁰

In some cases, there are discrepancies between what is recorded in archival records and what exists in the oral records. Unreported cases of physical and sexual abuse, student deaths, births, abortions and sterilization at the schools were not readily recorded nor were many cases of student on student abuses. Some of the most serious allegations of abuse and eliminationism at the schools are, as anticipated, the least likely to appear in written or accessible records. Oral histories will provide valuable context for these missing or misinterpreted segments of residential school history. My study will be a reflexive interpretation of both written Euro-Canadian documents and oral records of Indigenous Peoples who share the legacy of the residential school system.

¹³⁰ Female, attended Mohawk Institute, *Our Stories Our Strength (OSOS) Oral History Collection*, Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation and Legacy of Hope Foundation, interview recorded August 2006.

Chapter 2

Settler Colonialism in Canada

Industrial-boarding school systems were a tried and tested mechanism of colonial expansion. The French *mission civilisatrice* and the English benevolent Empire drove mission schools throughout their empires from the seventeenth century.¹ The schools were originally targeted at pauper children and the lower classes and frequently included the ‘pagan or ‘savage’ child.² Imperialism and global schemes for Catholic and Protestant expansion irrigated the ‘fertile soils’ of Canada and created a Dominion. The ideals and realizations of imperial-Church expansion in Canada relied, in varying measures, on the Indian residential school system. Churches expanded and the empire ballooned in scope and riches.

Centuries of forced removals and development of the industrial-boarding school model preceded the Indian residential schools. In this chapter, the duality of state-ecclesiastical colonial control will be highlighted as an investigation into the roots of this system in Canada. Early origins of not only the school system, but also the entire system for ‘dealing’ with the Indigenous ‘element’ in Canada will be outlined at the start of this chapter, through examination of the savage-civilized dichotomy in Canada and colonial urgency to convert both the land and the Indigenous Peoples to agricultural rather than ‘nomadic’. In addition, this chapter will interrogate the accepted narrative of Canada as a ‘cold ovum’, ready to be fertilized by colonial control. Perceived as empty or barren wilderness, Canada’s history stands in contrast to other colonial conquests like Australia or South Africa where the ‘natives’

¹ Truth and Reconciliation Canada, *The History, Part 1 Origins to 1939, Volume I, The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2015), pp. 7-9; Erik Bleich, ‘The Legacies of History? Colonization and Immigrant Integration in Britain and France’, *Theory and Society*, 34 (2005), pp. 171-195, here pp. 172-3.

² Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work*, Volume I (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), pp. 24-25; Barnes, *Irish Industrial Schools*, p. 88.

were wild and tropical-exotic.³ Canada's vast geography often contributed to the invisibility of the native or over-simplification of the Canadian savage. In part, this chapter will place these histories in context with one another to show the efficacy of using forced child removals and industrial-boarding schools as an enduring element of colonization. Near the end of the chapter, the specific nature of Canadian Indigenous peoples, as estimated by state and church, is positioned against the utility and need for residential schools in Canada. First Nations, Métis and Inuit were projected as rebels, restless and untrustworthy, so schools were admittedly part of a colonial scheme to control populations. Ideally, this portion of the study should link Canada's nation-building narrative to the function of Indian residential schools in Canada's national development. An important role of this study is to show this inseparability between nation-building and how influential the schools were in constructing the Dominion. A key objective of this study is also to examine settler colonial genocide. The use of a Lemkinian approach creates another bridge, between Survivor testimonies and ways of conceptualizing atrocities against Indigenous People.

Settler Colonial Genocide and Indian Residential Schools in Canada

In this study, the application of settler colonial genocide as a frame for understanding the Indian residential schools in Canada originated from the stories and lived experiences of residential school Survivors in Canada. Any historical relationship with stories or oral histories of residential schools from individuals that attended the schools eventually approaches the use of the term 'genocide'. Survivors use 'genocide' for a number of reasons and not the least of these reasons is their eagerness to convey the combined effects of the residential schools alongside a series of programs and systems designed to remove Indigenous presence from social, economic and political Canada. It should be made clear that this study will approach genocide from that perspective, that residential schools and the history of the schools is inseparable from the broader history and systems of colonialism and Canada and as a result of this inseparability, settler colonial genocide in Canada

³ Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society, Volume II*, p. 332.

refers to residential schools as part of a whole. This is not an effort to mute any claims that the school system as it stands alone was not genocidal or 'cultural genocide', but instead that the results of this study indicate that the history of the system is best contextualized inside Canada's version of settler colonialism.

Survivor statements rarely identify one person or one event that they identify as 'genocidal' when they describe their time at residential school as 'genocide' or like a 'concentration camp'. In their testimonies they are referring to the entire system and the cumulative impact on their physical, cultural, emotional, sexual and spiritual spheres of life. In order to contextualize residential schools within the broader history of colonial control in Canada, I have added 'settler colonial' to the term genocide, in order to assure the broader context is reiterated, throughout the study.

Raphael Lemkin

In *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, Raphael Lemkin describes a process identical or very similar to processes described by Indigenous peoples in Canada. They are not reduced to one state actor-perpetrator or one event. He describes two phases:

Genocide has two phases: one, destruction of the national pattern of the oppressed group; the other, the imposition of the national pattern of the oppressor. This imposition, in turn, may be made upon the oppressed population which is allowed to remain, or upon the territory alone after removal of the population and the colonization of the area by the oppressor's own nationals.⁴

It is within these frames, Lemkin's descriptions and definition of two phases of genocide alongside the descriptions of Indigenous Peoples in Canada that

⁴ Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington D.C., 1944), p. 79.

have placed the term 'genocide' and in particular, settler colonial genocide at the core of this study. Survivors contributed oral histories to *Our Stories Our Strength* and later, to the Truth and Reconciliation process for often very personal reasons but they contributed the way they did to be remembered. The desire to engage with the broader Canadian public and to confront the dearth of evidence in Canada's public conscience was accompanied by a collective desire to obtain recognition for what happened to Indigenous Peoples. Genocide has emerged as a recurrent theme as these stories align with definitions originally designed by Raphael Lemkin and Lemkinian scholars that identified similar patterns in their own work.

Tom Lawson utilizes genocide and in particular, Lemkinian definitions of genocide to frame his history of Britain in Tasmania. This re-positions Britain's history in Australia and the destruction of Indigenous Tasmanians. Lawson places focus on the colonial past and the importance of genocide in Tasmania to British politics, culture and identity at the time.⁵ This provides much needed recognition for the use of *intent* and how, while it may not be present in colonial plans for Indigenous peoples at the same time, governments and growing social economies benefitted from and in some measure, relied upon these reductions in Indigenous populations.⁶ Context of colonial genocides depends on these inter-connections between economic and political influences causing and resulting from Indigenous genocides, as Lawson states: 'Perhaps, then genocide is not a description of an event at all, but the identification of a set of events, a process or an epoch'.⁷ Colonial genocide as an *epoch* is key to framing the same patterns in Indigenous Canada.

Lawson's history of Australian settler colonial states is also relying on what he describes as 'modern globalised memory', memories of the Holocaust and

⁵ Lawson, *The Last Man*, p. 128

⁶ Lawson, *The Last Man*, pp. 13-14.

⁷ Lawson, *The Last Man*, p. 21.

various definitions of genocide to seek recognition to their own claims of genocide in their nation-states. Lawson writes:

...it is the Holocaust that modern globalised memory has elevated as the defining example of that crime. It is precisely because of its associations with the Holocaust, the ultimate atrocity, that Turks, Americans, and as we have seen above, Australians deny that genocide occurred in their pasts, and it is for the same reason that Armenians, Native Americans and indigenous Australians assert that they have been victims of genocide.⁸

Modern memory connects the stories of Indigenous Survivors to a global and contemporary definition of genocide. In turn, it re-establishes a relationship between settler-colonial states like Canada and Australia, their relationship to remembering the Holocaust and 'other' genocides with the potential for effacing or ignoring their own relationship to genocide.

As discussed earlier, the Indigenous stories that emphasize the inseparability of physical and cultural destruction have a genuine connection to Lemkin's writing on genocide, as well. These connections are essential for this study and the ongoing debates on genocide and settler colonialism.

Lemkin's advocacy and writing included his insistence that cultural genocide not be 'confused with the gradual changes a culture may undergo.'⁹ He drew focus towards 'violent change' and 'destruction of a culture'¹⁰ as distinct processes from cultural 'diffusion'. These differences are discussed in the following empirical chapters, as the words of Survivors from residential school describe rapid changes and destruction of culture often in the face of 'official' records supporting cultural 'assimilation' or what Lemkin describes as 'diffusion'. Moreover, the importance of conceiving an understanding of

⁸ Lawson, *The Last Man*, p. 25.

⁹ Lemkin, 'The Significance of Cultural Genocide', NYPL Collection.

¹⁰ Lemkin, 'The Significance of Cultural Genocide', NYPL Collection.

genocide that includes cultural and physical destruction of a group is key to conceptualizing Canada's history of residential schools. Lemkin's writing provides us with complexities beyond the UNGC. Accepting the complexities and providing a line of inquiry towards seeing residential schools as one part of a broad 'net' of settler colonialism in Canada can provide a platform for the new histories a reconciling Canada is searching for.

Imperial, Settler and Ecclesiastical Colonialism: Mission schools for all

Imperialism and colonialism cast as a primarily state-driven maneuver removes an emphasis on the global efforts of the Catholic and Protestant Churches. Churches created ecclesiastical empires of their own in some of the most 'remote' portions of the globe. The tiny mission school popped up across the colonies, in 'uncharted' lands and created tangible in-roads to new territories. Either through force or with volunteers the savage, pagan, the poor, the 'illegitimate', the orphaned and the racialized child of the colonies and Dominions filled the small mission schools. Displacing children inside these schools was not merely a cultural and ecclesiastical exchange. Mission schools were far from the solitary system for removal or displacement but they were far-reaching.¹¹

Transfer of children from one group to the other grew to become increasingly effective throughout the colonies. Targeting children and, via the transfer of children, their parents, was profitable and it was often a desired partnership from Indigenous communities. Evidence has grown on just how well protected the Churches were against condemnation for their abuses against children. As colonies expanded, the reach of the Church became practically unavoidable for children who were to be removed from their homes. Industrial-boarding schools in British colonies and territories including South Africa, Australia and Ireland are demonstrative of the operations of colonialism and the use of forcible child removal as a tactic to achieve imperial goals. Insofar as the fleets of ships, army regiments and explorers were used to expand empires, so were the mission and industrial

¹¹ Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Final Report, Volume 1*, p. 14.

schools. Influences of large-scale poverty and state managed programmes created with the aim of curing social ills like barbarism, poverty and destitution seem to have an inherent tendency towards encouraging the physical and sexual exploitation of children.¹²

Rarely has Canadian history engaged in the 'problem' with the settlers' society and mentality.¹³ Simply, the residential schools were created to solve the new Dominion of Canada's 'problem' with the Indians. Immigration, resource extraction, land acquisition, the transfer of land from collective to private property, blocking American annexation and in general, the civilizing of the 'savage' lands were easily solved by eliminating the perceived obstacle to many of Canada's problems: the Indians. The Indian residential school system was envisioned as the great assimilator that would turn all the red children into white children. Canada's expansive land mass and hard-to-reach populations of Indigenous nations meant a systematic school system would be more influential in the new Dominion of Canada than the Treaty process, reserve system or military interventions.¹⁴ This was primarily because the schools would include First Nations, Métis and Inuit whereas federal legislation and control would typically target First Nations and Inuit only. Arguably though, none of these systems of colonial control operated independent of the other. It is not possible to evaluate any particular system, independent of the entire series of controls. Patterns in Canadian nationalism and nation-building have continually missed the creation of residential schools. Reconstruction of the nation-building narratives in Canada could potentially correct inequities and misnomers in the colonial relationship described in the history of the schools.

Acts of resistance, resilience and agency on the part of Indigenous Canada are also often overlooked. Canadian historiography often misses the meaning of

¹² Barnes, *Irish Industrial Schools*, p. 17.

¹³ Victor Satzewich, 'Indian Agents and the "Indian Problem" in Canada in 1946: Reconsidering the Theory of Coercive Tutelage', *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 17 (1997), pp. 227-257.

¹⁴ Milloy, *A National Crime*, p. 27.

residential schools to non-Indigenous Canada. What did the creation, operation and closure of residential schools in Canada really mean to the 'rest of Canada' or to the Empire? What kinds of doors did the schools open up for settlement in Canada and what would Indigenous-non-Indigenous relations look like in Canada without the residential schools? Are these questions that Canada and Canadians are willing to face? Similar to other historiographical accounts of post-atrocity histories in the country where the atrocity took place, the residential school histories try to infuse justifications into the actions of states and actors who perpetrated the atrocity. Political use of public apologies and compensation only exacerbate the misconceptions and the public's memory of their state's atrocities.¹⁵

The Civilized and the Savage

Like Wild Men of the Woods, Amerindians represented anti-structure, man before the acquisition of culture had differentiated him from the animals. It mattered little whether these savage New World men were perceived as living in a Golden Age or as wallowing in unrelieved bestiality. The fact was that in the European folk imagination, denizens of the New World, like the Wild Men, were living metaphors for antisocial forces that could be brought under control only by...transformation into the spiritual and cultural conformity that Europeans acknowledged as the condition of being civilized.¹⁶

Renaissance Europe constructed a vision and philosophy of the 'savage' presence in the Americas. European narratives accompanying the 'discovery' and 'exploration' of the American continent gave rise to the ultimate creation myth. Beyond simple observation, the construction of the savage identity provided European justification for the elimination and destruction of Indigenous peoples and lands. Moral laws did not need to apply since the 'natives' were not regarded as humans or full-humans. The distinction between civilized and savage as written about by both Christian theologians

¹⁵ Starzyk, Blatz and Ross, 'Historical Injustices', p. 464.

¹⁶ Olive Dickason, *The Myth of the Savage: and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984), p. 273.

and Renaissance writers, fueled centuries of removal of Indigenous presence in the Americas.¹⁷

History has placed an uneven emphasis on the fascination with the savage in the civilized-savage dichotomy. Earliest accounts of Indigenous peoples as savages, wild-men, cannibals, brutes, lawless, without religion, without civilization and associated with the devil circulated as interest in the New World grew. Enduring influences of settler colonialism and historical legacies, like the residential school system were able to endure for as long as they did partly because of this foundational divide between civilized and savage.

It is important to extend the examination beyond the dichotomies and permit the complexities and agencies to present alternative narratives. By creating the residential school system, Canada attempted to eliminate the 'other' by administering a school system that would absorb the 'other' into the self. The result was more complex and what transpired was the creation of an 'other' sub-class in a new Canadian hierarchy.

The Settler Problem: 'commence planting potatoes'

British colonial exploration recorded in great detail all aspects of the Canadian landscape. Colonial records provided advice to the empire on interests in British North America. They record this gradual imposition of the national pattern of the colonizers on to what was misconceived as a blank slate or *terra nullius*.¹⁸ Mystified and frightened by the savage element in British North America, the settlers and explorers often envisioned the impossibility of the civilized living alongside the savage. Lead of an

¹⁷ House of Commons, *Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes (British Settlements)*, 1837, p. 7; George Thomas Daly, *Catholic Problems in Western Canada* (Toronto: The MacMillan Company, 1921), p. 27.

¹⁸ Captain Franklin's Expedition, Journals of the North West Expedition, 1819 to 1823, National Archives (henceforth NA), Colonial Office Records (henceforth CO), Class 6, Piece 15.

exploration, Captain Palliser sent correspondence to London, expressing his concerns about settlement in Canada:

In regards to the fitness of the Settlement of the District traversed by the canoe route the state that there were only a few isolated spots where agriculture could be carried on, and that's only by discovery of mineral wealth would this be region be likely to attract Settlers. At present, the considerable number of Indians living in it subsist by hunting, fishing and trapping and trading furs to the Hudson's Bay Company, but the fitness of the Country for these pursuits by no means a proof of its being fit for those of civilized man.¹⁹

Mid-nineteenth century British North America marked the gestation of the Dominion of Canada and these records of exploration and both colonial and Church exploration recorded their impressions of the existing 'national pattern' of British North America and steadily sought what were thought of as better alternatives for the Native. Discounted immediately as possible equals to the colonizers, the Indians were being built into a recreated colonial society as a lower caste. In his 1857 expedition Captain Palliser replied to the Colonial Office in London with journals and his recommendations on the Indians. He made repeated mention of the need for agricultural life-ways to solve the Indian Problem. To Palliser it all amounted to a hill of potatoes:

But if examples of practical agriculture and facilities for obtaining agricultural implements were offered to the...Crees and the Mountain Stoneys I am certain that they would very rapidly commence planting potatoes and so save themselves from much of the labour and hunger which they have to endure throughout the winter in providing the flesh of the Elk, Moose and Deer as food for their large families.²⁰

¹⁹ Captain Palliser's Expedition, NA CO, Class 6, Piece 36, p. 38.

²⁰ Captain Palliser's Expedition, 31 March 1857, NA CO, Class 6, Piece 36, p. 80.

Barring what the rapid and forced change from wild meats, plants and highly active lifestyle towards a sedentary life of potatoes and processed grains did to the health status of generations of Indigenous people, the imposition of this kind of inherent societal change indicates the institutional changes that would come at the close of the nineteenth century. Palliser insisted that the Indians would be better off leading civilized lives; planting potatoes and pursuing settled homesteads. Truly problematic was the additional insistence that the Indians take up these lifestyles forcibly while also being 'held down' by the colonial hand into a class system and marginalization. These sentiments were firmly reinforced by missionaries and asking the 'wandering Crees to settle down and cultivate the ground' was their chief colonial mission in Canada.²¹

Nicholas Davin echoed very similar observations and opinions on the civilization of the Indigenous peoples in his 1879 *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Halfbreeds* presented to Canada's Department of Indian Affairs. He was asked to evaluate the system of industrial and residential schools in the United States and comment on the efficacy of a similar system in Canada. Without creating distinctions between First Nations and Métis of the United States and Canada, Davin made broad statements. They often echoed the records on British North America from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. On the life of the Indian adult Davin wrote:

Little can be done with him. He can be taught to do a little farming and at stock-raising and to dress in a more civilized manner, but that is all. The child again, who goes to a day school learns little, and what little he learns is soon forgotten while his tastes are fashioned at home, and his inherited aversion to toil is in no way combated.²²

²¹ Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, p. 362.

²² Nicholas Flood Davin, *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Halfbreeds*, 14 March 1879, Ottawa, Library and Archives Canada (henceforth LAC), RG 10.

The colonial record and correspondence from the period preceding and following Confederation was creating a school system but it was also building a new national pattern. As Davin put forth in his plans Indian 'boys are instructed in cattle-raising and agriculture; the girls in sewing, breadmaking and other employment suitable for a farmer's wife'.²³ The national pattern existing in Indigenous communities was generally matriarchal, had pre-existing systems of justice, law, economy, politics and philosophy.²⁴ It remained in contrast to the new patterns.

Agriculture and visions of 'wasted' land

Western 'use' of land promoted a Victorian version of agriculture.²⁵ There was undoubtedly a colonial importance placed on the value of land. The value of land was directly related to the use one could find in the land. Agricultural and horticultural use of land was considered 'civilized'. The colonial gaze over Canada's territories drove the colonial desire to convert what they saw as 'unused land' from savage hands over to the civilized. Canada's West was territory of the buffalo and Indigenous use of the land included all parts of it in balance; animals, waters, lands and people. Slaughter and near-extinction of buffalo in the West was in part an economic venture driven by non-Indigenous, illegal hunting practices, a drive to 'civilize' the lands and it was contributing factor and pre-cursor to mass starvation across the West.²⁶ Agriculture would replace the existing, dominant system of trade and the buffalo-based economy. Lengthy periods of starvation and poverty would mark this mass transition in economies.²⁷

²³ Davin, *Report on Industrial Schools*.

²⁴ Howard Adams, *Tortured People: The Politics of Colonization*. rev. edn. (Penticton: Theytus Books, 1999), p. 3.

²⁵ Read and Webb, *The Catholic Mahdi*, p. 175.

²⁶ Tasha Hubbard, 'Buffalo Genocide in Nineteenth Century North America: 'Kill, Skin and Sell', in *Colonial Genocide*, ed. by Woolford, Benvenuto and Hinton, pp. 292-305, here p. 293.

²⁷ James Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* (Regina; University of Regina Press, 2013), pp. 96-98.

Converting Indigenous lands and Indigenous peoples to an agricultural lifestyle was a significant aim of the colonial project that would take place in Canada between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.²⁸ Assimilative control undertaken by the Indian residential school system strongly promoted an agrarian, peasant life for Indigenous peoples. Residential schools were one part of the colonial project and aimed to create a sub-class inside the new Canadian Dominion.²⁹ Residential schools were designed and operated under the premise that, while they were to convert the Indian children into white children, the product of the schools would inherently be a lower class than the mainstream Canadian society.³⁰ To add to the instructional philosophy of the schools, the land granted to First Nations and Métis was often deemed a low quality or 'useless' land. Premium sections of land were saved for incoming settlers.

The Halfbreed Problem

Living in perpetual margins and Canada's periphery, the Métis, the 'Halfbreeds' in Canada lived in a space that was neither fully Indian nor fully 'white'. In Métis communities alongside Indian Reserves or Euro-Canadian towns in particular, Métis posed a different kind of problem to the Dominion. Served back and forth across provincial and federal jurisdictional boundaries, Métis and the education for the Métis was never administered consistently and was declared an ongoing problem by federal and provincial authorities. Manipulation of Métis children through the administration of the Indian Residential School system was intended to address, in part the Métis 'problem' facing administrators. The problem they felt they were responding to was to attend to the 'destitute Halfbreeds', often considered 'worse off than Indians', living in squatters' homes and too 'lazy and slow' to be educated by the typical provincial schools.³¹ In a letter to the Department of

²⁸ Francis, 'The 'Civilizing' of Indigenous People', p. 52.

²⁹ Sarah Carter, *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy* (Montreal: McGill Queens Press, 1990) p. 14.

³⁰ Carter, *Lost Harvests*, p. 22.

³¹ Government of Alberta, 'Plan for Settlement of Halfbreeds in a Colony', *Report of the Royal Commission Appointed to Investigate the Conditions of the*

Education in Saskatchewan, the Superintendent of Schools E.J. Brant declared there was a great 'Métis problem' in Saskatchewan:

The condition of these Métis is deplorable. Large families live in one or two rooms. Children have grown up without learning to read or write; some can not even speak English reasonably well. I feel that only through education can we help these people, and at the same time prevent our Métis problem from becoming more serious.

Unfortunately, as I said before, I fail to see how adequate schools can be financed unless some Department of either the Dominion or the Provincial government accepts more responsibility for these people, who seem to be looked down upon by both the white people and the Indians.³²

Indian Residential schools played into a shared provincial and federal scheme for social engineering and reconstruction in Métis communities. Social engineering through cooperative farms, control and monitoring of 'illegitimate breeding', evaluation of individual family lives and health status monitoring would accompany education, for the Métis.³³

Treatment of the Halfbreeds was also in response to the military resistance in Saskatchewan and Manitoba at the end of the nineteenth century. The Métis were deemed a danger to the 'educated Indians and the community' and 'worthless' by the Churches; as a result, pleas were made to enroll the Halfbreeds in the Indian schools. Métis were living in largely Catholic-based communities. With French-Catholic origins, Métis in Canada had long

Halfbreed Population of Alberta, Provincial Archives of Alberta (henceforth PAA), 1936.

³² Correspondence from E.J. Brandt, Superintendent of Schools to J.H. McKechnie, Deputy Minister of Education, Province of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan Archives Board (henceforth SAB).

³³ F. Laurie Barron, 'The CCF and the Development of Métis Colonies in Southern Saskatchewan During the Premiership of TC Douglas 1944-1961', *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 10, (1990), pp. 243-270, here p. 248.

connections to the Catholic Church and pleas from the Church to enroll Métis students were heard and addressed by the department of Indian Affairs.

Another question which concerns also the Half-breed, is the education of those of their children related with or under the charge of treaty half-breeds, specially orphans—such children not being treaty half-breeds, or having been wrongly thrown out of the treaty by the fact that their parents left the treaty are growing up uneducated, being a perpetual danger for educated Indians and the community. There is room enough in the existing schools to accept them without injury to the Indians, as they cannot fill the vacancies.... It would make up for the injustice done to the children who were forced out of treaty by their parents and the Government, and for the support due to Half-Breed children born after the last rebellion, and who although not Indians still cannot be considered as white people, and in fact remain in a far worse condition than the Indian children who can be educated... Mr. Laurier has been here and will readily understand the question. It is a pity that political reasons prevented from applying to education the money given in scrip, which will be of no or little use to them.³⁴

Fear of the Métis population emerging as a danger to the non-Indigenous population, educated Indians or to themselves increased Métis attendance to the Indian residential schools. Through Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, in particular, the 'betterment' of Halfbreeds often grew to include denominational schooling or the Indian residential school system.

In order to address the increasing Halfbreed problem at residential schools the Department of Indian Affairs created classes of Halfbreeds. Only the Halfbreeds of the second and third class would be admitted to the schools.

³⁴ Extract from a letter dated the 19 July 1899, From the Rev. Father Hugonaard Ottawa, LAC, RG 10, Vol. 6031, File 150-9, part 1.

Created to 'discourage illegitimate breeding', this policy continues to dispel the historical myth in Canada, that these schools were created entirely out of benevolence and because they were requested by Indigenous peoples.

Classification of children by social and racial characteristics was done in the interest of the Canadian mainstream public. The Department of Indian Affairs policy stated:

Halfbreeds may be grouped into three fairly well-defined classes:

1. Those who live, in varying degrees to conditions, the ordinary settled life of the country;
2. Those who live, in varying degrees, the Indian mode of life;
3. Those who - and they form the most unfortunate class in the community - are the illegitimate offspring of Indian women, and of whom white men are not the begetters. Those in the first class were required to make a claim to the government of the Dominion for the education of their children. Those in the third class were entitled to participate in Indian schools and, in so far as when Indian treaties were made, the illegitimate children of Indian treaty women were excluded and payment of annuity money on their behalf was denied. This policy was developed to discourage "illegitimate breeding." Those in the second class, however, may be divided into three groups: those who lived apart from Indians but followed somewhat an Indian mode of life; those who lived in the vicinity of Indian reserves; and those who lived on reserves:

What is so readily and so often charged against people of mixed blood is the result, not of blood, but of environment ... for such schools were established to meet treaty obligation towards Indians, but as a means of preventing, in the public interest, a race of wild men growing up whose hands would be against all men and all men's hands against them.³⁵

³⁵ Letter signed by Emile J. OMI of St. Albert, Albert Pascal of Prince Albert, Adilard OMI of St. Boniface, Olivier Elizard of Regina and Emile Grouard of

Hierarchical organization of children allowed both Churches and Indian Affairs to continually manipulate the attendance and discharge of students at the schools. Indian Affairs, attempting to save capital and Churches attempting to save more souls than other denominations, would use Métis children and these policies to move children in and out of the schools.³⁶

Both the department of Indian Affairs and the provinces monitored Métis parents, children and families, but neither was willing to take an administrative or fiscal responsibility for them. A great deal of debate circulated between provincial representatives, Church administrators and the department of Indian Affairs over Métis attendance. How the Métis would attend the schools was an early focus of residential school administrators. Famous for his Indian Affairs administration and policies, Duncan Campbell Scott penned this instruction to Indian Schools, on the admission of Métis children to the schools:

A well-defined line drawn between half-breeds, properly speaking, and Indians and while the Minister does not consider that the children of half-breeds proper, of Manitoba and the Territories should be admitted into Indian Schools and paid for by the Department, still he is decidedly of the opinion that all children, even those of mixed blood, whether legitimate or not, who live upon an Indian reserve and whose parents on either side live as Indians upon a reserve, even if they are not annuitants, should be eligible for admission to schools. It should be remembered in this connection that boarding and industrial schools were not established for the purpose of carrying out the terms of treaty, or complying with any provisions of the law, but that they

Athabaska Provincial Archives of Manitoba (henceforth PAM), RG 10, vol. 6039, file 160-1, part 1.

³⁶ Larry Chartrand, Tricia Logan and Judy Daniels, *Métis History and Experience and Residential Schools in Canada* (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2006), p. 74.

were instituted in the public interest, so that there should not grow up upon reserves an uneducated and barbarous class.³⁷

Métis life through the first half of the twentieth century grew towards urban centres, remote communities, Métis communities and a growing group of road allowance communities, primarily in Western Canada. Up from the road allowance, the tract of land between the road and the crown property line grew entire communities of Métis in the West. Small tents, shacks and homes occupied the sides of the roads, in many rural or semi-rural areas of Western Canada. Occupying this literal periphery of Canadian society, the Métis were viewed as squatters and posed a problem of social welfare and potential demands for a relief scheme, for the destitute Métis and their children. In response to being forced from their lands, forced from their homes and facing heavy discrimination in mainstream Canada, Métis re-created their former communities on road allowances, shantytowns. Rarely safe or welcome to live a Euro-Canadian 'mode of living', Métis created their own. Often, the solution to the problem was to remove children from the existing Métis communities.

Métis would become part of a social experiment through the early to mid-twentieth century. Métis were outside the jurisdiction of Indian Affairs so they had a level of free will over their own communities that Indians did not. This encouraged the government to apply creative solutions to their 'Métis problem'. These solutions spanned from creating co-operative farms, discouraging illegitimate breeding to the proposal to remodel Métis communities after Paraguayan 'reductions' in Western Canada. Consideration for Métis admittance or discharge from Indian residential schools was based on this broader scheme of social adhesion and reconstruction. A Royal Commission on Halfbreeds was conducted in Alberta in 1935 and what

³⁷ Extract from Memorandum of DC Scott, Accountant, 11 December 1906, to the Deputy Superintendent General, Relative to the Admission of Half-Breeds to Indian Schools, LAC.

resulted was the *Métis Betterment Act*, which recommended colonial systems used in seventeenth century South America and eighteenth century United States for use in Métis communities along with various other schemes. The Report on the Royal Commission proposed farm colonies and agriculture, like the Paraguayan Reductions for the Métis. It states:

But this idea of a farm colony is not new, it has already proved a success among the South-American Indians who resembled more our Indians than our half-breeds... The colonies were known as "Reductions". From the year 1607, during a century and a half, as many as forty-six Reductions were established among these lazy tribes, at one time forming a population of 100 000 people...Consequently, the Indians, indolent and careless by disposition had to be trained to regular work.

The economic basis was a sort of Christian commonwealth; the land belonging to the community was apportioned and a part allotted to the families; agricultural instruments and draught-cattle were loaned from the common supply. Separate plots were set aside as common fields called "God's property" which were cultivated by common labour, under the guidance of missionaries.... The Indians, naturally averse to work and though-less were brought up to systematic labour only by well-regulated direction and control. Even children were taught to work, and were employed a few hours every day.³⁸

Continuity between early colonial schemes, dating back to seventeenth century America and the models for colonial schemes into the twentieth century were evident. The government's approach to Métis settlement in Alberta was not to develop a new, integrated community but to apply new plans to very old models. At the centre of the model was the 'Christian commonwealth' and resting these plans on a partnership with Churches and a Christian education.

³⁸ Government of Alberta, 'Plan for Settlement of Halfbreeds in a Colony', PAA.

The Half-breed or half-caste blurred the lines between civilized and savage. The lingering question of what to keep and what to discard from the Métis presence in Canada influenced government policies. The government and Churches were not in the business of investing federal capital into residential schools and simultaneously supporting social welfare for destitute and outcast Halfbreeds. The Report categorically partitioned the 'Halfbreed Problem' and the findings largely on the premise that the Halfbreed, like the Indian was a ward of the state. It states: 'He will remain a good big child with the qualities and deficiencies of that age.'³⁹ Agency as political actors and economic independence in Métis communities was largely ignored and the two contingencies were laid out by the report: education and agriculture.

As was indicated in the report of the Royal Commission, the object in view is to give an "ultimate solution" to the half-breed problem, to render them self-supporting, by educating and guiding them along the only line which offers them hope of a future independence, that is agriculture and stock-raising.... In order to be successful, however, it is absolutely imperative that the man in charge be most familiar with the nature and disposition of the half-breed, for the problem is just as much psychological as economic.⁴⁰

The psychological problem of the Halfbreed was described in the report. The Métis were generous and the 'men are as sensitive as their wives are', but are child-like, lazy and lack any foresight. A caricature and construction of the Métis through commissions and reports created a divide between the class and categorization of Halfbreed and of the Indian. There would be several approaches towards coercing Métis to the Canadian 'mode of living' though. N.L Reid, Director of School District Organization in the Province of Saskatchewan stated: 'Education of the children of the Métis is one phase of a

³⁹ Government of Alberta, 'Plan for Settlement in Alberta'.

⁴⁰ Government of Alberta, 'Plan for Settlement in Alberta'.

larger problem – the adjustment of these people to our mode of living.’⁴¹ What were described as great acts of benevolence and of social ‘uplift’ for Indians, the residential schools meant social ‘rehabilitation’ or reconstruction for the Métis, rather than a way to grant either of the communities a source of education. In some respects, Métis were considered failures by the government, since they were not identifying as Indian or white, but instead creating their own ‘Native’ community. These social and economic divides between the classes of Indian and Halfbreed would form the policy basis for residential school admissions. Never white enough for provincial schools and not red enough for residential schools, Métis were outsiders to the system, but often subjected to many of the same treatment as other students.

Inuit

Like the Métis, Inuit occupied a place in Canada that was neither ‘Indian’ nor white. Residential schools appeared in the Arctic and several parts of the North later than in Southern Canada. Government attention to the North grew following World War II and the threat of the Cold War. Arctic sovereignty was part of a Canadian agenda and similar to colonial interests in the West, fearing 19th century American annexation, Arctic territories needed to be ‘claimed’. Inuit, who were considered ‘primitive’ and living in what was considered ‘inhumane’ conditions in the Arctic, were considered to be part of the residential school system. Missions, small and typically Anglican had been present in the Arctic since the start of the 19th century.⁴² Considered cold, ‘barren’ and remote, the ‘primitive’ Inuit lives were left alone while Indigenous people to the South faced contact and colonialism much earlier.

Political and social structure in the Arctic under Inuit governance was quite different from First Nations bands and reserves systems. Colonial control of

⁴¹ Correspondence, Mr. NL. Reid, Director of School District Organization, Province of Saskatchewan, 20 November 1939, Saskatoon, SAB.

⁴² M.R. Hargrave, ‘Changing Settlement Patterns amongst the MacKenzie Eskimos [Inuit] of the Canadian Northwestern Arctic’, in *Canada’s Changing North*, ed. William Wonders (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s Press, 2003), pp. 163-173, here p. 164.

Inuit included a 'dog tag' system used to number all of the Inuit peoples in the Arctic. Inuit were provided with numbered discs to wear in order to indicate where they lived or where they were first identified and an identification number.⁴³ The system operated from the Census in 1935 until the late 1960s or 70s.⁴⁴ Inuit were also subject to questions of Arctic sovereignty like the creation of the Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line, built during the Cold War as a method of monitoring aircraft entering Arctic airspace. Rapid change in the Arctic caused starvation and altered the relationship between the Inuit and the land.⁴⁵ The earliest influences of persistent organic pollutants and climate change occurred in the Arctic and Inuit homes have been lost across the Arctic to dramatic changes in weather patterns.⁴⁶

Inuit of Labrador also attended Moravian Schools, operated by the Moravian Church. Indicative of the inconsistencies in both the school administration and compensation schemes in Canada, Survivors of the Moravian schools were not included in the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement (IRSSA). A number of day schools, tent hostels and provincially-funded or operated schools did not make the official list of schools attached to the IRSSA. As a result, residential school Survivors that attended 'unlisted' schools were not entitled to compensation under the IRSSA even if they shared similar experiences and abuses.

Often, Inuit also attended school living in tent hostels, day schools and schools in what were considered 'highly remote' locations. Their experiences were often similar in terms of rates of physical and sexual abuses, forced

⁴³ James Scott, *Decoding Subaltern Politics: Ideology, Disguise and Resistance in Agrarian Politics* (London: Routledge, 2012), p. 122.

⁴⁴ Scott, *Decoding Subaltern Politics*, pp. 123-124.

⁴⁵ Colin Samson, 'Dispossession and Canadian Land Claims: Genocidal Implications of the Innu Nation Land Claim', in *Colonial Genocide*, ed. by Woolford, Benvenuto and Hinton, pp. 246-270, here pp. 248-249; Stephen Jewczyk, 'Davis Inlet: A Community in Crisis', in *Canada's Changing North*, ed. by Wonder, pp. 361-363.

⁴⁶ Margaret Uyauperk Aniksak, Paallirmiut, Aniksak and Suluk, n.d.a: 13, in *Uqalurait: An Oral History of Nunavut*, compiled and edited by John Bennett and Susan Rowley (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 2004) p. 119; Mariano Aupilaarjuk, Aivilingmuit, ILUOP, in *Uqalurait*, Bennett and Rowley, eds., p. 121.

assimilation and language extinction but quite distinct in other respects. Residential school education came in each form, regardless of the size or structure of the school. Children accustomed to life in all regions of the Arctic were facing conversion to Christian and Euro-Canadian life but were also facing Southern-normative style, as many were expected to live an agrarian 'settled' life on traditional lands that simply did not allow for it to occur that way. In chapters that follow, several Inuit Survivor testimonies demonstrate these contrasts. Often Inuit were forcibly removed great distances in order to attend schools and rapid change often meant children attended two to four different schools over their lifetime.⁴⁷

The Imposition of a New National Pattern

Imposition of a national pattern and the prohibition of the existing national pattern were included in the early plans for the Indian residential school system. These two phases, described also by Raphael Lemkin in his definition of genocide were repeatedly carried out in daily operation and administration of these schools. Continually removing language, religion, ontology and physical connections to Indigenous life and replacing it with Christian, assimilated, national patterns are described in the following chapters. These were not simple boarding schools. Introducing the schools as a dominant apparatus for the imposition of a new national pattern followed waves of legislation and treaties carried out by the settler-colonizers. While Indian treaties and Half-breed legislation drawn up by Canada were originally designed to provide and protect education for Indian and Half-breed children, there is clear evidence that indicates that these treaties and Acts were not the motivation for creating the schools.⁴⁸ All of the original, numbered treaties signed between Canada, its First Nations and Halfbreeds included provisions for schools to be built on reserves and for education to

⁴⁷ Heather Igloliorte, *We Were So Far Away: The Inuit Experience at Residential School* (Ottawa: Legacy of Hope Foundation, 2011), Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Legacy, The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Volume 5* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 2015), pp. 38-47.

⁴⁸ PAM, RG 10, Vol. 6031, File, 150-9, part 1.

be provided for children who were subject to the treaties. Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Morris recorded his part of the treaty negotiation process in 1880. In his recollections of the negotiations of Treaty three at North West Angle, he states:

We are all children of the same Great Spirit, and are subject to the same Queen. I want to settle all matters both of the past and the present, so that the white and red man will always be friends. I will give you lands for farms, and also reserves for your own use. I have authority to make reserves such as I have described, not exceeding in all a square mile for every family of five or thereabouts. It may be a long time before the other lands are wanted, and in the meantime you will be permitted to fish and hunt over them. I will also establish schools whenever any band asks for them, so that your children may have the learning of the white man.⁴⁹

Provisions for a school-house to be placed on each Reserve costing the government a 'slight expense'⁵⁰ would come alongside additional provisions including the prohibition of alcohol, a grant of five dollars per annum for each Indian man, woman and child, agricultural implements and granted permission for Indians to hunt and fish within the ceded territory.⁵¹ Less than a decade would pass from the time when the treaties were signed and provisions for modest school-houses would expand exponentially, into a century long residential school system.

Residential and industrial schools were not a Canadian invention. The Indian residential school system was born of the British boarding schools model and the Indian schools system in the United States.⁵² Creating an empire of their own, American colonists attempted many false starts towards Indian

⁴⁹ A. Morris, *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians* (Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1880), p. 82.

⁵⁰ Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, p. 433.

⁵¹ Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, pp. 425-433.

⁵² Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, pp. 40-41.

education. Advice from Britain consistently supported assimilative education, religion and agriculture. Advice from the United States heeded the warnings of Indian uprisings and retaliatory violence.⁵³ Missionary schools existed in Canada for over a century and the work of religious conversion of natives had been taking place in Upper Canada and the East since the late 1600s. Mission schools extended and created some of the first schools west of Ontario for Halfbreed children, primarily of fur trade company partners. The schools were not new to Indigenous communities as religious institutions but they were new as a government-led system for large-scale 'aggressive civilization'⁵⁴ to serve the needs of the new Dominion.

Davin's 1879 *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds* observed and predicted the fall-out of the school system based on observations of the American system. Identifying the 'attendant distress', Davin continued to cite the 'impossibility' of an entire race of men facing this kind of conversion to settled life.⁵⁵ In his 1879 report he states:

No race of men can be suddenly turned from one set of pursuits to another set of a wholly different nature without a great attendant distress. But suddenly, to make men long accustomed to a wild unsettled life, with its freedom from restraint, its excitement and charm, take to the colourless monotony of daily toil, the reward of which is prospective, is impossible.⁵⁶

Acknowledging and describing the 'attendant distress' that would accompany the school system, Davin continued to encourage the creation of a school system in Canada. This distress was projected on to the Indians and did not seem to deter his recommendations. Cost and efficacy of the school system

⁵³ Nicholas Flood Davin, *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Halfbreeds*, Sir John A. MacDonald Papers, Vol. 91, 14 March 1879, [Davin Report] p. 9, LAC, MG 26, 35428-45.

⁵⁴ Davin, *Report on Industrial Schools*, p. 1.

⁵⁵ Davin, *Report on Industrial Schools*, p. 9.

⁵⁶ Davin, *Report on Industrial Schools*, p. 9.

was the concern of the department. The 'gradual education' of Indians would encompass the Dominion's desires for a civilized race, ending land disputes with Indians and Half-Breeds and Davin's dismissal of the Indian, for 'little can be done with him'.⁵⁷ His warnings to the government of the Dominion included a warning against provoking rebellious behaviour from Indians and Half-breeds. He heeded warnings from Indian discontent in the United States: 'We have war-like and excited refugees within our territory.'⁵⁸ Naming the Indian tribes as refugees in their own land and describing their temperament as 'war-like' meant Canada placed them in this pre-existing a class structure. Dismissing claim to their own lands, these Indian 'refugees', by Davin's account must be controlled by this school system as further protection to the incoming population of settlers. These recommendations ring through with recounted tales of a rebellious, refugee Indian 'incapable of embracing the idea of a nation.'⁵⁹ Hopeless and shiftless in these descriptions, the aggressive assimilation through Indian schools was the dominant hope for Indian races.

Homogenization of the 'savage' into a singular category and the erasure of tribal identities and lines allowed for an easy transfer of other colonial practices into Canada. Dissolving the complexities of Indigenous identities contributed to an 'Indian Problem' that over-simplified the relationships between individual Indigenous communities and colonizers. Assuming that exchanges with newcomers to Canada would conform to the same patterns or results in the United States or other British colonies created unilateral responses to the Indians like boarding school systems, illegally administered treaties, forced removals and military interventions. Between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, imperial policies were simultaneous hand-me-downs from the United States and existing British imperial instructions on how to 'deal' with the Indians. It should not have been a surprise to colonial governments in British North America that transplantation of colonial policy between colonies seemingly mirrored the 'problems' found in all colonies.

⁵⁷ Davin, *Report on Industrial Schools*, p. 2.

⁵⁸ Davin, *Report on Industrial Schools*, p. 10.

⁵⁹ Davin, *Report on Industrial Schools*, p. 11.

Aggressive civilization and assimilation⁶⁰ took many forms in colonial projects and caused many of the same devastating results on Indigenous populations. These systems of tutelage were often created to benefit the state rather than the Indigenous nations, so when similar 'Indian problems' continually replicated for the settler, it is not surprising that they replicated the same cycles of redress.

Religious Order in Canada

In a word, they were uncivilized; they were savage men of the wilds with unaccountable ways of their own; they were heathens, with no knowledge of God and his favourite son, the white man; they were not descendants of Abel but of Cain, or perhaps of some later reprobate, who knows! ⁶¹

Hybridity and multi-ethnicity have long defined Canada and Canadian identity. Historically, a French-English colonial nation, the inherited religious rivalries of the Empire transposed decisively into the Dominion of Canada.⁶² Indian residential schools were the ultimate vessel for promotion of both Catholicism and Protestantism in Canada. The drive towards political balance or unity was in part, the impetus of Confederation in 1867. There was to be a political and geographical transformation of the territory in the Dominion of Canada at the close of the nineteenth century. A great deal of that transformation relied on the appeasement of Catholic and Protestant Canada. In part, this was another role that the Indian residential school played in the new Dominion.

Waves of missionaries entered Canada long before creation of the Dominion with limited prior knowledge of the 'native', aside from the journals of various explorers and company officials.⁶³ Catholic and Protestant interests drove missionary boundaries and Canada's proposed school system only

⁶⁰ Davin, *Report on Industrial Schools*, p. 11.

⁶¹ Barbeau, *Indian Days*, p. 42.

⁶² McIntyre, *Colonies into Commonwealth*, p. 69.

⁶³ L. Codignola, 'The Holy See and the Conversion of the Indians in French and British North America, 1486-1760', in K. Kupperman (ed.), *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), p. 197.

continued to agitate existing rivalries. Missionaries were facing what they believed to be thousands upon thousands of conversions to their religion at the advent of these residential and industrial schools. Many Churches had established a system of denominational schools in Canada long before the creation of Canada, the nation-state. With plans for 'converting masses' of Indians in Canada and creation of hundreds of new schools, the government caused a scramble from Churches in Canada.⁶⁴

There seemed to be few alternatives proposed beyond complete conversion of the 'natives'. Church officials carried out their duties of educating children and the 'circle of civilized conditions' bred new generations of young Indigenous children.⁶⁵ Atrocious behaviour of the clergy extended beyond the actions of a few 'bad apples'. Priests and nuns had total control over the children and the schools. Abuses came at the hands of individuals but protection and sanction of those individuals came from their Church hierarchy. There was a larger structure that allowed the atrocities committed against children to continue.⁶⁶

Residential schools often had highly populated classrooms. Whether or not the Churches had a level of control over the number of children in each school or each class, the class sizes were often too large.⁶⁷ Some classrooms had up seventy children in each room, dormitories were over-crowded and the workload associated with instruction, discipline and operating as a boarding house for children created a large role for the teachers and members of clergy. Contemporary reports of the Indian residential schools indicate decades of unreported abuses and the wide knowledge of physical

⁶⁴ D.K. Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires: A Comparative Survey from the Eighteenth Century, Second Edition* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1982), p. 42-43.

⁶⁵ Milloy, *A National Crime*, p. 33.

⁶⁶ See Milloy, *A National Crime*, p. 297; Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, pp. 334-337, also see 'Vatican 'must immediately remove child abusers – UN', BBC, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-26044860> Accessed 6 February 2014

⁶⁷ P.H. Bryce, *The Story of a National Crime Being an Appeal for Justice to the Indians of Canada* (Ottawa: James Hope and Sons Ltd, 1922).

and sexual abuse of the schools that went unaddressed by the Catholic and Protestant Churches. There is a level of management that existed in the administration of the schools that would have had to exist in order to address the promotion or erasure of the level of abuse. This would have been in addition to the typical operations of a school that was facing total conversion of 'savage' children to 'civilization'. Conversion of Indigenous children and simultaneous protection for the religious institutions took place from the early nineteenth century and up to the mid twentieth century but the extent of the cost and reach of the religious conversion would not surface until the late twentieth century.

Nationalist Aspirations

Applauded for his great reconciliation of the English-Protestant and French-Catholic divide in Canada, the first Prime Minister, Sir John A. MacDonald provided a total vision for the first years of Confederation. Famous at that time for unifying the country, recent histories reveal MacDonald's lawless administration over Indian Affairs while he valiantly created the railroad and unified the great divides. In one concise summary, Commonwealth historian W.D. McIntyre erases the state-controlled Indigenous removal in the pursuit of 'free homesteads' to settlers. McIntyre is succinct, in stating:

In building Canada's first great political party MacDonald achieved the remarkable feat of uniting Protestant Orangemen of Canada West and Catholic *Bleus* of Canada East. Thus MacDonald was the great reconciler of the passions of the old colony...The last spike was driven into the track of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885, after massive government land grants, subsidies and loans had kept the company from disaster. A revolt by the Indians and metis of the Saskatchewan River region in 1885, led once more by Louis Riel, was suppressed by force and ended in Riel's execution. Free homesteads were then

granted to settlers to open up the prairies. The Dominion overcame its growing pains.⁶⁸

This is the concise narrative of Canada's creation. Indians and Métis were suppressed, 'free' land was granted to settlers and Prime Minister MacDonald unified a fractured colony. This rapid period of change and of 'growing pains' that drove nationalism to 'free land grants' required rapid and government manipulation of Indigenous peoples and territory to achieve the aforementioned 'transformation' of a nation. Indian Residential schools were operated in part by the federal department of Citizenship and Immigration for a period of time that the schools were under federal administration.

Simultaneously, Canada was constructing its national project and it was dismantling Indigenous nationhood. Speaking from a purely political perspective, Indian nationhood did not disappear but colonial Canada diminished its capacity and efficacy at numerous junctures. Imposition of new political order and eclipsing the existing Indigenous nationhood relied upon the community fracture caused by the schools. Removal of children and the secure family unit, removal of language and decimation of spiritual links to governance were clear objectives of the school administrators. Alongside the control over political gatherings, freedom to leave the Reserve and outlawing of ceremonies in the *Indian Act*, the schools blocked off the avenues to full political self-determination. In the following chapters, the testimonies of school Survivors recount these political and economic removals. Former students often reflect on what they learned and the living conditions they would return to. Many faced the chasm between the economic autonomy the schools had promised and the realities of state dependency, when they were sent home.

⁶⁸ McIntyre, *Colonies into Commonwealth*, p. 79.

⁶⁸ John A. Price, *Indians of Canada: Cultural Dynamics* (Scarborough, Ont: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1979), p. 64.

Schools were not eager for producing political-minded students. Settler society and schools alike promoted the idea that abandoning the Indigenous communities was the only path to salvation.⁶⁹ Barbeau, in his ethnography of Canadian Indians, laments:

We have offered the Red Man our religion, our philosophy, our ethics, even our prejudices, in exchange for his own. Our missionaries have taken pains to try and implant our dogmas in his brain, but how successful have they been? Have we taken the same pains to teach him our manual arts or industries?⁷⁰

Church missionaries and handfuls of Indian Affairs officials claimed a disregard for existing political determination. Others claimed that the 'Red Man's' religion and philosophy was simply invalid or non-existent.⁷¹ Additionally, there were settler populations who acknowledged strength in Indigenous governance and fought against First Nations, Métis and Inuit nations. Most notably in the period between 1869 and 1885, Canada intervened militarily into Indigenous defense of their political rights to land and governance. During this period, residential schools were used to house children of families suspected of being loyal to the politically-motivated First Nations and Métis in the west. Indian Affairs maintained records of loyal and disloyal Indians and Half-breeds.⁷² In addition, children were detained at school over the summers or to discourage movement of parents, during periods of rebellion. Creation of the residential school system elevated the nation-building taking place in Canada. National aspirations were expressed through the great scheme of the Canada-Pacific railroad and in the renewed efforts to prevent American annexation. Joining the two oceans and rapidly cutting through Canada's rough latitude required both force and fortitude.

⁶⁹ Brendan Frederick R. Edwards, *Paper Talk: A History of Libraries, Print Culture, and Aboriginal Peoples in Canada Before 1960* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2005), p. 25.

⁷⁰ Barbeau, *Indian Days*, p. 46.

⁷¹ Carter, *Lost Harvests*, p. 131.

⁷² Chartrand, Logan and Daniels, *Métis Experiences*, p. 69.

The railway relied on the broad administration of aggressive assimilation in order to place it across Canada so decisively.⁷³ Assimilation, as a matter of policy in Canada was as much a role of social and political control as it was a matter of 'uplifting' the Natives.⁷⁴

Military interventions into Indigenous nations grew to be both politically and economically taxing to the Canadian state. Schemes like the *Act for Gradual Enfranchisement of Indians* and the 1876 *Indian Act* constrained communities to a halt. As students graduated from the schools there was little or no political or social structure into which they could be re-integrated.⁷⁵

Replacing the national-political order of Indigenous nations because it either did not exist or was to be minimized by the school systems and Reserve system was a strategy employed by the government throughout the administration of the Indian residential schools. Political freedoms were strictly limited for most of the twentieth century by administration of the *Indian Act* and provincial and territorial legislation that limited the political determination of Métis and Inuit. Even with reduced capacity, settler Canadians did not predict the political subversion of Indigenous governance that would promote political determination despite what they were being taught in the schools. The Indian residential school system created generations of 'peasant classes' of Indigenous children that consistently surprised the settler-Canadians.⁷⁶ The Indian residential school caused great social, political and economic voids for the Indigenous nations in Canada. There was little choice but for former residential school students to create political resistance against a state that continually constrained them towards the creation of a class of politically neutered sub-citizens.⁷⁷ Part of the national pattern that they were looking to disrupt was the existing political systems and motivations of First Nations, Métis and Inuit. However, subjected to the residential schools, Reserves, Reserve pass systems and the

⁷³ Carter, *Lost Harvests*, p. 127.

⁷⁴ Carter, *Lost Harvests*, p. 151.

⁷⁵ Neu and Therrien, *Accounting for Genocide*, p. 84.

⁷⁶ Carter, *Lost Harvests*, p. 233.

⁷⁷ Milloy, *A National Crime*, p. 302-305.

Indian Act, Indigenous political systems persevered.⁷⁸ Into the twentieth century, some could say the collective activism of Survivors and the era of redress in part, motivated political change and the drive for self-governance in Canada.

The Disappearing Native

Thieves at home must hang; but he that puts into his engorged and bloated purse the wealth of Indian provinces, escapes.⁷⁹

British colonial agents continually predicted the gradual or inevitable demise of the Native in the colonies. Their reports back to the colonial governments or the Dominion of Canada with detailed examinations of the prospects for solving the 'Indian Problem' would project solutions that only aided the settler societies. Often predicting 'erosion'⁸⁰ of Native character and their early opposition to 'educational reforms', colonial governments recorded the infeasibility of their existing plans for Indian education.⁸¹ Additionally, colonial records from the mid-twentieth century produced on the 'races' of the empire reported the patterns seen in Native settlements and projected only more downfall for the Native. In 1944, A.G. Russell wrote on these projections in *Colour, Race and Empire*. He lamented the 'problems' created by the blacks and natives of the empire, especially for the politicians, economists, sociologists, missionaries and businessmen who must face the 'problems' of the white minority and the masses of black labourers.⁸² Noting that white members of society have such a problem with the races of the empire and have great, taxing work to do to 'solve' all of the problems of inequity in their societies. Russell states: 'the missionary presenting what is mainly a white man's gospel, yet forced to admit the white man's betrayal of

⁷⁸ Mary Ellen Turpel, Aki-Kwe, 'Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms: Contradictions and Challenges', in Patricia Monture, and Patricia McGuire, eds. *First Voices: An Aboriginal Women's Reader* (Toronto: Inanna Publications, 2009), pp. 358-373, here p. 365.

⁷⁹ Alan Gladney Russell, *Colour, Race, and Empire* (London: V. Gollancz, 1944), p. 43.

⁸⁰ Russell, *Colour, Race, and Empire*, p. 160.

⁸¹ Russell, *Colour, Race, and Empire*, p. 160.

⁸² Russell, *Colour, Race, and Empire*, p. 9.

it.⁸³ He cites this as a losing battle, where the knowledge of ‘white man’s betrayal’ and never-ending ‘colour problem’ in the colonies only continues to grow. While colonial records plead for uplift in the Native races, they concurrently bemoan the chasm between colonizer and the colonized. Especially in terms of the repeated attempts to systematically assimilate the Native through indoctrination of religion and agricultural education, the colonizers recorded the futility of their actions. Canadian ethnographer Marius Barbeau detailed the colonial concern for the Native pre-disposition for self-destruction:

It has been Indians’ own folly not to grasp the trend of their destiny when they first encountered white people. Here they stood confronted with a race whose destructive powers and selfishness would invade their lands and their souls in such a way as to smother them out of existence.⁸⁴

As if faced with modernity and European civility, the Native would simply crumble, disappear or succumb to their savage ways, the colonizer operated with benevolence to attempt to save the ‘natives’ from themselves.⁸⁵ The residential schools were to be the ultimate home of benevolence and uplift. Remnant of the past and a tragic race, the Native was pitied and assumed to be completely superstitious and ‘blind’ to the colonizer.

But the Indians were driven by blind impulse to self-destruction, only to suit their conquerors. Their wars never helped any of them, but only stripped the country of its native occupants to such a degree that

⁸³ Russell, *Colour, Race, and Empire*, p. 9.

⁸⁴ Charles Marius Barbeau, *Indian Days on the Western Prairies*, National Museum of Canada. Bulletin no. 163. Anthropological Series, no. 46 (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources, National Museum of Canada, 1960), p. 19.

⁸⁵ Bonita Lawrence, ‘Gender, Race and the Recognition of Native Identity in Canada and the United States: An Overview’, *Hypatia*, 18 (2003), pp. 3-31, here p. 20; Patrick Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings: Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Races 1800-1930* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 66.

today their scattered remnants are easily lost sight of in the turmoil of modernity.⁸⁶

Blind to their destiny or their own lives, the Natives, especially those marked for residential school attendance were not 'subject to law or modernity'.⁸⁷ The settler pedagogies that married the schools between Church and state were operating a system for children that they believed would disappear. Whether it was through assimilation or through his or her 'own folly', settler and Church believed there was a finite tenure to the system of residential schools.

Where absorption into the Canadian body politic did not occur, the state was also aware of the recorded death rates associated with the schools. Believed to be dirty and more susceptible to disease, it was also assumed that the Indian population would continue to decline due to the rise of disease. Chief medical examiner of the department of Indian Affairs, Dr. P.H. Bryce reported on the Indian Schools and the North West Territories. In 1907, Bryce provided statistics and evidence from his review of the schools and he made recommendations to the department of Indian Affairs. Included in his recommendations was the request for improved facilities and medical support to the schools. His report recommends:

Medical attendance as directed by the commissioner for the pupils of each institution will be provided and paid for by the department⁸⁸

Bryce was in communication with the department after the release of this report in 1907 and he would exchange correspondence with the department in follow up to his recommendations. Witnessing no improvements to the

⁸⁶ Barbeau, *Indian Days*, p .20.

⁸⁷ Leslie Thielen-Wilson, *White Terror, Canada's Indian Residential Schools and the Colonial Present: From Law Towards a Pedagogy of Recognition*, PhD Thesis, Department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, 2012, p. 133.

⁸⁸ P.H. Bryce, *Report on the Indian Schools of Manitoba and the North West Territories* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1907), p. 10.

schools and obtaining discouraging responses from the department of Indian Affairs, in 1922 Bryce self-published a volume entitled 'The Story of a National Crime: An Appeal for Justice to the Indians of Canada'.⁸⁹ In this booklet, Bryce outlines the duties of the department of Indian Affairs to care for the Indians as wards of the state under the British North America Act and their failures to honour these duties. In particular, the duty to care for the physical health of the Indians and to keep the spread of tuberculosis under control was a primary concern of Dr. Bryce. His 1907 report and the subsequent departmental correspondence regarding the health status of Indians remains one of the most critical, documented warnings about the safety of the schools and the rising death rates of the schools. Citing failures in Canadian bureaucracies and overwhelming political indifference as catalysts to the demise of the Indians in the schools in his 1922 article, Bryce is concerned:

That the desire for power and for the control appointments should override any higher consideration such as saving the lives as Indians...⁹⁰

The rising death rate of the children coupled with the demonstrative indifference and inaction on the part of the department of Indian Affairs, was the crime, Bryce was describing in his article. As early as 1922, Bryce brought the 'criminal disregard' of the system, to the National Tuberculosis Association and the medical community in Canada. Tracking the rate of disease and death at the school continued, but it was often considered part of the ongoing 'Indian problem' and it was the Indian's destiny to simply, disappear. Belief that Indians were a weaker race and they were 'disappearing tribes' did not increase the likelihood that medical support would match the increasing death rates. Medical professionals, Church representatives and bureaucrats continually predicted physical and mental

⁸⁹ P.H. Bryce, *The Story of a National Crime: An Appeal for Justice to the Indians of Canada* (Ottawa: James Hope & Sons, 1922).

⁹⁰ Bryce, *A National Crime*, p. 12.

demise of Indians and raised alarm about the condition of these schools. Dr. Bryce's report marks a time when public consciousness of the welfare of the Indians, 2000 of whom had just volunteered to fight for the Empire in the Great War was of some public interest. He presents a message about the disappearing Indian to the Minister and Department of Indian Affairs. Representative of several administrators and priests, corresponding to Indian Affairs, Bryce states:

If the writer had been much disturbed by the incapacity or inertia of a medical Minister in the matter of the Indian health situation, he now saw that it was hopeless to expect any improvement in it when the new Minister of Health, who had posed as the Bayard of Social Uplift, the Protagonist of Prohibition, the Champion of the Oppressed Labour, the Sir Galahad of Women's Rights, and the *preux Chevalier* of Canadian Nationalism, could with all the accumulated facts and statistics before him condemn to further indefinite suffering and neglect these Wards of the Canadian people, whom one Government of another had made treaties with and whom deputies and officials had sworn to assist and protect.⁹¹

Considered inevitability or a characteristic of Indian life, the death and demise of Indigenous peoples did not raise the alarm that many hoped it would. Children would continue to die at these schools and like Bryce's 1907 report, records of the deaths would become forgotten or left unaddressed.

Rapid social and political change

Historians tell us that a purely negative and centrifugal movement, traumatic recoil from the American Revolution, began the Canadian experiment. A sterile force somehow fertilized the cold northern ovum.⁹²

⁹¹ Bryce, *A National Crime*, p.12.

⁹² B. Hutchison, *Canada: Tomorrow's Giant* (Toronto: Longman's Green, 1957), p. 5.

Envisioned as a barren, impenetrable force, the vast expanse of Canada did not have the seamless transition into nationhood that most of Canadian historiography indicates.⁹³ A sense of urgency rose when Métis and First Nations took up arms against colonizers in the late nineteenth century. American predictions about rebel Indians and Half-breeds were coming true in Canada. Responding to rapid change, across the country, Indigenous nations were demonstrating their self-determination and were left to fight for their land title and rights. Indigenous nations responded to the rapid change in Canada. Immigrant and settler populations were growing at an unprecedented rate and during this same period.⁹⁴

Existing social or political order in Canada underwent considerable change during the period between 1867 and 1920. The mass civilization project of the Indian residential schools would propel settlement along with the Reserve System created a clearance of land titles.⁹⁵ It was not only the Department of Indian Affairs in the new Dominion of Canada that made the schools a matter of priority. The Departments of the Interior and Agriculture also supported the financial and administrative operation of the residential schools. The 'Indian Problem' extended its mandate beyond the auspices of Indian Affairs into a number of departments of the government of Canada. Control of Indian populations was an inter-departmental affair and the schools would later be used by the Canadian war effort to recruit students from the schools into the Great War and World War II. Considered a type of military training, the Canadian War office promised enfranchisement and land title to young graduates of the residential schools to fight with Allies, in both world wars.⁹⁶ Promises of enfranchisement benefits, payments and land were never met. There is a tragic history in Canada about the administration

⁹³ Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires*, p. 107.

⁹⁴ McIntyre, *Colonies into Commonwealth*, p. 20.

⁹⁵ Carter, *Lost Harvests*, p. 155.

⁹⁶ National Defence Canada, Aboriginal People in the Canadian Military, Chapter five, the World Wars, <http://www.cmp-cpm.forces.gc.ca/dhh-dhp/pub/boo-bro/abo-aut/chapter-chapitre-05-eng.asp>

of war benefits to Indigenous veterans who returned from foreign wars.⁹⁷ In post-war Canada the return of veterans started to change Canadian's awareness of the Indian from 'lazy' and 'rebellious' to the 'progressive Indian'.⁹⁸ Public perceptions started to change; Indigenous political movements were gathering momentum and the numbers of First Nations, Métis and Inuit that enlisted in the world wars did not go unnoticed by Canadians. Canadians were beginning to see Indigenous veterans as the same class as the rest-of-Canada but post-war economy did not benefit Indigenous Canadians as it did for the rest-of-Canada. Many veterans were returning to seasonal unskilled labour and communities that were still divided by class and assimilation schemes.⁹⁹ Often treated as equals during wartime, many veterans felt cast aside by the country they had just enlisted to defend. Government programmes for assimilation were making promises of an improved standard of living but socio-economic conditions often did not improve in Indigenous communities.

After children graduated from the schools, Indian Agents monitored their perceived progress. Former students were assessed after graduation on whether they were successful graduates and if they should be taken back into the schools. As an example, a young woman who recently left the school would be assessed by Indian Affairs as 'doing well' if she married a non-Indian, was living a 'settled life' or had children. A woman was typically listed as not doing well, if she married a Halfbreed or was married to an Indian, living on a reserve. The schools often arranged marriages for students, because they were also considered to be 'doing well' if they married other Christianized students.¹⁰⁰ Control of both admission and discharge of students was controlled by Indian Affairs and the Churches. There were limits on how far an Indian could exert control his or her own career destiny.

⁹⁷ National Defence Canada, Chapter 5.

⁹⁸ R. Innes, "'I'm on Home Ground Now. I'm Safe': Saskatchewan Aboriginal Veterans in the Immediate Postwar Years, 1945-1946", *The American Indian Quarterly*, 28, 3-4, (2004), p. 686.

⁹⁹ Innes, "I'm on Home Ground Now", p. 691.

¹⁰⁰ LAC, RG 10, Vol. 6032, File 150-14, part 2.

So much was predetermined by state, Church and the schools and this left social and political order in Indigenous communities often tense or tested. Indigenous political self-determination in this period was strained but it undoubtedly survived.

Conclusion

Canada's typically cold, tranquil national identity is warmed by comfortable histories. In an era of redress and reconciliation non-Indigenous Canadians have been asked to engage in nation re-building and re-construction of relationships with Indigenous Canadians. Recognition of a Canadian history, which includes the Indian residential schools as a significant part of the creation of Canada as a nation-state and as settler-colonial genocide, is an important step in addressing the shattered relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples.

Through the operations of Church missions and residential schools, the bureaucratic administration of the school system was able to reach multiple generations of Indigenous children. The Churches had woven themselves into Canada's national fabric and their highly structured administration of this system is greatly under-emphasized in the making of Canada's modern nation-state. The Churches were able to influence every aspect of an Indigenous child's life. Regardless of whether or not students felt they had a positive or negative experience in the schools, the Churches and school administrators had control over the spiritual, emotional, physical, sexual, political, economic and social lives of generations. They exerted this control systematically and methodically.

Canada restricted political, economic and social determination for Indigenous people, using the residential schools as a vessel for control. The schools eliminated a national pattern while they systematically replaced it with the national pattern of the Euro-Canadian settler society. It may be unpleasant or even painful for Canadians to confront the burden of a settler-colonial legacy on the pages of their histories. Apathetic, ashamed or guilty, Canadians shy

away from histories that are less than victorious when they recount nation-building myths. Perhaps this is the vehicle that is necessary to build national, history identity and pride. However, what is the cost of perpetuating historical myth in national memory?

Chapter 3

Admission to Residential Schools

They took all our belongings...Right in the corner was a stack of red boxes that looked liked coffins, to me. They were red. This was where all our braids, our babies, our clothes, our moccasins, any remnant of who we were, were put in these boxes. When they were full they took the boxes outside and put them in the incinerator. That just about killed us because you don't burn our hair. You don't burn our feathers, and our babies. Everything was burned.¹

The named concepts of 'boarding schools' or 'residential schools', as they are understood in either a contemporary or historic context do not clearly explain the institutions created in Canada to transform Indian children into white children. This is one major discrepancy that separates the popular history and narrative of the schools and the stories and histories of what happened inside the schools and why they were created. Imperial benevolence created a scenario where masses of Indigenous children would benefit from being forcibly removed from their parents for the entire duration of their childhood. Moreover, imperial dominance granted moral and religious permission to remove and convert these children. This was all considered an inevitability, since the Indian children and all Indians, as empire constructed them as a race, were all going to die anyway.² If there was a broad understanding on the existence and purpose of these institutions, held by the Canadian public it was that these were for 'uplift' and the benefit of the children.³

As stated in the previous chapter, the impetus behind the system was rooted in boarding school systems found throughout the British Empire, its colonies and in the Christian devotion to converting the 'savage'. Public memory and histories often mention treaty negotiations during which First Nations were

¹ Female, attended St. Mary's Catholic School, *Our Stories Our Strength (OSOS) Oral History Collection*, Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation and Legacy of Hope Foundation, interview recorded February 2007.

² Milloy, *A National Crime*, p. 27.

³ Milloy, *A National Crime*, p. 27-28.

requested schools to be placed on reserves. While this remains true the elements of forcible relocation and the replication of a system seen throughout empires meant the school system did not resemble the education hoped in the negotiated treaties or land transfers. I base some weight of my argument on the forced nature of the Indigenous child removals. I find the removals show this classic 'collision' between Indigenous and non-Indigenous at the point where I start this chapter, in the first admission to the schools. Opening this chapter with the first encounter of children and the clergy, police or social workers that may have taken them to school demonstrates one of the most important epochs of residential school history. What histories of Canada do not often indicate are the distances traveled and the capital spent on abducting children. Removing children away from their parents and the abrupt admission to schools that followed demonstrates the rapid and massive changes the children would face.

Following their removal from their homes, in short order, children were numbered, their names were changed, their hair was cut off, clothes were burned and they were separated by age and gender. In order to proceed with the 'transfer from one group to another', the physical transformation of the children upon arrival was an essential phase of the removals. The transformation of children is discussed in the subsequent section and the rhetoric of 'civilizing' children by removal of all of what they knew to be 'human' identifiers is examined through Survivor testimony. Church and state wanted to achieve 'elevated' status in society for the 'Indian'. Survivor stories of this same period reflect on feelings of being 'dehumanized' and of being loaded-up like animals. Indigenous and non-Indigenous concepts of civility and society are clearly at odds with one another and this is demonstrated during this period of school history. Following the discussion of civilization procedures, this chapter will turn to Christianization and roles of the Church influenced by denominational rivalries. Catholic and Protestant Churches had colonial interests in Canada and an ongoing need to 'save souls' and convert them to their brand of Christianity. It is important to note the role of Survivor statements in this chapter supports the broad finding that

there were economic, political and colonial purposes to the story of 'uplift' within Christian doctrine.

In the sections that follow, the context of Métis communities and families who were predominantly Roman Catholic and Catholic mission schools in French communities and in Western Canada were built as some of the first schools in those parts of Canada. Presence of the Anglican Church was strong in the Arctic and they have a long-standing relationship with the Inuit. Undoubtedly there were parents who wanted their children to attend the schools. However, the nature of forced attendance is underemphasized and it is only through Survivor stories which often describe this initial trauma of being separated from parents, family and community, that we learn of the impact these separations had. It was that effort, to separate the children and disassemble each segment of Indigenous communities that preceded any Indigenous community desires for Western education. What is most revealing about the removal of the children is the way that they were taken. The children were often taken forcibly and by all Survivor accounts no expense seemed to be spared when it came to searching for children and sending them to the schools. This chapter will examine the initial removal of children from their homes, the extensive network of administration required to operate logistical removal of First Nations, Métis and Inuit children from often remote portions of Canada and the experiences of children entering the schools for the first time.

In institutions or schools constructed in historical narratives as 'critically underfunded'⁴ and terribly managed, it is stunning to see where a great deal of the capital was spent. These schools are now famous for malnutrition, for not providing children with adequate clothing and for their alarming rates of disease and death, all common trends at the schools and often explained away by claims of a lack of funding. According to many records, schools did not have enough money for medicine, food or clothing; however, these realities stand in stark contrast to the lengths the government and Churches went to, in order to remove children from their homes. The close of the

⁴ Milloy, *National Crime*, p. 193-194.

chapter will reflect on the quality of education and the children's work day at the schools. Operation of the schools often relied on government capital as well as labour contributed by the students.

Taken

It should be made clear that not all children were taken forcibly into the residential schools. In many cases, parents who attended the schools wanted their children to attend as well. There is also a narrative that supports a more amicable system in place that describes Indigenous Peoples' willingness to send their children. In the numbered treaties signed between 1871 and 1921, education was often promised to First Nations and some Métis covered by Treaty territories. In Treaty number 1, signed 1871 it states: 'And further, Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school on each reserve hereby made whenever the Indians of the reserve should desire it.'⁵ Reliance on the Treaty agreements assures a level of First Nations sovereignty and partnership with government. However, it should be clear or made evident through the following Survivor statements that what was promised in treaties was not imagined in the residential school system.

Coordinated efforts from community clergy members, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), Department of Indian Affairs (DIA), local Indian Agents as well as social workers in the Child Welfare system all collaborate to track down and take children to the schools. Operating as the intermediaries between colonial and ecclesiastic idealism and what would have been, in part a genuine effort to 'better' the lives of Indigenous children, in their eyes the role of clergy, police, social workers and DIA was essential. Children were transported by plane, schooner, canoe, dog team, snowmobile, taxi, bus, cattle truck and train box car. During transport children were monitored and often taken 'like animals' to these institutions.

⁵ Treaty 1, Between Her Majesty the Queen and the Chippewa and Cree Indians of Manitoba and Country Adjacent with Adhesions, 3 August 1871 (entered into force 30 April 1875).

If we recall Raphael Lemkin's writing on Tasmania and genocide, he cites similar if not the same colonial processes of Indigenous child removals. Lemkin considered the Indigenous child removals in Tasmania and South Africa in historical summaries of genocide. On 'stealing of children', Lemkin recorded: '...magistrates and district constables are to take a census of all native children brought into the district and discover what conditions children have been taken'.⁶ It is clear, as seen through examples of Lemkin's histories and Canada's histories that the processes of enumerating children, recording living conditions of childrens' homes and removing children was carried out by appointed representatives of the crown or the church and was done systematically. Transfer of children from their homes into residential schools in Canada was not simply an issue of logistics and transportation, it was in part of a colonial procedure where Indigenous families were monitored and separated, accordingly.

Transportation to remote communities in Canada's North and Reserve communities has always been costly. North of the 60th Parallel, transportation costs grow and even today, few roads exist that connect these communities to 'the south' of Canada. Chartered planes, large marine vessels and ice roads were not always common and many areas did not receive rail service until the mid to late twentieth century. One student from the Aklavik School, located in Inuvik, Northwest Territories Canada, which is two degrees from the Arctic Circle in the Western Arctic region of Canada recalls the schooner arriving in her community:

I was sent to school when I was just a little guy about 5 years old. And how this happened was the Roman Catholic Mission had put us on board the schooner to go to school, which I didn't know I was going on. So all that time I was only 5 years old and I still had my clothing, no material, nothing, just all complete deerskin clothing.⁷

⁶ Raphael Lemkin, 'Tasmania, Stealing of Children', NYPL Collection.

⁷ Female, attended Aklavik All Saints School, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded July 2006.

Some were picked up by schooner, others by boat:

I didn't know Aklavik. I didn't know where I come from. I don't know how I got there. I know we got there on a boat, but it was my first time in Aklavik.⁸

Those that were not taken along the water, by schooner were also taken by plane to Inuvik and the Sir Alexander MacKenzie School:

I remember the day they picked me up and shipped me out. I remember that day my mother was so busy...I think my dad drove us to the airport. There was a plane waiting for us. I guess it was time to go. I still remember that day because I guess they said that it was time to go now. All of a sudden I changed my mind. I said, "No, I'm not going." I guess it got to a point where it took maybe 2 or 4 White people, big guys, one for each arm and one for each leg to put me on the plane. That's how hard it was. I was struggling with it, kicking and fighting. But eventually we got to Inuvik.⁹

Like many schools this school was named to recognize the great 'discoveries' in Canada. This school was named for Sir Alexander MacKenzie, who was knighted for his travels through Canada, and in particular for the first overland crossing by a European from the Atlantic to Pacific Ocean. Schools named for Christian Saints and European military officials impressed the significance of colonial power from the first step inside the schools.

Costs of travel between distant points across the Arctic have always been high. Transporting children across long distances in the Arctic was costly. Another student who attended two schools in Inuvik, Northwest Territories

⁸ Male, attended, Aklavik All Saints school, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded July 2006.

⁹ Male, attended Sir Alexander MacKenzie School and Inuvik School, *OSOS Collection* interview recorded July 2006.

recalls life on the Distant Early Warning (D.E.W.) Line and transport to the school, by plane.

My dad was working on the D.E.W. Line...remember my father coming down with two White people and going into our house...Maybe an hour later my dad called us in the house and he was telling us we have to go with these two White people. Being young I always respected my parents so I didn't ask questions. They just said we had to go with them. I remember going on the D.E.W. Line plane and flying all the way from the D.E.W. Line site to here in Inuvik. I remember crying all the way and my sister tried to comfort me because I had never been away from my parents.¹⁰

The Distant Early Warning Line or DEW Line in the Arctic was built in the early 1950s as a cold-war era warning system, a partnership between the State of Alaska in the United States and Canada. Built as a series of approximately sixty different radar stations designed to monitor and prevent manned bombers entering American and Canadian airspace from the Soviet Union, the DEW Line spanned from the Northwest corner of Alaska to Baffin Island in Canada and later on to Greenland.¹¹ There have been ongoing and direct impacts of the DEW Line and subsequent NORAD defense systems in the Arctic for the Inuit including influences over housing, transportation, infrastructure, access to health care and education.¹² The DEW Line often offered Inuit work away from their home communities along the radar stations and as an aid to American and Canadian military partners. Transport of children to or from the DEW Line took place often, to populate the residential schools. One student recalls groups of children taken from the

¹⁰ Male, attended Stringer Hall, Samuel Hearne Secondary School, Sir John Franklin School, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded July 2006.

¹¹ F. Robert Naka and William Ward, 'Distant Early Warning Line Radars: The Quest for Automatic Signal Detection', *Lincoln Laboratory Journal*, 12 (2000), pp. 181-204, here p. 182.

¹² Sarah Bonesteel, 'Canada's Relationship with Inuit: A History of Policy and Program Development', Northern and Indian Affairs Canada, *Public History*, (2006), p. 15.

DEW Line to Cambridge Bay (Iqaluktuuttiaq) by plane to school in Inuvik as well:

As far back as I can remember, I was on the D.E.W. Line, the Early Warning System with my older brother...So I got on the plane. When we landed in Cambridge Bay it was only to jump back into another plane. And I couldn't understand why. My memories are very vivid. I can remember riding on the plane with a whole slew of other children. I didn't know what was happening. A lot of children were crying. And I think I was crying but I can't remember too much of it. I think I was crying along with the other children because I can see Cambridge Bay getting further and further away from me when we were on the plane. I was told that my grandfather wanted me at home. But that was --- When we landed in Inuvik I didn't know where we were... It was very scary, very very scary.¹³

Land distance from Cambridge Bay to Inuvik is approximately 1150 kilometres, The administrative and financial planning required to move groups of children between the DEW Line, Cambridge Bay and Inuvik every year for school was considerable. Residents of the North receive an additional living allowance from the government of Canada and common items like food and water often cost triple what they would cost in the South. Private chartered planes, schooners boats and transport operators were all hired at these elevated costs to apprehend and transport children.

Remarks about militaristic removals and dehumanization through transport to the schools were common amongst former students and foreshadow what life would be like inside the institutions. Taken to schools on large cargo trucks, boats or airplanes, students often shared stories of being loaded up 'like animals'. The 'loading up' of students on to trucks was common. A

¹³ Male, attended Sir Alexander MacKenzie School, Inuvik, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded July 2006.

student from All Saints Anglican Residential School in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan recalls the army truck loaded with children:

I remember there were trucks --- Today it reminds me of an Army camp. As a matter of fact, that's exactly where we were going as we went along in the big trucks loaded with children. We were taken to the place where we were going to be. It was an old Army base there so our dormitories were all like in the back of this regular Army base.¹⁴

Another student who attended the Anglican School at Prince Albert, Saskatchewan as well as the Gordon Anglican School in Saskatchewan remembered the same trucks:

I remember so clearly. It was a cloudy day and they come for us in a big Army truck. There was a green cover on it. My dad was holding our hands taking us to this truck. My little sister grabbed my dad's leg and hung onto his legs. She didn't want to go. I seen my dad's tears. I was seven years old but I seen my dad's tears. He was told there that if he didn't let us go that the cops were going to come, the police were going to come, because he was holding my little sister back.¹⁵

Often, the stories of children being taken to the schools were accompanied by the memories associated with being removed from their parents, with the children rarely understanding at the time, why they were being taken.

I remember being picked up and being separated from my parents. I was only 6 years old. We were hauled on that big truck. I don't know what kind of a truck, but it had a fence around it and there were no benches, nothing. We just stood up in that truck and rode around all day with that truck gathering the kids. We never had lunch. We never

¹⁴ Female, attended All Saints Prince Albert, Sam Weller Day School, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

¹⁵ Female, attended Gordon's School and All Saints Prince Albert, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

sat down. All the places he stopped there were more and more kids added to the truck. We never really had a comfortable ride. A lot of us were just small. It was like a herd of cattle, a herd of sheep, being hauled around all over the place.¹⁶

Stories of fear and alienation were also quite common. Many children had never left their community or their Reserve. In the case of many First Nations children they would have required a pass in order to leave their Reserve, so it was a shock to them to be removed from their parents and it felt 'against the rules' to leave the Reserve at all. The Department of Indian Affairs had broad constraints over almost all aspects of First Nations life, under the auspices of the *Indian Act*. Indian Agents were often involved in the monitoring and removal of children.

I remember leaving here and all lining up at the Indian Agent's Office, because we weren't allowed off the Reserve yet...We weren't allowed off the Reserve but we were all taken across the river and were lined up outside the Indian Agent's Office. I remember the little white picket fence and the sterile environment of the Indian Agent's home and all of that. I'll never forget it.¹⁷

Parents attempting to keep their children away from the schools were often threatened with various restrictions or with prosecution. They would either lose access to food and water rations, passes to leave the Reserve were withheld or the parents would often be threatened with jail. Many Reserves at that time, similar to the condition on Reserves today, had no running water and so residents had to rely on water rations issued by the government. On Reserves where Indians were not permitted to leave without a pass, had little or no access to clean water or food, required permits to sell agricultural

¹⁶ Female, attended Lower Post, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

¹⁷ Female, attended Dauphin MacKay School, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

goods as well as numerous other constraints, any threat to end rations or treaty payments were taken quite seriously.

It was this influence of 20th Century legislation that Lemkin wrote about in his drafts on Indigenous Peoples in South Africa. Scholars have often pointed to the 'model' of Indian Reserve systems and legislation in Canada that created the template for Townships in South Africa. Lemkin wrote about the use of 20th Century legislation and the constrictions it places over Indigenous lives. On 20th Century legislation, Lemkin notes:

The restrictions were enforced and the native acquired no land in European areas but the authorities neglected to provide new land. Native Reserves became desperately overcrowded, the land deteriorated to an alarming degree and the natives suffered from hunger and want.¹⁸

In each case of genocide that he analyzed, Lemkin did not see one stream of colonial control. Lemkin saw multiple intrusions into Indigenous life that included the forced removal of children as well as the overlapping influence of legislation and moral control. Twentieth-century legislation gained notoriety in Canada for shaping economic and political realities for Indigenous peoples. Additionally, formation of a 'culture' of dependency grew from this same legislation. Indigenous parents in Canada were threatened and their capacity was already diminished by the state control via legislation, over their lives. If they did not send their children to their schools, the constraints on their lives only increased. Lemkin's writing on genocide directs our attention towards these intersections and non-singularity.

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the Indian Agents, alongside various members of the clergy were arbiters of this system and had ultimate control over the removal of the children. This was often a similar case for Inuit or Métis children, who still fell under control of Indian Affairs and the RCMP:

¹⁸ Raphael Lemkin, 'South Africa, 20th Century Legislations', NYPL Collection.

All the school-age children were gathered together. The Indian Agent and the RCMP went to all the camp areas. They had a list and they told our parents that we had to get on the airplane. None of us knew what an airplane was. I didn't know. Neither did my other cousins....Many years later I found out from mom, from our parents, that they were told if they did not put the kids on the airplane that they would go to jail. And of course many Inuit families had a lot of children at the time. They didn't believe in babysitters and we all lived as a big family. So we flew from camp to camp picking up kids. There was a lot of crying, a lot of tears, and a lot of fear.¹⁹

Children as young as three or four years old were apprehended by police or the clergy, which was part of the story from this student from the St. Mary's Roman Catholic school in Mission, BC:

I was four years old. We came here in the summertime. It must have been in September when the RCMP and a Priest and a couple of Nuns came to our house and apprehended me, my brother and my sisters. We went to the school here, St. Mary's School.²⁰

Another former student recalls the threats from Department of Indian Affairs (DIA), made to parents, in order to force children to attend:

Like I said, I was pretty young...My dad's story was that we had to go there because DIA made us go there. They had so much control that if us kids didn't go to the boarding school they threatened him that they were going to take back the land and the home that we had.²¹

¹⁹ Female, attended Grollier Hall and Grandon College, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, July 2006.

²⁰ Female, attended St. Mary's Mission, BC, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2007.

²¹ Male, attended St. Mary's Catholic, Mission BC and St. Paul's Anglican, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2007.

Changes to the *Indian Act* in the early twentieth century made attendance compulsory.²² Under the *Indian Act*, a great deal of the power and administration of the *Act* transferred to the local Indian Agents, who wielded great power in the community for a good portion of the twentieth century.

We came to school in a wagon. We parked out here and we went into the school. My folks left. I couldn't leave any more because my folks left... We had to stay there or our folks would get a summons if they don't bring us to school.²³

Children fought to stay back with their parents and quite often both parents and grandparents hid children for as long as they could so the children would not be taken to the schools.

Most of my brothers, my older siblings, were already in school for quite a while before I went. Whenever the idea of leaving for school was mentioned my brothers and my sisters would tell my mother not to let me go. Well, I guess eventually I got too big. They couldn't hide me any more so one Fall I was put on the plane and left for school.²⁴

It is important to note that these are not the only places in the history of the schools where the pervasiveness and control of the school system, Churches and Indian Affairs temporarily eclipsed some of the existing agency of Indigenous peoples at this time. Parents, children and families resisted these schools repeatedly and quite strongly. Indian Affairs, the provinces and the Churches had such total control over the lives of First Nations, Métis and Inuit there were times and places where resistance was constant, it was

²² Milloy, *National Crime*, p. 70.

²³ Male, attended St. Paul's Anglican, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2007.

²⁴ Male, McIntosh School, Vermillion Bay, Cecilia Jeffery School, Kenora, St. Anne's School, Albany, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, August 2006.

always anticipated and yet it often had a small chance of keeping families intact.

I came home from the lake. I saw this car, a black car in front of the house, and in those years it was rare to see a car. Everybody was still back in the horse and wagon days. But I couldn't figure out whose car it was, but when I went around the porch to look in the door, I seen this tall White guy with a black dress on. That was even scarier. That scared the hell right out of me. My grandfather told me in So'do that I've got to go with this man. I didn't know what for. I had not been separated from my grandparents and I didn't want to leave my grandparents. He came down the steps and I took off. I let him run around and sweat. I made him sweat pretty good! (Laughter) That's about it. That's all I remember.²⁵

Children resisted being taken and the forced education at every opportunity. These opportunities were rare and children were punished for acts of resistance or attempts to runaway but it did not deter the children. Some recall their parents hiding them for days or up to years just to resist being taken away to the schools.

When you don't know any better, I used to wonder why I was there. I would look at the little birds and wish I had wings I could fly like them and fly away.²⁶

Admission

Following the removal of children from their homes all children had to be formally admitted into the schools. This was a remarkable process of simultaneous 'civilization' and dehumanization. Admission procedures would typically transform children into replicas of one another and physical models

²⁵ Male, attended Qu'Appelle School, Lebret, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2006.

²⁶ Female, attended Grouard, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, March 2006.

of Victorian, model English citizens.²⁷ This transformation was synchronized with a routine cleansing, trimming of hair and numbering that created a physical disconnect between children and their Indigenous families; in other words, the process separated them from their humanity. Transformation was total and the physical, mental, emotional and spiritual segments of the child's life were targeted for these 'civilizing' routines. The admission procedure was similar between institutions: directly following the physical transformation children would begin the rigorous language replacement and their initiation into the Christian indoctrination. According to adult Survivor interviews this process of transformation was a calculated, meticulous process.

In some communities it was not uncommon for five generations of children from the same family to have been taken into residential schools. It was quite possible for up to five generations of children from the same family to be born but never raised with loving parents and sent instead to residential schools. Being removed from their homes meant their new life dawned at the schools. Admission and discharge of children into and out of the schools was monitored with a heavy hand. Admission into the schools was severe, clinical and often took place quite rapidly. Coupled with their forced departure from their parental home and facing the realization that their parents could possibly be compliant in their forced attendance at the school, the psychological impact would soon match the physical transformation. Children between the ages of three and five were typically taken into the schools for their first admission to the institutions, but children could have been anywhere between ages of six to fourteen years of age or older when they were admitted for the first time. It was not uncommon at all for children to be removed at the age of three or four, though.

There is a stunning similarity in the way children were psychologically and physically transformed upon their entry into the schools. Conceived as a process of civilization their enrollment was comprehended as an erasure and

²⁷ Milloy, *A National Crime*, p. 6.

dehumanization by the former students. According to one student who attended both the Grollier Hall and Grandon College in the Northwest Territories:

They told us we had to take off all of our clothing, our shoes, and they stripped us. We had never been touched by anybody except our mothers. --- [Speaker overcome by emotion]...It was a shower and there was a big common shower room. So all of us girls were put in there and the Sister came around. She had this long habit. We didn't know it was a "she" ...So then she proceeded to put soap on us and rubbed us with the little wooden brushes you can see, with a wooden top. She would scrub and scrub our elbows and our knees saying that we were dirty. We didn't know what dirty was, but I guess that's what we were. Before we went in the shower --- All of us always had long hair, all of us girls. We were always told that we were pretty, we were beautiful. We were very, very treasured, us girls, by our grandparents, our parents, our aunts and uncles. We were very loved. We were special and we were treated as such.²⁸

Among the misconceived realities that fuelled operations of these schools, was the imagined 'savage' lifestyle that the children were living while with their families that gave the authorities license to apprehend. Descriptions of home life from former school attendees are indicative of the great impact that admission to the schools had. Examining the Survivors' statements on their home life and their childhood before they entered the institutions it is clear that the forced transformation they would face resembled nothing of what they understood as a safe childhood. While many children also were taken from parents who had themselves been former Indian residential school attendees and there was in general, no perfect childhood, the key response from Survivors to being forced from their homes was that it felt unjust. Church and government judgment of a home as civil or as safe has

²⁸ Female, attended Grollier Hall and Grandon College, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, July 2006.

been consistently misconceived and these judgments are still used to apprehend Indigenous children. Schools operated parallel to policies like the Reserve Pass system. In the same period that saw the expansion of the Indian residential school system, the Department of Indian Affairs assured Indian parents were not allowed to leave their reserves without a pass.²⁹ One Survivor who attended schools in Onion Lake, Saskatchewan and Prince Albert, Saskatchewan recognized the severed relationship between parent and child through both the schools and the Pass System.

But the government went further. When the schools were established parents couldn't visit the kids in school because they needed a permit to travel. That permit was never given. It was never given. So consequently parents --- Really what was happening was they were severing roots between parents and kids. We have problems today because kids like myself at the time had no parental guidance, parental teaching and no parental instructions.³⁰

According to the Survivor testimonies, the loving, safe, clean homes were not the uncivilized, savage, diseased or dilapidated houses the authorities assumed.³¹ In the Survivor statements their reflections on their life before they were taken into Indian residential schools bears directly on what would happen to them as soon as they entered the schools. A Survivor from the Sacred Heart School in The Pas, Manitoba speaks about being removed from her home:

That's one thing I know about our people. They didn't know anger. They didn't know about being mad. They knew how to love. They knew how to share. A child could laugh in their homes. I know my

²⁹ Hayter Reed to Edgar Dewdney, 20 July 1885, LAC, RG 10, Vol. 3710, file 19,550-3.

³⁰ Male, attended Onion Lake and Prince Albert, *OSOS Collection*, interviewed May 2007.

³¹ Fournier and Crey, *Stolen from Our Embrace*, p. 86.

mom brought up my dad's kids. She could have given them away. She could have turned them away, but she didn't. She brought them up.³²

Customary adoptions, education, social norms and caring, structured relationships remained unaltered for centuries before the schools. Children were involved in Indigenous social life and structure and they lived with educational systems throughout the First Nations, Inuit and Métis communities in Canada. Claims that schools were humanitarian ventures for civilization and assimilation are difficult to align with Survivor narratives that demonstrate the sheer totality of removing their physical presence and their lifeways. Another student who attended the Lower Post School in Northern British Columbia made a concise reflection on education and language in her home:

My life was okay. It was peaceful. I had a lot of love from my parents. They taught me a lot of things, just by example, and by teaching me on the land. I knew my language. I understood when my parents talked to me. They really didn't punish me or anything. They just talked to me constantly about what was right and wrong. We were always on the land. We were never in town. At that time when I was young there was hardly no town, so most of our travel in the winter time, summer time, fall, was just on the land. Either my dad would trap and we would stay out on the land with him, and in the summer we just stayed all year round on the land, gathering food, medicines, fishing and hunting, just being out there.³³

The contrast between life at home and life inside the institution was made painfully apparent as children were routinely bathed, de-loused, had their clothing burned, their hair cut and were given numbers and Christian names. At the time of early admission in the late nineteenth century it was not

³² Female, attended Sacred Heart, The Pas, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded November 2007.

³³ Female, attended Lower Post, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, March, 2007.

known yet that there were high rates of contagions meaning that the disease rates were considerably higher than inside the communities. It was not brought to the attention of the schools that the rate of disease and death inside the schools was distressingly high. Reports like the *Bryce Report* in 1907 on the rates of tuberculosis and communicable disease in the schools did not deter the admission procedure.³⁴ It was still widely assumed that children entered with disease and they were treated accordingly. Children were showered and many Survivors recall the use of powders, oils and what resembled DDT or kerosene used in their hair and on their bodies. Gordon's school in Saskatchewan was one of the longest operating schools in Canada, opening in 1888 as a residential-boarding school and not closed until 1996. One Survivor recalls the standard showering and checks:

Then we all lined up in the washroom. We took our clothes off and they powdered us down on our head. They used little sticks to look on our head, or whatever, to see if we had anything on our head. They put that powder on. They picked our clothes up and inspected us to see if there was anything wrong with us, like our teeth. Then they sent us into the shower. After the shower we came out and they gave us a little pile of clothes; shorts, little bib overalls, a shirt, a toothbrush and pajamas.³⁵

Many Survivors recall these medical examinations in great detail. The showers and examinations would take place at first admission and after every summer if and when children were permitted to go home for summers. Another student that attended Grollier Hall and Grandon College in the Northwest Territories recalled pain on re-admission every year:

Before they put us in the shower they cut our long hair and you smelled this horrible smelling stuff and they were putting it in our

³⁴ Milloy, *A National Crime*, p. 78.

³⁵ Male, attended Gordon's, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, February 2008.

hair, on our head. Every year this ritual happened. Years later, as the years went by, I found out it was kerosene. They were going to delouse us. And then they used these little combs and proceeded to delouse us. It was painful. We didn't know what was going on. We tried to run away. But where do you run to? Nobody could help you. [Speaker overcome by emotion]³⁶

Survivors spoke about their clean homes and their clean new school clothes, when they arrived at the school. This Survivor attended the Pine Creek School in Manitoba and recounts the thorough cleansing:

She scrubbed me. She had this really foul smelling soap. I don't know what kind of soap it was but I remember she had this brush and it looked like --- Today I would call it a scrubbing brush that you would use on horses, or scrubbing floors. She was just going like this [indicating] scrubbing me all over. I was just red. I remember my skin was really sore. That was my introduction to Residential School that was going to change my life for the rest of my life. I remember after that she took me to the bed she had assigned me to and she said, "These are your clothes and you put these ones on." They were bloomers and little socks and not even new shoes. They didn't even really fit me because they were sort of small. I remember my toes being crunched up inside...They were harsh on my skin because my skin was sore because of the scrubbing she did on me. She had wet my hair and scrubbed my hair, too. She gave me a comb and I had to comb out my hair. It was all straggly because she had just cut my braids off. So she got a scissors and she just cut straight across. Then what she did was she got some of that powder. I don't know how to describe the powder. But she put that on my head because she said that I had lice. I know I didn't have lice. My mom always made sure we were clean at home. She put this stuff on. Later on we heard it was DDT, or whatever

³⁶ Female, attended Grollier Hall and Grandon College, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, July 2006.

they call that, in that powder. That's what it was made of at that time. And they put it on us. From there she combed my hair out and of course the smell was --- I can remember that smell to this day. When I smell anything like that I feel like throwing up, I feel like puking because it's just so strong.³⁷

It is important to note that a high number of Survivor testimonies include the use of steam, strong chemicals and scrub brushes:

Then you were marched into this steaming room. All you saw was steam. As a seven year old I never saw a shower before. The only time I saw steam was when my mother was cooking. So my first impression was oh my gawd, they're going to throw you into a steaming room and cook you alive! It was a really frightening thing.³⁸

Taken into large communal showers, bathtubs, scrub rooms and individually scrubbed down, former students also remember being scrubbed for their 'brown skin'. Images of the savagery of brown skin and the idea that 'native' skin was dirty or inherently diseased appears in many accounts of admission to the schools and daily life in the schools. 'I'm going to scrub all this Indian off you'³⁹ was not just a precaution against lice or disease, it was an earnest effort to scrub the brown from the children's skin, as well as a telling metaphor for the school system in general. The following testimony from a former student at the Lejac School in British Columbia further explains the extraction of Indian identifiers:

We got to the school and they put us in a little room near the furnace in the basement. I was talking my language. When we entered the

³⁷ Female, attended Pine Creek, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded April 2007.

³⁸ Male, attended Moose Factory, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, August 2006.

³⁹ Male, attended Baptist Mission Whitehorse, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 25, 2007.

school they told us they had to cut our hair, take our moccasins off or mukluks, what we were wearing, we had to take them off. Anything that had Indian designs on it, we had to take it off and give it to our parents. We were not to wear any Indian clothing that was made out of moose hide. They told us to take it off. They cut my hair. They told me to sign a piece of paper, to write my name on it. I was writing left-handed. That Nun told me, "You don't do that with that hand." "It's a sin." "You're supposed to write with your right." But my dad told them I'm left-handed, everything he does is left-handed. We said good-bye to our parents at the door and the door closed.⁴⁰

The sacred connection to long, braided hair was physically and traumatically severed. Your braids connect you to The Creator and to Creation. A Western understanding of braids could be translated as: prayer. Your hair is braided during prayer and your hair is emblematic of your prayers or the way you speak to The Creator. For many First Nations, your hair is only removed during a time of mourning or during ceremony. Having your hair removed forcibly was highly traumatic. The removal of braids and children's hair has now become illustrative of the connections between spiritual and physical transformations children underwent upon entry into the institutions.

Children wept as their hair was cut:

We was forced to come to the school. We didn't want to go to this school. We were forced to come to the school. We lost our language. Some can't speak our language any more. I don't know, some guys come to school with big long braids and they come to school and they cut them off. The guys just cried when they cut their braids off. It's part of our culture. It's kind of religion like we have. But they come to the school and the first thing they cut them all off and they've got no

⁴⁰ Male, attended Lejac, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, March 2006.

hair and they can't speak their language. They can hardly speak English.⁴¹

Full of pride and happy to be going to school one student from the Pine Creek Residential School in Manitoba recalls this rapid exchange between pride, safety and forced removal:

I remember being proud, being happy, being proud of who I was and I remember walking sort of tall and I was only 5. I remember looking down at my feet as I was going up the stairs and I was really happy about my moccasins. I was proud of my brand new moccasins. My grandma had just made them for me for the first day of school. I had on this little dress my mom made me and a little brand new navy sweater. I remember going up holding my dad's hand and looking at my feet just being proud. Well, that didn't last too long because once we got inside, that was it...I didn't realize that I wasn't going to see my dad for a while. She took me upstairs and she handed me a brown paper bag, she handed me one of those, and she said, "Take your clothes off and put your clothes in this bag." I said, "But they're brand new." She said, "I said take them off." So I took my clothes off. I took off my little sweater and my little dress and my little pinafore under my dress, a little slip. I put them in the bag. She said, "Take your panties off, too." I thought, "Oh, oh." So I did that and I stood there and she said, "Okay, follow me, you're going into the bathroom and you're taking a bath." I said, "But my mom just gave me a bath." I had braids. My mom had braided my hair really nice. She says, "No." She got a scissors and in 2 little snips my braids were gone.⁴²

Immediately after being bathed, having hair cut and being issued uniforms children were numbered and if they were without a Christian name, they

⁴¹ Male, St. Paul's Anglican, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, February 2007.

⁴² Female, attended Pine Creek, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, April 2007.

were given one. Many Survivors recall being presented with a number and still remember their numbers, as adults today. Members of clergy and teachers followed similar procedures, between all schools. Almost all symbols and connections to identity were removed from the children. One student from Holy Angels School in Fort Chipewyan, Alberta reflects on the erasure of identity:

Strangers are already taking control of you. It's almost the first hour when you step into that Mission that already your hair comes off. They cut your hair. It's almost like they've taken away something right there. They strip you of your identity and they give you a number. My number was number 9. I don't know why I remember that but it's something that really stands out in my mind. And the coveralls. Everybody had the same colour of coveralls.⁴³

Numbered-off, the children were divided by gender immediately and the genders remained strictly separated. This was a common recollection, after being numbered, you were separated, as this student from the Lejac school in British Columbia recalls:

That's when they give you your number. I remember my number. I always remembered my number. It was ninety-three. I was always ninety-three. They gave me my number and they separated us.⁴⁴

Additionally, this student from the school in Portage La Prairie in Manitoba associated numbering and uniforms to not only a physical transformation but a spiritual one as well.

So I started asking more questions, you know. All these people here, our People, why do you treat us like we're numbers? How come all my

⁴³ Male, attended Holy Angels, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, August 2007.

⁴⁴ Female, attended Lejac, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, March 2006.

clothes are all a certain number, no name, “three, come here”, that’s me, you know. I got used to being called by a number because that’s what my clothes had. I didn’t know what kind of effect it had on me to go through this sort of strange treatment. I was supposed to get educated but all the time I noticed all the little policies they had were to try to subdue my spirit. They tried to kill my spirit so I don’t be assertive because I am an assertive person. They tried to extinguish that so I got myself into a lot of grief⁴⁵

The break between identity and numbering was significant:

It took a long time after to even remember my name because all I knew myself was number seventy-three. People asked me, “What’s your name?” I had to stop and think. I really had to stop and think what my name was. So that’s how it was right from Day One.⁴⁶

Identity was erased and identity was replaced. These were not institutions of social ‘uplift’ or improvement; rather, Survivor testimony recalls it as an exchange. Upon admission, erasure was the primary objective. Over the years that a student would attend the schools, the ongoing work of replacing what had been erased would take place. As numbers and as subjects each child was enumerated into the large accumulation of children and they took their first step into Western, Christian life or at least the school’s version of it. In contrast with the Western academic image of a boarding school the matriculation and admission, these boarding schools were not a step towards reform or improvement. Boarding and residential school in the Canadian Dominion was a transformation.

You have all the foundation years of your life, those early years of family security, safety, identity, everything, your language, everything

⁴⁵ Male, attended Portage La Prairie, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, March 2007.

⁴⁶ Male, attended Carcross, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, March 2007.

that you felt safe about is absolutely destroyed in that short time frame, that one-hour flight. It was a one-hour flight. But for a seven year old it was a flight into eternity. It took forever.⁴⁷

Christianization

But I think I was so distraught with my own inner feelings that nothing mattered. I couldn't understand why we were taken away. Why were we taken away to school? [Speaker overcome with emotion]⁴⁸

Entry and admission was, for many, the first introduction to Christianity, God, Jesus and the devil. For many, the first memories were fear and as a result Christianity has long been associated with the fear of God and images of hell. Missionaries had been present in parts of Canada from as early as the seventeenth or eighteenth century and many children, especially Métis children were familiar with Christian religion.⁴⁹ The majority of the children though, were completely removed from Western religion, both Protestant and Catholic. French, English and Latin were forced on the children and learning the language was among one of their first recollections as they were being taught Christian teachings. United with the physical transformation that took place upon admission and yearly re-admission, children were punished, often severely for any association with their 'savage' origins.

The theological focus of religious teaching on care, love, respect or sacrifice did appear in the teachings to children in the schools. However, if these lessons were included in the daily curricula, Survivors of the schools rarely recall them and they did not seem to be the dominant lesson.

Overwhelmingly the children remember fear and severity associated with religious teachings. The Catholic and Protestant Churches in Canada used both adapted and original colonial teachings for conversion of 'savage'

⁴⁷ Male, attended Moose Factory, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, August 2006.

⁴⁸ Female, attended Lower Post, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, March 2007.

⁴⁹ Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, pp. 39-40.

children.⁵⁰ [See Appendix A – Lacombe’s Ladder] This is where historical narratives often relegate responsibility to the actions of individual priests, nuns and teachers even though there were long-standing specific teachings on colonial conversion accompanying the curricula for the students. Standard teachings and adapted delivery of the lessons both operated within the schools. These differences made little impression on the children who only recalled the mass conversion to Christianity. An image frequently recalled by children included the images and teachings about hell and savagery. This student from Sacred Heart School in The Pas, Manitoba remembers the images of fire:

I can recall in the classroom on the top they had pictures. A lot of people remember pictures of Jesus or God. All I can remember seeing is the pictures of fire and the devil and just the gloom. I was scared of that. I can remember being scared, really scared, because I always thought that was where I was going to go if I didn’t listen. I guess that had an effect on me when I was growing up because sometimes to this day I will not live in a trailer because I’m afraid it will catch fire. I never thought of that before. But I don’t like fire. If I’m closed up in a small place I still see those pictures. I’m not as afraid of them now as I was then. Like I can cope with it more.⁵¹

Cast instantly as sinners and as ultimately destined to hell if they did not convert to Christianity, children were inculcated with images completely foreign to them. Punished, repeatedly humiliated and ‘branded a devil worshipper’,⁵² it is clear few children understood what that really meant. A student from the Lower Post School in British Columbia describes this introduction to sin:

⁵⁰ See figure: Appendix A, Lacombe’s Ladder; Rev. John Horden, *The Book of Common Prayer: Translated to the Language of the Cree Indians of the Diocese of Moosonee* (London: S.P.C.K., 1889).

⁵¹ Male, attended Sacred Heart, The Pas, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded November 2007.

⁵² Male, attended Lytton, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, May 2007.

We had to pray. At that time I knew about the Creator, but in their ways it was different. Everybody was talking about hell and I didn't even know what was hell, and the devil and all this, and that we were heathens and all this. They say that everybody had sin.⁵³

Another student from the McIntosh School in Vermillion Bay, Ontario recalled the same association with the devil and being encouraged by teachers to move away from their evil, heathen origins:

I couldn't reconnect with my ceremonies and my culture while in school. There would be a severe reprimand if I did that. I also got to believe that my culture was evil. It was devil worship. That is what I was told over and over. I wanted to be a good person and I figured I was an evil person so I wanted to change that.⁵⁴

Christianization and conversion dominated the daily routine. Survivors remember religious instruction and work as their daily routine rather than a typical lesson-based curriculum. School routine revolved around prayer, mass and the Christian calendars. The repetition and rote memorization was unrelenting and any innocuous accounts of the schools that reported the humanitarian or 'typical' nature of these institutions stand in contrast to the radical and continuous delivery of religious education.

What I didn't like about the school was the chapel. We had to go there every day, actually twice a day because we went in the morning and had Mass. In the evening we did the Benediction. The worst part was in Lent. We had to do more services. It was just all the kneeling and praying. I used to answer the Mass in Latin. We learned right from the first year how to answer in Latin. We didn't know what we were

⁵³ Male, attended Lower Post, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, October 2007.

⁵⁴ Male, attended McIntosh School, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, August 2006.

saying. We had to learn it. We had to answer Mass in Latin, you know, every part that is answered. We were all babbling away in Latin and we didn't know what we were saying.⁵⁵

Prayers were repeated continually and constant genuflection was a commonly recalled by all Survivors of the school. A student from the St. Mary's School in Kenora recalls the use of prayer:

Aw, gawd, praying. Praying. You get up in the morning and kneel down by your bed and pray. Fix your bed. Fix your bed. We didn't have baths then. You'll have to go and have breakfast. You gotta pray before you eat breakfast. You gotta pray again after your breakfast. Okay. There was a little bit of time there that they give you. Then you've gotta attend the school and you gotta pray again before you start school. Of course we had to sing O Canada.⁵⁶

Philosophically speaking, the broad teachings of Christianity should not be considered so foreign to Indigenous-based spirituality. Sacred teachings on reciprocity, respect, honour, humility and love are not un-translatable concepts. The default teaching point was through fear-based teachings of hell, savagery and sins. A prevailing memory of Christian-based teachings were about guilt and sin, as this student from the Aklavik school recalls:

I reconciled myself with the church in relation to how I felt about authority, about religion itself and about guilt. I didn't realize it at the time but the Roman Catholic Church is full of guilt. I didn't know why I should be guilty just for being what I am, you know. I was brought up to regard myself as a sauvage. In French it's sauvage. In English it's savage. That's the way I was basically mentally brainwashed to consider myself. So I really didn't have very high self esteem. I had no

⁵⁵ Female, attended Lejac, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, March 2006.

⁵⁶ Female, attended St. Mary's, Kenora, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded May 2007.

self esteem. I didn't have a clue who I was until I was about in my mid thirties.⁵⁷

A hierarchy was closely adhered to and stages of indoctrination operated between early admission, conversion and then ultimately, students were encouraged to consider careers in the Church. As a vocation, the life of a nun, a wife or a housekeeper was the most common training girls received. Many learned to sew, cook and through religious education many were encouraged to become nuns. A student from St. Mary's School in Cardston, Alberta describes the encouragement to become a nun:

We were not allowed to go home during the summertime for fear that we would ruin all the teachings, all the prayers, we would lose everything if we returned home and became Indians again. They didn't want that. In fact, they kept telling us how much they needed more nuns in this religion. So we were being raised, we were being told that we were being raised to be nuns in the future. We didn't know what that was.⁵⁸

Whether a child was allowed to go home for the summer or for holidays from the school would typically depend on the distance of the child's home from the schools but it also seemed to be a very inconsistent policy. Generally, children were not encouraged to return home at any time since school administrators quickly acknowledged that they may 'become Indians again'. As much as the indoctrination applied to the children and their daily lessons, the Christianization process always extended to their parents, grandparents, extended families and communities. One resounding lesson of the schools was that you can be saved from savagery and the devil, but your parents and families back home are absolutely destined for damnation. There was no negotiation between their parents' relationship with spirituality and the

⁵⁷ Male, attended Aklavik, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, July 2006.

⁵⁸ Female, attended St. Mary's, Alberta, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, February 2007.

ultimate Christian belief that their savagery would lead them to hell. This was encoded in children who had no prior knowledge of hell, except as a place to which their families, as uneducated savages, were destined.

...it would have been Hell, if there is such a place, because my grandmother being the Native woman she was, didn't believe in Hell. She didn't believe in Heaven. [speaking Native language] When you go there you see all the ancestors; your aunts, your uncles are all waiting for you over there. It's not a bad world [speaking Native language]. Everything is there. You'll see your mom and dad over there. You'll see all your relatives that's gone. There's never a place called Hell and there's never a place called Heaven. I believe that. When we talk about the spirit world ---⁵⁹

Faced with the dual realization that they could be saved while concurrently their parents were ultimately destined for damnation, children rapidly lost hope.

In our area we were really put down by the Priest because in our area they never gave up their ceremonies and traditions. We were punished for that when they used to have all the kids at Mass or in the gym. They would say, us, we're going to go to hell. There's no hope for us, that we're pagans. No matter how hard we tried to be a good Catholic, we didn't fit the bill because it was always brought back on us that we were going to go to hell, our people were going to go to hell because they still practiced their ceremonies.⁶⁰

Raphael Lemkin wrote a great deal about the underlying philosophies behind the drafting and implementation of the Genocide Convention. In a portion of the background writing that he did he included contributions on religious

⁵⁹ Male, attended Batchawana Bay School and Gooley Bay Mission, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, August 2006.

⁶⁰ Male, attended Qu'Appelle, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, March 2008.

persecution. Religion is one of four groups he felt were protected by the philosophy of the Genocide Convention that included; national, racial, ethnic and religious groups.⁶¹ Lemkin's writing relates to and displays affinity for Indigenous ways of knowing, since he often writes from a holistic perspective and while tending to the specific details of the Genocide Convention, he also saw the broad scope of the 'cosmos' and applied broader philosophies of humanity. He presented a holistic view and argument behind the four main groups he felt needed protecting by the Convention: 'These groups are protected not only by reasons of human compassion but also to prevent the draining of the spiritual resources of mankind.'⁶² The broad 'draining of spiritual resources' is also, often associated with colonialism and the cumulative effect of residential schools. Moreover, for centuries leading up to the opening of residential schools cultural and spiritual loss in Indigenous communities was always tied to physical loss. The ability to view these unyielding connections between 'severe cultural disruption' and spirituality is essential to understanding how these individual stories of student experience link directly to the shape of Canadian history.⁶³

Denominational Rivalry

Europe's divide between Catholicism and Protestantism was influential in the scramble for and division of territory in British North America and the early Upper and Lower Canada. These were not merely administrative designations within the entire system of residential schools. Constant colonial re-shuffling throughout Canada that responded to the waves of immigration and the waves of Indigenous removal were all related to the hand-me-down denominational divide that Canada inherited from her colonizers. There were dimensions to the denominational parsing out of Indigenous children that went beyond 'saving their souls'. Similar to the

⁶¹ Raphael Lemkin, 'Land, The Philosophy of the Genocide Convention', NYPL Collection.

⁶² Raphael Lemkin, 'Land, The Philosophy of the Genocide Convention', NYPL Collection.

⁶³ Cynthia Wesley-Esquimaux and Magdalena Smolewski, *Historic Trauma and Aboriginal Healing* (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2004), pp. 34-35.

'humanitarian' narrative projected from the colonial governments, in the name of 'saving souls', Churches led children not only into aggressive Christianization but they were aiming to create new Protestant or Catholic citizens. Rivalries between Catholicism and Protestantism had constant and direct influence in the control and care of children.⁶⁴ The result was quite interesting for former students. While almost all children remember strict, forceful Christianized religion, some could not recall at all which denomination had control of the school they had attended.⁶⁵ Additionally, where they did remember, many children remarked on the bizarre teachings that sought to divide them on these same denominational lines.

At first there were Catholic men and Brothers. As years went on it was just Nuns and a different mixture of Catholics running the school and the Priest was sort of --- We had one Protestant Priest, a teacher, come there and he was playing some Protestant music, I guess. It wasn't Catholic. Father Bouchard (sp?), he had a microphone and he was going around and around that teacher's house there and saying "You're a Communist and you're this and you're that". He was calling him down, eh, because he was playing non-Catholic music. I don't know what the difference is!⁶⁶

Children were continually asked to fight battles and adopt Euro-Canadian rivalries that were foreign to them both temporally and philosophically:

We were not allowed to talk to girls, for one thing. We were not allowed to talk to Anglicans, was another thing. And also being totally brainwashed in the system in relation to some of those normal things that normal people do, I couldn't do, until later on in life when I went to my high school in Yellowknife where I was able to talk to Anglicans,

⁶⁴ Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, p. 123.

⁶⁵ Female, attended Elkhorn, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, March 2007.

⁶⁶ Male, attended St. Paul's Alberta, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, September 2006.

which was traumatic to me. I was always guilty for speaking to girls, regardless of whether I did anything, I was just automatically guilty. That was the way the Catholic Church had brought me up to feel. It was a very traumatic time.⁶⁷

Work

We got the skim milk. The staff got cream⁶⁸

Children were under the influence of empire. The imperial hold of both church and of Dominion created this lower echelon of Canadian society, the young Native workforce. The industrial school model and the workday that would become their daily routine was a replicated system created in Britain and dotted throughout the colonies.⁶⁹ The children were to be moulded into Christians and into industrious workers. Erroneously cited as a system built mostly on American innovations drawn from Nicholas Davin's 1879 report, the actual origins of the schools originate from a time much closer to the start of the nineteenth century.⁷⁰ There was equal weighting placed on Christian education and routine as there was on work and labour. The road to assimilation and civilization needed to go through a necessary education on colonial work ethic. Assumed to be 'lazy Indians' with an affinity towards a 'nomadic' life of aimless wandering the proscribed school routine with a heavy reliance on manual labour was meant to 'break in' the Indian children.

⁶⁷ Male, attended Aklavik, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, July 2006.

⁶⁸ Female, attended Brandon School, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, April 2007.

⁶⁹ See: *Explanations Regarding the Establishment of the United Industrial Schools with an Appendix of Documents Showing the Reasons why the Promoters Dissent from the System of Management of the Original Ragged Schools* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1867); Right Hon. Lord Norton, *A Consolidation of the Acts Relating to Reformatory and Industrial Schools*, Extract from: *Proceedings of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science*, Vol. XIV, 1880-1881 and see also, *The Works and Plans of the Association of Negro Industrial and Secondary Schools*, Organized in New York City, April 1913: "The Association of Negro Industrial Secondary Schools is an honest effort among Negroes at self-help. It is equally an honest attempt to safeguard the public."

⁷⁰ Davin, *Report on Industrial Schools*.

As with all of the pre-conceived assumptions about Indian children the image of the 'lazy Indian' was quite false and the schools structure only served to replace their existing system of education and division of 'labour' with a British-European model of 'farm-hand' labour. Among the list of assumptions made of Indigenous children, there was also a broad assumption that the children were highly unlikely to be trainable above a labourer's level of vocational training. Children were intended to be farm hands, blacksmiths, day labourers, seamstresses and housekeepers. Ideally, women would be trained to be good housewives and farm labourers or to join the church. Women were trained to marry well and boys were trained to be assistants, rarely the leaders on the industrial training floors. Former students of residential schools from every region of Canada remember long workdays as part of their daily routine. It was quite common for former students to recall long workdays especially when they also recall a low quality of education like basic math or literacy. A student from the All Saints School in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan recalls how busy children were with running the labour and operations of the school:

Sometimes when I think about it now I think we ran the school ourselves, as children, because we went to school in the morning and did the economic stuff at the school there, cooking and baking and sewing and scrubbing, of course, laundry. And if we didn't do those things there nobody else would have done. There was only a few workers there. So most of us were doing the work ourselves. I would have got a lot of education when I was at home but I only went up to Grade 5. We were so busy with the economic stuff.⁷¹

Standard building construction varied through the regions of Canada; there were differences between the smaller day-instruction size schools for small classes to larger institutions built to house hundreds of children with classrooms, chapel spaces, dormitories and infirmaries. Even with varied

⁷¹ Male, attended All Saints Prince Albert, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, March 2007.

types of buildings in locations across Canada it was fairly common to have children carrying out the daily physical operations of the schools. The connection between child labour and the industrial-boarding school model was well replicated inside Canada. The tasks could include, for example, controlling the heat and water of the schools through work in large boiler rooms or wood furnaces, cutting firewood, carrying coal and hauling water.

Oh yeah, in those days they had no oil-burning furnaces, so in the summer time we used to get 4-foot logs and load them onto the barge, the little Mission boat with a barge, and we used to load it up and bring everything to that school and unload it and make a pile about 4 feet high or 4 by 4, long cords of wood to last the whole winter.⁷²

There was a great deal of encouragement for school administrators to build the schools into a standardized version of the colonial Industrial school. There was such a strong insistence that these ‘nomadic’ children be converted into Euro-compatible agricultural workers, church staff went to great lengths to build gardens, farms, fields and barns for domesticated animals. Across most of Canada the landscape allowed for small garden plots or large farms. Canada became quite famous throughout the empire for its fertile plots of ‘free’ land.⁷³ However, in some other locations, like the far North it may have been the first time that Euro-agricultural gardens were created. Defying the logic of colder climates and geology, some schools created simulated agricultural settings in order to train children by modifying their minds, bodies and the land around them. Nuns would transport soil up to northern Canada by the bucketfuls in order to create new gardens at schools where no tillable soil was available.⁷⁴ They were creating

⁷² Male, attended Immaculate Conception, Aklavik, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded July 2006.

⁷³ *Canada: Information and Advice for Emigrants* (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, 1875); *Canada: A Brief Outline of her Geographical Position, Production, Climate, Capabilities, Educational and Municipal Institutions, Fisheries, Railroads, etc*, 3rd Edition (Quebec: John Lovell publisher, 1861).

⁷⁴ “A little garden stuff is raised at Fort Chipewyan on soil brought there by the Sisters in pails.” From *Canada’s Fertile Northland: A Glimpse of the*

their great harvests. Clergy sent through the North and the West of Canada were quite hopeful and prophetic on the points of harvest:

...the possibilities of the West are so great and so numerous. Immense virgin prairies are still waiting for the plough. After the war, during the period of reconstruction, necessarily so pregnant of great events, the producing powers of our agricultural West will be tremendous....Beyond the waving wheat of the prairie we should contemplate the ripening harvest of souls.⁷⁵

Daily religious instruction left many students wondering about the entire purpose of the new religion. Along that same vein, children often left feeling the work they did every day at the school was simply to maintain the operations of the school building or provide revenue for the school. They were also left wondering the real purpose of the work schemes, since they were unaware of the larger system of 'civilization' at that time. Schools with large farm operations often sold produce and livestock to the local community in an ironic move when the students who had grown the produce and tended to the animals were still malnourished and under-fed. One of the most fertile growing belts in Canada, central British Columbia is a prime location for growing fruit and vegetables. One student of both the Kamloops and the Lejac school in central and southern British Columbia remembers the food being sold:

I think they sold the food. But the vegetables --- I can't remember eating vegetables. But I remember one time they cooked cabbage and I

Enormous Resources of Part of the Unexplored Regions of the Dominion, Evidence Heard Before a Select Committee of the Senate of Canada During the Parliamentary Session of 1906-7 and the Report Based Thereon, Captain Ernest J. Chambers (ed) Published under Department of the Interior Hon Frank Oliver, Minister (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1907), pp. 36.

⁷⁵ George Thomas C. Daly, SS. R., *Catholic Problems in Western Canada* (Toronto: The MacMillan Company, 1921).

couldn't eat it. I just could not eat it. I sat there until I don't know how long to finish it.⁷⁶

Another student from the same region at the Lytton school recalls canning and shipping away the food they produced:

We planted big gardens but for some reason we never got to eat the good part of the crop. I don't know why that was. But I remember they canned a lot in big cans. They shipped it away somewhere. We did a lot of labour work while I was going there.⁷⁷

Through the early to middle of the twentieth century Canada was increasing the emphasis on the 'welfare state' that they were constructing for First Nations, Métis and Inuit in Canada.⁷⁸ The Department of Indian Affairs orchestrated an elaborate dependency scheme between Indian Residential Schools, First Nations Reserves, provincial Child Welfare systems, the Reserve Pass system, Métis Settlements and the Indian Act. During the operation of the residential schools the social and the economic conditions for a graduating student to obtain steady, secure employment after they left the schools were diminishing. In Canada before 1960 the likelihood that a student discharged from residential school would enter post-secondary education was even lower. The 1876 *Indian Act* offered enfranchisement to graduates of post-secondary education but there are no records of any Indians being enfranchised through this provision of the *Indian Act*.⁷⁹ The record of completed university degrees by Status Indians in 1902 was nine

⁷⁶ Female, attended Lejac and Kamloops, *OSOS Collections*, interview recorded, May 2006.

⁷⁷ Male, attended St. George's Lytton, *OSOS Collections*, interview recorded, February 2006.

⁷⁸ Committee on Indian Affairs, *Management of Indians in British North America: Report on the Management of Indians in British North American by the British Government*, printed by the Committee on Indian Affairs, 1870, NA, pp. 5-6.

⁷⁹ Donald Fisher, Kjell Rubenson, Jean Bernatchez, et. al., *Canadian Federal Policy and Post-Secondary Education* (Vancouver: Centre for Policy Studies in Higher Education and Training, 2006), p. 14.

and this rate grew to only fifty-seven by the school year of 1963-1964.⁸⁰ It was easy for former students to feel that their vocational training was as useless as the Christian education. Students graduated with the rank of 'housekeeper' or 'farm hand' in discharge records and they were discharged back to communities that very easily could not have had farms or homes to work in. Trained for domestic assistant duties and encouraged to return to Reserves or Indigenous communities the education they received did not match at all the realities of socio-economic life in Indigenous communities. Studies were regimented and were based on primarily Euro-Western gender roles:

We had cows there and all the senior boys were to do the outside work, so to speak, and they had to learn how to milk cows and look after animals so that they could become farmers and stuff. The women were supposed to learn how to become good housewives and mothers and stuff like that. So I made sure I learned everything I could.⁸¹

There was a great deal of order to each task:

As time went on and we got used to the routine, then they took me and put me in the laundry room where I had to sort clothes and put the dirty clothes and stuff, and the bedding and whatever came to the laundry room. I had to sort it out and put it in the big industrial washers and dryers and fold them up. Then they had to be put on big carts and pushed back up to the sewing room where the clothes had to be taken back to our clothing room so that they could be put in each individual box. All your clothes had your number. Whatever number you were assigned, everything that you owned had that number

⁸⁰ Fisher et. al, *Canadian Federal Policy*, pp. 11-12.

⁸¹ Female, attended Mohawk Institute, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, March 2006.

marked on it so you got the same things back all the time from the laundry room.⁸²

Regimented and hierarchical daily work schedules still provided for a subclass of society under the tutelage of the priests and nuns. The reliance on industry, agriculture and production reinforced the hierarchical structure. Working to serve and taught to obey the 'higher classes' and to adhere to the gendered roles. Typically, the best foods were still saved for the priests, nuns and surrounding community.

Half a day we would work in the sewing room, sewing clothes. We done a lot of homemade garments like dresses and underwear. We knitted socks, toques, mitts and scarves. And if we worked in the kitchen you helped clean the kitchen, washed dishes and prepared meals under the supervision of a cook. We cleaned pots and pans. We cooked lots of stuff for everybody. We helped cook. Q. With the sewing and knitting, would that be sewing garments for the students or for them to sell? A. For the students...They had a farm. They had a garden, vegetable gardens. Plus they had cows and chickens. My brother was only twelve years old and he would have to go to the barn early in the morning, about 5 o'clock, and milk cows by hand. And these big milk cans --- You might have seen them around. I don't know if you ever saw them. It's a big can with 2 handles, one on each side, and 2 boys would haul the milk up to the kitchen. From there the girls would take over and separate that milk and the cream. We got the skim milk. The staff got cream.⁸³

There is little hope that anyone explained the pedagogical goals of the residential school students. What turned out to be a massive social experiment and an attempted re-creation of an entire group of societies and

⁸² Female, attended Mohawk Institute, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, March 2006.

⁸³ Female, Brandon, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, April 2007.

nations, this broad plan was on a day-to-day level, according to the children, just a way to number them and to get their socks darned. Repeatedly, former students provided their testimonies, repeating the same refrain: 'What am I here for?':

I was tired of being treated so mean. You have to do everything perfect. We had certain rules, certain things you have to do during the day, like going to school all day, and then you go to the kitchen to do the dishes and everything. You have laundry. You gotta do laundry. Darn socks. Sew shirts. You know, you have to, and they give you all of that. That's your job. But I was tired of ironing. I was tired of darning socks, and one day I darned a whole bunch of socks right across. I was just tired of it. And I got into trouble. I was just tired, tired of being beaten. I promised my mom I would never run away. Sometimes I would look up in the sky and wonder what am I here for, you know. What am I here for?⁸⁴

Survivors still credit the school with providing them with opportunities they may not have been able to access without the residential schools. For children returning to urban centres or those who already knew quite well that the economic conditions in their home communities were dismal if non-existent, the schools did provide many people with employment.

Parts of the whole experience was positive. We learned how to clean house and mend our socks and all that stuff, and those were important things to learn. And we did. But the more important things were what we didn't get; the love. Those are what I call important, anyway.⁸⁵

Aligned with an overall impression of the schools having benefits and having serious drawbacks, some students were educated and went on to successful

⁸⁴ Female, attended Chootla Baptist Mission, *OSOS Collection*, interviewed October 2007.

⁸⁵ Female, attended St. Francis Xavier, Sturgeon Lake, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, June 2007.

careers whereas others simply felt exploited. In accounts of the schools from across Canada reflections on work were echoed with the sentiment that children 'treated like slaves'. Labour with little or no payment or sense of accomplishment left many feeling exploited by the time in residential school.

It was just like slaves. You ever watch these movies like slaves, the Black people in slavery? It was the same thing. I see that. I see them picking cotton. It just reminds me of the way we looked. We weren't allowed to --- We had to concentrate on how fast and how much we were supposed to pick that day. So you don't have time to talk.⁸⁶

Another student from the Mohawk Institute felt that their work was merely 'cheap labour':

The bigger kids were all assigned different jobs to do. My first job that they ever gave me there was to keep the play room clean. I had to stay there and help the supervisors, the matrons, or whatever they were called, to keep the little kids in line so that they didn't misbehave. I had to keep the play room clean. I had to wash the cement floor, sweep it and take out the garbage. Sometimes I would feel that I was just their little slave, cheap labour.⁸⁷

In Northern Alberta, another Survivor of a federal day school remembers that he was not able to study and that simply, 'they owned me':

I was just a slave, I guess, is the way I put it. They owned me, like doing the chores and cutting wood and them laying in the bed reading

⁸⁶ Female, attended Fort Chipewyan, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, August 2007.

⁸⁷ Female, attended Mohawk Institute, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, March 2006.

a book. I was doing all the chores, hauling snow. At bedtime I had no time to study. I've got to walk three miles to school.⁸⁸

Left to wonder why they were forced into these institutions and what they were to go away with, the work routines, as regimented and prevalent as they were still perplexed students. By the early or mid-nineteenth century Indigenous communities knew well the benefits of Western education and schools. After the small successes and tragic failures, we are all left to wonder what they actually learned at these schools.

A concentration camp and that's just what it reminded me of, was a concentration camp. We were always on our hands and knees scrubbing cement floors. If you didn't do it right we had to do it over again. If it wasn't that, we were sewing. We were sewing uniforms. I guess that's what they called them; uniforms. We were making those uniforms. It was constant work, work, work.⁸⁹

Training children into new vocations and attempting to restructure Indigenous peoples' economies into a European-capitalist model of agricultural production faltered repeatedly. Indigenous communities had existing systems of economy, law and society that were affected by the introduction of residential schools. Replacing these existing economies and eliminating a possibility of working in partnership with them, the colonial model of Indigenous employment often constrained more than it constructed. Added to the rapid removals from the land, prohibition of languages and cultural practices and breakdown of kinship ties in families and communities, the disintegration of economies contributed to the cumulative and massive changes Indigenous communities would undergo through this period.

⁸⁸ Male, attended Mission at Fort Vermillion, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, September 2006.

⁸⁹ Female, attended File Hills, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, September 2007.

These series of changes including the economic upheavals causing mass demographic shifts in Indigenous populations were also among some of the rapid and mass changes Raphael Lemkin noted through his writing on genocide. Lemkin wrote about mass population changes and what he discussed through writings on 'cultural exhaustion'.⁹⁰ While Lemkin was writing on populations in general and how economic disintegration becomes part of genocide and was not referring specifically to populations in Canada, it is still important to note how he described rapid change and economic cataclysm. Deterioration of economic conditions for Indigenous peoples was severe in Canada and occurred in the same time period as the residential schools and as Lemkin reminds us: "There are examples in history of total changes of the economic structures of countries where genocide was practiced".⁹¹ As the representation of the schools is formulated and reformulated in Canada's narratives it should be remembered how the schools only contributed to a rupture in employment and economy, rather than contributing to it. Moreover, beyond a rupture, it was also a societal replacement of an existing economy, system of work and new 'national pattern' of 'lower class' work for Indigenous graduates of residential school.

Quality of Education

There was no failing but there was also no excelling.⁹²

Academic achievement came after work, church and conversion in the residential school curriculum. Sadly, for as long as the schools operated, academic expectations for residential school students rose only slightly. One of the most revealing segments of the collection of Survivor testimonies is the segment that included reflection on what they believe they learned, overall. It should be little or no surprise that so few former students feel they left the schools with academic achievements. A student from the Port Alberni school recalls how he was dissuaded from attending University:

⁹⁰ Raphael Lemkin, 'Cultural Exhaustion, Demography', NYPL Collection.

⁹¹ Raphael Lemkin, 'Cultural Exhaustion, Economics', NYPL Collection.

⁹² Male, attended Gordon's, Muscowegan and Qu'Appelle, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, March 2008.

So I told the counselor I wanted to go to university. "I want to go on the University Program." This was Grade 9. I was fourteen. He said, "No, you're not, you're going on the Commercial Program, because that's where all the students from your school are." "That's where they end up." I said, "No, I want to go to university." He looked at my report card. "Well, your report card shows straight A's, but that doesn't mean anything." "That doesn't mean anything because I've seen some A's from that school and the kids end up in the Commercial Program anyway, so that's where you're going."⁹³

The heavy reliance on manual labour, farm labour and gendered labour like sewing and 'housekeeping' meant many former students were left longing for an education. As a student from the Crowfoot school in Cluny, Alberta recounts, the emphasis on agriculture meant students felt 'robbed':

They robbed me of my schooling. The only thing I learned was I was capable of manual labour. I was good at it, all aspects of farming, combining, trucking, seeding, cattle, cutting horses, and even cutting pigs, castrating them. But I got hurt while I was up in a grain bin. A sixteen foot ladder blew off so I couldn't get out, so I decided to jump. Little did I know I ruptured the cushion between the vertebrae, until the next day when I was just dragging my feet. I didn't know about compensation.⁹⁴

It is important to note that beyond the implied racism and systemic discrimination of Christian education there was also a more overt, pervasive version of racism in the schools, echoed in Canadian society. The popular histories that children were taught were of course, British and European histories. Canadian history simply did not exist for them and Indigenous

⁹³ Male, attended Alberni, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, February 2006.

⁹⁴ Male, attended Crowfoot, Cluny, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, February 2007.

peoples were invisible. Students entering public or provincial education or high school were almost guaranteed to face some level of systemic racism.

I went to the High School there and I would stand in front and talk to people. All the time I was being taught I was a savage, you know, and I was really hurt. All this time I thought I was civilized but the educational system taught otherwise.⁹⁵

Little to no value was given to Indigenous knowledge or skills. In some cases, religious education and music was presented in First Nations languages, Inuktitut or written syllabics. Students clung on to anything they could, from the little time they did spend with their parents.

We weren't allowed to talk our language. We never get taught our culture. We don't even know how to set nets or anything like that. But I do a lot of beadwork. My mom taught me how when I was about 6 or 7 years old. That's all I know how to do.⁹⁶

Remarkably, there was a curious focus on Indigeniety as it was to be used for pageantry and as for show. Children were often dressed up as 'Indian Chiefs' with large headdresses or in costumes and they were only 'allowed' to be Indian as some imagined amalgam of the Indian, on special occasions, for show. Pageants and plays were put on for visiting dignitaries, bishops or representatives from the Department of Indian Affairs. The humour and irony is not lost on this former student of the Anglican school in Lytton, BC:

We got our friends together and played Cowboys and Indians, or whatever. That was how I learned how to count, was playing Cowboys and Indians because we had to give everybody seventy-five seconds to

⁹⁵ Male, attended Dauphin, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, March 2007.

⁹⁶ Female, attended Lejac, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, March 2006.

hide and I only knew how to count to ten. (Laughter) We learned day by day.⁹⁷

Popular culture and Canadian society divided Indians between the dressed-up imagined Indians and the real 'savages'. Cowboy and Indian movies were just as popular with Indigenous youth as they were with the rest of Canadian society. Residential schools only served to re-emphasize those societal constructions and the differences between a 'good Indian' and a 'bad Indian'.

⁹⁷ Male, attended St. George's School, Lytton BC, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2006.

Chapter 4

Abuse, Neglect, Resistance

Life before I went to school was, as my pictures show, was what I dream of life to be and what I'm searching for. It was good. I was home. I was safe. I was loved. I didn't feel abandoned.¹

Children simply wanted to go home. One memory often shared between students in all of the schools was remembering a desire to go home. In whatever form 'home' came in, children desired to return, to escape and to end their time inside the residential school. Over the generations, for some, homes became foreign, unsafe and typically shared with parents and family members who also attended the schools. Regardless, children resisted and had an ongoing desire to leave the institutions in any way they could. All children reacted, resisted or interacted with what would transpire inside and outside of these schools. Remarkable abuses met reactions of remarkable resistance. Even with no home to go to, children sought escape. The treatment they were subjected to on a daily basis was simply incomparable to what is understood by a traditional Anglo-European boarding school. Abuses extended beyond the then accepted uses of straps, rulers and physical punishments. Abuses were severe, negligence was criminal and the sexual assaults were often, unspeakable.

Admission into residential school was a relatively standard procedure. After children were admitted the conditions at the schools and methods of educating the children were relatively uneven. Children were educated and cherished and children were abused or were subjected to disease. In this chapter I will present Survivor statements that document the daily life and treatment at the schools. Abuse often extended beyond what was customary 'corporal punishment' and rates of sexual abuse at the schools were alarming. I discuss the role of the clergy and their role in providing for children. Neglect and malnutrition were also quite common inside residential

¹ Male, attended Port Alberni School; *Our Stories Our Strength Oral History Collection*, Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation and Legacy of Hope Foundation, interview recorded April 2007.

schools. Food was notoriously poor and I use Survivor testimonies to discuss their treatment versus the treatment of the clergy to demonstrate the stark contrasts and question the narrative of 'underfunded' institutions.

Residential school testimonies and narratives are inherently complex and rich with contradictions. Staff also showed kindnesses to children and many former students felt 'saved' by clergy and teachers. I contrast these kinds of Survivor statements against the following section about 'Ecclesiastical rascals' and the trends of unchecked physical and sexual abuses that occurred at these schools and schools like them, worldwide. Survivor narratives about their attempts to disclose abuse and the unwillingness of the schools to check these rates of abuse and disease close the chapter. Overwhelming rates of abuse, illness, disease and death have become the prevailing collective memory of the schools. It is at these junctures where collective memories of Indigenous and non-Indigenous collective memories converge. These are the undeniable death and disease rates that were recorded from as early as the late nineteenth century. Beyond recollections of daily life, Survivor statements record patterns of abuse, the imposition of a national pattern and the continued fracturing and division the schools created in Indigenous lives and communities.

Daily Life

Prayer, masses and religious instruction were the structure of the day, according to most Survivors. Prevailing memories of repeated prayer, rote memorization of scripture and hours of kneeling overwhelm any memories of secular academic study. Ordinary tasks and children's school days were punctuated with fear and constant confusion. They were not always aware of why they were being punished and were rarely aware of the grand scheme behind the schools. Embedded in the descriptions of the daily routines one can see an unmistakable program for assimilation and conversion. One Survivor who attended the St. John's in Chapleau, Ontario and Shingwauk School in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario describes an ordinary day of religious instruction:

We had to kneel down and pray. I don't know how many times I prayed, how many times I was on my knees in the daytime, maybe twenty times. You pray when you get up in the morning. You pray when you go and eat. You pray after you eat. Then they have a sermon before you leave the Dining Room. Then you have a prayer when you go into the classroom. You pray after the classroom.²

All of these schools were associated with regimentation and intense indoctrination. Rigid structures and schedules were filled up with little children who were clearly in a constant struggle to grasp any semblance of a rationale behind what they were being made to do. This student from Grouard School in Alberta remembers these routines were made to 'chase the devil out of you':

After our meal we prayed again, thanking the Lord for feeding us. Then we went down to our Play Room to wait for our classroom, which was 9 o'clock. When we went to the school we prayed again some more. It was always pray, pray, pray. Finally I asked the Sister why, "Why are we praying so much?" And she said, "To chase the devil out of you." We didn't even know what the devil was.³

What persists through the daily routine is the brutality that often accompanied the routine tasks. Physical, emotional, mental, spiritual and sexual struggles were fought, endured and resisted through these daily routines. Days were divided between formal religious instruction as well as constant Christianization. Daily mass, ceremonies and religious teachings were conducted amidst constant reminders to abandon their 'Indian ways', to fight their 'savagery' and to become good Catholics or Protestants. Similarly, daily routine was divided between traditional classroom lessons and work

² Female, attended St. John's Chapleau and Shingwauk; *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded August 2006.

³ Female, attended Grouard; *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded September 2006.

details in an aim to produce vocational students as farmers, carpenters, seamstresses, homemakers and blacksmiths. As total institutions, abuse was part of the mundane treatment. One student from the residential school in Norway House, Manitoba described this kind of treatment as 'conditioning':

It was like how you teach a dog, conditioning, patterning, the same thing day in and day out, at the same times, line up at the same time. Pretty soon you don't even have to think for yourself. They do all of it. And if you're out of line somebody comes along and you are kicked or hit to keep you in line.⁴

Steps were taken beyond what many would consider 'strict' punishment for any era of school education in Canada and children's recollections of being treated like animals or as sub-human were quite frequent. With no comprehension of why punishment was used in the daily routine former students' memories are often filled with instances of brutal but pointless abuses. One female student from the Lejac School in Northern British Columbia recalls the nonsensical punishments:

I'll tell you one thing, I don't like to think about it. You get punished for even looking at them a different way. They used to make you stretch out your arms (indicating) and kneel on the concrete floor for hours. Sometimes you get blamed for nothing at all and you get punished for that and they never tried to really find out who did what or why.⁵

After continued beatings for using their language and for being 'savages' children soon learned that they were being trained and conditioned not only for religious-based education but to rid them of their perceived 'savagery'. These abuses were not only carried out for punishing misbehavior or as a school's standard of corporal punishment. Daily indoctrination and the

⁴ Male, attended Norway House; *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded November 2007.

⁵ Female, attended Lejac, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2006.

frequent use of these punishments created a system of conditioning. The contexts behind some of the abuses and realities were not lost on children who live with intergenerational impacts of the schools and who began to conceive abuse as a natural part of learning. Even those who were not physically or sexually abused over the course of their days at the schools faced the emotional ridicule and base indoctrination that their identities and communities were of no significance in modern Canada. The schools were attempting to construct an imagined model student. The imagined 'white child' the schools were attempting to transform children into were not the brown-skinned Canadian citizens they assumed they were transforming. Survivors often recall beatings for crying or showing emotion. One student from the Chootla Baptist Mission in Whitehorse remembers being forced to hold back tears after her father passed away:

And I can't cry, either. I can't cry because I would get a licking again. So we were just kind of numb, growing numb. Even when people died you can't weep. That wasn't allowed. When my dad got killed, he got killed, they told me not to cry. If you cry you're a sinner. So I really believe they tell you things that are unbelievable, especially when you're in there. You never see your brothers. They are right there, but you can't talk to them. You are just like a robot.⁶

Coupled with the extinguishment of language, spirituality and rationality the termination of emotion was enforced through education and abuse. Survivors speak often about 'shutting down' emotionally after years of separation from family or years of abuse and they also speak about the ridicule that came with expression of emotion inside the schools. Strip away language, emotion and spirituality and children were easily left unidentifiable. A former student from the Birtle Presbyterian School in Manitoba states clearly, 'I didn't know who I was':

⁶ Female, attended Chootla Baptist Mission, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded October 2007.

Well, we weren't supposed to cry anyway. We weren't supposed to feel. We were not supposed to have feelings of sadness, or whatever. They did a good job on me because that's exactly how I left the place, without feelings, without being able to express my feelings or know what kind of a feeling I'm having. Like I said, I was nothing when I left there. I was totally nothing. I didn't know who I was.⁷

Straps, rulers, whips, hands and fists were utilized as instruments of discipline in schools across Canada during the residential school era. Teachers, clergy and principals were permitted to use corporal punishment under the Canadian law and the *Criminal Code* starting from 1892.⁸ It stated: 'It is lawful for every parent, or person in the place of a parent, schoolmaster or master, to use force by way of correction towards any child, pupil or apprentice under his care, provided that such force is reasonable under the circumstances.'⁹ The application of 'reasonable force' and corporal punishment was legal inside Canadian classrooms until 2004, when a Supreme Court of Canada [SCC] decision deemed it an 'unreasonable application of force' by teachers.¹⁰ There was license within the residential school, whether out of sheer practicality or out of malice, to use the implements, techniques and frequencies of corporal punishment beyond what may be considered 'reasonable force'. At the residential schools the punishments often extended beyond what was 'accepted' for that period in Canadian educational standards. According to the earliest *Criminal Code* in 1892 the way children were punished could have been considered 'reasonable under the circumstances'. Deprivation, imprisonment and humiliation were also used in place of physical beatings or alongside the

⁷ Male, attended Birtle, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded May 2007.

⁸ *The Criminal Code, 1892, S.C. Section 55*: 'It is lawful for every parent, or person in the place of a parent, schoolmaster or master, to use force by way of correction towards any child, pupil or apprentice under his care, provided that such force is reasonable under the circumstances'.

⁹ *Criminal Code of Canada, S.C. Section 55*.

¹⁰ *Canadian Foundation for Children, Youth and the Law v. Canada (Attorney General)*, 2004 Supreme Court of Canada 4, aff'g (2002), 57 O.R. (3d) 511 (C.A.), aff'g (2000), 49 O.R. (3d) 662 (S.C.) [*"CFCYL v. Canada"*].

physical abuses. A former student from the Crowfoot school in Cluny, Alberta describes lashes from a combine belt or the portion of a combine wheel:

The strap was about that thick (indicating) and about that long (indicating), cut into like a handle. It was from old combine wheels, that belt, from combine belts. They called it the “government” strap. I had great welts on my back, down my buttocks and my sides. And who was looking? Because I was like this (indicating) on the bed. Sister Mary Rustica was just smiling away thanking her God for what I’m going through, ten or fifteen straps I think it was, welts, ten lashes. I’m pretty sure it was ten. I couldn’t move after. I couldn’t lie on my back.¹¹

There are few to no identifiable patterns during the years that abuses occurred at a school or which schools had more or less incidences of abuse, which students were abused and which ones were not so what emerges from Survivor recollections is the evidence of an ad-hoc style treatment and punishment. Assimilation and education was carried out mildly in some schools and quite brutally in others. Some students were locked in rooms and were deprived of clothing, heat or food. A Survivor from the Onion Lake School in Saskatchewan describes the deprivation and indoctrination of ‘evil’ doing:

I know that being locked up in the room for days by yourself without any clothes when you’re cold, and you cry because you wonder where your mom went or your brothers and sisters or what made you so bad you had to be in there. I started believing I was evil and wicked. They used to tell me my mother had sex with the devil and that’s how I was

¹¹ Male, attended Crowfoot school, Cluny, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2007.

born. I didn't even know what the devil was, but I knew it meant something bad.¹²

Shame and embarrassment was used to make an example out of children and teach a lesson but frequently it was used as a punishment. Many former students recall receiving their lashes or strap in front of the classroom or a large gathering of children.¹³ Showing yourself with your pants down was an unfamiliar humiliation and used often to embarrass the children. One child would also be singled out of a group and was often made to take punishment for other children who would not come forward. Another student from Onion Lake recalls having his head shaved as a humiliation:

The eradication of anything Indian was severe. Again, this was in the thirties and forties and into the fifties. In the fifties things started to change for the better, in the early fifties. But before that it was a severe hard punishment if you were caught talking in your language, you were beaten or shamed, walking around in pajamas with your head shaved, very much like running away punishments. You were shamed. You were paraded in front of the kids.¹⁴

The physical punishment of students was clearly not standardized or applied according to any measure of the law. Teachers and clergy chose the punishment and severity according to their own standards. Granted power by the Departments of Indian Affairs and their Churches they had authority over the treatment and welfare of the children. The teachers, staff and clergy

¹² Female, attended Onion Lake, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded September 2007.

¹³ See: Male, attended Fort Alexander, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded May 2007; Female attended All Saints Prince Albert and Gordon's, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008; Female, attended Lejac, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2006; Male, attended Carcross, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

¹⁴ Male, attended Onion Lake, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded May 2007.

created a custom of 'rogue' actions.¹⁵ This was clear not only from the abuses, but also the kindnesses shown to the children. In the daily routines, feeding the children, supporting or neglecting the children and their 'rogue' actions appear in a vast majority of Survivor recollections. Children scarred and forced into new identities recall both these bizarre treatments but also the emergent culture of secrecy and enforced silence. 'We couldn't show nobody', remarks a Survivor from the Baptist Mission in Whitehorse, Yukon Territory:

Sometimes he used to pick us right up off the floor by our sideburns. I remember it used to hurt. Some of us, they used to pick us up by the ear. Some of my friends lost their hearing in one ear. I used to see some of my friends get whipped so bad they were cut up all over the place from the straps. They would just stick them in a room and wait until they heal up. We couldn't show nobody.¹⁶

These inconsistencies demonstrate that a huge measure of power lay in the individual hands of teachers, clergy and staff making the treatment of children in schools unbalanced and unchecked. In a statement from a former student of the Lower Post School in Northern British Columbia and the Courdert Residence in Yukon Territory the ad-hoc use of a ping pong paddle and being 'whacked around' tells of the non-standard punishments:

Sister Alkwa (ph.) I remember she always whacked me on the head with her fists or her palms. She would always hit me on my arm, right here (indicating). Every day she always picked on me. I remember she had this ping pong paddle. They used to play ping pong. She used that wooden paddle to whack me on the arms or on my backside. Sometimes she would punch me in the head with her fists, or whack me on the head with her open palms, like really hard, too. She just

¹⁵ Letter from Hayter Reed, Indian Agent, 11 November 1937, PAM, RG 10, Volume 6038, File 158-3-1, part 1.

¹⁶ Male, attended Baptist Mission Whitehorse, *OSOS Collection*, no date.

whacked me around with her fists and her palms. Sometimes she would use a ruler. Us girls were just terrified of her.¹⁷

Often unexplained and unwarranted, abuse served to keep 'kids in line' but children were also controlled during each specific task.

Food and malnutrition

What is commonly said about the abilities of a smell or taste to trigger a memory more acutely than anything else, endures through the accounts of former students. Smells, tastes and textures of food are by far the most unifying and common memories of all Survivors of Indian Residential Schools. Even Survivors with primarily positive memories of the schools, remember scarcity and food of low quality. The food provided for students was abysmal. The quality and quantity of the food was a shock to the system of children that had been up to this point, existing and thriving on 'traditional' or 'country' food sources. Generations had lived with wild meats, fish, foraged for roots and berries and traditional agricultural products. At the very least, the transition from a high protein diet to a high carbohydrate diet of 'porridge and bread' was a distress to children and to their bodies. Rapid change in diet was coupled with the abuse and negligence. Children were often punished for throwing up their food or for complaining about it. Many describe malnutrition and recall hiding food, stealing food and gathering food from the land around the school. Eating and rejecting food brought abuse and overwhelmingly, children felt the food they were given was an abuse in itself. As models of good 'white' children, crying or complaints were simply not tolerated at any stage or in any capacity. Children would find other ways to reject the food that they were served, they would hide it, steal food when they were hungry and would lie to their teachers. It was understood that there was a sub-culture within the school to subvert the system. A former student from the Chootla School in Carcross, Yukon describes the student sub-culture:

¹⁷ Female, attended Lower Post and Courdert Residence, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

We learned to lie, to steal, to steal food because we had no food, not enough food to eat. We learned to steal and to lie about things. And they taught us lots of things that we shouldn't say. Sometimes we even try to tell them the truth, they call us liars. We can't win no way, even though we want to do things right, we can't do right. We had to be wrong to be right in school.¹⁸

Children made their own adaptations and there were collective efforts to steal and to hide food. 'I remember being hungry', was a terribly common statement found across the country. This student from Guy Hill School in Manitoba stole food for herself and other girls:

I remember being hungry a lot. I remember trying to be wise, trying to help the little girls however I could by stealing food from the kitchen. Every time they needed a volunteer in the kitchen I would go. I learned how to sew so I made bigger pockets so I could fit more food in them.¹⁹

Food was often poor quality, sometimes rotten and children frequently went hungry. A student from the Fort Alexander School in Sagkeeng, Manitoba describes worms in the food:

I remember myself and the incident with the worms in the vegetables. I remember picking the worms out of there so I could have the vegetables so I could eat and not go hungry. I don't remember having any meat or anything like that. I remember that. I remember potatoes, not very many potatoes, but a lot of oatmeal, a lot of corn and that kind of thing.²⁰

¹⁸ Female, attended Chootla, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded October 2007.

¹⁹ Female attended Guy Hill, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

²⁰ Female, attended Fort Alexander, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

A similar story arose from across the country in British Columbia from the St. Michael's School in Alert Bay, BC:

For breakfast we had porridge, but there were maggots in the porridge. We used to kid each other about having iron to supplement the porridge. (Laughter) Everybody wanted to work on a farm because they grew stuff, eh. We used to hide things like turnips and potatoes and stuff like that just to try to fill that empty spot in your stomach. It got to the point that to this day I will not eat turnips. I ate too much of it in St. Michael's.²¹

Worms, insects, rodents and rotten food were served along with small portions and little or no variety in meals for children. It was not uncommon for children to become ill from the food. This former student from the Shubinacadie school in Nova Scotia recalls a common punishment; of having to eat thrown up food:

The food, it wasn't all that great, although sometimes I wanted to throw up, I held it down. Because I seen what happened to others. When they threw up the food they were forced to eat it. And if they didn't eat it, they would get a spanking.²²

A similar story is recounted by a student from the Guy Hill School in Manitoba:

At the end of our table there was a garbage can and if we were caught putting our food into the garbage then we had to eat everything else

²¹ Male, attended St. Michael's Alert Bay, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

²² Male, attended Shubinacadie, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded December 2006.

that was in the garbage as well. So we learned to try to swallow it down.²³

Many of the schools were industrial-boarding style schools designed for agricultural instruction. Schools with large farms and fields had children working with farm animals and crops of grains and vegetables. It perplexed children when they were to sell the farm goods, serve the meat and eggs to the teachers, or sell it to the surrounding community while they only ate bread and porridge. A former student of St. Paul's Anglican School in Cardston, Alberta recounted these ironies:

We eat bad. We don't never had no eggs. We had chickens in here. We had pigs in here. We don't eat none of that stuff. The Staff, we see the Staff had a big Dining Room. We all eat in rows in here, and you can smell all the good food the teachers and whoever eat. We eat bad. We just eat oatmeal in the morning, and bread. I don't think we drank milk. We ate bad. We couldn't complain. We can't ask for seconds. No. We had a bad thing in school. We ate bad. We dressed bad, too.²⁴

Children were often caught stealing food and many recall the severe punishment that followed being caught with food outside of mealtime or hidden stores of food. Often risking punishment, children found ways to cook their own food, as told by one from All Saints in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan:

There was ashes on the way to school, to the classroom. We put the potatoes in the ashes and they were still a little bit --- And then when you came out you take the potatoes and we ate them black. We got strapped in the Dining Room. Four hundred kids were there. It was about this thick (indicating). It was horse harness, I guess, leather.

²³ Female, attended Guy Hill, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

²⁴ Male, attended St. Paul's Anglican, Cardston, Alberta, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2007.

That's what they used to strap us, each one of us, for whatever we did wrong.²⁵

Another student, from the Chootla School in Yukon Territory would eat pinecones, found outside to fight the hunger:

We had to go outside. I see a pine tree and they got a big seed there, or something, and I used to eat that because I was so hungry.²⁶

Teachers, clergy and administrators were given a tall order to monitor not only the educational routine of the children but also to control rules, praise and punishments. It is clear they took liberties with the role they were given. A former student from All Saints School in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan speaks of those liberties taken by teachers and clergy:

One time we worked in the kitchen and one morning at breakfast time they used to have brown sugar for our porridge. There was a big clump of brown sugar there and I didn't think anybody was watching me so I just took it and stuck it in my apron pocket. Nobody said nothing. Then after breakfast I was called to the office and I got a strapping. They used to use conveyor belts, those big belts, but it was cut so long (indicating) and so wide (indicating). We would get a strapping with that.²⁷

These 'adaptations' to the standard punishments were also seen at the Grouard School in Alberta:

We didn't have running water and there were some cats running around with their little kittens. This Sister, her name was Sister

²⁵ Male, attended All Saints Prince Albert, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

²⁶ Female, attended Chootla, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded October 2007.

²⁷ Female, attended All Saints, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

Jemima (sp?), she put them in a gunny sack, put a rock in the bottom, put all the kittens in there and just threw them in a barrel of water. Some of us cried because it was mean. She told us, you know, when you die, if you tell lies and you steal – I guess someone was caught stealing – you’re going to go down here (indicating).²⁸

If the teachers and clergy were to ‘lay down the law’ to the children to keep them under their thumb and take control of the often large class-sizes, they created their own ethos of obedience. Former students’ perceptions of the operation of the schools were often recalled as these severe and odd punishments, unfamiliar kinds of deprivation and every day they witnessed how the teachers and clergy were living inside the schools with good food and comfortable beds.

Contemporary studies of food and malnutrition in residential schools have also revealed deeper connections to bureaucratic administration and using the children as experimental subjects, during these periods of severe neglect and malnutrition. Ian Mosby’s 2013 article ‘Administering Colonial Science: Nutrition Research and Human Biomedical Experimentation on Aboriginal Communities and Residential Schools, 1942-1952’ revealed ties between scientific research on malnourished Indigenous children and use of residential school conditions to test children, rather than improve their living conditions.²⁹ Not surprisingly the research reveals departmental and medical knowledge of dangerous levels of malnutrition at residential schools. Additionally, the research reveals how political and scientific interests were proceeding ahead in place of support or relief for children at the schools.³⁰

²⁸ Female, attended Grouard, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded September 2006.

²⁹ Ian Mosby, ‘Administering Colonial Science: Nutrition Research and Human Biomedical Experimentation in Aboriginal Communities and Residential Schools 1942-1952’, *Social History*, 46 (2013), pp. 145-172.

³⁰ Mosby, ‘Administering Colonial Science’, pp. 171-172.

Charity and Clergy

If anyone has material possessions and sees his brother in need but has no pity on him, how can the love of God be in him? Dear children, let us not love with words or tongue but with actions and in truth.
[John 3:17-18]

The mismatch between actions, words and deeds inside the schools is truly incredible. There is little hope that clergy genuinely felt that the children they were converting had actually been elevated from their station as 'savage'. Imagined ascent above the station of 'heathen' would not alter the way that the clergy would treat the children. There was a hierarchy in the standard of living and children's awareness of the differences in standard of care which proved to be even more detrimental to their time at the schools.

The Staff had their Dining Room upstairs and they had polished silver and their roast beef or whatever was covered with a silver platter. The girls, whoever was serving in the Staff Dining Room they were called servants. They would go there and they had to do the polishing on Saturday of all the silverware. They had linen napkins. They had linen tablecloths. That was for the Staff. They had silver teapots and coffee pots and Royal Doulton for the table setting. They had nice gravy bowls and stuff like that, and tureens. I never knew what they were called but I found out later on that this is what they were called: tureens. And they had a gravy boat to pour your gravy.³¹

To children, these concepts of 'charity' and hierarchy were as foreign as the food and punishments. Children came from cultures of respect and justice. It was hard for many to grasp that they were to be fed what was described by so many as a pittance while teachers and clergy were fed something very different. Children's duties varied according the schools and the work they were asked to do but many worked in the kitchens and it was part of their

³¹ Female, attended St. John's Chapleau and Shingwauk, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded August 2006.

work detail to serve food and clean the staff dining areas. These dining rooms are described by a former student of the Pine Creek School in Manitoba:

I had to clean the Staff Dining Room. The Priest had his own Dining Room. They had silverware. They had matching plates and they had hot plates to keep the food warm. They had china to be served. We had to wash the dishes in a separate place other than where we washed our dishes. They had to polished. I remember polishing those nice silver trays and teapots and coffee urns. They had a beautiful Dining Room. It was well lit. I used to always pretend that this was my home and this was my dining room. Because where we were it was just plain and we had plain tables and benches.³²

As this former student from Gordon's school in Saskatchewan describes a similar scene, he recalls his young memories of gratitude for the potatoes and toast they were given:

In another room over there, there was a special room for the staff. They had the best spread; bacon and eggs. You could smell all this and all you got was a piece of bread and porridge. And they got all this. The other time they would have the best meal, roast beef, pork chops and all these things. And all we got was one piece of bologna and a couple of slices of bread. That's got to do us. At suppertime it was the same thing. They had special meals. We didn't. But we had potatoes. At least we had that. We had toast. Those were the kinds of things that went on.³³

Many felt grateful for what they had and they made sure they could help feed the youngest children among them. One former student from Williams Lake, British Columbia described the food in the staff residences: "They had all the

³² Female, attended Pine Creek, *OSOS Collection*, interviewed April 2007.

³³ Male, attended Gordon's, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2008.

food and they wasted it and they just left it there, but we had to steal it so we could feed the younger ones'³⁴. In many of the same ways that children faced abuse, children faced the living conditions with either despair or resistance, ensuring that the youngest had the first portions of stolen food or they would sew bigger pockets to carry stolen food. These were never static narratives of economically unstable institutions governed by a single oppressor. They were unique schools, within a broad system administered by relatively unpredictable methods and means. It is still some wonder why so many children were left to beg for food or starve, even throughout what was meant to be the great 'wheat sheaf' of the Empire through modern twentieth century Canada.

Negligence

Given conditions on First Nation reserves, in Inuit communities and in Métis towns during the same time period in which the residential schools operated it is hard to say definitively that at any school and the conditions including the access to water or food were considerably better or worse than in the children's home communities. Notwithstanding, the safe treatment of young children remained the greatest test of the school system. Beyond the language transformation and Euro-Canadian education of the classroom the staff was charged with caring for the children whose parents were of the wards of the state. If there were Christian teachings about charity from either the Catholic and Protestant churches, it was not clear that they were followed, especially those which instructed on care of children.

As soon as I would get home my mother would always say, "Well, we've got to get some food into you." We were so malnourished there. There was a time when they were kind of worried about my health. I

³⁴ Female, attended St. Joseph's School, Williams Lake BC, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2006.

was very very skinny, really skinny. I looked like one of those starving African children.³⁵

Children knew they were surrounded by food. Schooled on the shores of lakes, banks of rivers and on the edges of forests, full of animals and easily foraged food the children seemed amazed they would be fed so little. Fish, berries, garden vegetables and farm-raised meats were often sold in co-operative farms or to locals. As described by an Alert Bay student:

We were hungry constantly. I became a table captain so I had to dish out the food to the kids at my table. Quite often I never got enough to eat myself because I ended up giving too much to one or two of the kids. We used to go --- The Nimpkish River was right across, only a few miles away, and we used to go drag seining there for Sockeye in the spring. But they never fed us one Sockeye. It was used for trade for other things. We never ate our own food in the school. All we ate was the junk that they gave us.³⁶

It was not uncommon for children to either refuse to eat what they were given or more likely for them to not receive enough food. Many were given supplements like cod liver oil and their food was closely monitored but there are still vivid memories of starvation.³⁷ Interviewed as adults, many former students carried residual anger and frustration with their memories of hunger. One former student from the MacKay school in Dauphin, Manitoba 'stole the Minister's car' in order to escape the starvation:

I wouldn't leave that bed. I didn't want to go anywhere for about a month. I just about starved to death. They couldn't pull me off the bed

³⁵ Female, attended St. John's Chapleau and Shingwauk, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded August 2006.

³⁶ Male, attended St. Michael's Alert Bay, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

³⁷ See Ian Mosby, 'Administering Colonial Science: Nutrition Research and Human Biomedical Experimentation in Aboriginal Communities and Residential Schools 1942-1952', *Social History*, 46, (2013), pp. 145-172.

to go and eat or do anything. I hated that place from that day. I ran away from boarding school. I stole the Minister's car to get away from there. I hated the food. I hated starving.³⁸

Young children and teenagers simply are not meant to withstand periods of time with inadequate food. Diets of Indigenous children were altered over generations and scientific study of their nutrition that started during the residential school era continues today.

I remember that very first year I ended up in the Infirmary because I wasn't strong enough to be able to survive because I was malnourished.³⁹

Negligence meant more than inadequate and unhealthy food; the clothing, beds and buildings provided for children were also notoriously unsafe. It becomes a challenge to ignore the ironies of starving children living within highly religious institutions. Moreover, whether constrained by government funding, mismanagement or malice, Survivors frequently cited ill-fitting shoes, tattered or dirty clothes and extreme temperatures in poorly built dormitories. In parts of Canada like the Yukon Territory, children would huddle together when the rooms were cold:

I remember when we first got there they gave me a bed with just a little thin mattress and those cotton sheets, and one thin little blanket, that's all. It was seventy below sometimes and we've got to sleep in that. One time I slept with my friend because we were so cold. A whole bunch of us got caught. We all got strapping because we're not supposed to sleep together, but we were so cold, to keep each other warm we slept together. But we really got strapping for that.⁴⁰

³⁸ Female, Dauphin MacKay School, *OSOS Collection*, interviewed March 2007.

³⁹ Female, attended Guy Hill, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

⁴⁰ Female, attended Chootla, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded October 2007.

It lingers as a question, what does it do to a child's sense of respect or justice if they were punished or belittled for attempting to warm him or herself? It was quite common for all Survivors; regardless of location to comment on the fact their feet often grew too large for their shoes. This happened quite consistently and is described by this Survivor from Guy Hill school in Manitoba:

We were given shoes for one year. If your feet grew during that time you weren't given another pair of shoes so we had to learn to walk with our feet curled in. I learned to walk really good with my feet curled in.⁴¹

Mirrored against the admission procedures where the children were taken in to the schools after it was assumed they came from 'dirty' homes, as they were bathed, had their hair shaved off, they were deloused and clothing burned, the conditions of the schools proved for many to be far worse off for them.

We never had toothbrushes. We never had anything to brush our teeth with. We had a bath maybe --- I guess we had a bath once a week, or something. We didn't have anything like that. When my sister came the second year that I was there, we had monitors that were supposed to look after them because she was only 6 years old. They were supposed to help them bathe and stuff like that. Well, what she had was underneath her arms her skin had started to grow together and I couldn't figure out what it was because I started looking after her after that and managed to keep scrubbing and scrubbing, but I don't know what it is, like when your skin grows together like that because you haven't been bathed or something.⁴²

⁴¹ Female, attended Guy Hill, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

⁴² Female, attended Mohawk Institute, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded November 2006.

A number of theories exist between Survivors and residential school historians about the construction and stability of the residences and school buildings.⁴³ Questions linger about how well the schools were built and how long they were meant to last. Few school buildings remain standing today and many were torn or burnt down by former students and communities. The schools that were left to stand were considered quite low quality. Structurally, the schools were possibly not meant to last because the Indian children they were designed to remove were also not meant to last? Fed and housed like animals, Survivors remember ongoing dehumanization and degradation:

They treated us like animals in there. That's the only way that I can describe that. It makes me mad every time I hear that they treated us like animals. I can't remember who it was who said that, but there was a great big write up about it when we were going through the Residential School book of how we were to be treated. It said right in there that you treat them like animals. That's exactly how we were treated in there. Nobody deserves to be treated that way; not me or anybody.⁴⁴

Dehumanized and demoralized, another valuable lesson children acquired was endurance. Religious instruction and patriotic assimilation often meant frequent ceremonies and commemorations. Children would be involved in parades, processions, and annual marches to their 'stations of the cross'. Additionally, commemorative events marking both World War I and World War II took place. In recollections of freezing during Remembrance Day ceremonies, one Survivor asks 'why would a man do that to another person, to kids?':

⁴³ Milloy, *A National Crime*, pp 78-79.

⁴⁴ Male, attended St. Michael's School Alert Bay, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

November 11th. They used to have Monument Hill they called it, a big high hill. That's where this monument was. We had to march up there wearing these short pants. It was snowing and raining. The mayor of that town said, "How come these kids are dressed like this?" "Can't they put on long pants?" "No, they're Indians. They're tough." I'll tell you, I had no knees after that service standing there, trying to stand straight. I had to be the one carrying the flag. I tell you, I had no knees left. Man, when I got back some of the boys were just shaking. We walked into that. They had a big room for us and all these town people went running back and they made a fire and warmed up everybody. There was lots of hot cocoa for us and a hot bowl of soup. We couldn't even eat our soup because we were going like this (indicating) because we were so cold. And then we had to ride back in a little van with no heat. Those were all the things. Why would a man do that to another person, to kids? A lot of times I ask myself there's gotta be something wrong with this man. There had to be.⁴⁵

They were Indians, they were 'tough' and they were merely savages so there may have been a belief amongst the clergy and administrators that 'Indians' were meant to withstand the treatment? Otherwise, they were savages and they had a divine right to this kind of treatment. Rationale and justifications abound in every corner of these schools, except inside the minds of the children.

Language

Daily extinction of Indigenous languages and the replacement with English, French and Latin was the most pervasive teaching method and was tied to many of the physical abuses children would face. For Indigenous children, the removal of language is inseparable from physical harm. Also, it remains one of the most devastating 'losses' after the tenure of the residential school system. It should be made clear that children did not 'lose' their language like

⁴⁵ Male, attended Gordon's, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2008.

someone 'loses' their keys. The languages were stolen with the result that the reduction in the number of Indigenous language speakers in Canada is quite considerable and the number of languages facing extinction is a tragic reflection of how languages were obliterated in these institutions. Assault on language was a convergence of various forces over the children. It was not only their identity that was tied to their language, as orally-based people, language is also the medicinal knowledge of their community; it contains their laws, their histories and their governance. Kinship ties, family histories and every minute ecological detail of the land around them is connected to their languages. To remove the language is also to remove generations of knowledge. Spirituality and ceremony are held in the languages and generations of children. In order to achieve the aims of the residential school and in order to attempt the entire disintegration of the 'Indian in the man', destroying language was the most pervasive way to do so. The value of Indigenous languages was reduced to nothing and is well described by this Survivor who attended the Guy Hill, Cross Lake and Fort Alexander Schools in Manitoba:

How we lost our language is they had established a token system and they gave us ten tokens. They had a wall set up with all of our names and a star system. There was gold, silver, blue and red. Red was if you lost all your tokens. I felt that I couldn't compete because I was still having problems with the language and I would always end up losing all my tokens. So what they would do is that all the children who lost all their tokens and ended up with all the red stars, they would put us somewhere else where we would have to stay while they were doing something else with the kids. That was our punishment to stay there. After you lost your tokens if you were caught speaking your language then you would have to hold your tongue. I used to find that so difficult because after you hold your tongue it becomes very slippery and I had a hard time holding it. If you let go they would keep

extending the time. I remember it always being wet because I couldn't hold onto my tongue. It's next to impossible.⁴⁶

Tokens and candies were paid to children in exchange for their language. Beaten and belittled, even if children were able to secretly retain their languages so many held on to the long-standing belief that their language was a source of great shame. For a handful of tokens you were encouraged or more precisely, forced to relinquish your language.

When you say "hello" in your language they grab your ear and hit you with a ruler and make you kneel down in the church so you won't speak your language. When you say "hello, how are you doing" in your language, the Priest didn't like that, speaking your language. They would punish both of us. So we were going to church and praying and saying we weren't going to speak our language. That was pretty difficult. If I stayed with my mom I would have known how to speak with them and understand them. Now the Elders today when they talk to me in Indian, I don't know nothing. I just nod my head and say "yeah". That really hurts me.⁴⁷

Children were miraculously strong and resisted with ingenuity when it came to the extinguishing of languages. They would include their language in play and were constantly using their original languages as secret languages to speak with friends and siblings behind the backs of teachers and clergy. They knew there were punishments waiting for them but many just retained their language to speak with their sister and brothers.

If we talked our Tahltan language we would get punished. We would get whipped, or get put in a dark room. I still have visions of the dark

⁴⁶ Female, attended Guy Hill, Fort Alexander and Cross Lake Schools, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

⁴⁷ Male, attended Lejac, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2006.

room. They would keep us there for about 3 or 4 days without eating.⁴⁸

Forcibly removed from their language, children were faced with learning English, French or Latin at an incredible rate. The regimentation became a way to survive, for the better they did in their language classes the greater recognition children received from the teachers, meaning children could move ahead in their classes. It is important to note the immense strength many children had through these periods of language extinction:

After the rape I did everything by motion. It was like very surreal. I just did what needed to be done, like learning the Latin, saying everything, repeating the entire Mass without even taking it into your heart. I stood when I had to, I knelt when I had to, I went to Confession and I told what I had to and did the way of the cross and everything. I had to go through my First Communion and my First Confirmation and I didn't even know what that was all about. I just did the steps. From the process of the rape and doing everything that needed to be done I felt that I was like an empty shell, just doing all that activity. I protected myself the only way I knew how. To protect myself was that they couldn't read my mind. I could think about whatever I wanted to in my mind and they couldn't see the process of what was happening unless I verbalized it and I never did. So when they would say, you know, "you'll never amount to anything," or "you come from a real troubled family," I would tell myself something else.⁴⁹

Retaining language allowed children to connect to part of their home and identity. Many saved their languages when they were able to return home in the summers and speak with grandparents and Elders. Many language speakers and knowledge holders were extinguished. Survivors' memories are

⁴⁸ Female, attended Lower Post, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

⁴⁹ Female, attended Guy Hill School, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

laden with years of childhood recollections. Many retained language, knowledge and many young students showed remarkable resilience. There was respite from their harsh existence by way of genuine acts of charity and kindness shown to students by staff members. In the following section, I discuss the role of kindness amidst cruelty and the influence of generosity between clergy, teachers and students.

Kindness

Grace and charity existed between students and staff. As children supported each other, helping one another and feeding the younger children, some teachers and clergy cared for children as well. It is important to note that in each school there were adored and admired teachers who Survivors remember fondly. Some children felt loved and treasured by nuns, priests and teachers and are able to associate some of their time at the school with pleasant memories. Many nuns, scholars of the 'Canadian Native' learned Indigenous languages and often would translate scripture or lessons for children. In Canada, missionaries are credited with the creation of syllabic writing systems, used originally to translate bibles for Indians and Inuit, but used later in residential schools to teach hymns and lessons in Cree.⁵⁰ Granted, these were still modes of Christianization and it is clear that there were methods of assimilation that did not require the brutality and punishment warranted in other teaching 'methods'. In many cases, former students recall only one or two 'kind teachers' from their years at the schools, but it should be noted that resistance to brutality and extinction came from both students and from some of the staff. Objections to the pedagogical design of class structure and operations came throughout the system.⁵¹ As complex structures with a high tendency for ad-hoc administration, the schools provided space for kindness, even if many remember these instances as rarities. A Survivor from Fort Chipewyan, Alberta recalls love and song from the nuns:

⁵⁰ Raymond Huel, *Proclaiming the Gospel to the Indians and Métis* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996), p. 233.

⁵¹ Extract from Deputy's Letter to Bishop of Calgary, 27 February 1919, PAM, RG 10, Volume 6039, File 160-1, part 1.

Sometimes, most of the time, the Sisters loved me very much. I know that. They were never mean to me. Yes, they said “L..., you’re talking again in the hallway, C..., too.” “You go stand in that corner and say your rosary”, in French. Now we have to sing the songs in French so I had to sing. I still know the song.⁵²

Girls and boys were both encouraged to join the Church. Treated with kindness by nuns and teachers, many became devout Christians and continue to practice and teach Christianity. Children were readily supported by some teachers and like many inspired teachers of school years, are remembered fondly by the Survivors. As a collective, Survivors had a mere handful of stories about helpful nuns and teachers. However, Survivors including one from the MacKay School in Dauphin remember the distinction between the majority of teachers and those who were able to see ‘every student as an individual’:

She was kind hearted. She looked at every student as an individual, with their unique qualities. She helped the students. All the students responded to her in a positive way. I did ask her one time, “How do I become a school teacher?” So she gave me the information. Go through school. Get all the help along the way. To this day she’s still fresh in my mind. Her name is Mrs. Torrey (sp?).⁵³

Another student from Manitoba who attended both the Assiniboia School and Pine Creek school remembers, like many the priest visiting her home. The memories of the priest in her home were not associated with the forced removals or abuse, instead they were warm memories:

⁵² Female, Holy Angels Convent School at Fort Chipewyan, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded August 2007.

⁵³ Female, attended McKay School Dauphin, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

I also have a guilt because they weren't all bad, the nuns and the teachers. Well, they were all teachers but they were all nuns who looked after us. As a matter of fact today my daughter had a picture of a priest – I won't say his name – a priest who had sent me his picture and he was a good priest. He used to come and visit my mother at our home and take our pictures. And then he sent me this picture and he said, "To my good friend...". I remember him because he was good.⁵⁴

Children were experiencing feelings of loneliness and sorrow. Daily punishments notwithstanding, children of all ages were experiencing great trauma associated with being separated from family and parents. In some cases nuns or teachers would assume a parental role, holding and comforting the children. While episodes of affection and motherly care were rare inside the schools, they contributed in a way to the ways children were able to survive and even excel in the system. Another student from the Holy Angels Convent School in Fort Chipewyan, Alberta can remember a distinct gentleness and beauty:

I remember I was lonesome. I was crying. I was crying and I wanted to go home. I wanted to go home. Mom and dad left us there and I didn't want to be there. This Nun, her name was Sister Sabourin (ph.), I will always remember her. She was such a beautiful person. She held me. I sat on her lap and she held me, like a mother with her own baby, and just cuddled me and just rocked me in the rocking chair while I cried. She let me cry. When I was okay afterwards, then she said, "Okay, you're okay now." She was such a beautiful person. She was quite up there in age at that time so she's probably been passed on for quite a few years now. I'll say she's in heaven with her kindness, just the gentleness of her.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Female attended Assiniboia and Pine Creek schools, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

⁵⁵ Male, attended Holy Angels Convent School, Fort Chipewyan, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded August 2007.

Young people were living highly complex lives inside the schools. Torn down and built up, silenced and then, given a voice these Indigenous children rarely left the school with a single narrative. Treatment by some was fair and kind but those ordinary kindnesses were tragically overshadowed by the instances of extraordinary abuse.

Sexual abuse

These are Christian days, and each human soul has its dignity and its rights, to be respected and enforced.⁵⁶

Inside these histories of education and indignities there are deep secrets of the most personal violations. If there is a true measure of these residential school systems, it lies in these failures. The inability of these institutions to protect children against sexual and physical violations or the ability for them to promote twisted sexualities is the real measure of this system. There is little commentary that can mediate the accounts of Survivors as they make public these deeply private abuses. In response though, to the detractors who claim the schools were 'innocuous' or that Survivor experiences have been conflated over time, the schools' sexual histories should still disturb the collective Canadian conscience. Modern histories of Church education are currently flooded with sexual abuse claims. Residential schools operated for the entirety of the twentieth century, an era now noted for the marked end to a wide veil of secrecy over clergy-child sexual abuses.

In residential schools in Canada, some children survived the pervasiveness and perversions of the schools and others did not survive. Children's minds and bodies were taken over and controlled completely by clergy, who demonstrated their power over the children in the most damaging ways possible. For many children, they were too young and still innocent enough to not entirely realize what was happening to them.

⁵⁶ Dr. Jacobus X 'Experiences of Flagellation: A Series of Remarkable Instances of Whipping Inflicted on Both Sexes: Compiled by An Amateur Flagellant', *Discipline in School & Cloister* (Paris: C. Unsinger, 1902).

I didn't realize that sexual abuse was not normal because it happened in my foster homes as well. When I was in my foster homes they started selling me for sex when I was six. I was told that's what I was born for, to be used like that by White men and that Indian people had no place except to serve White men. So I had no safe place. There was no safe place to go. And the Priest always made it sound like it was my obligation to God to do that for them. Same with the Nuns. You become very confused on who you are. You don't have an identity because they take it away. They took everything.⁵⁷

There was something about the temperament of priests and nuns who were known to the community as holy people but who also committed unspeakable abuses.

This Brother would come to the small boys' room and he would make us pick who he wanted. He started wrestling around and of course he would carry one off into the boiler room. He did that to me. He carried me into that boiler room. I didn't know what to think. I didn't know what he was doing or why he was doing it. I was so confused, I didn't know how to feel. I was just totally in shock of what was happening to me. The boys knew what was going on. We all knew, so whoever's turn it was we knew it was going to happen. It didn't matter where it was. If we went out into the bush for an outing and he was there, he was going to have his time with one of the boys. In fact, he would do it openly because everybody knew. This Brother almost had a dual personality, a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde personality. He would seem to be the nicest guy and yet he was such an evil man. His name was Brother Turcotte. He abused a lot of us. And we all knew about it. In fact, everybody knew how he would try to deny what happened. He would say, "You're Brother Turcotte's boy." And of course the teasing

⁵⁷ Female, attended Onion Lake, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded September 2007.

would go on and of course you would try to deny it because you didn't want to be singled out. But we all knew that everybody was. Wherever we went, wherever he took us, we knew what was going to happen.⁵⁸

Sexually transmitted diseases, pregnancies, abortions and adoptions occurred at the schools as result of the sexual abuses committed against children, by teachers, workers and clergy.⁵⁹ Some schools had unusually high rates of sexually transmitted diseases affecting the children and medical reports record children becoming quite sick or dying from the diseases.

When I was eleven they did an abortion on me. I didn't even know what it meant. I didn't know what it meant then. Not too long after that I decided that I was just going to die. I quit eating and nobody noticed I quit eating or anything, not that I ate much anyway.⁶⁰

Students made repeated attempts to report abuses or resist the abuses. It was quite uncommon for children to raise successful claims of abuse against members of the clergy working at the schools.

I couldn't tell an adult what happened because I didn't know what happened so I just kept it inside. About two or three days later I heard that door opening at night again and I remember the steps coming down the hallway and how they had stopped at my bed. I remember being flipped over and I remember being raped. I had a lot of difficulty with that because I didn't know what was happening to me.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Male, attended Holy Angels Convent, Fort Chipewyan, Alberta, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded August 2007.

⁵⁹ Milloy, *National Crime*, pp 132 and 146; Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, pp. 328-336.

⁶⁰ Female, attended Onion Lake, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded September 2007.

⁶¹ Female, attended Guy Hill, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

Stories of Survivors become emblematic of a shattered childhood and the trauma of an entire system.

But he would always go to a certain place he had where you could look down towards the lake and he would make you stand there. He wouldn't sexually penetrate you but he would play with your penis and stuff like that, kiss you on the neck and stuff like that, eh. At that age you don't even understand what is going on because we were altar boys. We thought in order to be an altar boy you have to do this. That was my dream was to be an altar boy like my brothers. I see them up there. Geez, that looked good on Sunday. Everybody was dressed nice in white clothes. So I always thought, oh, if I could ever reach that altar boy, I'll have it made. That was always in my mind.⁶²

One student from Lower Post School in Northern British Columbia courageously describes in detail the abuses she faced as well as how she prayed for the abuses to end:

He took my pyjamas off and he laid me across this table. I couldn't see anything because it was dark. He was touching ...and I was crying, so then he put his hand over my mouth and said, "Keep quiet." This happened 3 times...There were nights that I never slept. I would hear people walking around. I think they were taking other kids out of bed, but I kept my eyes shut so I wouldn't see anything, praying that it's not me. Don't pick me. Don't pick me tonight. Don't.⁶³

It may have been the creation of a culture of silence and secrecy in each individual school and the system of schools that allowed teachers and entire schools to operate outside of a level of decency and personal safety. Time and effort had to have been dedicated to building this culture of secrecy and

⁶² Male, attended Fishing Lake school, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded September 2006.

⁶³ Female, attended Lower Post, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

covering up what was happening behind closed doors. In notoriously inefficient and unsafe schools it is of some wonder how acts of deviancy and abuse were able to go un-noticed. In photographs of the residential schools we often see black and white photos of uniformed children, in neat rows, standing at attention. The chaos and despair of these events of abuse or trauma were not recorded like this. Past the culture of secrecy, Survivors who disclosed abuse as a child or later on as an adult remain the holders of the records of these systematic abuses. A male Survivor from the Baptist Mission in Whitehorse, Yukon describes enforced secrecy after abuse:

Then I remember one day when he was sexually assaulting me it hurt so bad I turned around and I just about bit his thumb off. He whipped me so bad that time I couldn't walk for 2 weeks. I had to stay in bed. That kept going on for years, you know. It seemed like for years to me. But he used to strap me because he knew I was a fighter, I would fight back. And he used to tell us, "Oh, I really love you kids." "One day I'm going to adopt you." "That's how much I care about you." Deep down inside I knew he was lying. But I don't want to say nothing because I don't want to get whipped more.⁶⁴

Children resisted physically and mentally from these assaults. After experiencing the abuse themselves or knowing what was to come after fellow students were abused, children resisted. They kicked, bit, punched and shoved back often to face only more abuse and punishment. Many describe shutting down mentally and emotionally or allowed themselves to fall into the routine and regimented lifestyle. Children adapted and fought back, as told in a story from a Survivor of the Chootla residential school:

But that man, he even bothered little kids. He feeled them up. All the kids, we don't have good sleep. The only time we have good sleep is on his day off. Otherwise he just --- Sometimes you just wake up with him

⁶⁴ Male, attended Baptist Mission Whitehorse, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

bothering you, feeling you up. That's how he wake us up. We used to get high-heeled shoes from the dump and we hit him with that! We keep it in our bed. Whenever he come around, he just try to do that to us and we hit him on the head with that high-heeled shoe.⁶⁵

Often lost in the historical narratives of colonial control and boarding schools in Canada, there was and is always a response, by the children to these abuses. Children reacted to these abuses and even in the culture of silence they did not remain silent and many spoke up to parents and to teachers even if their stories were not recorded. Other children kept the secrets and Survivors share deeply traumatic stories of how these abuses affected generations of their families. Sexual abuse in the schools contributed to the cycle of sexual violence in Indigenous communities and disproportionately high rates of drug and alcohol use.⁶⁶ Stories of resistance are often lost in those narratives, as well. Emerging from the Survivor statements, a contrapuntal response to the sexual assault are the Survivor stories of how they resisted. Never left as isolated, clandestine episodes of violations to their childhood the abuses are viewed as the total assaults, to the mind and body that they were. Children were agents in this system and it is clear, from the histories of the Survivors that they were never victimized automatons.

Resistance

They wanted to teach us the White man's way. This is their way. We're not Indians. The one Nun told us we're not Indians no more, we're White people. I asked her, "Why are we White?" "My skin is still brown." I got slapped for that.⁶⁷

It is quite likely that in the culture of secrecy, as children were forced to hide abuses what also disappeared at that same time were their stories of resistance. These stories are relatively rare in the grand narrative of the Canadian residential school. Histories developed as accounts between abused

⁶⁵ Female, attended Chootla, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded October 2007.

⁶⁶ Milloy, *A National Crime*, pp. 298-299.

⁶⁷ Male, attended Lejac, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2006.

and abuser, victim and victimizer, so that the feats of ingenuity that allowed children to resist were lost. Indigenous people in Canada have a well-known cultural marker and share a common, buoyant sense of humor. Many Survivors of the residential school system used humour inside and outside of the schools to 'survive' these often complex situations. Like one student from the Lejac school stated, above, jokes and humour helped get them through these bizarre experiences. Similarly, a Survivor from the Fort Qu'Appelle School in Lebret, Saskatchewan knew his mischievousness would help him endure:

I was very, very how would you say, mischievous. I never let things weigh me down. I always had friends that we could go way out at the far end of the playground and go and laugh. We would say something that would make us laugh, or make fun of maybe one of the teachers. "You see his belly?" Something like that, but all in fun. It wasn't mean or anything. So I always found a way to laugh, either at my friends or older people maybe, that type of thing. I liked to laugh.⁶⁸

Survivor statements are absolutely full of tears and laughter. Resistance and resilience came to children in a number of different ways. While some relied on humour and mockery others adhered firmly to their traditional upbringing. 'Indian ways' and their languages were being beat out of them, but their battered memories retained a level of strength. A former student of the Gooly Bay Mission school in Ontario attacked her teacher with force and she associates her instinct to protect with her, being raised as a member of the Bear Clan:

I asked her what does a Bear Clan do, what is the life of a Bear Clan person? She told me with understanding Bear Clan, my boy, is a protective person for all the people in your community, for all the medicines in your community, you protect them from everything.

⁶⁸ Male, attended Fort Qu'Appelle school, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded September 2007.

That's why I understand I probably attacked that teacher...And then the teachings that I got from some of the Elders, my grandmother especially, (speaking Native language) "look at my hand, we're equal". We are all equal. I'm not better than that one and you're not better than this one. We are all equal. You have to learn that. The four colours represent the four colours of the people on the face of the earth.⁶⁹

Children did not enter these schools as savages or heathens, many entered armed with spiritual and political teachings about justice, respect and equality. They knew there was another way, even if it was forbidden to them. They were trying to find their homes whether it was inside the school or a route to freedom in their original communities. Some were able to return home on weekends, holidays or over the summer. Others were able to write letters home and children soon learned that their letters would be censored or their letters would never reach home. A Survivor from St. John's school, Chapleau and Shingwauk remembers her letters to home and her attempts to complain being censored before they left the school:

The only thing about that was if you complained about what was happening there, complained to your parents that these awful things were happening, they wouldn't send that letter because they would look at the letter or open it up and see what you wrote. If you wrote something in there that they don't want to leave the school they wouldn't send the letter. I would have to rewrite it. Or if there were letters coming in they would open the mail from parents.⁷⁰

The same level of censorship existed in Northern British Columbia, at the Lejac School:

⁶⁹ Female, attended Gooly Bay Mission, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded August 2006.

⁷⁰ Female, attended St. John's School Chapleau and Shingwauk, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded August 2006.

Things that we try to write, we write letters to our families, begging them to pick us up and bring us home. Those letters never left the school. The Nuns and the Priests kept all the letters that we wrote, whatever paper we can find, brown paper, any paper that we can write a note. We used to try to get somebody to send it to our parents. We want to go home.⁷¹

It was a simple, but often impossible request; 'We want to go home'. Manifestations of 'home' as land and territory or as a metaphysical home, to a place of comfort were locations of escape. Priests and Indian Agents wrote journals and narratives about their noble work and the achievements of assimilation. What was called 'civilization' was, to the students called; survival. It was a process to come out the other end of this system alive and be able to return home. Many simply never returned back to where they came from. Survival for some simply meant responding with violence to violence:

It was about survival, not just from the students, the kids coming in during the day, even the teachers. Some of them used to fight the teachers. It was a world of violence. I seen a lot of violence, a lot of anger, a lot of rage. The teachers would take it out on us.⁷²

In these cultures of violence and silence, children invented their own codes and ways to escape. At Onion Lake School in Saskatchewan, children would tie laces around their arms to numb them:

And it was our code not to cry and not to holler. We used to tie laces around our arms to numb those arms. We would just stand there and take it. But they would keep whipping until you cried. All of a sudden

⁷¹ Male, attended Lejac, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2006.

⁷² Male, attended Ermineskin School, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded June 2007.

they bawled. They didn't cry. They just made it look as if they did. Many of them would drop to their knees.⁷³

A culture of subversion was constructed in order to allow children to communicate, thrive and survive. They would find small spaces and cracks in the strict system to play, laugh and even to love:

I remember one visit when I was about eleven years old. Mom and dad came to visit us. It was in the middle of the week. They weren't allowed on the school grounds because it was the middle of the week. It was not the weekend. I remember my mom trying to kiss me through the chain link fence. There was a fence that went around the school, the whole school block, and the fence was about six feet high. On top of the fence was this barbed wire. My mother tried to kiss me through the fence, through the chain link fence. My dad just stood there. He didn't even try⁷⁴

'Ecclesiastical rascals'

In 1905, Reverend Jeremiah Crowley wrote the second volume of a book entitled *An Exposé of the Parochial School – An Appalling Account of Priestly Graft. Immorality and Sacrilege – The Loss of Thirty Million Catholics in the United States with an Appendix which deals with the Separate or Parochial School in Canada*. Both the first and second volume of Crowley's book reported very serious abuses and violations being committed by priests in America and in Canada. The Catholic Church did not welcome these volumes, as Crowley explains:

In December 1904, I published the first edition of my book. The only reply which has been made to it by Catholic ecclesiastics in an attempt

⁷³ Male, attended Onion Lake, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

⁷⁴ Male, attended Moose Factory, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded August 2006.

to boycott it through the Confessional, to kept it out of bookstores, and to induce the secular press to ignore it.⁷⁵

Crowley was raising allegations of abuse and misconduct during the early part of the twentieth century. He traveled throughout the United States and Canada visiting the colonial dioceses and witnessed astonishing behaviour. Crowley's volume describes in detail the history of the Catholic Church and just how familiar all levels of the Church hierarchy has been with scandal and abuse. Following the history of the Church, Crowley then details what he has been witnessing in the U.S. and in Canada. Amongst the details are cases of grafting, abuse, sodomy, drunkenness and libel where Crowley is clear to point out that these cases have clearly plagued the Catholic Church for centuries.⁷⁶ Crowley includes the descriptive hierarchy and structure that allows these abuses to continue.

If a priest gives *public* scandal, he is whitewashed by his bishop, or he is sent, perhaps, to make a religious retreat for a few days, then he returns to his parish, or he is transferred to another parish in that dioceses, or he is sent to some other diocese where he may assume another name to escape the service of criminal or civil process. This course in effect means no punishment for sin, and it affords no protection to the Catholic people from ecclesiastical rascals.⁷⁷

In the case of a private scandal where the authorities were not notified it is clear that priests were able to get away with these violations almost unnoticed by outside parties. Crowley also blamed what he describes as a 'false code of honour' in the Catholic priesthood:

⁷⁵ Rev. Jeremiah J. Crowley, *The Parochial School: A Curse to the Church a Menace to the Nation An Exposé of the Parochial School- An Appalling Account of Priestly Graft. Immorality and Sacrilege – The Loss of Thirty Million Catholics in the United States Etc. With an Appendix which deals with the Separate or Parochial School in Canada*, (Chicago, 1905), pp. 20.

⁷⁶ Crowley, *The Parochial School*, p. 102.

⁷⁷ Crowley, *The Parochial School*, p. 201.

Catholic priests shield each other. The immoral cleric is shielded by his moral as well as his immoral brother priests. This indicates the false code of honor which prevails in the Catholic priest hood. It is a code which is uncanonical and unchristian.⁷⁸

Taking note of this particular example provided by Reverend Crowley's 1905 exposé, there were clearly some sacred or even very ordinary tasks to be carried out by a priest which created opportunities for exploitation. Examined alongside the legacy of the residential school abuses, it is clear that there was a likelihood that the Catholic Church hierarchy allowed abuses to remain unpunished and to continue even long after the abuses were reported. Accounts of former students of the Indian residential school system spoke repeatedly about reporting abuses and having their claims fall hard on deaf ears. If sodomy, drunkenness, grafting and abuse were reported amongst priests of Canada and the United States with such alarmingly high rates during the first part of the twentieth century the patterns of abuse in the residential schools seem quite congruent with reports from Catholic clergy. With few allowances for Church officials to internally curb cases of abuse it would stand as a challenge for wards of the state, the 'Native' to challenge the Churches on these same abuses, from their position in Canadian society.

Reporting Abuse

It was like going to a different world when I went into that school. My whole life and everything changed drastically because of the different teachings. One thing I learned down there was all this deep secrecy. That's where I learned about that code of silence. You don't say nothing, you don't get hurt.⁷⁹

These institutions were a different world. They were removed from society and in some ways, were removed from reality, especially for these children forcibly removed from their homes. In an environment constructed to

⁷⁸ Crowley, *The Parochial School*, p. 202.

⁷⁹ Male, attended Lower Post, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded October 2007.

reformulate young minds and to encourage 'civility', the connection to fairness and justice for wrongdoing was completely shattered. Any level of a proportional response to the physical and sexual abuses and severe neglect was simply, absent. There were attempts made to improve conditions and to address individual claims of abuse, but on the whole the system operated unchecked and under a veil of secrecy.

The most awful thing is what is going on out there right now, talking about everything that will happen to them, and when we got home we learned to shut our mouth and we can't even tell anybody, not even our grandpa, grandma, mom or dad. We kept it secret. It's just we were scared to tell it to them. My mom and dad both died. They never heard anything about what happened to me.⁸⁰

Secrecy and shame would follow in waves after cases of abuse and neglect. Many students felt too ashamed to report abuses to their own parents or grandparents. For some, they were returning home to parents who also attended residential school and may have been carrying these very same secrets. The schools drastically modified what Indigenous peoples felt about the Church and what they were forced to believe about the Church. A student from the Guy Hill School in Manitoba could see how the schools had altered her parents' perception and made the chances to report abuse seem hopeless:

This is what you expect them to do to you. Somebody here is supposed to trust and you can't place trust in them because they hurt you. I never told anybody what I went through because it was too horrible. I couldn't tell my mom because she went through Industrial School. I remember that environment because my dad was so different but my mom reminded me of the Nuns. Everything that we had to do was straight black and white. There was no grey area. She was always

⁸⁰ Female, attended Chootla, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded October 2007.

damning us to hell, too. She did things that we wondered where she learned them from. I thought, well, she's no different from me because she learned from people who oppressed her and abused her; adults. So she's no different from me.⁸¹

The inherent connection between sexual assaults and secrecy runs deep. Even if children were able to resist, either physically or mentally the barrage of abuses they may have faced they still absorbed an emotional or mental toll to maintain their secrecy.

And each time he told me not to say anything to anybody, or it's going to be worse. After these incidents when I went to bed I would tuck in my blankets tight and crawled in from the top, so thinking if my blankets are tightly around me, nobody is going to pull me out of my bed. I laid one way and I didn't move and I just hung onto my bed, so nobody could take me out of my bed...I couldn't tell my dad. I was too scared. My dad is a loving person. He never ever so much as lifted a finger to us. He never spanked us. He never did nothing wrong. We were his treasures. He was trying to hug me and I can't. I was scared. As soon as he put his arms around me I started screaming and I ran away. I would go in the bush and I would cry and cry and cry. Mom would call me and call me but I wouldn't come back. I never told anybody. I never said nothing to no one.⁸²

Complete inaction by authorities surrounded this veil of secrecy. Even if people came forward to report abuses the overwhelming prevalence of total inaction, apathy and suppression followed. The culture of neglect fashioned the culture of denial. Fixated on the idea that priests and nuns were infallible and reinforced by the idea that these were children and still savage children, apathy or ignorance prevailed. This former student of the All

⁸¹ Female, attended Guy Hill, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

⁸² Female, attended Lower Post, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

Saints School in Prince Albert and the Gordon's School in Saskatchewan remembers only apathy as a response to the abuse:

I bit him. I bit him on the hand. I cried and cried and nobody believed me. He touched me. He didn't penetrate me because I held my legs together and I kicked. Finally he spilled something and it fell on the floor and he composed himself and I jumped up and I went out. Right away I told our caregiver who was with us and she didn't do nothing.⁸³

The silence was often compounded by the use of intimidation or fear, as abusers would threaten children against reporting what was happening to them. On top of the fear associated with the severity abuse was an additional level of coercion impressed on the students. One former student only started to tell his story of abuse as an adult, as part of his personal healing. He recalls the threats:

The first time I started to heal was when I told my wife about it, my common-law wife. I told her about it. It was hard. I told her what they did to me. We used to have bunk beds. I used to sleep on the top bunk. He would come into the Dorm and fool around with the boy down below me, and then he would come and fool around with me. He would have this big leather strap there and he would say, "If you say one word about this, you're going to get worse." "You won't be able to walk for a month." We used to be scared, you know, just laying there. We didn't know what was going on.⁸⁴

A woman who attended the Qu'Appelle School in Lebret, Saskatchewan shared her story, as an adult to a group of school children. The questions posed to her as she told her story reflected this disconnect between what was experienced and what was known about it:

⁸³ Female, attended All Saints Prince Albert and Gordon's school, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

⁸⁴ Male, attended Baptist Mission Whitehorse, *OSOS Collection*, Yukon, interview recorded March 2007.

I did a Presentation in Prince Albert to an all-White school. They wanted me to tell my story. That's the first one I did. It was hard. After they asked questions. There were a lot of them crying; the girls. They said, "Why didn't you go to the police?" Police?—I never knew what a police was. Who am I going to go to? Why didn't you go and tell the principal? He was the one that used to beat us. He was the head guy of the school. When the Nuns took us there he was the one that dealt with us. So he had the opportunity of slamming us around, fisting us to correct us.⁸⁵

Another student, from the Carcross School in the Yukon Territory recalls threats against reporting abuse:

Yeah, there was lots of sexual abuse going on there. I was one of the victims. A lot of abuse was taken in the shower rooms. The teachers and supervisors told you, "don't say a word or we'll beat the shit out of you." So they put fear into you right from Day One. It don't matter if you told somebody, they wouldn't believe you. I carried that for twenty years after before I finally spoke up and dealt with it. Wow. It was just amazing all the stuff, my actions and everything, how it affected me after. I was just really shocked. My kids, I have 4 girls now, and they are the ones who taught me --- Speaker overcome with emotion⁸⁶

Intimidation, threats and retaliation extended to the staff as well. Reflecting the level of control echoed by Reverend Crowley, it was quite possible for clergy or school staff to be forcibly silenced as well. A Survivor from the Port Alberi School in British Columbia reflects on the sheer number of cases of

⁸⁵ Female, attended Qu'Appelle School, Lebret, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded September 2007.

⁸⁶ Male, attended Carcross, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

sexual abuse and the release of the school nurse after she attempted to report the abuse:

Our nurse, Mrs. Black, she saw what was going on and she approached the Principal and they fired her. Mr. Andrews knew we were getting molested, the boys. It was crazy. Girls were going home pregnant on a regular basis. Every year girls were going home pregnant. Our school was like an open house.⁸⁷

Returning to loving families and concerned parents, the physical and emotional marks of abuse on children did not go unnoticed. Mothers, fathers, grandparents and siblings often noticed the remnants of abuse. Removed from their homes for months or for years the children confronted the potential for repair, healing and restoration of the relationships broken between them and their families. Their families helped where they could:

He pulled up my shirt at the back and I could hear him gasp. He gasped. He said, "What happened to you?" I said, "The Sister hit me." He says, "When did she hit you?" "What did you do?" I told him what had happened. He called my mom. He says, "Come here and look what they did to her." He says, "You look after her now." I'll be right back. My dad left. My mom took my clothes off and she got some nice warm water and she started washing my back...He said to me, "Lay on the couch." They made a bed for me on the couch. "Just lay here", he said. My mom had put some clean pajamas on me. He says, "Take your clothes off." And I was like what? He said, "Just take them off." So I said, "Okay." I took my shirt off. And then he said, "Well just a minute, I'll turn around." So he turned around and I took my bottoms off. My grandmother was helping me. My grandmother was crying. My grandpa turned around and looked at me and when he saw what happened he started crying. But whatever it was, he started praying,

⁸⁷ Male, attended Port Alberni, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2006.

because he had that stuff in his hand. He was rolling it. Then he started spreading it on my back, right from the top all the way down... I was wondering where my dad was. Shortly after that he did come home. I guess he had gone on the bus and gone to the school. He went and confronted that Nun. And he told the Priest that if anybody ever lays a hand on any of my children I will come here and I will lay a hand on them. I didn't go to school for a week because my grandfather healed me for 4 days. I don't know what kind of medicine he used, but I don't have any scars. My mom said that the welts were so big, some of them just went right across my back and my skin was open. They were open wounds. I guess so. The sheet was stuck to my back.⁸⁸

So much of the secrecy is attributed to the mere idea that priests and nuns were infallible and that they were God's representatives on earth. To many, they were gods:

I'll get a good licking if I tell him about the Priest, because the Priest was perfect in them days, eh. The Priest was God to the people. Anything he told them they did for him. They hauled him wood and they gave him money, all their money and whatever. It was not only me, it was me and my brother...And there was a number of older guys, but they never ever did come forward and say that they were abused by that Priest. I think he liked the younger kids because --- Pedophile is the word I was looking for.⁸⁹

The abuse and the long-term ignorance of the abuse in residential schools are part of what defines the legacy of these schools. The Indian residential schools were a system inside of a system; they were part of a larger web of denominational schools, industrial-boarding schools and Euro-Western colonial schemes. Priests and nuns were 'gods on earth' and there was to be

⁸⁸ Female, attended Pine Creek school, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded April 2007.

⁸⁹ Male, attended St. Paul's, Alberta, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded September 2006.

no conceivable way that they would be capable or responsible for the failures and abuses. In the words of a Survivor from the Shubinacadie school in Nova Scotia simply, 'Nobody believed us':

Well, we got to go home. We were pretty lucky. I think some of the other kids didn't. We got to go home in June. The first year we got home and we were telling our mother, like, you know, about the food and the beatings and the things that were happening, what the Priests and the Nuns were doing. Nobody believed us. Priests and Nuns aren't like that. They don't do these things, you know. In our community it's mostly Catholic, so they represent God on earth, I guess, you know. Nobody believed us.⁹⁰

In the end, as time came towards discharge from the schools, students either returned home to a life of new consequences or it was also disturbingly common that children did not return home at all. Children died at the schools, children ran away and some children never returned home, remaining missing for most of their adult lives.

Disease and Illnesses

At that time Native people were hit by Smallpox and other diseases that they were not immune to, White man's diseases they weren't immune to, so they were falling all over the place because of these diseases. At one point we were known as the vanishing race because it was thought these diseases would exterminate us.⁹¹

Comparisons are often made between the Indian residential school systems and other European-styled boarding schools. One of the starkest contrasts and differences between the two systems is the prevalence of disease and death. In these comparisons, you can consider the size of the infirmary or

⁹⁰ Female, attended Shubinacadie School, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded December 2006.

⁹¹ Male, attended Onion Lake and Prince Albert, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded May 2007.

hospital as a measure of a school. Entire floors were dedicated to hospital beds and infirmaries in Indian residential schools.

It defies many of our common understandings about canonical Christian beliefs to see the condition of the schools and the rate of both disease and death inside these institutions. Medical reports were ignored or they were not shared with administrators and conditions rarely improved inside the schools.⁹² Children acquired highly transmittable diseases or were sustaining or succumbing to injuries due to both negligence and abuses. School policies were created to ensure children did not enter the school with pre-existing diseases yet schools admitted to ignoring these policies. These oversights were cited by students and by administrators. In Indian Affairs correspondence, One principal was concerned for other schools in the area, as well as his own:

It seems to me, and I know this is the Department's desire also, that none but perfectly healthy children should be admitted to schools, but I am sorry to say this intention is not always carried out, as a result of the supposedly healthy children, already in school are exposed to disease. There is a tendency on the part of some Principals to take children into school no matter how unhealthy, in the hope that good food and warm clothing will affect a cure and I am afraid these Principals do not also realize the danger to which they are exposing the children already admitted to the institutions, when they allow these new comers to mingle and sleep with them.⁹³

Principals and administrators were knowingly admitting diseased children into the schools. Always operating under the misguided assumption that their original communities and homes were more perilous for the children, they filled the schools with children whether or not they were healthy

⁹² Correspondence to Indian Affairs from Missionary Society of the Church of England, 24 April 1951, PAM, RG 10, Volume 6040, File 160-2, part 4.

⁹³ Indian Affairs correspondence, 17 May 1911, PAM, RG 10, Volume 6039, File 160-1, part 1.

enough to stay. Moreover, the popular trend of filling schools to gain per-capita grants undoubtedly influenced the rates of admitting children with existing health conditions and diseases. From their inception, the schools were notorious for disease rates and injury. The 'native' element was assumed to carry disease upon entering the schools and they were promptly blamed for the high rates of infection. The consequences of the school conditions, size, capacity and ventilation were not surprises, though and they were not events of happenstance or mere oversight. Medical resources were supplied to some schools and others had little or no support to face the rise in disease rates. It was also quite common for schools to forgo communication with the parents when the children were ill. In many cases parents did not receive word that their children were in good health and were alive until they returned home in the summer. A student from the Norway House school in Manitoba recalls the lack of communication:

I had diphtheria...The next thing I remember was being in this little cubicle with storm windows, I guess, they must have made an isolation thing for me because I had to have care. They had to wear gowns and stuff like that. There were already some kids in there, but they were getting better, and I was unconscious...I couldn't do anything because I was still weak, eh. I don't know how long I stayed in that little cage. --- I slowly got better. In the meantime I guess they wrote my mother a letter. One letter. They just told her I was very sick and my mother said she got the letter. She said they didn't expect you to live. Can you imagine? My mother said she worried and worried but she heard nothing...I could have been gone and buried. Finally I did get better. It wasn't until I got home I guess my mother knew. It was really bad, the communications. There was no phone. But they could have at least written.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Female, attended Norway House, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

In other cases, parents returned to the school and the children they left at the school in September had passed away during the school year. They would come to retrieve their children and after no communication, would only find out when they returned to the school that their children had died.

Well, first I said that I had to get better. I had to stay in the Sanatorium, like I said, for nineteen months. I stayed in bed for seven months. I couldn't move or walk around. Well, I could, I guess, but I was weak at that time because of my lungs. So I stayed there until I got stronger and I was able to walk.⁹⁵

In 1922, Dr. P.H. Bryce published the report; *A National Crime: An Appeal for Justice to the Indians of Canada, The Wards of the Nation: Our Allies in the Revolutionary War; Our Brothers-in-arms in the Great War*. Doctor Bryce inspected thirty-five Indian residential schools in Canada and by 1922 was able to declare the system a 'National Crime'. Bryce was referring to both the rate of disease and death at the schools as well as the stunning inaction demonstrated by the department of Indian Affairs. He was able to declare by 1922 that 24% of the children that were admitted to the schools had died and he even found at one school, the File Hills School in Saskatchewan that in its 16-years of operation, 75% of the children admitted had died. Tuberculosis was the greatest source of child mortality but children were dying and suffering from a range of diseases including trachoma, syphilis and gonorrhoea, as well as succumbing to their injuries after suicides, accidents or abuse.⁹⁶ While schools committed what Bryce described as this 'national crime', the increasing spread of disease at the schools accompanied by departmental inaction, the memory of the diseases and death deeply affected

⁹⁵ Male, attended Western Sanitorium and Shingwauk School, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded August 2006.

⁹⁶ See: Correspondence to Indian Affairs, 17 May 1911, PAM, RG 10, Volume 6039, File 160-1 part 1; Mary Ellen Kelm, *Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia, 1900-1950* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998), pp. 67; P.H. Bryce, *Report on the Indian Schools of Manitoba and the North-West Territories* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1907).

former students and their families.⁹⁷ While formal records of disease, death and abuse may be sparse and hidden the memory of the children that passed away are far from forgotten by surviving family members.⁹⁸ A student from the Ste. Anne's school in Fort Albany, Ontario recalls being separated from her sister at the end of the school year:

My little sister looked at me so terrified. She went like this (indicating) come and get me. I was trying to go get her and then my sister and her friend grabbed me. She was crying her head off. That's the last time I ever see her, crying her head off trying to come to me. My sister says, "You're not going to be able to go home if you act up like this. You've got to come if you want to go home." So they dragged me out and we went into the truck. I was so sad because I couldn't bring my little sister home with me. I see her to this day crying. That's the last time I see her crying. I think that summer she died. They say that she died of jaundice, some kind of a disease like jaundice or something. I never see her after that. That was the bad experience for me there, too.⁹⁹

Unmarked, unidentified graves remain at the former sites of Indian residential schools in Canada. The number of children that died remains an estimate in 2015 and the search for graves is ongoing.¹⁰⁰ Death rates and the causes of death are part of the secrecy and concealed history of the schools. Standing in opposition to the dearth of written records, the voices of these graves are not lost and the memories are far from erased. There were complexities to the mortality and morbidity at the schools as much as there were in any area of the schools. These were not static mortality rates with distinct rates of disease attached to them. Child mortality was connected to

⁹⁷ P.H. Bryce, *The Story of a National Crime: An Appeal for Justice to the Indians of Canada* (Ottawa: John Hope and Sons, 1922).

⁹⁸ Milloy, *A National Crime*, p. 77.

⁹⁹ Female, attended Ste. Anne, Fort Albany, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded August 2006.

¹⁰⁰ Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *'Missing Children and Unmarked Burials', Final Report*, Volume 4 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill and Queen's Press, 2015).

disease, malnutrition, negligence and abuse. Whether these institutions were infirmaries within schools or vice versa, the security and safety of children was a shallow promise. At the end of each day, the children were left to watch out for their fellow students:

Anyways, when we used to get sick, he used to sexually abuse us in the Infirmary. So we didn't dare get sick. For a long time people would say, "you've got to stay home from work, you're sick." I would say, "No, I'm not." I never realized why I was like that. Right? There was this one little girl in the Residential School. Her name was Harriet. She was a tiny little girl and he would grab her, literally grab her and throw her right against the wall. She would fall to the floor. I used to always take the wrap for her. I would say, "She didn't do that, I did it", just so he would leave her alone. She would be lifeless. I often wondered what happened to her.¹⁰¹

The graves and scars remain behind. After most of the school buildings have disappeared the physical remnants endure. Entrenched with the psychological, mental, emotional and spiritual remnants of the schools, they physical memory still remains. Many Survivors live with physical disabilities that are a result of disease and abuse at the schools.

They were in little shelves all up on the wall, and we used to crawl right up these shelves to get up to our box. Mine was thirty-four, so it was way up there. There were about a hundred shelves in each place. So when I crawled way up to get my clothes out, and all the other kids are up there, the whole shelf came loose and we all fell and got hurt. I hurt my back. But I never went to any hospital. I just stayed there until

¹⁰¹ Female, attended St. Michael's Alert Bay, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

I healed. At this point in time I am almost fifty-five years old. I am handicapped now because of this injury.¹⁰²

These are the scars you can see. Reverberations from the tenure at an Indian residential school are broad and are intergenerational. What remains after a century of a system is a level of gratitude from Survivors that they survived, at all. Witness to these massive in-school infirmaries and to the growing death rates, children were being infantilized as 'wards of the state' while they were dealing with situations that were well beyond their level of maturity.

Death rates

Like I say, unfortunately many of the people I was in school with have died. Many of them have died tragic deaths. A lot of them have been murdered. Some of them through alcohol and drugs have killed themselves. There aren't too many people that I went to school with that survive.¹⁰³

High death rates were recorded from as early as the end of the nineteenth century. Small cemeteries at each school started to fill and the schools were declared a hazard.¹⁰⁴ In 1897 the high death rate was recorded as follows:

...it is clear that the present system with its large expenditure has not operated as was expected towards the civilization of the aborigines. The high death rate in the schools and the adverse influence of the reserve environment on discharged pupils has tended with other causes to minimize the effect of educational advantages. These influences have always been known to the Department and have been accepted as one of the inherent difficulties of the problem.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Female, attended St. Mary's, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2007.

¹⁰³ Male, attended St. Michael's Alert Bay, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2006.

¹⁰⁴ Bryce, *Report on the Indian Schools of Manitoba*, pp. 16-18.

¹⁰⁵ Correspondence to Department of Indian Affairs, 20 July 1897, PAM, RG 10, Volume 6039, File 160-1, part 1.

These early reports did not deter the rapid growth of the school system and they did not seem to address the conditions and management of the schools. Children died inexplicably and were part of the mystery and secrecy that surrounds the operation of the schools. Children also died unexpectedly reflecting the broad mismanagement and negligence, coupled with insidious influence of physical and sexual abuse. A Survivor from the Portage la Prairie school in Manitoba recalls an inexplicable death of a classmate who was not provided with any medical care:

When she got sick nobody didn't look after her, like the nurse, they didn't see her. A doctor didn't come to see why she was sick. She was in bed about a whole week and then I don't know what happened that she got worse, worse worse. And she finally --- I don't know what happened. She passed away.¹⁰⁶

Abuse and death were prevalent and students repeatedly faced tragedies along with their fellow classmates.

All those boys ever did to us was rape us. I can remember being out in the hay rows from dawn til dusk, plowing the fields, baling hay, slaughtering cows, killing little pigs, killing animals --- But I got tired of it. I would get so tired of being raped. I was molested and sodomized. But we made a pact, we talked, the 3 of us, the brother, the sister and myself --- I think I was about thirteen or fourteen. --- A Short Pause--- We decided we would go hang ourselves in the barn. They had just finished building a brand new lean-to and it was easier in there. So that's what we did. We got some rope and we threw it around the bar that was there and we got some milk pails and we stood on them. And we just jumped. I don't know if the brother or

¹⁰⁶ Female, attended Portage La Prairie, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

sister --- But I'm still here. --- Speaker overcome with emotion---
 Nobody ever said anything about it.¹⁰⁷

Suicide was an escape from a young, tragic life inside an institution built to erase you:

I lost a lot of friends in that school. That little boy from Hazelton, after he left school he was found dead. He hung himself. He was only 5, going on 6. He got tormented so bad in the school.¹⁰⁸

Physical abuse, sexual abuse, disease, neglect and death occurred in schools across Canada and continued happening throughout the entire history of the schools even after the rates of death and abuse were reported. The weight of the blame for these unchecked rates of death and suicide typically remained with the victims, as the 'uncivilized' other. The structure of the system and the systematic distribution of administrative power permitted rates to rise or to remain unchecked. The rate of disease, abuse and suicide including the will of children to resist and face punishment was consistently greater than systemic Church-state will to prevent rising death rates. Cultures of secrecy had great power and covered a litany of crimes.

It's things like that I never talked to her about. We both ended up in Vancouver. We never talked about it. She died when she was twenty-three from an illegal abortion. She had 3 kids. It's things like that we never talk about. My brother said to me that it is only recently he found out that she died from an abortion. He never knew about it. We kept things silent.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Female, attended Sacred Heart, The Pas, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded November 2007.

¹⁰⁸ Male, attended Lejac, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2006.

¹⁰⁹ Female, attended St. Mary's, Mission, BC, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded July 2005.

As a former student from the Fort Albany school remembers, only rumors and dead-ends remain in the search for concrete answers about his brother's death:

They said my brother got beat up resisting a sexual advance: assaulted. So he resisted and he got beat up and he got hurt really bad and he died after that. That was the rumour. My father went to research my brother's death and he did find some former students that were in my brother's same year when he was there and that's what they said. But my father didn't want to believe it because he was friends with the Bishop or something like that and he was friends with some of the Priests and he was talking with them all the time. He tried to find out in the hospital if my brother had any records how my brother died. But he never did find them. We never did find them.¹¹⁰

Unrecorded deaths and burials are still remembered by students, even if the remembrance is unacknowledged or unpopular:

The first year I was there, there was a guy called Jimmy or Bobby Two Toes. He had two toenails on one foot. He was a little skinny kid. He stuttered really bad and spoke no English. They beat on him until he died. There's no marker; no nothing. There's no real name; no nothing. They won't even admit it, even in the records.¹¹¹

There is a great deal of rhetoric and hearsay circulating about residential schools in Canada. Counter-narratives still exist that deny the existence and enduring impacts of the Indian residential school system. However, there are cemeteries and spaces of tragedy, riverbeds, roads and street corners that crush the counter-narratives denying the severity of the schools.

¹¹⁰ Female, attended Ste. Anne's, Fort Albany, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded August 2006.

¹¹¹ Male, attended Morley, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

The 7 years I was there, it probably went from about 900 people --- 400 are dead, all in their late teens or early twenties and thirties. They're dead. Suicide. Murders. Alcohol. Accidents. Drug overdoses. They all died because a lot of them were crying in Alberni, getting molested and beat up.¹¹²

Indigenous people have not stopped dying as a result of the residential school system. The physical and biological toll of the schools still permeates the individuals, families and communities causing cultural and psychological destruction. Parents outlived their children and families are still left with no answers to where their children are buried. Knowingly, not experimentally or without intention, state and Church in Canada transferred children from one group to another. In the process of doing so, thousands of children died. Blame was diffused through departments of agriculture, education, health, citizenship and immigration, industry, mining, northern development and Indian Affairs, the Catholics and the Protestants make the cumulative impact of the schools erroneously appear incidental or experimental, like a failed test or a grand misfortune. Britain, France and new Canadians built a nation on these schools and these graves. Those spaces are neither diffused nor are they forgotten.

¹¹² Male, attended Port Alberni, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2006.

Chapter 5

Memory of Residential Schools

During beatings and whatever a lot of times they would tell me, this one Sister would say, “You’re here because nobody wants you.” In the beginning I was really angry because I would sometimes pray to get out of there, or somebody to come and get you, somebody to help you. Nobody showed up. I ended up angry at my parents because I was there. Why didn’t they come? Why didn’t somebody listen?¹

Indian residential schools were in many cases geographically separated from Euro-Canadian communities but the operation of the schools was deeply bound up with the emergence of the Dominion of Canada. Events that shaped Canada’s identity also shaped the schools and the wards of the schools. Schools were not isolated from changing party politics, world wars and changing economies. Always just a step away from these trends, children were often squeezed into an image of a ‘native’ created for them, that simply did not exist. Indians were tied to a romantic past and a brave discovery of North America. Lore and myth of the great American west made caricatures of the children and they were involved in the hyperbolic language of empire.

Without specifying an intent to do so, schools ventured to the core of Indigenous social structure and kinship ties. Inherent societal and political structures that existed in Indigenous communities were dismantled by settler colonialism in coordination with the residential schools. This chapter contextualizes colonial histories and illustrates how children were tied to these histories. Memory of the schools held by Survivors and their families is placed in the context of Canada’s colonial history. While children were becoming ‘citizens’ of the burgeoning Canadian state their existing social and political norms were not only being challenged but were being rapidly replaced. The influence of the world wars and the Cold War did not escape the residential schools and students fought for Canada as soldiers. At the start of this chapter, historical epochs, as remembered by students,

¹ Female, attended Shubinacadie, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded December 2006.

demonstrate the ways Indigenous children tried to fit in a Canada that made no place for them.

Survivors were rarely immune to the impact of rapid change in their home communities. Reshaping their own communities either by force or willingly meant empowerment, but it also meant ongoing change and periods of upheaval. The chapter will turn towards the impact of rapid change in Indigenous communities. A critical portion of school-community interchange is the influence of lateral violence or internalized oppression. Starting inside the schools with high rates of student-on-student abuse, the roots of harmful tendencies towards cycling violence inside Indigenous communities were established roots in the residential school system. This chapter reflects on inter-connected relationships between cyclical abuses, student loneliness, separation, gender-based abuse, violence and a common theme inside the schools: running away. Survivors had close associations with escape and resistance. Many ran away from the schools, attempted to runaway and many fought back or fought each other. At the end of this chapter, Survivor recollections on the entire system contextualize memory once more and the chapter closes with the imagery many Survivors are drawn to, in memories of the schools. Vocabularies of genocide and of concentration camps are evoked at the close of the chapter. This demonstrates a level of urgency and gravity that Survivors wish to convey, when asked of their memories of the schools. The new vocabularies create an alternative narrative to Canadian histories that deny or downplay the role and existence of residential schools as well.

Various scholars including Marianne Hirsch have used the term 'postmemory' to describe the intergenerational impacts of trauma and how it remains at an interchange with collective memory.² Terms like postmemory and traumatic memory serve well to map how Survivors saw change over

² Marianne Hirsch, 'The Generation of Postmemory', *Poetics Today*, 29, 1, (2008), pp. 103-128, here, p. 106; Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), p. 271.

time, in their own lives with reflections on historic moments, society, politics, gender, family, resistance and loneliness and how these fit into collective memories of the schools. Throughout each chapter that includes Survivor testimony, these collective memories and their own stories of remembering genocide should demonstrate important connections between what Lemkinian scholars define as genocide and the testimonies, themselves.

Collective memories of school inside narratives of Canadian history

There was a separate, fabricated version of history created for children in the Indian residential schools. It was a history that did not include them and when it did include them, they were unrecognizable against their own memories of their own peoples. As an example, in school musical productions children portrayed can-can dancers, as children were dressed-up as the ultimate symbol of Californian gold-rush decadence and they became an almost comical display for Native children watching the performance. A former student from St. Michael's school in Alert Bay, British Columbia recalls one of the dance recitals:

We had put on a concert in St. Michael's. I might have been eight or nine, or something like that. We had put on a concert. It must have been a break time, like maybe Easter. I don't know. We had to learn a Can-Can dance. We had these crepe paper skirts. It was "California, Here I Come."³

Dancing along on stage, performing as a sexualized symbol of the great gold rush, children danced to the tunes to one of the most famous symbols of Western capitalist expansion. They were performers on a grand stage and they were the dressed-up dancers of the new modern North America. Additionally, the narratives constructed to formulate the war-loving, destructive Indian also justified, in part, the growth of colonization in Canada. Like the gospels they were read, the children were read versions of history

³ Female, attended St. Michaels, Alert Bay, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

that firstly seemed implausible and secondly, made little sense to their pre-conceived ideas of the world. History in the schools conflicted with what was already known to Indigenous children. History meant European history, British history, French history and religious history. The great events of European history and the great words of the Western European philosophers would dominate where their own histories and their own philosophers once reigned supreme.⁴ In these histories of Europe and Canada the Indians were war allies or war-makers and they were the antagonists in an ongoing cowboy and Indian scenario. One student who attended the Pine Creek School and Assiniboia School in Manitoba recalls these contrasts in history:

I like History. I loved History. But most of the history that I could remember was always the Indians that came in from Quebec that killed the people that came. I hated those parts that were told to us when they first landed. Well, there were some good things but the history that I remember that we were taught in school was the Indians were so bad, they scalped all these people and killed them. Yet us, we don't do that. My mom used to say that even if you only have bread and tea you offer it to somebody. I think that's what the Indians did to the White people...But we weren't told any of that. We were just told that the Indians were bad. I used to think I didn't want to be like those Indians in Quebec that are so bad. They knew we were the same thing.⁵

Children could see the constraints placed on their parents and they knew the reserves they were returning to would never be the same. Stripped of liberties in the schools, they would return home and see fewer freedoms.⁶ For most of the twentieth century, Indians were prohibited from gathering in

⁴ Indian Affairs Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1889, p. xi-xii.

⁵ Female, attended Pine Creek and Assiniboia, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

⁶ Correspondence from T. Ferrier, to Department of Indian Affairs, December 1906, PAM, RG 10, Volume 6039, File 160-1, part 1.

groups, their movement was tracked through the reserve pass system and Indian Agents monitored them. Frequently, there were requests for department enforcement of the Indian Act as it closed-in on the control over ceremonies. In department correspondence, they directed attention to these clauses of the Indian Act:

We would ask that the clauses of the Indian Act and of the Indian Treaties or of regulations of the Indian Department forbidding dances of Indians known as the War-dance, the Sun-dance and the Ghost dance and other similar ceremonies having reference to the old and evil tribal customs, should be as far as possible strictly enforced as the Reserves are being detrimental to morals and progress.⁷

Racism in Euro-Canadian towns also restricted free enterprise and free movement of Métis, Indians and Inuit. These constraints shaped any existing relationships between Indigenous Canadians and Canada. It was not only the school-institutions that formed and attempted to re-form Indigenous societies, it was the entirety of the Indian Affairs and Northern Development scheme.⁸ Children could see how they were removed from society. Even in the 1960s, during the revitalization period of Indigenous politics, children returned from residential schools to changing political climates in their communities. A student from the Onion Lake School in Saskatchewan recalls limitation on Indians:

On Sunday morning across the tracks you would see these people gathered. So I strolled over there out on the fringes. I must have been about twelve or thirteen years old. I hear this man talking in Cree. That's the only time they were able to talk to people in a group was in Prince Albert. He was talking about now that the buffalo is gone, and he was saying this in Cree, we have to look at other things to make a

⁷ Correspondence from T. Ferrier, to Department of Indian Affairs, December 1906, PAM, RG 10, Volume 6039, File 160-1, part 1.

⁸ Convention of Catholic Principals, August 1924, PAM, RG 10, Volume 6040, File 160-3A.

living. He was an eloquent speaker. He was a young man and he was convincing. His name was John Tootoosis...Because at that time they couldn't preach. They couldn't travel.⁹

In the complex construction of identity, it was not only the effects of language, culture and spirituality that influenced children's growing identities. The lines were blurred between existing tribes, between Cree, Sioux, Ojibway or Métis, for example, as a new category of 'Indian' erased individual identities was created instead. The new class of 'Indian' without distinctions was in part a way to continue the dehumanization process and in another way, it contributed to the dismantling of Indigenous political autonomy or sovereignty.¹⁰ 'Absorption, through erasing tribal distinctiveness and replacing tribal histories with Canadian histories influenced Indigenous law and political structure. In turn, Indigenous communities were asked and were willing to serve Canada, especially in times of war. Indigenous peoples were not unwilling to live alongside non-Indigenous Canada and were often amenable to sharing territories. However, the likelihood of promises being broken still built an air of tension between the two Canadas.

The regimented, institutionalized life inside residential school also led many to military service and towards promises of enfranchisement. Many were promised a vote and 'full citizenship' after military service. There were promises made that they could strengthen their relationships to Canada through service:

I call it served because it's like a penal institution, this institution: I served fifteen years. On top of that I had another twenty years of disorientation, disappointment, dissatisfaction and ambitions completely crushed. I was trying to survive, trying to live according to

⁹ Male, attended Onion Lake, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded May 2007.

¹⁰ Kiera Ladner, 'Political Genocide: Killing Nations through Legislation and Slow-Moving Poison', in *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America*, ed. Woolford, Benvenuto and Hinton, pp. 226-245, here p. 230.

what I believe human beings should be living in as a mature group. I discovered that really I wasn't mature. I was always a Ward of a government. They treated us as Wards of the government, and I'm talking about the Native people in general, up to the sixties when we finally got the vote. But before that we were Wards of government and the governments made all the decisions on our behalf and bore all the costs.¹¹

Male children became soldiers and served Canada. During World War I, World War II and the Korean War, students and former students of residential school were often recruited and volunteered for military service. Indian Affairs and the Department of National War Services subsequently created an 'administrative morass' that controlled the recruitment of Indigenous men.¹² Military service, in part, also aligned with Indian Affairs with schemes to civilize and assimilate. Thousands of Indigenous men enlisted into military service and were caught in the administrative cracks between the access to discharge benefits and empty promises of enfranchisement. Thousands were left with no citizenship or benefits upon their discharge from service. The collision of War departments and Indian Affairs left a question of dependency looming over a department of Indian Affairs that was so determined to end dependency.¹³ A Survivor from the Lytton School in British Columbia recalls how his father was treated after World War II:

That's hurts me, too, when they call me an Indian. You called me an Indian. I'm natural born. I'm natural born of Turtle Island. I'll say I'm from this Nation or that Nation. I don't know if I can call myself a Canadian. I struggle with that. I don't even know if we're recognized as Canadians. It's like my dad when he volunteered for the Service, the

¹¹ Male attended Onion Lake and Prince Albert, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded May 2007.

¹² R. Scott Sheffield, *The Red Man's on the Warpath: The Image of the "Indian" and the Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), pp. 43.

¹³ Sheffield, *The Red Man's on the Warpath*, p. 118.

Armed Forces. He came home. He wasn't recognized. I'm pretty sure that hurt him. He fought for our freedom, not just for Aboriginal People but for Canada also.¹⁴

One of many promises of this kind of education that accompanied the regimented, militaristic lifestyle was a promise of pride after the return from war. In a way, the recognition, lack of recognition or changing Indigenous-Canadian landscapes paved a way for political change in Indigenous communities.¹⁵ Communities gained agency in the post- WWII period and at the same time, they also gathered support for ending injustices they saw, as wards of the state. Largely though, many veterans and for many war dead the recognition for the contribution of Indigenous soldiers would not come until forty, fifty or sixty years after their discharge or death. Some still wait, today.¹⁶

If the Indian wards of the government of Canada and the British Empire were truly destined to collide with modernity, they were not expected to survive the collision. Whether Western values and Christian doctrine deemed the Indian fated to an inevitable providence of manifest destiny or whether they were going to intentionally erase them through assimilation, schools continued to strive for an unachievable goal: eradication. Indigenous people were meant to battle modernity as much as they were told to battle themselves. There were simply over-whelming flaws and failures and there were so few options created in order to fix Canada's 'Indian Problem' and the residential schools. School violence was turned inward and arrived back in Indigenous communities in the form of internalized oppression or lateral

¹⁴ Male, attended Lytton, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded May 2007.

¹⁵ Robert A. Innes, ' "I'm on Home Ground Now, I'm Safe": Saskatchewan Aboriginal Veterans in the Immediate Post-war years 1945-1946', *American Indian Quarterly*, 28, 3-4, Special Issue: The Recovery of Indigenous Knowledge (2004), pp. 685-718.

¹⁶ P. Lackenbauer, Whitney and R. Scott Sheffield, 'Moving Beyond "Forgotten": The Historiography on Canadian Native Peoples and the World Wars.' In P. Lackenbauer, Whitney, Mantle and Craig (eds.), *Aboriginal Peoples and Military Participation: Historical Perspectives* (Kingston: CDA Press, 2007) pp. 216.

violence. Roots of violence can influence the 'moral and symbolic' order and threaten community safety.¹⁷ Church officials observed these inclinations and in some cases, only fuelled the fires.

Student-on-Student Abuse

It was all a great contradiction. With every intention to re-create Indigenous children into Canadian citizens, they employed the same contrary method: sheer dehumanization. Reducing children to caricatures of themselves and into animals gave them fewer chances to 'excel' and to become citizens. The schools provided a form of an education and a chance for a new life in agriculture but they made no place in Canadian society for them to achieve this. In times of growing uncertainty in Indigenous communities through the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries the schools were to provide shelter, food and clothes to children. In many cases that is precisely what the schools did. It was quite common for Survivors of the Indian residential schools to remember the schools as both positive and negative.¹⁸ There were extremes on this spectrum of positive and negative experiences. The most traumatic experiences at schools of death and abuse are confronted with the warmest and most miraculous stories of love and genuine care. In one of the most complex realities of the schools, the phenomenon of student-on-student abuse was, sadly, widely known at the schools. As former students reflect back on their time at the schools the thoughts on abuse often extend to other students, abusing one another. It is a complexity often lost in histories of the schools since it is hard to generalize just what kind of an impact an abused child has on another abused child.¹⁹ Nevertheless, student-to-student abuse

¹⁷ Lawrence Kirmayer, 'Wrestling with the Angels of History: Memory, Symptom, and Intervention', in *Genocide and Mass Violence: Memory, Symptom and Recovery*, eds. Devon Hinton and Alex Hinton (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 388-420, here p. 398.

¹⁸ Amy Bombay, Lena Ellsworth, Sara Fryer, Tricia Logan and Gwen Reimer, *The Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement's Common Experience Payment and Healing: A Qualitative Study Exploring Impacts on Recipients* (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2010) p. 46.

¹⁹ Amy Bombay with Kim Matheson and Hymie Anisman, *Origins of Lateral Violence in Aboriginal Communities: A Preliminary Study of Student-to-Student*

was quite prevalent in residential schools and it often had as much as an impact on Survivors as the abuse associated with clergy or teachers.²⁰

In schools that operated for up to fifty, sixty or seventy years that bordered communities that were continually changing under the flux of colonial administration, the bonds between families and community members were repeatedly fractured and assaulted. It is widely acknowledged that the treatment of children in the schools was deeply inconsistent. The influence of jealousy, hatred, divisiveness and artificially-created hierarchies separated the children from one another, often quite violently. A female student who lived in Fleming Hall and Yukon Hall recalls these competitions for what she describes as, 'kind of like gangs':

Yeah, it was kind of like gangs. There was a lot of jealousy and a lot of hate and a lot of competition for I don't know what. But I didn't make many friends over there at all. I see, actually, some people who were there with me today and we still don't really acknowledge each other. I still see them around. ²¹

There was an accepted hierarchy that ran along the lines of: bully or be bullied. A student from the Ermineskin School in Hobbema, Alberta describes the hierarchy that established his place as a fighter but also as protector for younger children:

If you can't defend yourself, you know, you're going to get bullied and pushed around. I took that for the longest time until one day I just started fighting back. And when I won my first fight I just kept going. One day I climbed up the hierarchy and I ran my own protection racket. I protected kids younger than me for guys that couldn't fight. It

Abuse in Residential Schools (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2014), pp. 17-18.

²⁰ Bombay, Matheson and Ainsman, *Origins of Lateral Violence*, pp. 52-53.

²¹ Female, attended Fleming Hall, Yukon Hall, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded October 2007.

was just that my mother taught me to protect people that can't fight for themselves.²²

At its core, lateral violence involves internalizing the violence of the oppressor and turning it on to others, rejecting an imposed power structure by beating down your own structures. Another student from Gordon's School in Saskatchewan is clear about the school system and it was: 'every man for himself':

I was mean. I had anger inside for things that went on like kids that didn't have enough to eat. Little kids had to steal. You became a good thief just to survive. You had to fight for yourself. You didn't have time to be hugging anybody. You didn't have time to be crying in the corner. You better be standing up and fighting for yourself, otherwise you'll be crying there for the rest of your life. That's the way the motto was in that school: Every man for himself.²³

Violence was a rule of order inside the teacher-student and student-student relationships. Religious, racial and geographic divisions became points of aggression and as a student from Norway House, Manitoba describes, the aggression was encouraged:

A lot of bullying happened. We would have wars, even, between communities, and the supervisors would just stand there and watch. [Q. Almost like a gang?] A: Yeah. One community would stand on one side of the Play Room and the other community on the other and they would rush at each other; scratching and hitting.²⁴

²² Male, attended Ermineskin, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded June 2007.

²³ Male, attended Gordon's, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2008.

²⁴ Male, attended Norway House, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded May 2007.

In an environment virtually void of a concept of just treatment, there was clearly a set of 'rules' that arose from student-on-student violence:

When we would hear this at night we would get up and go and fight with these guys to leave these kids alone. These goons would urinate on them and use that medication for your muscles, they would reach under the blankets and rub it all over their genitals and make them scream. Then they would give them water when they would ask for water, but it was hot. They done that to me a few times. Other times they would get the black shoe polish and put it on their hands and put it all over these kids who were helpless and defenseless. We would fight with them. We would protect these kids.²⁵

There were roots embedded in the schools that nurtured the many faces of internalized colonialism that ran in the schools and that continued after the schools were closed.

I remember in Fort Alexander that there were struggles with the older girls. You learn the ways of your oppressor so the girls oppressed each other by giving beatings and that. I tried to stay out of it by trying to be invisible and to be alone a lot. Somehow I would always end up getting caught in it because I was always trying to help somebody else.²⁶

Several correlations exist between the low quality of education, the level of neglect, the incidence of abuse and the aggression towards fellow students.²⁷ As the student above states, 'you learn the ways of your oppressor'. So, once those influences are combined with the pressures of residential schooling, the chances for personal safety or support evaporate as pressures of student-

²⁵ Male, attended Port Alberni, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded April 2007.

²⁶ Female, attended Fort Alexander and Guy Hill, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

²⁷ Bombay, Matheson and Anisman, *Origins of Lateral Violence*, pp. 45-46.

to-student abuse mounted on individuals. Violent tendencies continued in their home communities. Anger and aggression frequently turned inward. Some turned the violence on themselves and others retaliated against community members and spouses. Witnessing and experiencing abuses normalized violent behaviour while the culture of neglect and lack of protection inside the school settings contributed to high rates of internal violence.²⁸

Gender

There was a scheme to re-mould a society using children as the templates for a new Canada. These large groups of children were turned against one another, children were separated into factions and they were divided by gender. Imagined lines were drawn between Protestant, Catholic, male, female, savage and 'civilized', the bullies and the bullied. Each of the divisions represented separation that did not exist in Indigenous communities in that form. Isolated and prevented from forming into groups, the treatment of children in a way mirrored how their parents and families were divided by reserve and were prevented from forming social or political groups. Powers were given to the Indian Agents, giving them the same powers as Justices of the Peace or provincial magistrates and at that time they were able to administer the reserve pass system, restricting movement in groups or off the Reserves.²⁹ The Indian Act also out-lawed ceremonies and specific spiritual practices, many that emphasized gender roles, two spirited peoples and worked to sever original kinship ties. Any movement off the Reserve or any small gatherings of 'Indians' were outlawed and were monitored strictly by the Indian Agents. In the image of the traditional, European boarding school, it was customary for genders to be separated. Indigenous children often originated from matriarchal communities and families as they once lived in a way that meant they were unaccustomed to genders and siblings being separated so severely. Ideas about the family, love and kinship ties were severed alongside so many other ties to their culture, society and

²⁸ Bombay, Matheson and Anisman, *Origins of Lateral Violence*, p. 60.

²⁹ Amendment to the Indian Act, 1881, *The Indian Act*, S.C. 1876, c.18.

languages. Patterns of abused power relationships, hierarchies and colonization replicate themselves in families. Traditionally, women and children were honoured and protected in Indigenous families with men occupying a role of protector.³⁰ Residential schools tended to fracture this relationship as well. Imposing a new national pattern caused Indigenous societal norms, like gender and sexual relations to be influenced by the schools.

Familial love, siblings, gender and sexuality were rarely seen, nor were they taught inside the schools.

All my life I wasn't taught about sex or love. I used to think, "What's that word love?" I hear them preaching in the church about love and I thought, "What's that?" What is it? We weren't to hug. We weren't even patted like that (indicating). Nothing. We didn't know. So when I got out of school I thought I had to get married and have kids. I thought a twenty-year old was old, you know. I thought that was old. I had my first baby at twenty-one. I looked at that baby and I didn't know what to do.³¹

Siblings felt the divisions and knew that any connections to their sisters or brothers were generally, forbidden. A former student of the Amos School in Quebec describes being kept away from his sister:

I don't know why they did this but there were lots of people that had sisters in that Residential School. One time only, I remember this, we were allowed to speak to our sisters in that school. It was done in the corridor, in the hall. One side is the boys and the other side would be the girls and we were trying to find a spot to be able to communicate but with a person walking right in the middle of the alley. That's the

³⁰ Michael Bopp, Judie Bopp and Phil Lane Jr., *Aboriginal Domestic Violence in Canada* (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2003), p. 11.

³¹ Female, attended Chootla Baptist Mission, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded October 2007.

only time I met my sister and I was not even able to talk to her, just to look at her. And she doesn't want to look at me.³²

Similar to being forcibly separated from their parents, children also felt abandoned by siblings when they were forced apart from them.

I saw my sister there. I saw my older sister Gertie. She was on the girls' side. I saw her and I yelled to her for help. When I saw her I said, "Oh, finally someone, she's going to come over and she's going to come over and help me. She's going to come over and hug me and hold me. She's going to come over and tell me it's okay, it's going to be all right." But they wouldn't allow her. We weren't allowed to greet each other. We weren't allowed to hold each other. We weren't allowed to talk to each other. It was absolutely devastating. There was a lot of pain and hurt being seven years old and being put into a place like that.³³

Compulsory separation from siblings and divisions by gender were also influenced by the school policies regarding arranged marriages. Programmes for Christianization resulted in plans for arranging marriages between graduates of residential school. It was the desired option, for the churches to 'marry off' converted former students to one another. Girls especially were retained until they were sixteen or eighteen years of age or 'until a suitable marriage is arranged for them.'³⁴ The strong influence of both the Catholic and Protestant churches was evident in the treatment the children, according to their genders. Indian Agents often monitored marriages after their discharge back to the community when they left the schools. They were considered to be 'doing well' if they married Christians and they were also monitored after discharge to ensure that they were able to 'strictly observe

³² Male, attended Amos School, Quebec, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2006.

³³ Male, attended Moose Factory, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded August 2006.

³⁴ Correspondence from Indian Agents Office, date unknown, PAM, RG 10, Volume 6039, File 160-1, part 1.

the marriage vow'.³⁵ In contrast to the traditional realities of their original, home communities, sexuality, maturity and conception were often considered sinful or taboo subjects in the eyes of the Church:

And we were not told anything about sex. They said it was dirty. So when it was time for me – I'm jumping ahead – when it was time for me to get married when I got out, I don't know how I felt when I first went to bed because it was dirty and everything. I just kept pushing away, pushing away. Finally I found out that it wasn't unnatural. When I had my first baby I didn't even know where it was going to be born from because we were not taught anything. I thought my belly button was supposed to split somehow and a little baby would come out.³⁶

Aside from the stark ironies about sexuality, 'dirtiness' and the rate of sexual abuse inside the schools, the veil of taboo and secrecy also overwhelmed both girls and boys. These mores about sexuality were not at all the reality inside Indigenous communities. Sexual maturity, birth and the sacred treatment of the two-spirited peoples (gay/lesbian) were never meant to be secretive or 'dirty' lessons in the ways the church was preaching those same lessons.³⁷ Traditionally, two-spirited (LGBTQ) individuals were revered and their role considered sacred in Indigenous communities. The treatment of boys and girls greatly hindered the ability to pass on traditional beliefs on sexuality and on matriarchy with women as sacred carriers of life and water. The gender divisions and 'reorganization' of their societal norms repeatedly fractured the cohesive collectivity of Indigenous communities. Isolation and separation compounded the influences of neglect inside the schools and later, in the communities.

³⁵ Correspondence from Department of Indian Affairs, 14 April 1909, PAM, RG 10, Volume 6039, File 160-1, part 1.

³⁶ Female, attended Grouard, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded September 2006.

³⁷ Michelle Cameron, 'Two-Spirited Aboriginal People: Continuing Cultural Appropriation by Non-Aboriginal Society', *Canadian Woman Studies*, 24, 2-3, (2005), p. 124.

Separation and Loneliness

Children faced the realization that they could have been sent to the schools by their parents while their reality was re-shaped inside the walls of these institutions. Many lost trust in their parents, who were largely unable to keep their children out of schools and they also had little or no trust in those meant to care for them, the nuns and the priests. They were divided by imagined boundaries inside the school, separated by gender and unable to speak with their siblings and cousins. Hundreds of little souls were packed into these over-crowded buildings but they were surrounded with an overwhelming sense of loneliness.

The bad parts were dealing with questions of your family and wondering at a very early age why you were there and what you did to be there because it did feel restricted. It felt like I didn't have the freedom. And loneliness for a close relationship with my parents and also with my siblings who were in the school but as you know, we were all segregated so we didn't get that much time to spend with each other.³⁸

Surrounded by people but completely isolated, children felt controlled and constrained. There were countless stories from Survivors about never receiving a hug or any form of affection as a child:

I guess people had control of you. You weren't allowed to go anywhere or allowed to do anything. It was a lonely, lonely place, a cold place. There was nobody to hug you or nobody to give you that hug, nobody to hold you when you got hurt or anything like that.³⁹

Expressions of love or emotion were rarely shared. Even though one does come across extraordinary acts of love, by caring teachers or nuns and by

³⁸ Female, attended Shingwauk and St. John's, Chapleau, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded August 2006.

³⁹ Female, attended File Hills, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded September 2007.

students who went to great lengths to help one another out, there was still a great absence of care, emotion or empathy shown to the children. Promoting chaste, lonely lives was one part of the civilization process. Few alarms were raised to protect the scores of lonely, emotionally drained children. Fewer emotions only reflected a well-operated school:

Well, we weren't supposed to cry anyway. We weren't supposed to feel. We were not supposed to have feelings of sadness, or whatever. They did a good job on me because that's exactly how I left the place, without feelings, without being able to express my feelings or know what kind of a feeling I'm having. Like I said, I was nothing when I left there. I was totally nothing. I didn't know who I was.⁴⁰

By these accounts, the schools obtained a level of religious and secular 'success' severing children from their lives and their emotions. As the 'scheme for the improvement of the race' progressed through the schools separating children from one another and from their communities was essential.⁴¹ The enforced separation was a mode of civilization and it was also a protection for the 'public' and non-Indigenous Canadians who were 'not desirous that Indians should advance, in many directions, at least.'⁴² Isolation produced the emotion-less children the schools desired and it worked to prove to the Canadian public, the 'Indian Problem' was being addressed. It was important to insulate Euro-Canada from the Indigenous element and to sever ties.

Running away

Chances for escape did not come often. Building and administration of the schools always included contingency plans and preventative measures to stop the continual problem they had with runaways. Following the tendency

⁴⁰ Male, attended Birtle, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded May 2007.

⁴¹ Correspondence from Regina Agency, Indian Affairs, 14 April 1909, PAM, RG 10, Volume 6039, File 160-1, Part 1.

⁴² Correspondence from Alberta Inspectorate, Red Deer, Alberta, 3 August 1909, PAM, RG 10, Volume 6039, File 160-1, part 1.

for parents to resist sending their children in the first place and the frequency of parents hiding their children, schools took measures to stop runaways.⁴³ Incidents of escape and children running away were recorded from the earliest years of the schools' operations. In Indian Agents' reports from the Blood Agency in Alberta, 1919 an Agent reported '...it would appear that the staff is weak in maintaining discipline which has caused boys to run away from school on any trivial excuse.'⁴⁴ It became a circular logic for the administrators. They faced students continually trying to run away and parents attempting to hold their children back from the schools. Indian Affairs and the churches threatened to hold back annuity payments, suspend rations to communities or incarcerate parents if they did not send their children or hid their runaway children.⁴⁵ At the same time though, they thought that more aggressive civilization was the answer to end their problems with the Indians. The aggression and severity only drove more children to run away and more parents to hide their children. Children would continually plot their escape from residential school:

I tried to run away sometimes. Maybe right now I wouldn't be here that time because which way I was going to go, I was going to go across the lake, over that hill and then over the mountains. I know which way that lays, even when I was eleven years old I know. But then I know I have to go over mountains and that's in the winter time. I'm not scared of no animals. But the only thing like the way I'm dressed I guess I know I wouldn't make it so I didn't go.⁴⁶

Ingenuity and resolve fuelled children to find ways to liberate themselves, if they could. Some ran away alone and some ran away in small groups, with other students:

⁴³ Correspondence to Indian Affairs, PAM, RG 10, Volume 6039, File 160-1, part 1.

⁴⁴ Correspondence from Blood Agency, Indian Agent, 20 March 1919, PAM, RG 10, Volume 6039, File 160-1, part 1.

⁴⁵ Correspondence to Indian Affairs, no date, PAM, RG 10, Volume 6039, File 160-1, part 1.

⁴⁶ Male, attended Lejac, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2006.

We said, "Okay, I'll go. We're going to run away tonight." Okay. We started planning it and everything. We got away all right. We walked all night on top of the hill, down on the train tracks and we were making our way to Regina. I wasn't even going towards my home. I was going to Regina! We got caught early the next morning on top of the hill by Standing Buffalo. They caught us and they brought us back to the school and they locked us up in the Dorm all day. It was a Sunday. All day we were locked in the Dorm. Sunday night came and that Father, the principal, Father Sharon, the Night Supervisor had a little room there and each one of us in turn had to go into that room and he strapped us. We all had to get a strapping.⁴⁷

Running away was perilous and it often meant punishment for the children who were returned to the school. There are also countless incidents involving children who became ill or who died in their attempts to runaway. A former student who attended both the All Saints School in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan and the Gordon's School in Saskatchewan recalled how two girls passed away while attempting to run away:

My cousin's daughter and another girl from Fort Lacorne...(sic) drowned. They ran away from the school and in front of the school there was a big lake. They ran away from there and somebody had built a raft with barrels. And you know there are 2 holes on each side of the barrel and the little top came off on the smaller side and it was filling up with water and they were sinking and they got scared. They didn't know how to swim. They jumped in the water and drowned. Her mother, my cousin, was always picking on me over that when I would see her. I hated to run into her because it was like it was my

⁴⁷ Female, attended Fort Qu'Appelle, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

fault. But I didn't even know they were planning that. It bothered me for a long time.⁴⁸

One woman recalled a story from her uncle, another Survivor from the Cowessess School in Saskatchewan. He was severely abused as punishment for running away, causing him to run away, repeatedly:

...my uncle ran away in Cowessess and they caught up to him. They stripped him and they tied his hands on the bed like that (indicating) and they tied his legs down at the foot. They strapped him all on his bare back. He was bare naked. When they were finished with him the Priest let him go and he got dressed. He sent him to the Play Room and from the Play Room --- He told me this. -- he grabbed the first coat and he ran. My grandma was living in Regina. He got there without getting caught. Anyway, the police were there and my grandma had gotten him a job to work in a garage, an auto body shop to help this man. I think he was about fourteen. I'm not too sure. Anyway they came there and found him.⁴⁹

A great deal of oversight and administration was dedicated to forcibly removing children from their homes and simultaneously trying to keep children inside the schools. The work of RCMP officers, Indian Agents, priests, nuns and teachers to track and chase runaways was ongoing throughout the administration of the schools. These were portions of the administration rarely reported officially and yet they had costs associated with them; capital costs and human costs. In a system riddled with neglect and funding inadequacies, the capital investments in bringing the children to the schools and keeping them there was considerable.

⁴⁸ Female, attended All Saints, Prince Albert and Gordon's, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

⁴⁹ Female, attended Brandon, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded April 2007.

Discharge and release

They taught us to work. My mother taught us to love.⁵⁰

Release and escape from the schools inevitably came. Children were discharged, they were married-off, they ran away, they were sent home, they were given jobs, some went to university and others died. In sharp contrast to the shock that surrounded their admission to the schools, their discharge or release from the schools was a time of heightened awareness. Upon admission and the forced removal from their families, the air of unfamiliarity and foreignness marked the time they entered these institutions. Leaving the schools, there was knowledge that one could only acquire through such an experience. The dispersal of former students, into urban centres, ghettos, home communities and institutions reflects the recurring feelings of acceptance, denial and survival that meant they left the schools. The term 'Indian residential school Survivor' did not only generate from a modern, societal trend to 'name' the discharged pupils. It arose, in part from the dichotomy, between those that survived and those that were left behind. The missing and the disappeared have a voice in the Survivors. Their gendered experiences, their loneliness, the sexualization of their young lives and their awareness of how significant it was to be discharged and enter a world as a Survivor was not lost. It is at the time of discharge from Indian residential school where we see most clearly how the schools do not stand-alone in Canadian history. A former student from the Edmonton school asks for answers, inside the broad scheme of the schools:

Like I said, I was pretty angry with our Creator. Why did he allow those people to come to this land? They raped the land. They polluted the air. They raped the little kids. They raped the women. They

⁵⁰ Female, attended Brandon, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded April 2007.

polluted their minds just for their own satisfaction. I asked God “why?” But I’m not getting any answers.⁵¹

Patterns of colonial influence and dialogues on both rape and genocide are evaluated and re-evaluated by those ‘outside’ of the Indigenous community, but at the time they were discharged and through their period of re-entering their communities, the Survivors’ realizations were clear. The violence their minds and bodies faced was not at all forgotten. A female, former student of the Mohawk Institute, in Ontario shares a story about new realities for some Indigenous women:

And the men that you met, they think a Native girl is only for one thing and I had to really fight for who I am and fight that. What I am, I’ll give when I want to, not because you want it, you know.⁵²

Physically, mentally, spiritually and emotionally, there was an overwhelming sentiment that ‘they took everything’. These stories and experiences are what remain. Few school buildings still stand today, the schools halls were not filled with portraits of alumni or directors, there are no libraries or endowments. The sports teams are gone and what remains are the individuals and their families piecing together what happened, both negatively and positively. Reduced to savages and still dehumanized, the former students have distinct recollections and vivid descriptions of their time at the schools.

Remembering the schools

With an aim to be remembered Survivors contributed their stories and testimonies to the Our Stories Our Strength collection at the Legacy of Hope

⁵¹ Male, attended Edmonton, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2006.

⁵² Female, attended Mohawk Institute, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded November 2006.

Foundation.⁵³ The impetus behind their contributions was to be *remembered*. They consciously chose to create a counter-narrative and they described their experiences as they remember them. When it came to broad remembrances of their time at school there is an overwhelming similarity between the individual accounts and a collective momentum drawing the narrative away from 'uplift' and focusing on the 'transfer' and dehumanization. When the children, the schools and Canada collided with modernity and reform, former students who were interviewed individually, came to a very similar conclusion. The only vocabulary they had to describe their transfer or attempted transfer was: genocide. In 2007, a year before the government apology, a former student of the Ermineskin School in Alberta stated:

I think we need to talk about this part of our history. A lot of communities are not willing or they are unable, but we need to have that courage and start talking about it. We need to go through the healing process, because the way we're going now the young people are dying off. We're losing so many of our kids, our People. The pain is being passed on generationally. My father was in pain. He medicated himself with alcohol. I picked that up. I learned to deal with everything in anger and rage, with my fists and my violence. It is only when I understood why we were put in the boarding schools, why the government, what their intentions were, genocide, not just to the People but to the culture and the language, and they're still doing that.⁵⁴

Children were re-constructed to be strangers on their own land, foreign entities and animals. A former student of the Elkhorn School in Manitoba recalls the construction and reconstruction of their lives, from humans, into animals:

⁵³ Our Stories Our Strength Project, Legacy of Hope Foundation, <http://www.legacyofhope.ca/projects/our-stories-our-strength>

⁵⁴ Male, attended Ermineskin, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded June 2007.

--- [Speaker overcome with emotion.] I don't know. But I do remember going in that dark room. I think I just don't --- Something went on in that room. But I don't know. I don't know. It was just like animals I guess in that place where we were.⁵⁵

In neighbouring communities to Elkhorn, another student who attended the Brandon School and the Dauphin School in Manitoba makes a similar statement, feeling like a 'caged animal':

And we were locked in. Inside and outside we were locked in. The windows had bars. Everything was by key, the lights and whatever, wherever we went, it was all by key. I found it hard because of that. We were locked in like caged animals.⁵⁶

In British Columbia, the same experience was recounted:

They treated us like animals in there. That's the only way that I can describe that. It makes me mad every time I hear that they treated us like animals. I can't remember who it was who said that, but there was a great big write up about it when we were going through the Residential School book of how we were to be treated. It said right in there that you treat them like animals. That's exactly how we were treated in there. Nobody deserves to be treated that way; not me or anybody.⁵⁷

Commonly, children felt like cattle, like farm animals, like pets, like monkeys and like 'devils':

⁵⁵ Female, attended Elkhorn, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

⁵⁶ Female, attended Brandon and Dauphin schools, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

⁵⁷ Female, attended St. Michael's Alert Bay, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

I used to answer the Mass in Latin. We learned right from the first year how to answer in Latin. We didn't know what we were saying. We had to learn it. We had to answer Mass in Latin, you know, every part that is answered. We were all babbling away in Latin and we didn't know what we were saying. Years later they changed the Mass and they put it into plain English. I went to church and they were answering in English. I said, 'Oh my gawd, this is what they are saying.' When I was talking in Latin I never knew what I was saying. We had to learn it. If we didn't learn it, they made us practice. And if we didn't say it right we got the ruler or we got hit. We were just like little monkeys answering in Latin.⁵⁸

When children were not made into animals they were made into foreigners on their own land. Many children felt like strangers in their own homes. Children's homes were often full of parents and families who also attended Indian Residential schools and the fragments were painfully clear. As this student who attended Gordon's School and the All Saints School in Saskatchewan recalls, 'we were strangers':

When I went home there were no parents. I remember being a pretty little seven-year old girl sitting on my dad's lap. This was before it all began. He used to love me and hug me. When I came back five years after I was no longer that pretty little girl. My dad was a drunk. Everybody was a drunk in that house. We lived with uncles. My older brother --- We became sex objects for the simple reason we were little strangers now because we were taken away from that home. We got abused by our own because we were strangers.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Female, attended Lejac, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2006.

⁵⁹ Female, attended All Saints and Gordon's, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

Abandoned and rejected, students often describe the desolate and empty landscape of their school years. While many remember sport, success, encouragement, kindness and resilience there were always complexities and contrasts. The successes and kindnesses were the kinds of things you would expect to find in any school. At a bare minimum a school should, ideally, be kind, supportive and provide a level of education. Some students did experience that kind of life at residential school. These 'ordinary' school experiences stand up against the extraordinary shock of what was experienced by those who were left abandoned and abused. When asked to describe their school days, Survivors often evoke a vocabulary of genocide and of 'concentration camps':

A typical day for me in Residential School was work. We went to school half a day, and the other half we worked. When I think back on it, it reminded me of a concentration camp. In the movies I seen a concentration camp and that's just what it reminded me of, was a concentration camp. We were always on our hands and knees scrubbing cement floors. If you didn't do it right we had to do it over again.⁶⁰

Another student from the Fort Chipewyan School in northern Alberta used the same words to describe her feelings of being brainwashed:

It's like a concentration camp where you are brainwashed into doing all these things they train you to do and say. I wouldn't know how to describe it. I wouldn't put anyone in there if they still have that around.⁶¹

Another student from Northern British Columbia remembered the regimented structure of each day:

⁶⁰ Female, attended File Hills, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded September 2007.

⁶¹ Female, attended Holy Angels Fort Chipewyan, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded August 2007.

From morning until night it was just regimented, like we had to follow rules. We had to wake up about 6 o'clock in the morning. Then at 7 o'clock we had to go to Mass. We had to go to the chapel. And then I think it was 7:30 we had breakfast, and after breakfast we had to go to our class. It was just rules and regulations. I just felt like I was in a concentration camp, or some kind of army camp.⁶²

Perhaps meant to be in part, the recognition of a form of solidarity with other Survivors of these schools and possibly, of other atrocities that many residential school Survivors acknowledge as they felt they were not alone in these institutions:

All the symptoms --- I guess we're not the only ones that went through all this kind of abuse and whatnot. It was like more or less --- We used to call the Residential School the jail. That's what we used to call it. It was something like concentration camps, you know. I always had a feeling that we weren't the only ones, the only Nation to be treated that way.⁶³

Repeatedly, Survivors ensured that they conveyed the severity and gravity of what happened to them. They chose their words with intention:

Not only that, I help out everybody that is out there drinking on the street, because I've been there. I know how it is. I'm a survivor. There's not too many of us can talk like that because I lost a lot of friends. But there are a few of us, in Vancouver, doing drugs, on skid row. Like ... he's a Minister now. See, we're survivors. I'm glad the Creator got me this far and I'm still here to talk about it and to tell my

⁶² Female, attended Lower Post and Courdert Residence, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

⁶³ Female, attended Portage la Prairie, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

story and what went on there. It was just like Hitler. To me Mission School was a torture camp.⁶⁴

Between the waves of rhetoric used to rationalize the atrocities related to the schools, the Survivors are often quite clear on what happened to them:

We are human beings. We are not animals. We are not savages or blood thirsty. We are human beings; little boys and little girls. But they treat us as if we're some kind of object for them to satisfy themselves. This makes me angry at God our Creator. I pray to him from time to time. When I used to pray to him in the past I would say "why in hell did you allow this to happen to the Native kids in this world?" I said that if I had a little bit of your power I would take care of these White bastards. I cry my heart out for the pain and the shame that has been brought on me, on this body, mind and soul.⁶⁵

The era of silence and secrecy passed. Safe, public spaces to speak gradually opened in Canada and Survivors in every province and territory spoke to one another. Through their testimonies and oral histories they described to Canadians what happened to them.

Every time I go around talking to people, especially kids, I tell them the same thing. That we are special. It doesn't matter what race you are, you are still the same. Everybody's got their own culture, but it makes them a better person. But once you start taking somebody else's identity, it's bad. It's genocide.⁶⁶

Institutionalization in the schools innately involves government and church complicity. What Survivors are describing as 'concentration camps' and

⁶⁴ Male, attended Baptist Mission, *OSOS Collection*, Whitehorse, March 2007.

⁶⁵ Male, attended Edmonton, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2006.

⁶⁶ Male, attended Lower Post, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded October 2007.

'genocide' implies an inextricable link to governance and oversight. Vocabularies of dehumanization that strip humans of language, their names, their identities, their religion, their clothes, their hair, their families and their homes converge on words of genocide. Memories of starvation and forced labour and a nearly indescribable severity draw residential school Survivors towards a vocabulary of *genocide*. They knew there was a broader picture, extending far beyond the arms-reach of the priests and nuns:

I think that the government knew what happened because they couldn't not know because it happened over a long period of time and I think they were fully aware of what happened in those places where you learned how to be a Nun or a Priest. Those things never came out so they placed us in a place where it would allow that to happen to us. In telling my story it gives hope to those who can't tell their story yet and that they can begin to heal, because when you keep it inside it hurts.⁶⁷

In defiance, Survivors still explain how their own Indigenous world-view protects them:

And then the teachings that I got from some of the Elders, my grandmother especially, (speaking Native language) 'look at my hand, we're equal'. We are all equal. I'm not better than that one and you're not better than this one. We are all equal. You have to learn that. The four colours represent the four colours of the people on the face of the earth.⁶⁸

There is an urge to give voice to former attendees who have no voice for their experiences. Students who died and students who never made it home, to whatever form 'home' takes, have found agency and voice as Survivors. The

⁶⁷ Female, attended Guy Hill, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

⁶⁸ Male, attended Gooly Bay and Batchawana Bay schools, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded August 2006.

Survivors, the dead and the missing are braided and knotted to the trajectory of Canadian history together. While students were partitioned into fabricated groups and into their new identities they consistently rebelled. Students ran away, hid their kinship ties, they joked about being the 'cowboys' while their schoolmates played 'Indian' and on some level they knew that they were part of a larger scheme. As students were discharged, their lives as Indigenous adults in Canada would, in part, reflect their time at school. As they stepped out of the doors of the institution for the last time, it rarely meant their connection to the school ended. Many Indigenous peoples consider their time at the schools just the beginning of their journey.

A static and singular narrative of the residential schools as 'uplift' or misguided benevolence reinvents a hierarchy of remembering, in Canada. Consolidating memory on residential schools, relegating it to the distant past or reducing it to 'only' a school system contributes to divisive narratives and a dominant version of history. Survivors of residential school share their collective memories of school and of Canada. Each segment of life that was affected by the schools; mental, emotional, familial, gendered, social, political and physical has its own series of memories. A divide remains between these collective memories, the depths that the schools were able to reach, and the dominant, singular narratives. This is often the same divide that widens between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canada. What remains are two ways of remembering one school system.

Survivors that contributed testimonies to the *Our Stories Our Strength* collection did not reflect at any point on *why* they chose the term 'genocide' to describe their experiences at residential school. It was used often though, as part of the vernacular, as they described their hair being shaved off, being given a number, having their identities stripped away, being uniformed and tattooed in some cases, malnutrition and forced labour. Many used vocabularies of genocide to describe how it was 'like a concentration camp'. Most often the term was used to describe conditions at the school and the way were treated. The term was also used to describe the system, overall as Survivors reflected on the extinction of languages and culture and the

breakup of their families. Recordings and films of Survivor statements for public or research use in archives or repositories have emerged only recently in Canada, over the past twenty years. Contributing an oral history or statement is, for many, an act of resistance against a government and a public memory that excluded their contributions for close to a century. Many Survivors added the vocabularies of 'genocide' to their statements. Even though they did not indicate why they did so, many expressed a desire to contribute their entire statement as a counter-statement to the elimination or erasure they feel that they faced.

A relationship exists between a Survivor's role as an actor or as a victim in an atrocity and their role as a witness to an event or a process. Often a transition between these roles occurs when Survivors are asked to provide testimony.⁶⁹ Individual Survivors' testimonies emerge as a collective voice and as they are contributed to archives, filmed documentaries and, in Canada, to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, they gain public notice. Many Survivors named students and siblings that passed away while they were at school. Survivors made an effort in their testimonies to memorialize by sharing stories and names of children that passed away or who did not return home.⁷⁰ The inherent relationships between witnessing, creating public memory and genocide may explain why so many residential school Survivors name 'genocide' during their testimonies.

⁶⁹ Myra Giberovitch, *Recovering from Genocidal Trauma: An Information and Practice Guide for Working With Holocaust Survivors* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), p. 194; Zoë Waxman, *Writing the Holocaust: Identity, Testimony, Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 88.

⁷⁰ Waxman, *Writing the Holocaust*, p. 99.

Chapter 6

Intergenerational Legacies

One thing I did gain from this experience is that I have held onto my kids. I have persevered with them through all the hard times. I have never let my kids go. I would never let anyone take my kids for one day and try to brainwash them in any way like we had done, all these years.¹

There is no uniform temporal trajectory from the time children were taken towards the time that they were discharged. Continually, children were forced to face separations, anxieties, abuse and successes far removed from scenarios appropriate to their actual age level or maturity. Forced to grasp entire philosophical, religious, mental, emotional, sexual and physical transformations, it is clear that children inside residential schools were forced to grow up very quickly. The schools and the people who operated them created conditions and expectations that froze children or stunted their development. As a student from the Sacred Heart School in The Pas, Manitoba stated: "They took my life. They took my innocence. They took my virginity. I feel like I was never a child."² The residential schools altered a person's life and livelihood in a linear placement of birth, childhood, adulthood, and death. Progression, regression and repetition punctuated the life trajectories of the children taken from their homes into these systems and these institutions. As the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Canada presents its findings from 2015 to 2016 following thousands of interviews with Survivors of the residential schools, fewer speculations and more evidence mounts that demonstrates how childhoods and later on, adulthoods were altered so dramatically.

In this chapter, a model of life trajectories following discharge from residential schools is presented in a way that more closely resembles an

¹ Female, attended St. Mary's, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2007.

² Female, attended Sacred Heart, The Pas, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded November 2007.

Indigenous worldview; a cyclical life view. Recognizing that the admittance, daily life and school class structure repeatedly broke a linear or developmentally supportive childhood 'progression', this chapter demonstrates the breaks and repetitions of what did occur. Indigenous knowledge is understood cyclically and as such, it is remarkable that many former students understand their lives and their connections to the residential schools as part of a cycle, a circle. This cycle is generational, it is temporal, it is mental, it is emotional and it is systemic.³ Following children from discharge back to their families, to their adult lives and towards the lives of their own children and grandchildren we can see patterns and behaviours repeated. Toxic or healthy, these relationships and patterns replicate within families, communities, societies and as this evidence indicates, they replicate on a national scale. Trends in sexual violence, physical violence, addictions, incarceration, child abuse and recidivism cycle in Indigenous communities and it is no longer possible to ignore the connections between these trends and the residential schools.⁴ Intergenerational impacts are not new phenomena. Even as multiple generations are presently grappling with legacies and histories of residential schools, historic trauma passed through generations did not skip their grandparents' and great-grandparents' generations.⁵ Historical trauma was beginning or was already embedded in many First Nations, Métis and Inuit families through the nineteenth century in Canada. Intergenerational impacts

³ Canadian Indigenous historian Olive Patricia Dickason describes the contrasts between Western and Indigenous histories: "The Aboriginal conception of time as a web of interacting recurring cycles spanning the present, past, and future, did not give importance to chronology; rather, its mythic thought focused on how people related to the natural world that sustained them, to the human world that provided societal context, and to the spiritual world that gave meaning to it all." Olive Dickason, 'The Many Faces of Canada's History as it Relates to Aboriginal People', in *Walking a Tightrope: Aboriginal People and their Representations*, eds. Ute Lischke & David McNab (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier Press, 2005), p. 118.

⁴ Amy Bombay, Kim Matheson and Hymie Ainsman, 'The Intergenerational Effects of Indian Residential Schools: Implications for the Concept of Historical Trauma', *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 51, 3 (2013), pp. 320-338, here pp. 323-324.

⁵ Bombay, Matheson and Ainsman, 'The Intergenerational Effects', p. 322.

exist as part of these cycles and reverberations where colonial patterns replicate and tie the residential schools to the colonial mesh.⁶

The changes to Indigenous lives brought on by the schools were entrenched in how the country was governed, how Canadian society formed and created its relationship with Indigenous peoples. These changes occurred and even when they were not rapid or shocking, they were always devastating. Colonial patterns that remain today often involve the racism and fear dividing Indigenous Canada and non-Indigenous Canada. Residential schools and the colonial mesh placed a chasm between these two spheres of Canadian life, divided by a number of factors including social, political, economic and cultural ones but all divided by racism. Following former students from discharge back to their homes, we will see in this chapter that the path 'back home' was rarely easy or, as in some cases, it was non-existent. What homes were they returning to? Positive and negative experiences notwithstanding, the homes they returned to had been altered. In some cases, their homes were no longer there to return to, either metaphorically or literally. It is in the discharge of the students where it becomes quite clear how administration and bureaucracy can alter one's life chances.

Administrative control that started with admittance, with the re-naming, numbering and registration led to discharge into the morass of Indian Affairs. For Métis, the provinces and federal government placed them in a jurisdictional grey area that meant their school attendance was often erratic and support for Métis after discharge into the healing era was often just as erratic. A lack of political or economic autonomy in Indigenous communities allowed few routes for former students after discharge. Exiting one system, they entered another system. Manipulations that propelled the operation of the schools rippled through the lives of former students, after discharge:

When they put me to school they been give me a date of birth of 1931.

But we left it the way it was until I got home. So after so many years

⁶ Woolford, 'Discipline, Territory and the Colonial Mesh', p. 5.

maybe, after I got home, they looked up the records when I was born, the date I was born, and I was born in 1929. My mother passed away in 1930 and they put my records for 1931 so it was my second birthday. [Laughter] So everything became adjusted afterwards because of the missionary date of birth and records of people, date of birth and passed away records and all that, they're all in the book, in the missionary's book.⁷

Schools controlled discharge during holidays. This former student was placed in schools too far from the Distant Early Warning (DEW) line in the Arctic and thus was not able to return from holidays:

I think it was the second year that I accepted I had to do this. Because they brought me to school in order for my mother, at that time it used to be called Family Allowance, for her to receive Family Allowance, both my sister and I had to go to school. A lot of times we didn't go home for Christmas because we lived on the D.E.W. Line site.⁸

This student moved four times to different residences as well, over the course of his school years:

The schools. Not so much the schools. But the residences that I attended were in Aklavik, the Roman Catholic Mission, and I just recently learned the name of it is Immaculate Conception Mission. That's in Aklavik, from 1958 to 1959. And then in 1959 when Grollier Hall was ready for operation, that's when I was sent to Inuvik from Grade 2 to Grade 9. And that was from 1959 to 1966, I believe, or 1967. And then from 1967 for 2 years after that I was at Sir John Franklin School in Yellowknife so I stayed at Akaitcho Hall. And my

⁷ Female, attended Catholic Mission, Pawlituk and Aklavik school, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded July 2006.

⁸ Male, attended Aklavik, Stringer Hall, Samuel Hearne and Sir John Franklin schools, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded July 2006.

last year for Grade 12 I came back to Inuvik and I graduated from Grade 12 at Samuel Hearne in 1970.⁹

Consistently, the socio-economic conditions on reserves or in Métis or Inuit communities directly influenced attendance at the schools. Employment, lack of employment or an attempt to maintain or obtain government assistance funding influenced how parents were treated while their children were taken to the schools. Economic realities on reserve did not often permit parents to resist the residential school system. Some parents took jobs as migrant workers in the United States:

The story that we were told by my parents later on was that my parents were forced to bring us there. They had no choice. My mom always says they had no choice. Because first off there was no jobs here. There was nothing on this Reserve. There were no job opportunities. My parents were migrant workers, so they traveled to work, to the United States to work on fruit crops, and that. So they left us here, me and my 2 older brothers.¹⁰

Students were discharged and other students aged inside the schools. Even as adults, though, their lives were often still cast as children, in the eyes of the government. As wards of the state, decisions made for Indigenous peoples were often made by the government, on their behalf:

I discovered that really I wasn't mature. I was always a Ward of a government. They treated us as Wards of the government, and I'm talking about the Native people in general, up to the sixties when we finally got the vote. But before that we were Wards of government and

⁹ Male, attended Aklavik, Immaculate Conception Mission school, Grollier Hall, Sir John Franklin and Samuel Hearne Schools, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded July 2006.

¹⁰ Male, attended St. Mary's & St. Paul's, Alberta, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2007.

the governments made all the decisions on our behalf and bore all the costs.¹¹

Metaphorically bound, former students were released from the schools often into an unknown or foreign home. Equipped with new languages, trained in agriculture and Christianity they entered or re-entered a different kind of system.

Departmental control did not end immediately after discharge and the years following discharge. Assuring that students and former students were achieving what was expected and ideally, were marrying well, was of great interest to the Department of Indian Affairs. Reporting on discharges and monitoring the 'honourable discharges' occupied time and resources of the department but also did not align with realities in the community.¹² There was an idea that if pupils were doing well and living honourably, they should be discharged. Operating the process of discharge in collaboration with the schools, Indian Affairs and the RCMP only continued the perpetuation of a manipulative process. Students could be discharged as honourable, prosperous students; however, defying logic, other students would be held back for the same reasons. According to Indian Affairs correspondence from the Shingwauk school:

Referring to your application for the discharge of your two daughters from the Shingwauk Home I beg to say that, in the view of the splendid

¹¹ Male, attended Onion Lake, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded May 2007.

¹² Correspondence to Indian Affairs, Departmental Letterbooks 133556, October 1910, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Volume 5288; Correspondence to St. Joseph's School, Departmental Letterbooks 133556, Alberta, 6 July 1909, Volume 5246, reel C-7500; Correspondence to Norway House School, Manitoba Agency, July 1909, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Departmental Letterbooks 133556, Volume 5250, reel 7501.

progress they are reported to be making in the school, the Department is not inclined to grant your request at the present time.¹³

Release from the schools was monitored and return home was often convoluted. If students were not doing well, they would be held back as well. Instructions were ordered from the Department of Indian Affairs however both records and student testimony indicated that whether or not the instructions were adhered to at time of discharge was sometimes left up to the clergy or local Indian Agents.¹⁴

Returning Home

So I grew up with no confidence, no self-esteem and no memories. It's almost like if I do remember, it will kill me.¹⁵

Serious repercussions followed the grave conditions at residential schools. Some Survivors excelled after they left and other Survivors succumbed after they left. It is difficult to ascertain with certainty but it could be stated that their adult lives were very largely shaped by their experiences in the schools. Tied to Canada's nation-building colonial project, many Indigenous lives were provided with poor chances for success or safety. Returning home as relatively uneducated 'empty shells' to families that did not recognize them, generations became part of the cyclical phenomenon of community violence, lateral violence and addictions. It became so likely that sexual violence, domestic violence and community violence would follow one's discharge from residential school it has become something normalized and closely

¹³ Correspondence from Department of Indian Affairs, 19 February 1909, Departmental Letterbooks 133556, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Volume 5228, reel C -7494.

¹⁴ Correspondence to Brandon Industrial School, July 1909, Departmental Letterbooks 133556, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Volume 5250, Reel C-7501; Correspondence to Elkhorn School, August 1909, Departmental Letterbooks 133556, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Volume 5252, reel C 7501.

¹⁵ Female, attended Lower Post, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

associated with the public memory of residential school Survivors.¹⁶ Legacies of residential schools created advocates, activists and healers. Often on the same path or on a diverted path, the schools also created a cycle of violence, addictions, recidivism and suicide in Indigenous communities across Canada. Simply, as their bodies exited the schools, their minds and hearts often remained behind.

Empty Shells

Finally one day I was tired of everything. I didn't feel human any more. I didn't trust anybody. I was empty. I had no spirit. Whatever spirit I had in me left me, and all that. I was just a shell.¹⁷

Echoing reports of being treated as animals, automatons and as sub-humans, former students exited the institutions as what they felt they were: empty vessels. In the grand effort to strip children of their language, culture, spirituality and humanity there was a recorded attempt to replace all that was to be stripped away with a new religion, new language and perhaps a new version of what it means to be human in Canada. Overwhelmingly, so many large portions of identity and humanity were stripped away but little was replaced. Shipped home or into urban centres individuals were drained. Whether or not that was an intended outcome of the school administrators, former students remain in their homes as 'empty shells'. As a former student at the Holy Angels School in Fort Chipewyan in Alberta states, you feel the void of humanity: 'Being in the Residential School I'm more like, how do you say that word, you feel less like a person, less like a human being. You're not open to people'.¹⁸ Barriers popped up all around the Survivors, some physical barriers that involved employment and housing and some were metaphorical barriers that created racist boundaries between Indigenous and non-

¹⁶ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Volume 5: The Legacy* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), pp. 144-145.

¹⁷ Male, attended Lower Post, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded October 2007.

¹⁸ Female, attended Holy Angels Fort Chipewyan, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded August 2007.

Indigenous community members. Divisions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians only grew after discharge from residential school. As a Survivor from the File Hills School describes, the barriers 'never end':

People were saying 'forgive'. I didn't know what forgiveness was. I was so filled with hate. When I would see somebody White or somebody that reminded me of that person, I just felt like lashing out at them, even though I didn't know who they were, they just reminded me of that person that hurt me, eh. It took me a long time. It took me a long, long time. I'm still on my healing journey. It never ends.¹⁹

Indigenous people and Survivors were becoming increasingly invisible in Canada. Survivors expressed what it was like to return to a home where there was no place for you. Whether it was inside an Indigenous community or inside a large urban centre, many expressed feeling invisible or feeling 'useless':

So we stayed there that spring. But you know what, I didn't know anything. I didn't know how to do trapping or how to set traps or nothing. I used to go with my cousin to go on her traps, just to keep her company and carry her muskrats home. That's all I did. I could have been trapping myself and I could have made money selling. But I didn't know anything. I felt so useless. It just made me kind of mad.²⁰

There were notoriously few opportunities for employment and after a lifetime separated from your community, an individual had fewer chances to re-integrate into pre-existing economies inside Indigenous communities. Stripped away from existing social and economic structures and stripped of humanity, an individual's mental and physical health deteriorated almost

¹⁹ Female, attended File Hills, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded September 2007.

²⁰ Female, attended Norway House, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

simultaneously.²¹ A Survivor who attended the Elkhorn School in Manitoba and the Prince Albert School in Saskatchewan describes the interconnections between physical and emotional impacts of the schools:

But it's good to start letting it go because a lot of times we get sick inside, we start getting diabetes, we start having heart attacks and sore elbows when we keep all that pain inside. We start going through a lot of stuff and get sick. A lot of our elders say --- We try to talk about something else.²²

It should come as no surprise that children raised under the pressures of neglect, malnutrition, deprivation and abuse experience the inseparability of mental, emotional, physical and cultural impacts from residential school. Carrying on into adulthood, the physical impacts and mental impacts are deeply interconnected. To extract a sliver of the experience, like language or culture from the total experience seems increasingly unlikely. Especially if considered from Indigenous worldviews, these segments are inseparable. Raised in an institutional regime designed, in part, to remove you from Canada's landscape ensures your identity is erased. 'It's just the way I was brought up in that Residential School. I never thought I was anyone. I thought I was just nobody, like dirt'.²³ In returning home it becomes most clear that the erase-replace scheme rarely drew lines between the physical and the cultural. Removing the individual and replacing his or her cultural identity was less of an incidental 'impact' and more of a lifelong phenomenon. Violence of erasure was increasingly tied up with the removal of the national pattern and replacement of a new pattern.

²¹ Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Final Report*, Volume 5, pp. 139-140.

²² Female, attended Elkhorn and Prince Albert, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

²³ Female, Holy Angels, Fort Chipewyan, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded August 2007.

Fulfilling a role

You're a dirty Indian. You're useless. You're an alcoholic. You're an abuser. That boiled me up. I was boiling inside. But I guess that's the strategy they use to break you down. By the end of the program that's the first time I ever wept. I received a lot of abuse, not only from Residential School, but from my parents. All the physical abuse I went through I never cried. You didn't show pain. It just seemed natural that you don't show pain. That's what we grew up with, eh.²⁴

At some point the model of a Victorian subject or model Canadian citizen became a smoke screen. Canada was coming of age and developing into a 'post-colonial' nation and there simply was no place for 'Indians' except on encapsulated reserves or in the Arctic.²⁵ After generations were discharged from the schools the promises for integration or enfranchisement simply converted into exclusion and peripheralisation. After being exposed to a number of levels of shame from the church and the school pressuring students to extinguish their identity, they left the schools only to face societal shame:

I keep thinking of the words "cause" and "effect". I was trying to think of what was the cause for us to have to go to these schools. It wasn't as great as the effect that it put on all of us, the feeling of shame and worthlessness and all the feelings of ugliness they put on you doesn't compare with anything. Every day you are told how ugly you are, how bad you are and how everything about you is evil because you're Indian.²⁶

Indians were fulfilling a role created for them by societal norms and expectations taught over years in residential school. Fear played a critical

²⁴ Male, attended Lytton, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded May 2007.

²⁵ J. Emberley, 'Epistemic Heterogeneity: Indigenous Storytelling Testimonial Practices, and the Question of Violence in Indian Residential Schools', in *Reconciling Canada: Critical Perspectives on the Culture of Redress*, eds. Jennifer Henderson and Pauline Wakeham (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), pp. 143-158, here p. 144.

²⁶ Female, attended Onion Lake, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2007.

role in building a divided society both inside and outside Indigenous communities.²⁷ Non-Indigenous Canadians were continually taught to fear 'Indians' and whether it was a result of the same fear as a more complicated fear that involved a self-professed self-loathing, Indigenous peoples feared one another. A woman that attended the Onion Lake School in Saskatchewan avoided 'Indians' as a result of mounting fears:

Well, I was told all my life that Indians were evil, were bad, that they were drunks, they were prostitutes, they were whatever and so I never hung around with them. After all, I wasn't one of those. I didn't drink. I wasn't prostituting. I wasn't doing any of those things and I was just so afraid of them.²⁸

Lines were drawn and few of those who survived residential school knew where they belonged after discharge. What becomes clear about the discharge period after students left residential school is that there was rarely a clear path forward. Often, students were married before graduation and sometimes the church arranged the marriages.²⁹ Churches placed heavy emphasis on agricultural work or trades in the subclass of workers that the schools created. In other cases, there was simply no route to employment or housing and populations of urban ghettos only grew, creating First Nations, Métis and Inuit enclaves in major Canadian centres.³⁰ A former student from the Gordon's School saw places for Indigenous people but those places were often on the streets and in jail:

²⁷ *Toronto Globe*, 'Indians in Paint: Excitement on the Blackfoot Reserve', 4 July 1895, RCMP Files, Volume 110, No. 517-95; RCMP fonds, Correspondence from Commissioner, Regina, Saskatchewan, October 1895, Volume 112, No. 665-95.

²⁸ Female, attended Onion Lake, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2007.

²⁹ Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Departmental Letterbooks, Correspondence from Cowessess Boarding School, March 1910, Volume 5280, C-7511.

³⁰ K. Graham and E. Peters, *Aboriginal Communities and Urban Sustainability* (Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks, 2002), pp. 6-7.

I didn't want to be an Indian. I didn't know who I wanted to be. I wasn't accepted by the White man and I wasn't accepted by my own people on my Reserve. But I fit in there somehow. And you know where I fit in, was outside on the street. Then I had a sense of belonging. So all the things that left us, that's how come there's so many people today in these jails, Indian people, on account of the way they were raised. Some of them didn't go to school but maybe their moms did, or dad, and they became angry kids because they couldn't live that life we went.³¹

While there was a role imagined for First Nations, Métis and Inuit on the peripheries of Canadian society and an increase in ghettoization following discharge from residential school, there was also hidden life inside non-Indigenous societies. For students who sought a post-graduation route through University, college or trades it was also a route inherently tangled with expectations and embedded racism. One student from the McIntosh school described 'shame':

I don't know how to say it. I was the only person in that period of time to graduate and go to university and to have a degree. I was the only person. I was not speaking my language and I had no culture. I didn't know anything about hunting or fishing. I always wore a suit and tie and worked in government offices. I was a Social Worker. I was ashamed, really, to be a Native person. I didn't want to be a Native. I even died my hair red. I made sure I didn't do any kind of Native traits. That's what I did.³²

The same Survivor went on to say:

³¹ Male, attended Gordon's, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2008.

³² Male, attended McIntosh School, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded August 2006.

So I achieved a lot of success I guess as a White person. I had a nice job and a lot of education. I found I wasn't successful in terms of a family man. I found I couldn't be a good husband. I was a real bad husband. And when I had my children I was a real bad father. But I wasn't aware just how dysfunctional I was. All the things that are normal, that wasn't me. I wasn't aware even as a Social Worker... Anyways, I went through a lot of drug and alcohol abuse, mainly prescriptions. I had two or three doctors who prescribed me tranquilizers. I was addicted for a number of years quite bad. Of course I was drinking at the same time, you know. All the destructive behaviours that I was exhibiting at that time was to try to destroy something. I don't know what it was. I was trying to clean myself. I was trying to get rid of something. I don't know what it was.³³

This is the paradox and the reality of residential school experience. Full of contrasts and contradictions it is difficult to generalize the experience. What became visible and part of a societal construct are the lines and divisions drawn between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canada. In Canada, 'Indians' were extracted from the mainstream. Moreover, the lines between Indigenous community members inside their own towns, reserves and their own families created destructive rifts. In several instances violence drew these lines:

We had no parental skills; nothing. We were actually made to always have our hand out. The Residential School said, "If you need socks, come here." "If you need shoes, come here." "If you need pants, come here." So we were always like that. We were created like that after. But then we all became sexually dysfunctional. Our wives paid for it.

³³ Male, attended McIntosh School, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded August 2006.

Some men had 3 or 4 wives. They didn't know how to handle relationships.³⁴

The 'welfare state' and the system of dependency also grew to encapsulate or limit these generations. Throughout the twentieth century citizenship increased for Indigenous peoples in Canada. Federal and provincial legislation like the Indian Act still maintained a hold over First Nations. Métis and Inuit lives also affected by federal and provincial control through this era of rapid growth in the 'progressive' Dominion of Canada.³⁵ Wards of the schools remained wards of the state. Legislation aided the process of transferring Indigenous children from one group to the national group.

Returning to family

There was a schooner going to the place where my uncles and aunties are, so they put me on the schooner to go home. My uncle and my aunt's family were happy to see me come home, for the first time after 6 years. And some why I don't know they, people were laughing and they were looking at me and they were laughing. I couldn't understand a word.³⁶

Unlike Euro-Canadian schools throughout the Dominion of Canada that were assumed to 'open doors' and create opportunities, residential schools built walls and created barriers for graduates. Culture became the ultimate barrier. It meant you were a stranger to your family and in a way, a stranger to yourself or your original identity with little or no remaining language or cultural association. This was a nation-wide scheme to 'civilize' children and create 'citizens' that churned out individuals who considered themselves 'empty shells', 'wards of the state' and who continually lived in fear of their own families and communities. Many individuals still fear their original languages, today:

³⁴ Male, attended Port Alberni, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2006.

³⁵ G. Taiaike Alfred, 'Colonialism and State Dependency', *Journal of Aboriginal Health*, 5, 2, (2009), pp. 42-60, here pp. 50-51.

³⁶ Female, attended Catholic Mission, Pawlituk and Aklavik school, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded July 2006.

I will not speak my language to this day. My Elders speak to me in our language, but I will not speak to them in my language. They know I understand, but I won't speak it. I refuse to speak it. They tell me to go to school and learn it again, and I won't. I keep telling myself I know it. I don't need to go to school. But they say it would be great for me to go to school and I can write it. I don't know why I won't do it. I'm holding myself back from that, my language, because I'm scared. I don't know what I'm scared of, but I'm scared to speak it.³⁷

Removal of language and culture on this scale does not surface as a side effect of merely having attended the schools. Attempts towards cultural extinction had many of the same reverberations on post-graduation life outside of school as the physical abuses. Fear of language and culture grew and fostered larger divisions between individuals leaving residential schools and the families to which they returned. Former students were unrecognizable to their families and language barriers only built tension. Additionally, disconnects between family members retaining continuity in culture and those forced to break the continuity built the roots of an entire phenomenon of separation in Indigenous communities.³⁸ Moreover, the divisions resulted in the familial separations that were created by the schools. Siblings separated for the span of childhood became strangers not only to their language and culture, but to their own families:

During all them years I never had a chance to see what my home town looked like. I didn't even know my sisters. One time I was playing pool in Grollier Hall before morning school and this lady was standing watching. I was getting nervous. What can I do for you? Who are you? She said, "I'm your sister". What? "I'm...". That's the first time I ever got to know my sister.³⁹

³⁷ Female, attended Kamloops, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded July 2005.

³⁸ Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Final Report*, Volume 5, p. 105.

³⁹ Male, attended Aklavik, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded July 2006.

The impact of the schools is clearly causing a simultaneous resurgence and resistance to language and culture. Fear, hatred, racism, discrimination and persecution drove divisions. Indigenous families cling to languages and cultures to try and bridge these divisions. Like the schools, full of contrasts and complexities life in the home communities carried on through these ebbs and flows. A Survivor from the Kamloops School speaks about the fear of regaining culture and language:

When I went to the Residential School I missed our foods, our berries. They took everything. What they took from me was my language and my culture. I'm slowly going back to it now and I have an Elder supporting me. My husband also supports me, but I'm scared.⁴⁰

Resilience maintained continuity of language and culture throughout these periods of resistance. Communities operated in a void of safe connections to culture and language and fought the ongoing impacts of intergenerational abuse. Cyclical and swirling, communities were washed away but continue to return to familiar shores, against a tide.

I keep referring back to that nice calm lake and somebody threw a rock and started those rippling effects. Well today it's still there. We see all kinds of social problems out there. We're not the only ones that were affected by that issue of Residential Schools. The whole world's society is affected by it. Nobody is excluded from the mistakes that past governments made.⁴¹

These manifestations of trauma and abuse reinforce the strong ties between colonialism, the schools and the creation of Canada as a nation-state. The pervasive ghettoization of Indigenous communities did not come about as one malignancy born only of the residential schools. Multiple fronts arose and the overlapping influences of language, culture, trauma, separation and

⁴⁰ Female, attended Kamloops, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded July 2005.

⁴¹ Male, attended Birtle, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

abuse interacted to develop Indigenous communities into injured landscapes. A Survivor from the Ermineskin School in Alberta describes these landscapes and summarizes a reality for Indigenous community scenario that is not unfamiliar to other communities across Canada:

“This is where I live.” “This is the way I live every day.” In our community there are gangs and crack cocaine. So many of our kids are in foster homes because our community is so dysfunctional. There is so much pain. People are self-medicating with prescription drugs. We have the highest suicide rate. Some of those statistics are my kids. I’ve lost 2 kids to suicide.... This is my community. It is so dysfunctional. But people are in denial.⁴²

Stories like this from Survivors are part of residential school histories and they are not new developments or dark fascinations. They represent the range of realities for Indigenous communities, including tragic stories, described above, and it also includes the safe, peaceful spaces. Decades, or even a century passed in Canada before Survivor voices were heard, truths of residential school became public knowledge and the violence and trauma in Indigenous communities did not stand isolated as a phenomenon detached from colonialism and residential schools. Canada and Canadians branded First Nations, Métis and Inuit identities by their association to violence, addictions and trauma.⁴³ Public memory and consciousness rarely drew the lines between the sanctioned ‘civilization’ schemes, the schools and increasing rates of violence. Assumed to simply be a trait of ‘Indianness’, ghettoization grew and joined the circle of post-residential school impacts. After decades of Indian Affairs and provincial social workers assuming residential schools or child welfare schemes forcibly removing children were the solutions to the poverty and violence, gradual changes started to occur. Survivor stories describe how ‘your home wasn’t even safe’:

⁴² Male, attended Ermineskin, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded June 2007.

⁴³ Alfred, *Colonialism*, pp.52-53.

...Indian Affairs built a home for us right in the village, and so we had to live there. It was almost like foreign to me because there was so much violence going on and so much drinking. You were always on your guard for your safety. And after what went on, the abuse that went on at the school, and then coming back and almost living it all over again in your community, I have really vague memories of my childhood in the village after we came home, because it was almost like you were just guarding yourself all the time. Your home wasn't even safe. People would try to crawl through your window and kick your door down. I don't know what they wanted in the house, but they would come there and try to fight with mom and dad.⁴⁴

It is still difficult to quantify the number of students that left residential school to violent homes or no homes at all and those that left to find safe, peaceful homes. For families across Canada that saw four or five generations of their families attend residential school it is difficult to disassociate the schools from an adult life tied to trauma, though. Rates of poverty, violence and addictions rose so high through the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries the 'Indian' identity has been continually altered by those rates. Perpetuation of the myth that 'Indians' remain savages only grows due to an association with these rates of violence.

Addictions

I never heard my mother's story but my other sisters did because they were with her when she told her story for the first time. I was at... and she turned to alcohol to numb her pain. Because she had been sexually abused she became an easy mark to be sexually exploited. It was hard to live in a home knowing all of that.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Female, attended Lower Post, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

⁴⁵ Female, attended Guy Hill, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

Myths about Indigenous peoples and addictions churn around colonial histories. Earliest reports back to the Empire described the 'native' and their 'fondness' of spirits.⁴⁶ As colonizers and those looking to usurp territories have done for centuries, they create an archetype or a myth to dehumanize the colonized. Casting humans in the role of animals, rodents or savages aided the 'progress' of settler-colonial movements worldwide.⁴⁷ In Canada this archetype took the form of the 'drunk Indian'. Once the 'noble savage' or 'heathen-pagan', the image of the Indian grew to be associated with drunkenness.⁴⁸ Addictions became a way to numb the association to trauma. Self-medication meant a level of self-control for some:

After Residential School I drank a lot. I used self-drugs. I don't know how many years I drank. Then I finally lost my family. That was hell. In my working experience I worked in sawmills for 8 years, drinking, going to work, drinking, going to work. The pain and shame of the abuses in IRS does not go away. You can't hide it. It doesn't matter how drunk or doped you are, it's still there.⁴⁹

Canada and the churches took a heavy hand in contributing to the shaping and perpetuation of the 'moral' frame for Indigenous life. With bonds to culture, spirituality and traditional society broken, moral life and mores of Indigenous communities were shaped by residential school experiences. It became increasingly easy for the state to point the finger at Indigenous communities and view the rise in addictions and violence as an inherited

⁴⁶ R. Thatcher, *Fighting Firewater Fictions: Moving Beyond the Disease Model of Alcoholism in First Nations* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), p. 15.

⁴⁷ Jurgen Zimmerer, 'Colonialism and the Holocaust: Towards an Archeology of Genocide', in *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History*, ed. A.D. Moses (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004), p. 54.

⁴⁸ S. Koptie and C. Wesley-Esquimaux, 'Metaphorical Reflections on the Colonial Circus of the Drunken Indian and the Kidney Machine', *The First Peoples Child and Family Review*, 4, 1, (2009), p. 78.

⁴⁹ Male, attended Edmonton, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2006.

characteristic of biological, genetic traits rather than as something inherited after generations of institutionalization.

When I got older when I got out of school, I turned to alcohol. I started drinking. It got me into a lot of trouble. When I got older I started getting into drugs, in the seventies, I started getting into drugs and experimenting with that stuff. And where drugs and alcohol takes you is down. It took me down and I hit my bottom big time. I knew I had to do something. It was either that or die. That's what it says in the program: jails, institutions or death. I had a choice to make.⁵⁰

Trauma, addictions and violence exist in all parts of Canada and in all segments of Canadian society. If we examine the patterns in Indigenous communities and the cyclical violence that live so close to colonialism and the residential schools, the phenomena become inseparable. Numbing pain, drowning the trauma and repeating violence become one and the same. Canada may only see one segment, either the addictions, the violence, the 'unfortunate Indian' the 'burdensome Indian', the residential school Survivor or the intergenerational Survivor. Essential moral and kinship ties were severed and belittled. Following generations of children forcibly separated from parents the normality of violence rose.

It was hard developing a relationship with my wife and my children. I carried a lot of pain and hurt. Some of the pain in the early years I tried to cover up with alcohol and drugs. I had bad relationships, broken relationships, a broken marriage and we had to do a lot of things to repair. I had to admit to a lot of things. I had to change me. I had to change in order for my family to change, in order for me to help my family I had to change me.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Female, attended Fort Frances, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded May 2007.

⁵¹ Male, attended Moose Factory, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded August 2006.

As one Survivor from the All Saints school in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan explains that 'we were hurt forever':

Because when we were taken out, herded out from our homes, our parents were hurt, too. We were hurt forever, I guess, traumatized.⁵²

In original writings about genocide and Indigenous peoples Raphael Lemkin cited the use of liquor as a contributing factor to the 'deleterious effect' of Indigenous communities.⁵³ He noted the confluence of factors that contributed to the 'gradual process' of the disenfranchisement of Indigenous peoples. He described the series of contributing factors; 'Genocide is a gradual process and may begin with political disenfranchisement, economic displacement, cultural undermining and control, the destruction of leadership, the break-up of families and the prevention of propagation'.⁵⁴ Inseparable from other segments of settler colonial genocide, liquor, which is prevalent in all social and cultural segments of Canadian society, has a close tie to rates of poverty and intergenerational abuse in Indigenous communities that make Lemkin's observations on liquor particularly meaningful. Introduction of and continued use of liquor as not only a tonic to the effects of violence but as a construct of colonial relationships created deep divisions in Indigenous communities.

Domestic and sexualized violence

There is a cyclical nature to institutionalization, regimental discipline and severity. A drive to be perfect or to fit an identity that was imagined for you created a myriad of effects. Patterns and cycles still emerge as the effects of residential school repeatedly cycle through Indigenous communities. The way that trauma moves its way through communities was told by the Survivors:

⁵² Male, attended All Saints Prince Albert, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

⁵³ Raphael Lemkin, 'Liquor', NYPL Collection.

⁵⁴ Raphael Lemkin, 'Break up of Families/Sociological Analysis', NYPL Collection.

I guess one more thing is the regimen, the discipline that was exercised. It had its negative impact. I was no different than the people you've heard so far as a parent. I treated my kids like they were in Residential School. I was an emotional terrorist. They had to be perfect, like I thought I was perfect. That took ages --- I'm twice divorced. I treated my wives like --- I was what you would call a dry drunk, probably. I never beat them physically but I was emotionally and verbally abusive. Same with my kids.⁵⁵

Love and sexuality became toxic, painful presences in Indigenous homes. Often, the links to abuse and sexuality were inseparable from the histories of trauma and violence. Inexcusable crimes became frequent and they became epidemics in some communities. Sexualized violence occurred and continues to occur at alarmingly high rates in Indigenous communities. Parents attempted to protect their children against insurmountable odds.

Everybody's happy that they are pregnant. I said, "Well, if I have a girl I don't want her to go through what I did." Then I was still drinking and I had never done any kind of treatment and I was still bitter and angry. My daughter is not going to go through what I did, and if I ever had a daughter, I wasn't going to let her live the way I lived. I was going to give her up for adoption. Thank God I had a son.⁵⁶

The culture of secrecy that accompanied the culture of sexual violence stripped away trust and support. As a Survivor from the Onion Lake School in Saskatchewan describes, there is a web of communities hidden by the secrecy:

⁵⁵ Male, attended Alberni, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2006.

⁵⁶ Female, attended Lower Post, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

I think there are so many little girls out there who are getting tortured and raped and molested and whatever, and little boys, too, that it's time that we start speaking the truth and not hiding on the Reserves with all our little secrets. But it stems from all this abuse from the past. It just does.⁵⁷

Secrecy grew to be part of the cycle as much as the abuse. Mistaking sex for love and medicating oneself with sex became normalized with the reinforced secrecy. Indigenous women and men, having graduated from residential schools, inherited legacies of sexual abuse. Adults spent their lives battling priests and the churches that were fortified and protected with their own system built to shield against the exposure of the truth.⁵⁸ Indigenous children and communities of Indigenous adults brought their abuses and their truths up against Indian Affairs, the RCMP, provincial police and the hierarchy of the Church. While these abuses occurred in both the Protestant and Catholic Churches, the Catholic Church had an especially unshakable level of protection towards secrecy and abuse.

It should not be considered an exaggeration or inflammatory to say that the churches created and perpetuated the cycles of sexual and physical violence in Indigenous communities in Canada. Evidence exists that proves international links to abuse scandals extending through the Catholic Church hierarchy. Churches built the Indian residential schools but they also built themselves an insurance policy, within church administrative policy. In short, generations of children had very little or no protection at all against the cycles of abuse yet in contrast, their abusers had the protection of church hierarchy, extending all the way to the Vatican.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Female, attended Onion Lake, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded September 2007.

⁵⁸ *Crimen Sollicitationis*, 'Instructions on the manner of proceeding in cases of the crime of solicitation', From the Supreme and Holy Congregation of the Holy Office, The Vatican Press, March 16, 1962.

⁵⁹ *Crimen Sollicitationis*.

In 1962 the Vatican Press printed *Crimen Sollicitationis* a 'new procedure for handling abuse cases', the document was revised and updated from a 1922 document of the same name. The *Crimen Sollicitationis* document reiterates instructions on 'perpetual silence' and how to address abuse based on instructions from the Holy Office dating back to 20 February 1867.⁶⁰

Instructions on following abuse from the first knowledge of the crime to the punishment of the crime are outlined in great detail, including prayers and forms to use in order to track the abuse from the moment it is disclosed.

According to *Crimen Sollicitationis*:

...the crime of solicitation takes place when a priest tempts a penitent...The object of this temptation is to solicit or provoke [the penitent] toward impure and obscene matters whether by words or signs or nods of the head...⁶¹

Once the crime was identified all parties were meant to enter the 'perpetual silence':

Because, however, what is treated in these cases has to have a greater degree of care and observance so that those same matters be pursued in a most secretive way, and after they have been defined and given over to execution, they are to be restrained by a perpetual silence (Instructions of the Holy Office, February 20, 1867, n. 14) each and everyone pertaining to the tribunal in any way or admitted to knowledge of the matters because of their office, is to observe the strictest secret, which is commonly regarded as a secret of the Holy Office.⁶²

Priests committing the crime of solicitation faced level of punishment for their crimes and were often relocated or their duties were meant to be

⁶⁰ *Crimen Sollicitationis*.

⁶¹ *Crimen Sollicitationis*, "The Crime of Solicitation"

⁶² *Crimen Sollicitationis*, n. 11.

limited. Often, priests remained in service and while the Church acknowledged that the crime of solicitation remained an ‘inestimable detriment to souls’ there were several indications that as early as 1867 or long before 1867, abuse was known about and it was covered up.⁶³

Even those considered ‘savage’, ‘heathen’ or sub-human pupils of Indian schools could be considered a ‘solicited penitent’ under the auspices of the *Crimen Sollicitationis*. Given the myriad of powers the Churches were afforded by Indian Affairs and the provinces in order to take children from their homes, retain children at the schools for undetermined periods of time and control so absolutely, it is clear that their powers extended to this Catholic Church-wide secrecy applying to accusations or evidence of abuse in Canada. Under the churches’ reign over residential school administration there are simply an incalculable number of children that would have faced abuse and/or the ‘perpetual silence’. A Survivor from the St. Mary’s School in British Columbia describes her attempt to confront her Priest:

I think I wanted to confront the Priest. I just went back. I had to get drunk before I went up there and I was quite young. As soon as he saw me I just started yelling and he took off right away. Then I just blocked it out, I blocked everything out. I just came back to Vancouver and I’ve been living on. I ended up working in a house as a prostitute...I was eighteen.⁶⁴

Many Survivors describe this relationship with sexuality, secrecy and transition into adulthood. One Survivor shares a similar sentiment; ‘I thought sex was love’.⁶⁵ Bodies were vessels and minds were damaged. Odds were stacked unfairly against women and men who were subjected to the sexual abuses as children.

⁶³ *Crimen Sollicitationis*, n. 15.

⁶⁴ Female, attended St. Mary’s, BC, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded July 2005.

⁶⁵ Female, attended St. Mary’s BC, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2006.

Because I was hurt by a lot of men, I turned around and hurt a lot of men. As I was getting older I realized I could use my body. There was a time in my early thirties when there was a guy who said he was going to shoot me if I didn't come into the bush with him. I didn't care. I was so tired of you guys taking and taking and taking.⁶⁶

With no route out of the culture of secrecy some individuals turned to self-harm:

After I got back from that visit I cut my arms up. I wanted to. I thought if all the blood just came out I would be okay. As the years progressed and all that sexual abuse and all that physical abuse and mental abuse, I used to tear my skin to hopefully make myself so ugly people would leave me alone.⁶⁷

Cycles continued and some sought escape from the cycles. Through resistance or escape the junctions between the mental, emotional, spiritual and physical spheres met one another. Suicides ended a struggle and a cycle. To say you survived the residential schools has a complex meaning. Putting a label or name on Survivors carries meaning for Indigenous communities who are not able to ignore the disproportionate rates of suicide connected to their families and communities.

But I drank a lot. I started drinking. I still tried to stay in school because my parents told me it was the only way out. At that time there was really nothing in the community; just poverty and unemployment. I tried to follow. I tried to listen to what my parents were saying for me to finish school and get out. I drank a lot and drugs started coming in. I experimented. At one point the alcohol started coming down so I

⁶⁶ Female, attended Sacred Heart, The Pas, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded November 2007.

⁶⁷ Female, attended Onion Lake, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded September 2007.

tried to commit suicide a couple of times. Well, maybe more than a couple of times. I was living in pain. I was self-medicating.⁶⁸

For some, it is considered a manifestation of Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD):

To this day I'm still traumatized. I still have PTSD. I still have nightmares. I have anxiety attacks. But I've been on my healing journey since 1990, when I sobered up. What I went through at Residential School affected every aspect of my life.⁶⁹

What remains after culture, language, kinship, safety and love are removed? Taught in school that you are a savage and your life is worthless, few options remain.

I thought my parents were beneath me because they didn't know how to speak English and it was all wrong. From there I turned to alcohol and started drinking. I drank. Oh man, I hid everything for about thirty years. I never told anybody about getting abused in school, sexually abused. I kept my pain to myself. I was suicidal. I don't know how many times I tried to take my life. I figured I was a failure. I can't even do that, take my own life!⁷⁰

Returning Home – Being a Survivor

Like I say, when I was in school my spirit and my life was dimmed and stayed buried. And that spirit and that voice has been coming out for many years now.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Male, attended Ermineskin, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded June 2007.

⁶⁹ Female, attended Lower Post and Courdert Residence, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

⁷⁰ Male, attended Lower Post, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded October 2007.

⁷¹ Female, attended Immaculate Conception Aklavik, Atchiko Hall and Grolier Hall, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded July 2006.

Survivors spoke up about what happened to them at residential school whether anyone was listening or not. Resisting what was being learned at school on every level, Survivors from all schools and all eras of school attendance came forward to survive and thrive. Faith remained with many Survivors and many found strength in the Christian teachings and their churches. Across Canada, Survivors embrace and warmly support the church.

Along the way I'm a preacher, too. I've become a Christian. I'm a preacher, too. So reading the bible and living my traditional life is just the same as what I was taught in my traditional ways, and the read the bible today, not to be religious, but to be born again and just live by the word of God. That's how I'm really becoming strong.⁷²

For others, survival involved social and political movements. Finding a route for anger and disillusionment drew them to activism in groups like the American Indian Movement (AIM):

It made me a very defiant person. I became very angry. For many, many years I was a fighter for rights, but not in a good way. That all came later. I managed to survive that abuse and I managed to survive my own abuse because that experience taught me that you cannot trust anyone. People in authority are not to be trusted. You have to defend yourself from them at all costs, whatever it takes to escape them, you have to do that. Even though I went to college and I became educated, I was involved in the sixties with many friends who are now dead, unfortunately, many of us were part of what is known as AIM, the American Indian Movement. I'm a real survivor. I survived Residential School.⁷³

⁷² Female, attended Chootla, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded October 2007.

⁷³ Female, attended St. Michael's Alert Bay, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2006.

Many spoke about surviving through proceeding with education and attending University. A Survivor from the Aklavik School credits the residential school system for his ability to attain a University degree. He stated:

Without the Residential School system I wouldn't have been able to attain the level of education and understanding that I have today.⁷⁴

The same Survivor went on to say:

I reconciled myself with the church in relation to how I felt about authority, about religion itself and about guilt. I didn't realize it at the time but the Roman Catholic Church is full of guilt. I didn't know why I should be guilty just for being what I am, you know. I was brought up to regard myself as a savage. In French it's *sauvage*. In English it's *savage*. That's the way I was basically mentally brainwashed to consider myself. So I really didn't have very high self esteem. I had no self esteem. I didn't have a clue who I was until I was about in my mid thirties.⁷⁵

It is a fallacy to believe all former attendees of residential school entered or reentered tragic lives. Happy families welcomed and awaited the return of their children from residential school. Nearing the close of the last school in 1996 provinces and Indigenous communities gained partial or total control over the administration of the schools. While devastating tragedies and trauma cycled through residential school legacies, happiness circulated as well. A Survivor from the Mohawk school shared stories of her happy family home:

We would be happy. We were a happy family. When we got together we would do things together, go camping. Our parents were happy to

⁷⁴ Male, attended Aklavik, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded July 2006.

⁷⁵ Male, attended Aklavik, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded July 2006.

see us back, that we were safe at home. They would ask us what we learned or how it was like there. I didn't like it because I had to leave home and it was far and it was lonely, I told them. But we were happy together as a family coming back together and just being together and doing things together.⁷⁶

There were multiple escape routes outside of the residential school legacies. Many Survivors interviewed about their time at residential school spoke eloquently about healing and what their route to healing entailed. There always seemed to be a physical escape from childhood trauma but many still felt trapped.

Returning Home: Institutions after the Institutions

A lot of our men ended up in jail. We were institution people. That's all we lived by. They don't know how to live in public.⁷⁷

Indian Affairs and the Canadian government detailed schemes to divide communities, to isolate them and to use institutions as a means of civilization. As the 'perpetrators' and also the 'bystanders' to the cycles of violence in Indigenous communities the government spent decades compartmentalizing Indian issues and made it easy to blame them for being 'lazy' or 'unwilling to work'. While the labels of 'perpetrator' and 'bystander' are not used unadvisedly, it is clear that the government of Canada not only demonstrated intent to divide communities and remove Indigenous peoples from their homes; it also knew of the grave harm involved with these schemes and carried on with them. Canada not only became the funder and the facilitator of removal schemes like the residential schools and reserve system; it also had specific goals in mind that required removal of Indigenous peoples.⁷⁸ As architects of the colonial plans for Indigenous peoples Canada also took a role as an observer, watching the Indigenous communities they

⁷⁶ Female, attended Mohawk Institute, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded August 2006.

⁷⁷ Male, attended Port Alberni, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2006.

⁷⁸ Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains*, p. 135.

created descend into conditions far below a national standard for quality of living.⁷⁹ Social and economic patterns laid tracks between the schools, cycles of violence, addictions and recidivism in Canada. A Survivor from the Crowfoot school in Cluny, Alberta describes how the cycle involves incarceration:

When I look back, I've done time and I turned into an alcoholic and a rebel from my experience in school. That first taste of fear --- I feared everybody. There was distrust. It turned into anger. It turned into hate. It turned into resentment, all the things that make an alcoholic out of you. When I was the same height as the Priests and the Nuns with alcohol I'm even with them, they're not higher than me. I abused alcohol for so long that I done time in the provincial jails. In total it was seventeen years.⁸⁰

The same Survivor went on to say:

I was in a jail cell. All my seventeen years in jail as I recollect them, they accumulated to seventeen years; I always look back at the school as the cause. The treatment I experienced from 1945 to 1953 --- I blame it on the school making an alcoholic out of me. All the ingredients --- The doctors today accept it as a disease of mind, body and spirit. I was talking about my children before. I didn't want them to ever taste it. Like I said, I've done time in prison. Prison is nothing. The public is scared to go in a prison, to be locked up. It's a holiday compared to boarding school. That's a real prison. The mind, body and spirit are taken over by the fear they put into us. We were just like robots. You are told to kneel down, to pray and you don't even mean what you're saying.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains*, p. 185.

⁸⁰ Male, attended Crowfoot Cluny, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2007.

⁸¹ Male, attended Crowfoot Cluny, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2007.

The relationship between incarceration and Indigenous peoples extends beyond the connection between Western jail institutions and oppressed populations. It extends to the inter-relations between the spheres of power separating the colonizer and the colonized. Over-incarceration rates demonstrate a level of powerlessness and hierarchy that reinforce existing socio-economic structures. Indians were cast as the 'drunk' and the 'criminal' from initial contact.⁸² Some were taught as children how to fulfill these roles cast for 'Indians' in Canada:

If you went to the jails or anything like that, if you look at the brothers and sisters out there in the eye you can tell their spirit is hurt. But it's so sad at that age, at my age now when I think back, when I reverse, if I looked at you if you're a prisoner I could tell that your spirit is hurt. Back then, when I look back now looking at those children that are what really hurts me today, little kids, having the spirit of a prisoner. It stays with me. It never goes away.⁸³

Survivors describe a level of familiarity that exists inside jails and how one can 'exist and do quite well' while incarcerated:

Today we go to the penitentiary to visit. It's almost like home-coming. Our guys are there that we drank with. They're the fighters. Out here they're fighting the law but they end up in there. I could exist there because once you get to know the regulations you can exist and do quite well.⁸⁴

An effect of intergenerationality manifests in the over-incarceration rates of Indigenous peoples and cycles of violence within families. As governments and churches sought to subdivide and segregate Indigenous people from

⁸² Sheffield, *Red Man's on the Warpath*, pp. 36-37.

⁸³ Male, attended Birtle, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

⁸⁴ Male, attended Onion Lake, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded May 2007.

their families and away from non-Indigenous towns, prisons became an enclave of Indigenous life. It becomes hard to ignore the effects that institutionalization has on entire families. Another Survivor from the St. Mary's School in Alberta connected with his history while incarcerated:

I started drinking and drinking and getting in trouble and lashing out at people, hitting, and I got into an accident. I went to jail. I think when I went into the penitentiary was when I really did a history of me, and where I came from. That was before I even knew about the Centre, that was back in '96 I went to the penitentiary. I realized in there I had to do a lot of forgiving before I came home, or else I was going to hurt somebody. I did a lot of forgiving while I was in there, before I came home. I wanted to know why they did this. I realized that my great grandparents, my grandparents and my parents had all gone through that, my uncles, my aunties, and my older cousins.⁸⁵

Institutions became a second home or, for some, their only home. Statements made about the jails as 'better off' than residential schools are not hyperbolic statements searching for a response. There may be a lifestyle available inside the jail that ensures a level of personal security that simply did not exist for them, as children.

But as it is here I am talking to you telling you part of what I know and what I went through in Residential School. I had a better time in jail than I had in Residential School. Yeah. I had an easier time of it. That's what I graduated to when I got out of school. I spent six happy years in there.⁸⁶

Recidivism creates a visible representation of the cycles of violence, abuse and addictions. Jails house a population of inmates that disproportionately

⁸⁵ Male, attended St. Mary's Alberta, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2007.

⁸⁶ Male, attended Qu'Appelle, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

represents Indigenous Canada. Those over-representations provide quantifiable evidence of the impacts of colonization and institutionalization in Canada.⁸⁷ Schools were their jails and then jails became their homes.

Intergenerational Impacts

Q. Are they still with us today? A. No. All my family, my whole family died from alcohol. Q. Did they go to Residential School too? A. Yes, all of them.⁸⁸

The idea that we inherit the trauma from the generation before us is not only a psychological condition but it is now assumed to be a genetic trait we potentially pass to our descendants. In a 2015 study “Holocaust Exposure Induced Intergenerational Effects on FKBP5”⁸⁹ researchers found that ‘environmental influences’ on parents and children descended from Holocaust Survivors were passed on to subsequent generations. In a study of 32 Holocaust Survivors and their children, genetic testing revealed ‘pre-conception’ parental trauma was associated with ‘epigenetic alterations’ in both the parent and the children even if the children did not experience the trauma, directly.⁹⁰ Western medical studies suggest that parents are not only passing psycho-social characteristics to their children and grandchildren but their genes are marked to carry trauma and pass it on as well.⁹¹ These

⁸⁷ Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Final Report*, Volume 5, pp. 170-171; CBC News, “Aboriginal corrections report finds ‘systemic discrimination’”, CBC News, 7 March 2013, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/aboriginal-corrections-report-finds-systemic-discrimination-1.1338498>; McDonald, Nancy, “Canada’s Prisons are the ‘new residential schools’”, *MacLean’s Magazine*, 18 February 2016, <http://www.macleans.ca/news/canada/canadas-prisons-are-the-new-residential-schools/>

⁸⁸ Female, attended Chootla Baptist Mission, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded October 2007

⁸⁹ Rachel Yehuda, Nikolaos Daskalakis, Linda Bierer, Heather Bader, Torsten Klengel, Florian Holsboer and Elisabeth Binder, ‘Holocaust Exposure Induced Intergenerational Effects on FKBP5’, *Biological Psychiatry*, 2015 (In Press).

⁹⁰ Yehuda et al., ‘Holocaust Exposure’.

⁹¹ See also: Walfred Tang, Sabine Dietmann, Naoko Irie, Harry Leitch, Vasileios Floros, Charles Bradshaw, Jamie Hackett, Patrick Chinnery & M. Azim Surami, ‘A Unique Gene Regulatory Network Resets the Human Germline Epigenome for Development’, *Cell*, 161 (2015), pp. 1453-1467;

characteristics are not unlike the ongoing connections and emphasis on the interconnected cultural, emotional and physical spheres of residential school trauma. Indigenous epistemologies rarely separate those spheres from one another.

Furthermore, additional studies examined resilience and how individuals recover from traumatic events. Continuing to investigate beyond the psychosocial resiliency towards physiological impacts of trauma on Survivors, a study found that recovery from trauma is associated with receiving immediate support and aid towards recovery.⁹² Stress and trauma will typically, always trigger a physiological response to our bodies and these responses accumulate over time. These are accompanied by the ongoing psychological responses that manifest in a wide variety of behaviours. This research is being conducted to accompany an ongoing fascination with human resilience and how the human spirit endures after trauma at any age. Inside residential schools almost all trauma was experienced at a young age. As many contemporary studies now indicate, the presence or absence of immediate support after a trauma has an effect on the Survivor. These findings suggest that with little or no immediate support there are fewer chances for healthy recovery.⁹³ A residential school Survivor from the St. Michael's School in Alert Bay, British Columbia reiterates this same idea, about seeking support:

Brian Dias and Kerry Ressler, 'Parental Olfactory Experience Influences Behavior – Neural Structure in Subsequent Generations', *Nature Neuroscience*, 17, 1 (2014), pp. 89-96.

⁹² J.A. Coan, H.S. Schaefer and R. Davidson, 'Lending a Hand: Social Regulation of the Neural Response to Threat', *Journal of Psychological Science*, 17 (2006), pp. 1032–1039.

⁹³ Coan, Schaefer and Davidson, 'Lending a Hand', (2006); J. A. Coan, L. Beckes, and J. P. Allen, 'Childhood Maternal Support and Social Capital Moderate the Regulation Impact of Social Relationships in Adulthood', *International Journal of Psychophysiology* (in press); Sadeka Tamanna, Jefferson D Parker, Judith Lyons and M. I. Ullah, 'The Effect of Continuous Positive Air Pressure (CPAP) on Nightmares in Patients with Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and Obstructive Sleep Apnea (OSA)' *Journal of Clinical Sleep Medicine*, 10, 6 (2014), pp. 631-636.

My grandparents going to Residential School, my mom going, and me going and my siblings going, and a lot of healing has to take place. If that doesn't happen well then we stay sick in our soul. I was not happy with my life for so long and then I started seeking outside help. Ever since I started seeking that outside help I feel better about who I am and what I am, because who I was and what I was, they took that away from me in the Residential School. They took away my self-respect, my dignity, me being a human being⁹⁴

The last part of this chapter reflects on the intergenerational impacts and the resiliency of Indian residential school Survivors. The adult years that followed attendance at residential school were undoubtedly marked by what occurred during childhood. Additionally, several generations of one family attended these schools. In some families five generations attended residential school so the psycho-social or physiological implications recounted above have a bearing on how residential school Survivor testimony is understood. First Nations Elders remind us that we carry with us knowledge and life from seven generations before us and seven generations ahead of us. These recent Western medical studies relate to a teaching about our seven generations. Our lives are not necessarily conceptualized linearly or as discrete portions like childhood, youth or adulthood. Indications that our lives and the lives of previous generations are cyclical and part of a broader trajectory appear in both these sets of studies (above) and in teachings from our Indigenous Elders.

Breaking Family Connections and Kinship Ties

The depth and the pervasiveness of the entire residential school experience may be difficult to conceive. To say that the legacy has ended is erroneous and to suggest that there is a singular path to resilience or recovery is not possible. Often what is passed on to children or grandchildren of Survivors is not only a psycho-social or physiological trauma but it is also philosophical

⁹⁴ Female, attended St. Michael's Alert Bay, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

and gendered. Survivors speak about how their time at school re-shaped or shaped their relationship with their community and affected how they see the world. Fear and distrust were prominent and as a Survivor from the Kamloops Residential School in British Columbia states, there is hate and separation that comes with being a Survivor:

Well, my experience with the Residential School, I learned to withdraw. I hold back a lot. I can't say "I love you". I hate being held. I hate men. I hate any contact with --- Even my grandchildren, I can't even hold them. We were never taught to love, to care, and to say "I love you", and to say "You're doing a good job", you know. We were always disciplined standing in a corner. To me I feel that what I learned from the Residential School was that I'm just within myself. I don't care. That's the way I brought my children up. I brought my children up the same way I was brought up at Residential School.⁹⁵

Schools forced and reinforced disconnections from family connections. One of the primary aims of the school was to break the bond between parent and child. Parents, siblings and extended family were separated and often remained separated either physically or emotionally for years after children returned from the schools. Indigenous communities and large extended families remained a threat to plans for the burgeoning Dominion of Canada. Large cohesive communities were difficult to move and relocate. Moreover, close ties in communities reinforced fears of rebellion and resistance. Legislation in Canada supported fractured communities and had long outlawed communal gatherings and ceremonies. Survivors faced the fractures almost immediately, as they entered residential school, forced from their parents and separated by gender, from their siblings. As they returned home the bonds remained broken, for many:

One of the things that was broken over there was family bonds. Those were severed. When my mom and my dad passed on it was like no

⁹⁵ Female, attended Kamloops, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded July 2005.

feeling. I heard people around me say “you’re so strong, you stood there and you were like a warrior, man”. But no, I wasn’t. It’s not that. It’s something else. And it’s still over there. Whatever it is, it’s still over there. My brothers and sisters, I’ve got two sisters left. You know, I don’t even know where they are and it seems like I don’t care. My brother, he drinks in Saskatoon on 20th Street and it’s like it doesn’t matter. I try and pretend sometimes that it matters when there’s other people. But it’s like I’m dead sometimes.⁹⁶

A Survivor from the Dauphin McKay School in Manitoba

I don’t feel connected to them. I feel like I’m away from them. I’m not close to them. Other people are close to their families and I’m not because I wasn’t there. I left when I was twelve and I’ve been out ever since. I don’t know how to relate to my family. And it hurts. It just makes me feel, you know, where’s my home and what happened to my family. It is affecting me. I have a teenage daughter and she asks me: “How come you don’t tell me that you love me and how come you don’t give me a hug?” She said, “How come you don’t do that?” I didn’t know what to tell her. I didn’t know what to say.⁹⁷

During childhood the separation from family and parents was physical and emotional, spending years away at residential school. After discharge from residential school, separation continued. After returning home or moving away from school many continued to be separated emotionally, mentally, socially from their families and in some cases they were separated by abuse or addiction. Several Survivors discussed addiction and the ongoing barrier it created, separating them from their families:

⁹⁶ Male, attended Birtle, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2008.

⁹⁷ Female, attended Dauphin MacKay, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded May 2007.

We are just starting to try to connect over the past few years now, but it's so difficult. It's not hard but it's so unnatural, I could say. It's not part of us any more. It's not there. We know we are brothers and sisters but that's about it. We don't communicate with each other. We don't know what is going on in the life of the other ones. We know we have kids, but that's about it. We don't have that kind of warm relationship. I lost 2 of my sisters not long ago, about ten years ago. Two of them died because of alcohol abuse.⁹⁸

Prevalence of violence and addiction increased in Indigenous communities. Removing children from communities had damaging impacts on family members that remained inside the communities. The impact of familial separation was not restricted to the children but affected all family members:

My grandmother died of alcohol poisoning. She drank herself to death. She gave away, spent everything she could, more than a million dollars. My father was another man with a brilliant mind who died of alcohol poisoning. My father was a Second World War Veteran, head-injured, and that was some of the problem with him and I.⁹⁹

Alcohol and other addictions became increasingly prevalent after attendance at residential schools. A Survivor from the Qu'Appelle School in Lebret, Saskatchewan saw similar influences of violence and addictions at home, as a result of residential schools. She used her time at schools to escape violence at home:

My mother and father never drank when I was a little girl. I don't remember them drinking at all when I first started school when I was six years old. But when they would come for me I would go home and that's all they would be doing is drinking. I didn't like to go home

⁹⁸ Male, attended Amos School, Quebec, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2006.

⁹⁹ Male, attended Morley, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

because they were drinking so I ended up staying at the school on weekends because I knew that all I would be going home to was their drinking and violence, fighting. So I used to stay at the school on weekends.¹⁰⁰

Consistently, state and church throughout Canada and the colonies placed the responsibility and blame directly on Indigenous peoples, claiming they were weak in morality and character and that they conducted themselves with 'savagery'. Intergenerational impacts were acknowledged by school administration and the living conditions of the parents served only as impetus for continuing to remove children from their homes. Priests, teachers and child welfare services documented the addictions and living conditions, understood the impacts of separating parents and children. Operating under that assumption that the 'problem' remained with the 'savagery' of the children and living conditions of the parents' observation of intergenerational impacts perpetuated a cycle of colonialism for decades. Amidst varying perspectives on the schools, acknowledging the positive and negative affects, a majority of Survivors described their experience at the schools as affecting their whole life. Reflecting on her 'whole life', a Survivor from the Onion Lake School in Saskatchewan stated:

When I was taken from my mom I had not even grieved over my father. Nobody explained anything to me. All those years I carried grief and guilt and shame, just layer upon layer. It becomes your identity. I always felt so gross about myself. It affected my whole life. My mental stability, my --- I had two children. My daughter --- Speaker overcome with emotion¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Female, attended Fort Qu'Appelle, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

¹⁰¹ Female, attended Onion Lake, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded September 2007.

Incapable of Love

Survivors of Indian residential school often describe the after-effects of residential school as 'loss'. Languages were prohibited and removed, innocence and childhood were stripped-away and family bonds were broken. While empirically we typically understand that human attachments and bonds 'enhance security' and provide a sense of well-being, those bonds were the first ones to be broken in the residential school system.¹⁰² Schools promoted the philosophy that the fractured bonds between parent and child would ultimately benefit the child.

As human beings, we acquire an ability or a capacity to love or to care for others; this is often mentioned by Survivors as something that was 'lost'. Whether love and care were something they did not learn or something they knew they learnt from their parents but stopped receiving inside the schools it was now something from which they were knowingly or unknowingly were cut off. In addition, physical and sexual abuse took a cumulative toll on the ability to love and care. Predatory relationships between clergy, teachers or older students and abused children caused damage to these connections to love and care. Survivors often describe how they would confuse sex with love.

Parenting techniques were altered in Indigenous communities as a result of the schools. First Nations, Métis and Inuit families have ancestral connections to teachings about love, care and intimacy. Community-specific social laws exist and oral records and storytelling pass on these laws through generations in order to educate younger generations about loving and being loved. Residential schools caused a disruption in these social laws and teachings. Survivors struggle to regain these teachings and even moreso, struggle to find a way to re-live them. A story shared by a Survivor from the

¹⁰² James Leckman, Sarah Hrdy, Eric Keverne and C. Sue Carter, 'A Biobehavioral Model of Attachment and Bonding', in *The New Psychology of Love*, ed. Robert Sternberg and Karin Weis (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 116-145.

Brandon Indian Residential School demonstrates the trauma experienced by parents, left with no children at home:

The saddest one I ever experienced was when we came back to school, the last 2, my brother and my sister, the youngest ones came to Brandon School and that left my mother over there at our home with no children. My dad had been gone that day when she decided that was it, she was lonesome, so she was going to be with us. She packed her bag and she went to Brandon. She got a job there. She got a job washing dishes in a nice café because she wasn't going to stay out there in a house all by herself when all her children were gone. They broke the bonding between my parents and us. We got hugs from our mother. My mother loved her kids. We never got hugged in the boarding school. We didn't know what a hug was like from any of the staff. That was the saddest thing. But that year she was close to us.¹⁰³

Love became a foreign concept:

I'm almost sixty-eight and she's in her forties. I was too embarrassed to hug her. I couldn't hug my sons. I couldn't say, "I love you", because that was all taken. It never was done to me. Nobody told me they loved me except my grandparents and my mom and dad. But that was all taken. Where is this love?¹⁰⁴

Colonial control drilled to the core of the family structure in Indigenous communities. Some harms were intended, as part of the Church and school plans to extinguish language and end 'savagery'. Other harms may have been 'incidental' or 'unintended' when students experienced physical and sexual abuses. It became a generally accepted phenomenon of residential school operation to observe these fractured familial connections as an 'Indigenous

¹⁰³ Female, attended Brandon, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded April 2007.

¹⁰⁴ Female, attended Qu'Appelle, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded September 2007.

community' phenomenon. Whether or not these connections were tied to residential schools became irrelevant and schools were repeatedly used to attempt to repair these moral ills.

Loss of parenting skills

What does it look like if you remove all of the children from a community or from a society? Accompanied by extinguishment of language and societal bonds, the forced break between parent and child reshaped Indigenous community structure.

Domestication and domesticity was a driving, popular trope colonial ventures, in places like the Dominion of Canada. Achieving conversion to domestic life represents a Victorian relationship to space and to colonial power.¹⁰⁵ Converting the savage into the image of the Victorian family was not only an act to convert the Indigenous peoples but it extended to the 'wild' and 'virgin' lands that surrounded them. The effort to tame the Indigenous family and transform them into a Victorian model of the family created a wider divide between the private and the public. Family remained metaphorical and central in the colonialism's drive to break down Indigenous families and societies in order to build the 'Imperial family'. Indigenous peoples were infantilized, feminized and were made legal wards of the Canadian Dominion. Rapacious use of land and resources made 'virgin territory' into arable settlements and recreation of the savage into a moral, Christian family only aided these schemes. While intergenerational impacts on subsequent generations still seem, to some, as an after-effect or as 'incidental', the reformulation and model of 'family' was by no means unintentional.

I think it's ongoing and it's never going to stop. I still have to work on my grandchildren and my children, as well. It had generational impacts on them and they're doing the same things, my older children, the same things I was doing then; abusing alcohol and having

¹⁰⁵ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 34.

difficulty in relationships because of those things. I watched them when they grew up. I wanted to take them away somewhere where nothing would hurt them. But that's not possible. So the only thing I can do is I can teach them how to deal with those things, how to deal with life so they will have a good life.¹⁰⁶

As children grieved and mourned the separation from their families inside the schools, parents and grandparents were left behind to mourn, as well.

It took me a long time to get where I am today. Today we're still crying for our children, the grandmothers are still crying for their children, crying for their grand children. They are still crying. I always think of my dad, you know, still crying for their kids today. Because of all these drugs and things that are going on in our lives¹⁰⁷

Loneliness from being separated from your family was often compounded by the mounting pressures of the rapidly changing Indigenous communities. Separation and self-loathing became closely connected.

I had no parenting skills. I learned that on my own. I didn't know how to discipline my kids. I turned to alcohol because I was degraded in school, and that's the way I felt. I was called a savage. I was called a squaw. "You stupid Indian, you'll amount to nothing, you're nothing." That's how I seen myself. That's the way I brought up my kids.¹⁰⁸

Despite grief and loneliness, families carried on but continued to be haunted by negative effects of the residential schools:

¹⁰⁶ Male, attended McIntosh, Cecila Jeffery, Ste. Anne's Fort Albany, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded August 2006.

¹⁰⁷ Female, attended File Hills, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded September 2007.

¹⁰⁸ Female, attended Brandon and Dauphin, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded May 2007.

I've always wished my children had a grandma. I've always wished I was able to talk to my parents, because they went to the same Residential School as me, both of them. I see my mother and father, they had 10 kids, and I see now why they had so many kids. It was because we were all being taken away. They would lose one so they had another one to replace that one, and then they had another one. We all went to the Residential School.¹⁰⁹

It is in the intergenerational impacts that the cyclical nature of residential school history is most evident. Straying from a linear conception of history, testimonies of the intergenerational legacies cycle continuously. The separation, abuse and resentment manifest in different ways and they are continuous.

I guess I finally realized where they came from. I guess I resented the church for what they did to my folks, what they did to my dad and my mom and a number of my other family members, my uncles and my aunties. There was a lot of abuse in a lot of families, not only physical but verbal and sexual. There are all the abuses that I've gone through in my life, and I guess growing up and finally looking back on that, I see where they came from. I don't blame them.¹¹⁰

The schools shaped relationships between children and parents:

We were poor parents. We had no parenting skills...He handled his kids with an iron order, the way we were handled in school. That's the way he handled his kids. Because we had super rules. Stand up straight. Close your eyes when you're praying. In the classroom it was worse. You'll never heal. Every day when I sit around sometimes out

¹⁰⁹ Female, attended St. Mary's Mission BC, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded July 2005.

¹¹⁰ Male, attended St. Mary's Alberta, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2007.

of the blue it comes. Why didn't I run? I didn't run because you know what happened to my sisters when they ran away?¹¹¹

Breakdown of the family was positioned, in the process of colonial governance as a natural 'progression'.¹¹² Like the dying race theories and manifest destiny, the moral 'descent' of the Indigenous family was something projected, observed and allowed to proceed, in the name of progress.

Positive

The cyclical nature of intergenerational impacts from residential school was not only negative or abusive. Some Survivors and families caught on to the cycles of colonial control early on and used the cycles to re-invent or revitalize Indigenous parent-child connections. Former students often became, as they describe themselves, 'bad parents'. Similarly, parents and grandparents, many of whom did not attend the schools, were the individuals who saved the children and who retained culture, language and social structure while their children were away. Languages survived because adults remained in the communities and continued to use the languages. Kinship ties, from an Indigenous community perspective were remembered and in some cases maintained while all of the children were gone. Song, ceremony, stories, history, knowledge, techniques and material culture were stolen, but they were also hoarded away by parents. Often hidden or sent 'underground', ceremony and language use never ceased. The use of language and ceremony faced constant barriers and discrimination, but in many places, it carried on, unharmed. A Survivor from St. Albert's school in Alberta describes the continuation of ceremony after they were outlawed by the Indian Act and admonished at the residential schools:

Because they quit for a long time. And the Pow-wows, too, they came back. The Sun Dances they didn't quite --- They kept on. But I knew

¹¹¹ Female, attended All Saints, Prince Albert and Gordon's School, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

¹¹² McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, p. 45.

from a young age because my grandfather told us it's not the priest that forgives you. It's the Creator. If you kept that in your mind and your heart, you know, you're not quite lost. And then they're always calling people savages. That's what I mean. Like there's stuff just programmed in you, in your mind. It's hard to get rid of sometimes.¹¹³

Roles of parents and grandparents transformed through the residential school era. Negatively or positively, the transformations were ongoing. Traditions and the roles of parents started to carry new or renewed meaning. Restoration of Indigenous family structure and reinforcement of continuous use of Indigenous knowledge provided support during the residential school era. Continuity of Indigenous knowledge provided strength to communities where it had previously been stripped away. Parents carried on breaking cycles of abuse and violence as former residential school students cared for their children in ways they were never cared for inside the schools. It is highly significant that Indigenous communities continually worked to restore balances in their communities. Facing the waves of intergenerational impacts, parents still found ways to fight back:

I hear different ones talking saying "oh, Residential School did this to me and it has affected this". Well, I tried to change that raising my children. I showed them love. I wasn't scared to hug them and tell them I loved them. They, in turn, do the same thing with their children.¹¹⁴

Interrupting colonial cycles and replacing them with Indigenous cycles helped to re-accumulate strength in Indigenous communities.

And when I was told it was a girl I just cried. He's really giving me another chance. He gave me a daughter that I can raise the proper

¹¹³ Female, attended St. Albert's, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded September 2006.

¹¹⁴ Female, attended Mohawk Institute, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2006.

way. Right from when we took her home, right from when she opened her eyes and looked at us in the hospital, I said “thank you”, “thank you for this child that I can be able to raise the way we’re supposed to raise children, to cherish them, to grow up to be who they are and why they’re here.” That’s what I tried with my daughter. I told... “You’re not going to be hitting this child.” She’s going to learn on her own. I tried to remember how my mom raised us when we were kids. There was no hitting. They never hit a child. You praised your child for everything they did. You acknowledge that they are an individual.¹¹⁵

Cycles also ended when veils of secrecy lifted and when Survivor stories were heard publicly. In the late 1990s and early 2000s class action lawsuits and the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement began providing compensation for various abuses associated with attending Indian residential schools in Canada. Healing funds, apologies and compensation would follow the final closure of the residential schools and had a significant impact on addressing intergenerational impacts. However, the role that parents, grandparents, extended family and community members had in maintaining continuity in Indigenous knowledge and individually trying to reverse effects of the residential school are often unrecorded and also, quite significant. Indigenous-led support towards Survivors utilizing holistic methods resonated strongly, in contrast with the state-led compensation plans. Resistance from the community and family level has sustained generations. Often intentionally hidden by Indigenous families fearing government or Church backlash, this continuity and revitalization remains the core of intergenerational resistance. Indigenous communities ended cycles of powerlessness and trauma based on the staunchly retained traditions and renewed autonomy over their affairs. Parents, continuing to love their children, fueled this era of transition.

¹¹⁵ Female, attended Lower Post, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

Healing

Transitions occur as an individual transforms, in his or her own time, from child, student, victim or to Survivor. Following trauma and experiences of abuse, individuals will face or ignore trauma as they learn to live with the after-effects of atrocity. Surviving residential school means addressing past harms, that for some were quite mild and for others, quite severe. Affects of language, culture, separation, loneliness, abuse, torture, neglect, disease and sorrow influenced Survivors and generations of their family that may not have even attended the schools.

There are different names for what occurs after trauma. Different religions, cultures and groups have different ways to describe the period of recovery following mass trauma. Trauma and time are connected and for some, trauma becomes the 'disease of time in the etiological sense'.¹¹⁶ Memory and the past 're-invade' the present with trauma and attach to future generations.¹¹⁷ These are the memories controlled by the individual. In collectivity and in public, memory is willingly or unwillingly shaped in part by hierarchical power structures, politics and society. In healing and addressing past trauma, individuals take back memory, into their own realm, under their own terms and choose to face or ignore the past. At its core, healing often represents an individual or a group reclaiming the past and taking control of how they will address it.

Timelines for healing in Canada did not commence at the dawn of the compensation-apology era. Healing came as trauma came.

I made that turn in 1978 to start healing. But it bothered me all my lifetime. Because in 1955 on the 23rd of September my mother died. My auntie come for us in Gordon's for the funeral, for the wakes. Mr. Suthert (ph.) wouldn't let us go home. So I never had any closure. It wasn't until about twelve years ago that I really accepted the fact. It's

¹¹⁶ Wesley-Esquimaux and Smolewski, *Historic Trauma*, p. 5-6.

¹¹⁷ Wesley-Esquimaux and Smolewski, *Historic Trauma*, p. 6.

like she dumped us. She threwed us away. But I wanted to see closure.¹¹⁸

Survivors were clear on the point of healing. It comes in many forms:

A lot of good things have been happening. I believe the Creator is opening up doors for me with my art work. Sometimes it gets kind of overwhelming, but I live a day at a time. It's my faith in the Creator that keeps me going. And my art, too, it helps me to cope. It helps me to cope with all the memories and the trauma I went through at the school. It helps me with my healing.¹¹⁹

But my son, I think he saved my life, because I named him after me... He's going on twenty now. When he was born, a friend of mine who was in the Mission School with me was having problems drinking and in jail and everything, so I used to bring him with me. I did a lot of hunting, trapping and stuff like that. It didn't matter if I was drinking. I always followed my grandfather's and grandmother's way they lived off the land. And I enjoyed it.¹²⁰

First Nations, Métis and Inuit in Canada have distinct, community-based, traditions and ceremonies for healing. Often similar, but still quite diverse, healing methods carry on at a community level. A Métis Survivor, from the Elizabeth Métis Settlement speaks about one universal touchstone of healing, language:

These people, that's what they need. But still today they disagree with the Indian way, because that's how they were taught when they were in that school. To lose their language, their cultures and the whole bit

¹¹⁸ Female, attended All Saints and Gordon's, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

¹¹⁹ Female, attended Lower Post and Courdert Residence, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

¹²⁰ Male, attended Baptist Mission, Whitehorse, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2007.

as far as being an Indian. That's what I could see. I told them that every day here when I speak before my prayer. You people are still the same since the day you walked out of that school. You raise kids the way you were taught over there with the language, not your language, but somebody else's language. Your children, your grandchildren, the same thing.¹²¹

Healing also becomes about ending a traumatic cycle. Unaddressed trauma in Indigenous communities is what defined them through the twentieth century and what continues to define them. Words of Survivors persevere:

There's a lot of tragedy that happened there. Through it all and maybe I'm a bit of a foolish optimist, through it all I think you can attain survival and you can do it in a healthy way. You don't need to die or try to kill yourself or let others kill you. You can take control. You can't change what happened. I can't undo the Residential School. That is just part of history.¹²²

Child Welfare System

Because it is happening again, and that's the scary part. Because now it's not Residential School. Now it's foster care and adoption that is taking our kids away. That's what I'm seeing now, going back and working on the Reserve, is that we're losing a lot of our kids. They are being apprehended and they don't see their People again. That's what I want to fight for, is for those kids.¹²³

Commanding control over 'destitute', orphaned or heathen children has been an enduring colonial trope. Removing children in order to impose a colonial image of moral control has taken place across colonies and throughout empires. Recurring trends in poverty, poor housing, disease, abuse and

¹²¹ Male, attended Elizabeth Métis Settlement Mission, *OSOS Collection*, interviewed September 2006.

¹²² Female, attended St. Michael's, Alert Bay, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded February 2006.

¹²³ Female, attended St. Joseph's Williams Lake, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2006.

addictions, which are all directly related to the same trends in colonialism, often lead to increased rates of children being adopted out or taken to industrial/boarding schools. By the 1960s in Canada evidence of ineffective residential school education was mounting, officials recorded that children were being taken more often or just as often for 'child protection reasons' and government and church still faced financial stress over the entire system.¹²⁴ It was made clear that parents, for a variety of reasons, not the least among them the poverty, were not able to care for their children according to government standards. Moreover, those government standards only amplified the existing problem with lack of parenting skills and violence resulting from intergenerational trauma from residential schools. By the early to mid-1960s existing provincial-run child welfare programs were relied upon to provide relief to the faltering residential school system and the mounting intergenerational impacts and poverty. Reliance on the child welfare system was immediate and it was, in many cases severe during this period of time. Re-named the 'Sixties Scoop', thousands of children were 'scooped' from their homes and adopted out to non-Indigenous families or families that were considerably farther away from the children's home communities. Operation of the child welfare system during this period relied on a belief that removing children from their families and placing them into a system could remedy the lack of parenting abilities. Controlled by social workers and provincial child welfare staff, children were removed from their homes, often by force or with little choice and placed in foster or adoptive homes which were most often non-Indigenous. The incidence of abuse at some homes was high and often children were kept away permanently from their original family, with some not able to be repatriated back to their community until several decades after they were taken.¹²⁵

Child welfare schemes fit a pattern, similar to the residential schools: recreate the children and blame the parents. Indigenous parents, whether

¹²⁴ Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Final Report*, Volume 5, p. 4.

¹²⁵ Raven Sinclair, 'Identity lost and found: Lessons from the Sixties Scoop', *First Peoples Child and Family Review*, 3,1, (2007), pp. 65-82, here p. 69.

they went to residential school or not remained at home to face removal of their children to residential schools or to the child welfare system and had simply few or no options to remedy what was deemed a 'broken home'. A Survivor from the Mohawk Institute describes a common scenario for parents, facing violence or poverty:

I remember one time going and asking if I could have some help and this man told me, "Well, why don't you just give your younger children up?" I was so shocked that he would say this, you know. Then he wanted to know why. And I told him about the abusive relationship we had. And he says, "Well, you outta be glad that someone married you", looking at me as a Native person, like I should be glad that someone married me. So I just got up and I walked out of there. I never asked for help again.¹²⁶

This was not only a common scenario but it was also demonstrative of governance and control, shifting power over one's own child to the provincial or federal government and Churches. Residential schools and child welfare systems relied on each other in order to continue efficient operation.

In the Brandon Residential School there were approximately ten or fifteen of us from the northern areas. At Christmas and Easter, at that time it was Easter, any kind of breaks and in the summer, we had to go into foster homes. We had to stay there because they told us that we lived too far. By the time we would get there we would have to come back so they didn't let us go home. When I went back home already I couldn't talk to my family because I couldn't understand them, the first 3 years of my Residential School I couldn't speak my language.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Female, attended Mohawk Institute, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded November 2006.

¹²⁷ Female, attended Brandon and Dauphin, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded May 2007.

The Child Welfare system became entrenched in the cycles of loss, shame, anger and resistance. A Survivor from the Portage La Prairie School in Manitoba discusses addiction and the role of repatriating children back after forced adoptions:

Unfortunately for me I lost mine, due to my drinking. But in '99, 2000, I just about didn't pull through one of my attacks. It took Patriation [repatriation] a week to find them, so I met all my kids again. I had a hard time with them. They were just babies and when I went home I couldn't hold them because they were too big.¹²⁸

For others, foster homes provided safety from homes affected by violence and addiction:

So when I was about twelve years old and it was time to go back to school, I stayed away. I don't know who put me in a foster home, but that's the best thing that was ever done for me because I got away from all the abuses, but I was still in boarding school from September until June. But I would go to this foster home in the summertime because I didn't want to go home.¹²⁹

The breadth and depth of the child welfare system in coordination or as a continuation of the residential school is quite vast. In this testimony from a Survivor who attended Sir Alexander McKenzie School, Samuel Hearne School and Chesterfield Inlet School the over-lap and entangled colonial 'mesh' is clear:

And when I was a baby I had an eye infection. We had no doctors, no nurses, no police, no nothing. All we had was a Priest. There was the D.E.W. Line about 8 or 10 miles away from Kuvaluk (phonetic) up in

¹²⁸ Female, attended Portage la Prairie, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded November 2007.

¹²⁹ Female, attended All Saints Prince Albert and Gordon's, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded, date unknown.

the mountains. So my parents, my mom packing me, my mom and my dad and my dad's brother, they walked from Kuvaluk to the D.E.W. Line. From there they put me on a plane to Montreal, and I went to the hospital. When I got better, instead of sending me home, the Children's Aid Society decided my life would be best to stay down south.¹³⁰

The same Survivor went on to say:

I didn't know back home that my parents were questioning the Priest, Father Vanderveld (phonetic) "where is our daughter?". She should be home by now. Where is she? So Father Vanderveld wrote some letters and that's when he found out that the Children's Aid Society gave me up for adoption. I don't think he told my parents. Maybe he did. I don't know. I can't answer that. But he said years and years and years later before he got Alzheimer's, he told me that it took him two years of letter writing to finally get me back. I remember the day in Montreal when they brought me to the airport to leave to go up north. My foster mom was standing at the doorway, the door was still open, and she was just crying and crying. And I'm crying and crying, too, because she was my only mom. Even though they told me I was going to my parents, nothing registered to me. She was my mother. So I cried and cried all the way.¹³¹

These are the stories of residential school. In one narrative of childhood the broad control of colonial and Church power is demonstrated, as a cycle and as something that touches each part of your life. It is a system or process of administration but it also had a great effect on the emotional, mental, physical and spiritual. Social and political economies of colonial control manipulated the structure of the Indigenous family into something often

¹³⁰ Female, attended Joseph Bernier Chesterfield Inlet, Sir Alexander MacKenzie, Sam Hearne, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded July 2006.

¹³¹ Female, attended Joseph Bernier Chesterfield Inlet, Sir Alexander MacKenzie, Samuel Hearne, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded July 2006.

unrecognizable. Indigenous families have been continually reshaped by colonialism and more importantly have been shaped their fights against colonial control.

Apology

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, groups of Indian residential school Survivors were, at an increasing rate, filing class action suits to obtain compensation and justice for physical and sexual abuses experienced at residential school. Groups of Survivors were meeting around kitchen tables, in community halls and at school reunions and gathering a critical mass of abuse survivors. This momentum carried on and in 1990 Chief of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, Phil Fontaine spoke to the national media about his time at residential school and the sexual abuse he experienced there. He was coming forward for these generations and these collective voices. This interview is often marked as a turning point in residential school histories and the physical and sexual abuses became public, mainstream knowledge.

In 1996 the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) released a final report following 5 years of commission hearings across Canada.

Overwhelmingly, the RCAP report indentified the immediate need for the impact of residential schools to be addressed.¹³² Following the release of the RCAP report and mounting pressure from Survivors, the Minister of Indian Affairs released a 'statement of reconciliation' in 1998, the government expressed that they were 'deeply sorry' about the history of residential schools. After the commission and the 'statement of reconciliation' the government of Canada funded the Aboriginal Healing Foundation that supported the creation of community-based healing programmes to address the effects of physical and sexual abuse in First Nations, Métis and Inuit communities.

¹³² Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, in, *For Seven Generations: An Information Legacy of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (Ottawa: Libraxis, 1997).

This was a history that was always known to Survivors and the Canadian public was now beginning to face this same knowledge of Indigenous life in Canada. Pressure mounted on governments and churches who also faced growing numbers of class action suits. The community-based organizations of Survivors from across Canada soon partnered with Indigenous governmental support and legal counsel. Years of negotiation and discussion culminated in the 2005 Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement (IRSSA).¹³³

Negotiations between government, Church and Survivor organizations included discussions about a public apology. After lengthy negotiations, the terms of an apology were also agreed upon. Under Conservative Prime Minister Stephen Harper, along with each of the opposition parties, the government of Canada negotiated the intended use of language and wording that would be presented in the House of Commons. The Canadian apology came at a time (2008) when the political-social trend of public apology and regret was becoming what seemed to many as an intended tactic. No matter how it was viewed and whether people heard the apology as political rhetoric or sincerity, it had a significant impact. Survivors were often split on how they received the apology. For some, public acknowledgement meant what many saw as a national secret or national shame was no longer hidden. Public acknowledgement was highly cathartic and meaningful for many Survivors who felt they had not been heard or had been ignored for decades. Other Survivors expressed disappointment at the apology and many felt that the words were empty, that the gesture without real change was meaningless and that it was 'too little, too late'.¹³⁴ Trust in government, political leaders and Church officials was and is notoriously low inside Indigenous communities and governance. As a result, the apology was met with inevitable cynicism. It was also met with support and several organizations

¹³³ Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement, <http://www.residentialschoolsettlement.ca/english.html>, accessed May 21, 2016.

¹³⁴ Bombay, Ellsworth, Fryer, Logan and Reimer, *CEP and Healing*, p. 52.

seized the opportunity to educate Canadians by including the apology in curriculum and as a touchstone for reconciliation. In 2007, a year before the apology, a Survivor from the Chootla Baptist Mission in Whitehorse, Yukon describes how significant an apology would be to Survivors and their families:

The government doesn't see what truth we got in our heart. That's what I told my family. I said, "You know what, my only wish is for the government to stand up there and apologize." Maybe it will heal some of our wounds, which we have. I hope that will come true.¹³⁵

Another Survivor from the Edmonton School describes the other sentiment, often shared by many Survivors after the apology. Overwhelmingly, many felt that apologies and compensation are 'just words':

I have spoken to many people about the Residential School; psychiatrists, psychologists, ministers and counselors, and they say time heals. But I say bull shit. I'm sixty-two years old and I'm still hurting inside because of the abuses on my body, mind and soul and the rest of the people across Canada, north, east, south and west, little kids 4 years old, 5, 6, 7 all taken away from their families. That really hurts me, you know.¹³⁶

He continues by stating:

I've been told to forgive these perpetrators. I don't know how to do that. I can mouth the words. It doesn't mean nothing to me. It's just words. I want to find out how to forgive and really mean it. Because I

¹³⁵ Female, attended Chootla Baptist Mission Whitehorse, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded October 2007.

¹³⁶ Male, attended Edmonton, *OSOS Collection*, February 2006.

want my life to be a happy life, for what life I have left, I want to be happy.¹³⁷

Like trends and tactics that preceded it, apology was caught up in the rhetoric of benevolence and government empathy. Canada's apology was part of a series of negotiations between governing and legal bodies. While the objectives and meaning of the apology were meant as grand gesture of reconciliation and repair for the fractured relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canada, it should be remembered that Survivors were the impetus behind creating the apology. Apology in Canada was less about altruism and more about an act towards reconciliation. Politically maneuvered or potentially reconciled, the act of apology marked an attempt to change the colonial relationship in Canada.

Compensation

In the early 2000s the government of Canada introduced the Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) process to aid in the growing number of cases. The ADR process proved ineffective and in 2005 the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement was reached. The Settlement Agreement included the Common Experience Payment, for any residential school former attendee. They would receive \$10,000 for the first year they attended and \$3,000 for each year after. Administration and dispersal of the CEP payments was problematic, as it fit several formulae and it included a list of schools that would be applied to decide which former attendees were eligible for compensation. Simply, if your school did not appear on the list, you were not entitled to compensation. This was especially significant for students who attended tent hostels, day schools and smaller mission schools, and especially affected Métis or Inuit Survivors. A Survivor from the Yale School at Northwest River, Labrador attended a school that was not officially 'listed':

That school, that dorm, was operated by the International Grenfell Association, I guess, Mission, or whatever. As far as I know it was not

¹³⁷ Male, attended Edmonton, *OSOS Collection*, February 2006.

recognized as being a Residential School, or there even being any Residential Schools in Labrador. There were others that were operated by the Moravian missionaries. And I think what we have to do somehow, and we may or we may not do, is prove that federal dollars went into the running of the schools, the dorms. We are in the process of trying to find that out now.¹³⁸

The same Survivor went on to state:

I questioned somebody one time, I think he was with the Canadian Government, at this Alternative Dispute Resolution. They were reading in their documents that there were no schools in Labrador. He said, "No." I said, "Well, I went to a school." "I had that experience." But he said that there were no federal dollars attached. But I said, "That's a technicality." It doesn't take away from my experiences. We still went through the same thing. It's just who did it, I guess, or who they are trying to say is responsible. The dollar bill I don't think is always responsible. There's people who distribute those dollar bills.¹³⁹

In addition, the Independent Assessment Process (IAP), as part of the IRSSA was designed to compensate for individuals that attended the schools and who experienced physical or sexual abuse. Often, seeking compensation for abuses meant memories of trauma would be revived and relived.

When I went through this IEP Form it dredged up memories which I had buried for fifty-five years, and that was a very painful process having to do that. I've still got that Form sitting on the table. I never touched it yet. I didn't even fill out my name yet and today I learned

¹³⁸ Female, attended Yale School, North west River, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded September 2008.

¹³⁹ Female, attended Yale School, North West River, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded September 2008.

that not only do I have to fill that form out in gorey detail, I have to articulate the litany of events that made me what I am today.¹⁴⁰

Entering the IAP process or class action suits marked a time when Survivors would have to personally face their own stories and at some times, share their stories with family members for the first time. It is evident here that a great deal of pain is associated with ending public silence on abuse and this out-pouring of secrets. As ever, the inter-connectedness of the cycles of abuse and the way they were addressed compounded on to the Survivors. These trends are related and in a 2014 study by McQuaid, Bombay (et al.) conducted with Survivors and intergenerational Survivors of residential school, it was clear that 'unhelpful or negative responses' towards individuals who experienced traumatic or stressful episodes as children have negative repercussions.¹⁴¹ Public reaction to the apology and compensation contributed to increased stress and a decline in well-being.

Even though processes like the TRC, IRSSA and the apology were Survivor-driven, there is a balance of power that remains with the government and with lawyers. Memory and remembering in Canada still falls under control of the government. Apology has been publicly promoted as an act of altruism and compensation trends seemed to follow that pattern. Positioning apology and compensation as an 'end' to the residential school legacy also places power with governments who either rhetorically or intentionally wish to decrescendo the voices of residential school. Of course, some Survivors also wish to disconnect from the memories of residential school but the level of control over public memory is still dominated by media and government.

¹⁴⁰ Male, attended Qu'Appelle, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded March 2008.

¹⁴¹ R. McQuaid, Amy Bombay, O. McInnis, Kim Matheson, & Hymie Anisman, 'Perceived discrimination and coping styles as mediators of the relationship between childhood trauma and depressive symptoms among First Nations adults in Canada: The moderating role of unsupportive social interactions from outgroup and ingroup members', *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 21 (2015), pp. 326-336, here p. 328.

Fighting back against the tide of silence and secrecy, Survivors want their truths known and acknowledged.

I was part of the negotiating process, the ADR process, and there was so much that they refused to look at. The denial part of it is what really hurts. We would be telling our stories and they didn't believe what they were hearing. The lawyer for the Roman Catholic Church said that he went to the Roman Catholic Church and he's Jewish. I said that the difference between you and me is your mom had a choice. Mine didn't. They had excuses. They were throwing out this stuff like limitations. They are stall tactics. The hardest part was them denying, the church, the government, sitting right across from us, denying it. "Well, it was the government back then."¹⁴²

First Nations communities, for example, think in terms of seven generations ahead of them and seven generations behind them. A push towards public education and public memory is done, in part to support following generations.

As a mother and as a grandmother, I'm sharing that with my kids. They're going to get most of it, if not all of it. I'm going to invest it in my grandchildren so when they grow up they'll have that money. I'll probably put it in a trust. I definitely don't need it. I would rather share it with my kids. They need it. They're the ones who suffered. I have suffered, but I'm dealing with it. They are suffering now because of my stupidity as a parent. So they can have it. They can do whatever they want with it.¹⁴³

Placing a monetary value on cultural and spiritual losses contributed to what Bombay (et al.) described above as 'unhelpful or negative responses'. In

¹⁴² Male, attended Norway House, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded May 2007.

¹⁴³ Female, attended Brandon and Dauphin, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded May 2007.

addition to not providing a level of support for language revitalization and retention, Indigenous people have been forced to lobby and advocate for language programs. A Survivor from the Chootla School questions the validity of exchanging money for language and culture:

That's why I think to myself, we get compensation from the government and the money can't replace our culture, our language, our identity, all these things. It can't replace it. But still we got the money. That's how the government wanted it. For me in my own mind I think this way. The government should give us compensation until all the people can regain their language and people can teach the language to the people. We are always short of money right now to teach to our children so they can learn. I know that. I taught my 2 little grandchildren. They are 6 and 8 now. I talk to them since they were babies. They understand me.¹⁴⁴

Most often, Survivors had conflicting thoughts about receiving compensation. Many saw both positive and negative impacts from receiving compensation for their time at the schools.¹⁴⁵ A convoluted system and way of re-establishing collective memory culminated at this time of reconciliation.

But at the same time, if that's what you owe me, well then I'll take it. But you know what? I will still not forgive you for what you have done. It will never heal. No amount of money will ever heal the damage that has been done because you cannot heal a broken spirit with money.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ Female, attended Chootla, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded October 2007.

¹⁴⁵ Bombay, Ellsworth, Fryer, Logan and Reimer, *CEP and Healing*, p. 46.

¹⁴⁶ Male, attended Birtle, *OSOS Collection*, interview recorded May 2007.

Conclusion

It should be remembered that the end of school years for many children ended *at* the schools. Thousands of children never returned home and still lie at the gravesites and unmarked burial sites at the former sites of residential schools across Canada. Manipulation or erasure of records, names, dates and locations influenced the memory of children who died as well as the children who lived to return home. Children were dying at schools and their fellow students were familiar with high death rates and disease. In 2015, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada was able to identify 3,200 student deaths and in half of these cases, a cause of death was listed.¹⁴⁷ Investigations into unrecorded deaths and unmarked burial sites are ongoing. At the height of disease epidemics, death rates at these schools still far exceeded the rates of death in the general population or in the public school systems.¹⁴⁸ Survivor narratives of their time at school and returning home record a history of Canada. Survivor narratives also speak for missing and hidden children whose lives remain unrecorded and simply, lost. What is the legacy for the living and their subsequent generations if thousands remain missing?

¹⁴⁷ Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Final Report*, Volume 4.

¹⁴⁸ Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Final Report*, Volume 4.

Conclusion

This is about Canada. We are not the country we thought we were. History will be re-written. We are all accountable, but this begins in the late 1800s and goes to 1996. "White" Canada knew – on somebody's purpose – nothing about this. We weren't taught it; it was hardly ever mentioned.

All of those Governments, and all of those Churches, for all of those years, misused themselves. They hurt many children. They broke up many families. They erased entire communities. It will take seven generations to fix this. Seven. Seven is not arbitrary. This is far from over. Things up north have never been harder. Canada is not Canada. We are not the country we think we are.

-Gord Downie, Ogoki Post, Ontario, September 2016

Canadians are confronting their histories and secrets. Accounts of Indian residential school that describe a system with 'good intentions' and 'failed aims' still persist. Segments of the Canadian population still openly express their exhaustion with the histories of residential school and apathy towards the history of residential schools in general. Others strongly reject any need for compensation or apology and there remains a prevailing sentiment in Canada that declares to Indigenous Canada: 'just get over it'. Moral and political will to alter Canada's history on the schools exists and it has been carrying the name 'reconciliation' since the end of the TRC. It faces the barriers of both rejection and apathy but, at its core, it provides Indigenous communities a path towards re-establishing the nation-to-nation partnership with Canada.

There is potential for reconciliatory actions in the Survivor statements and documents collected by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Canada. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Canada completed its work in 2015 and it is carrying on with initiatives in reconciliation through a National Research Centre (NCTR), which opened in November 2015. During the operation of the Commission and in the first years of operation of the NCTR, many individual Survivor statements remain inaccessible due to privacy and access to information restrictions. The Centre will create initiatives

promoting reconciliation education in Canada and helping to address the ninety-four calls to action that arose from the findings of the TRC. Seven volumes of the final report of the TRC were released in 2015 and the 'recommendations' were written and framed as 'Calls to Action' in order to motivate governments and citizens in Canada to act. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) was released in 1996 and a review of both documents, the RCAP report and the final report of the TRC will quickly reveal many of the same recommendations or 'calls to action'. Aware of these repeated calls for change, the TRC worded their recommendations as 'calls to action' in order to urge significant or noticeable change in governance for Indigenous affairs. Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians continue to question whether or not government inquiries or commissions create considerable changes in the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canada.

The TRC has created a definition and narrative around the term 'reconciliation' that has already re-written curricula in Canada and revised historical narratives. Truth and reconciliation in Canada is currently operating as a catalyst and as a way to identify breaks in the nation-to-nation partnerships. We are often reminded that if truths from the schools are too traumatic or too scary, people will disengage. Conversely, if our narratives are too light and have no teeth, they will be dismissed as political lip service. Reconciliation will undoubtedly meet a series of tests as Canada approaches these histories. The debate over genocide may be firstly, unavoidable and secondly, it may be a 'history war' worth fighting.

Indian residential schools in Canada were part of an international network of colonially operated industrial-boarding schools. Use of the industrial-boarding schools model grew to be as much of a tool of colonizing and claiming land in Canada as the fur trade and the railways. Removing thousands of First Nations, Métis and Inuit children and rupturing their families was essential work in building the Dominion of Canada. The schools were based on historical models of industrial-boarding schools used throughout Europe and its empires to house and reform 'destitute' children.

Rooting the system in existing colonial models assured Canada's place in the Imperial family. Failures of the boarding school systems in the colonies were recorded repeatedly but carried on, since the forced removal of children became paramount over evangelization and assimilation. The need to take children was greater than the will to 'uplift' them from savagery and convert them into Canadian citizens. Mass displacement of populations and plans for colonization relied on the operation of these schools and removal of Indigenous children from their communities. It is not often indicated in broad colonial histories or in Canadian history, in this case just to what extent removing children has on colonial practice and theory. Forced removal of children on this scale and for this length of time indicates an amalgam of state and ecclesiastical colonial power as well as a process of genocide.

The relationship between Lemkinian concepts of genocide and Indigenous peoples concepts of genocide remains as an emerging area of study. Raphael Lemkin's writings created during and after the ratification of the UNGC serve as reminders of the inseparability of cultural and 'other stages' of genocide. As a foundation of genocide studies, Lemkin's writings also served to contextualize histories of Indigenous peoples. The use of the term genocide in context with Indigenous peoples in Canada still remains under debate. Often, a question posed around genocide and its applicability to Canada is; 'what is the benefit in naming settler colonialism in Canada, genocide'? With a nod to the acknowledgement that there is no clear, legal avenue for Canada to pursue in claims of 'genocide' some question why the term is used at all. Use of the term has become polemicized and many feel its use is ahistorical in reference to the operations and the 'intent' of the residential schools. It is at this juncture that I propose, through this study that residential schools are not isolated out of historical treatment of settler colonialism in Canada. Operation of residential schools did not occur in seclusion and were part of a broader systematic and systemic removal of Indigenous peoples from Canada both its land and society. Residential schools in Canada did not stand alone as a singular mechanism of settler colonialism they aligned with the outlawing of ceremony, the reserve pass system, the dismantling of Indigenous

economies and politics, forced relocations and echelons of legislation over Indigenous peoples' lives. To approach the history of residential schools is to investigate settler colonialism and to approach state-wide settler colonialism is to investigate claims of genocide.

As use of the term genocide becomes more frequent or simply, more visible in terms of settler colonialism in Canada, many cite the emergence of debate around the term. Some feel that raising debate around the use of the term genocide in Canada opens Indigenous peoples up to 'unwinnable' legal challenges against the UNGC. Moreover, with a focus on legal definitions and away from broader Lemkinian definitions there is a noted fear that naming genocide may expose Indigenous groups in Canada to backlash, abuse or denial. At the same time though, placing the historical evidence of settler colonialism and genocide into 'debate' potentially has a 'noticeable' effect? These definitional debates on applicability of genocide have often pushed genocides of Cambodia, Armenia, the Ukraine, Darfur and today, Syria into increased public consciousness. On point, the debate often posits 'other' genocides (willingly or unwillingly) against the memory of the Holocaust. Additionally, both historical and contemporary cases of genocide stand in this legal test of the UNGC. Debate and denial rages on for arguably any case of genocide and while it is kind to shelter Indigenous communities from denial, hate and 'history wars', perhaps it remains a debate some may willingly wish to enter in to.

The operation of these schools for well over 100 years, with documented knowledge of the abuses and the neglect remains at the core of these narratives. The oral histories and testimonies included in this study are the history of a Canada rarely seen. Survivors saw their extraction from the land and from Canadian society on multiple fronts. Through the residential school system Canada constructed and re-constructed the image of the 'Indian'. By creating or reinforcing the image of the infantilized, violent, addicted, promiscuous and rebellious Indian, dominant Canada was provided license to place blame on Indigenous peoples and to perpetuate colonial relationships.

Critics of reconciliation ask; 'what are we reconciling towards?' and furthermore, is there a desired time in Canadian history which we should return, when Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples were at peace with one another? Some critics voice concerns that Canada, as a nation is attempting to run with reconciliation before we learn to walk. To some extent, reconciliation is considered another colonial term and apparatus for reinforcing colonial education systems. Some consider reconciliation a well-packaged and manufactured term to provide temporary solutions rather than long-term or substantial change to the nation-to-nation partnerships in Canada. Indigenous groups are demanding action on improved treatment of Indigenous children in the child welfare system, clean, running water in all Indigenous communities, protection from resource extraction in oil, mining, forestry and pipeline projects in Canada or running through Canada, treaty and land settlement, protection of Canada's waterways and overall support for the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). Shortcomings in plans for reconciliation and flaws in the implementation of the vision of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Canada have been identified by Indigenous and non-Indigenous parties. What nearly all parties are calling for though, are changes. No matter what name the actions fall under, an impetus for change still exists and there are few to no groups or individuals in Canada left who advocate for maintaining the status quo in the nation-to-nation partnership between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canada. At the core of residential school history emerging into the dominant narrative in Canadian history and the voices of Survivors emerging into that narrative, no matter what you name it, a change has occurred in Canada.

Integration of Canada's 'dark' history with Indigenous peoples and the residential schools into mainstream consciousness in Canada has created change. Debate will carry on in Canada, between those who feel the response to residential schools has been too much, too little or it has completely missed the mark. Whether or not reconciliation is theoretically or practically conceived as a long-term solution to re-casting the relationship between

Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities in Canada will be followed closely in the upcoming years. It remains undeniable that Survivors of residential school created change and re-set a fragmented relationship.

Supporters of reconciliation reinforce the idea that the residential schools are inseparable from issues of land rights, access to clean drinking water, housing, poverty, suicides and violence against Indigenous women and girls. Representations of Canadian history and memory of residential schools contributes to this social-political gap between Indigenous Canada and non-Indigenous Canada that seems to both widen and then contract over time. In Indigenous communities, knowledge is tangible, it is in song, in ceremony, it is a gift and it is animate. Making visible this knowledge and this way of looking at it, while not dismissing entirely the Western ways of knowing, establishes repair between nations. There may not be a new history or a new relationship forged, but there may be repair.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta

PAA: Government of Alberta, 'Plan for Settlement of Halfbreeds in a Colony', *Report of the Royal Commission Appointed to Investigate the Conditions of the Halfbreed Population of Alberta*, 1936.

Library Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario

LAC: Department of Agriculture, *Canada: information and advice for emigrants*, Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, 1875.

LAC: RG-10, Records of the Department of Indian Affairs, Black Series and Indian Residential School Files.

LAC: Extract from Memorandum of DC Scott, Accountant, dated December 11, 1906, to the Deputy Superintendent General, Relative to the Admission of Half-Breeds to Indian Schools, 11 December, 1906.

LAC: Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Halfbreeds, Nicholas Flood Davin, March 14, 1879, RG 10.

LAC: Sir John A. MacDonald Papers, Vol. 91, *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Halfbreeds*, MG 26, 14 March 1879, 35428-45.

LAC: Treaty 1, Between Her Majesty the Queen and the Chippewa and Cree Indians of Manitoba and Country Adjacent with Adhesions, 3 August 1871 (entered into force 30 April 1875).

House of Commons Library, London, UK

HCL: *Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes (British Settlements)*, 1837.

The National Archives, Kew, London

NA: Colonial Office (CO) Records, Captain Franklin's first journey, 1819-1823, CO 6/15, journals of the North West expedition.

NA: CO, Captain Palliser's Expedition, Class 6, Piece 36, page 38

NA: CO, Captain Palliser's Expedition, Class 6, Piece 36, page 80, March 31, 1857.

NA: *Management of Indians in British North America: Report on the Management of Indians in British North American by the British Government*, printed by the Committee on Indian Affairs, 1870.

Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba

Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM), Record Group 10, Black Series.

New York Public Library, New York, New York

New York Public Library (NYPL), Manuscript and Archives Division, Raphael Lemkin Papers, Eight series: I. Correspondence; II. Photographs; III. Biographical and Autobiographical Sketches; IV. Public Statements and Interviews; V. Writings - Autobiography; VI. Writings - Genocide; VII. Clippings; VIII. Printed Material.

Legacy of Hope Foundation, Ottawa, Ontario

Legacy of Hope Foundation (LHF), *Our Stories Our Strength Oral History Collection*, Legacy of Hope Foundation and the Aboriginal Healing Foundation, Ottawa: Legacy of Hope Foundation.

Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), Correspondence from E.J. Brandt, Superintendent of Schools to J.H. McKechnie, Deputy Minister of Education, Province of Saskatchewan.

Vatican Apostolic Library, Vatican City

Canada: A Brief Outline of her Geographical Position, Production, Climate, Capabilities, Educational and Municipal Institutions, Fisheries, Railroads, etc,
3rd Edition

Canada's Fertile Northland: A Glimpse of the Enormous Resources of Part of the Unexplored Regions of the Dominion, Evidence Heard Before a Select Committee of the Senate of Canada During the Parliamentary Session of 1906-7 and the Report Based Thereon, Captain Ernest J. Chambers (ed.)
Published under Department of the Interior Hon Frank Oliver, Minister.

Crimen Sollicitationis, (Vatican: Vatican Press, 16 March 1962).

Published Sources

Absolon, K. and C. Willett, 'Putting Ourselves Forward: Location in Aboriginal Research', in Leslie Brown and Susan Strega (eds.), *Research As Resistance: Critical, Indigenous and Anti-Oppressive Approaches* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2005).

Adams, David W., *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1995).

Adams, Howard, Adams, Howard, *Prison of Grass: Canada from the Native Point of View* (Toronto: General Pub., 1975).

——— *Tortured People: The Politics of Colonization*, Revised Edition
(Penticton: Theytus Books, 1999).

Alfred, G. Taiaiake, *Wasáse :Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom*
(Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

———‘Colonialism and State Dependency’, *Journal of Aboriginal Health*, (2009), pp. 42-60.

———*Peace, Power and Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*, Second Edition (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Allen, Chadwick, *Blood Narrative: Indigenous Identity in American Indian and Maori Literacy and Activist Texts* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002).

Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989).

Baker, Emerance, ‘Locating Ourselves in the Place of Creation: The Academy as Kitsu’lt melkiko’tin’, in Patricia Monture and Patricia McGuire (eds.), *First Voices: An Aboriginal Woman's Reader* (Toronto: Inanna Publications, 2009), pp. 497-506.

Banivanua-Mar, Tracey and Penelope Edmonds, *Making Settler Colonial Space : Perspectives on Race, Place and Identity* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

Bannister, S., *Humane Policy: Justice to the Aborigines of New Settlements* (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1830).

Barbeau, Charles Marius, *Indian Days on the Western Prairies*, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin no. 163. Anthropological Series, no. 46 (Ottawa: Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources, National Museum of Canada, 1960).

Barnes, Jane, *Irish Industrial Schools, 1868-1908: Origins and Development* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1989).

Barron, F. Laurie, ‘The CCF and the Development of Métis Colonies in Southern Saskatchewan During the Premiership of TC Douglas 1944-1961’, *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 10, 2, (1990), pp. 243-270.

Bateman, Fiona and Lionel Pilkington, *Studies in Settler Colonialism : Politics, Identity and Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

Battiste, M. and S. Youngblood Henderson, *Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage* (Saskatoon: Purich Publishers, 2000).

Bennett, John and Susan Rowley, *Uqalurait: An Oral History of Nunavut* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 2004).

Bickham, T. O., *Savages Within the Empire: Representations of American Indians in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Blackstock, Cindy, 'Reconciliation Means not Saying Sorry Twice: Lessons from Child Welfare in Canada', in Marlene Brant Castellano, Linda Archibald and Mike DeGagne (eds.) *From Truth to Reconciliation: Transforming the Legacy of Residential Schools* (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2008), pp. 163-177.

Blackstock, Cindy, 'The Canada Human Rights Tribunal on First Nations Child Welfare: Why if Canada Wins, Equality and Justice Lose', *Children and Youth Services Review*, 33, 1, (2011), pp. 187-194.

Blake, Raymond and Jeffrey Keshen (eds.), *Social Fabric or Patchwork Quilt: The Development of Social Policy in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

Bloxham, Donald, *The Final Solution: A Genocide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Bloxham, Donald and A. Dirk Moses, *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*, Oxford Handbooks (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Bombay, Amy, Lena Ellsworth, Sara Fryer, Tricia Logan, and Gwen Reimer, *The Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement's Common Experience*

Payment and Healing: A Qualitative Study Exploring Impacts on Recipients (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2010).

Bombay, Amy with Kim Matheson and Hymie Anisman, *Origins of Lateral Violence in Aboriginal Communities: A Preliminary Study of Student-to-Student Abuse in Residential Schools* (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2014).

Bombay, Amy, Kim Matheson and Hymie Ainsman, 'The Intergenerational Effects of Indian Residential Schools: Implications for the Concept of Historical Trauma'. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 51, 3, (2014), pp. 320-338.

Bonesteel, Sarah, *Canada's Relationship with Inuit: A History of Policy and Program Development*, Northern and Indian Affairs Canada, *Public History*, (2006).

Bopp, Michael, Judie Bopp and Phil Lane Jr., *Aboriginal Domestic Violence in Canada* (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2003).

Born, P. 'Community Collaboration: A New Conversation', *The Journal of Museum Education; Museums and Relevancy*, 31, 1, (2006), pp. 7-13.

Bothwell, R., *The Penguin History of Canada* (Toronto: Penguin, 2006).

Brant Castellano, Marlene, Linda Archibald and Mike DeGagne, (eds.), *From Truth to Reconciliation: Transforming the Legacy of Residential Schools* (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2008).

Brantlinger, Patrick, *Dark Vanishings: Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Races 1800-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).

Brown, Leslie, and Susan Strega, (eds.), *Research as Resistance: Critical Indigenous and Anti-Oppressive Approaches* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2005).

Brown, Jennifer S. H., and Elizabeth Vibert, *Reading Beyond Words : Contexts for Native History* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1996).

Bryce, P.H, *Report on the Indian Schools of Manitoba and the North West Territories* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1907).

——— *The Story of a National Crime Being an Appeal for Justice to the Indians of Canada* (Ottawa: James Hope and Sons Ltd, 1922).

Cairns, Alan, and Queen's University, *First Nations and the Canadian State : In Search of Coexistence* (Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University, 2005).

Cameron, Michelle, 'Two-Spirited Aboriginal People: Continuing Cultural Appropriation by Non-Aboriginal Society', *Canadian Woman Studies*, 24, 2-3 (2005), pp. 123-127.

Campbell, Maria, *Halfbreed* (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1973).

Canada, *Criminal Code of Canada*, S.C. Section 55.

Carasik, Lauren, 'Canada confronts " cultural genocide" against aboriginal people', Aljazeera America, 16 June, 2015,
<http://america.aljazeera.com/opinions/2015/6/canada-confronts-cultural-genocide-against-aboriginal-people.html> [accessed, 3 March, 2017]

Cardinal, Harold, *The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians* (Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig Ltd., 1969).

Careless, J.M.S. and R.C Brown, *The Canadians, 1867-1967* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1967).

Carter, Sarah, *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens Press, 1990).

Chalk, Frank Robert, and Kurt Jonassohn, *The History and Sociology of Genocide : Analyses and Case Studies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

Chalmers, J.W., *Education Behind the Buckskin Curtain: A History of Native Education in Canada* (Edmonton: 1974).

Chartrand, Larry, Tricia Logan and Judy Daniels, *Métis History and Experience and Residential Schools in Canada* (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2006).

Chrisjohn, Roland, Sherri Young, and Michael Mauran, *The Circle Game: Shadows and Substance in the Indian Residential School Experience in Canada*, Revised Edition ed. (Penticton: Theytus, 2006).

Churchill, Ward, *Kill the Indian, Save the Man: The Genocidal Impact of American Indian Residential Schools* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2004).

Churchill, Ward, *A Little Matter of Genocide: Holocaust and Denial in the Americas 1492 to Present* (San Francisco: City Lights, 1998).

Coan, J. A., L. Beckes and J. P. Allen, 'Childhood Maternal Support and Social Capital Moderate the Regulation Impact of Social Relationships in Adulthood', *International Journal of Psychophysiology*, (in the press).

Coan, J. A., H. S. Schaefer and R. Davidson, 'Lending a Hand: Social Regulation of the Neural Response to Threat', *Journal of Psychological Science*, 17, (2006), pp. 1032–1039.

Codignola, L., 'The Holy See and the Conversion of the Indians in French and British North America, 1486-1760', in K. Kupperman (ed.), *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

Coombes, Annie E., *Rethinking Settler Colonialism : History and Memory in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand and South Africa*, Studies in Imperialism (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).

Crosson-Tower, Cynthia, 'Extrafamilial Sexual Abuse, Misuse and Exploitation', *Understanding Child Abuse and Neglect* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 2005).

Crowley, Rev. Jeremiah J., *The Parochial School: A Curse to the Church a Menace to the Nation An Exposé of the Parochial School- An Appalling Account of Priestly Graft. Immorality and Sacrilege – The Loss of Thirty Million Catholics in the United States Etc. With an Appendix which deals with the Separate or Parochial School in Canada*, (Chicago, 1905).

Cubberly, Ellwood, *A Brief History of Education: A History of the Practice and Progress and Organization of Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1922).

Curthoys, Ann 'Raphael Lemkin's "Tasmania": an Introduction', in A. Dirk Moses and Dan Stone (eds.), *Colonialism and Genocide* (London: Routledge, 2008).

Daly, George Thomas, *Catholic Problems in Western Canada* (Toronto: The MacMillan Company, 1921).

Daschuk, James, *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2013).

Davidson, Lawrence, *Cultural Genocide, Genocide, Political Violence, Human Rights Series* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2012).

Davis, Robert and Mark Zannis, *The Genocide Machine in Canada : The Pacification of the North*, 1st ed. (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1973).

Denzin, Norman K., Yvonna S. Lincoln and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2008).

DePasquale, P.W., "'Worth the Noting": European Ambivalence and Aboriginal Agency in Meta Incognita, 1576-1578', in J. Brown and E. Vibert, (eds.) *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History, 2nd Edition* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2003).

Desai, Gaurav Gajanan and Supriya Nair, *Postcolonialisms : An Anthology of Cultural Theory and Criticism* (Oxford: Berg, 2005).

Dewdney, Selwyn H, *They Shared to Survive : The Native Peoples of Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1975).

Dias, Brian and Kerry Ressler, 'Parental Olfactory Experience Influences Behavior – Neural Structure in Subsequent Generations', *Nature Neuroscience*, 17,1, (2014), pp. 89-96.

Dickason, Olive, *The Myth of the Savage: And the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press. 1984).

Dickason, Olive and David McNabb, *Canada's First Nations*, Fourth ed. (Don Mills: Oxford University Press. 2009).

Dickenson, Greg, Carole Blair and Brian L. Ott, (eds.), *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010).

Dion, S., *Braiding Histories: Learning from Aboriginal Peoples' Experiences Perspectives* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009).

Dixon, J. K., *The Vanishing Race, the Last Great Indian Council* (New York: Doubleday, 1913).

Dyck, Noel, *What is the Indian "Problem": Tutelage and Resistance in Canadian Indian Administration* (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1991).

Edwards, Brendan Frederick R., *Paper Talk : A History of Libraries, Print Culture, and Aboriginal Peoples in Canada Before 1960* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2005).

Emberley, J., 'Epistemic Heterogeneity: Indigenous Storytelling Testimonial Practices, and the Question of Violence in Indian Residential Schools', in

Jennifer Henderson and Pauline Wakeham (eds.) *Reconciling Canada: Critical Perspectives on the Culture of Redress* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), p. 143-158.

Estey, Dick, *Sharing Canada : Getting to Happy Natives in a Happy Country* (Vancouver: Herring Choker Pub,1999).

Evans, Raymond, ‘ “Plenty Shoot ‘Em” The Destruction of Aboriginal Societies Along the Queensland Frontier’, in A. Dirk Moses (ed.), *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004).

Ewart, John S., *The Manitoba School Question* (Toronto: The Copp Clark Company Ltd., 1894).

Fieldhouse, D.K., *The Colonial Empires: A Comparative Survey from the Eighteenth Century, Second Edition* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1982).

Fisher, Donald, Kjell Rubenson, Jean Bernatchez, et. al., *Canadian Federal Policy and Post-Secondary Education* (Vancouver: Centre for Policy Studies in Higher Education and Training, 2006).

Francis, M. ‘The “Civilizing” of Indigenous People in Nineteenth Century Canada, *Journal of World History*’, *Journal of World History* 9, 1, (1998), pp. 51-87.

Fournier Suzanne and Ernie Crey, *Stolen from Our Embrace: The Abduction of First Nations Children and the Restoration of Aboriginal Communities* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1997).

Giberovitch, Myra, *Recovering from Genocidal Trauma: An Information and Practice Guide for Working With Holocaust Survivors* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014).

Granatstein, J. L. *Who Killed Canadian History?* (Toronto: Harper Perennial, 1998).

Goldman, Charles and Rudyard Kipling, *The Empire and the Century: A Series of Essays on Imperial Problems and Possibilities by Various Writers* (London: John Murray, 1905).

Graham, K. and E. Peters, *Aboriginal Communities and Urban Sustainability* (Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks, 2002).

Guerin, Frances and Roger Hallas, (eds.), *The Image and the Witness: Trauma, Memory and Visual Culture* (London: Wallflower Press, 2007).

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

Haig-Brown, Celia, and David A. Nock, *With Good Intentions : Euro-Canadian and Aboriginal Relations in Colonial Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006).

Hall, Anthony, *Earth into Property: Colonization, Decolonization and Capitalism* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 2010).

Harden, Rev. John, *The Book of Common Prayer: Translated to the Language of the Cree Indians of the Diocese of Moosonee* (London: S.P.C.K., 1889).

Hargrave, M.R., 'Changing Settlement Patterns amongst the MacKenzie Eskimos [Inuit] of the Canadian Northwestern Arctic', in William Wonders (ed.), *Canada's Changing North* (Kingston and Montreal: Queen's-McGill Press, 2003), pp. 163-173.

Hinton, Alex, 'The Dark Side of Modernity: Toward an Anthropology of Genocide', in Alex Hinton (ed.), *Annihilating Difference: The Anthropology of Genocide* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 1-42.

Hirsch, Marianne, 'The Generation of Postmemory', *Poetics Today*, 29, 1, (2008), pp. 103-128.

Hubbard, Tasha, 'Buffalo Genocide in Nineteenth Century North America: "Kill, Skin and Sell"', in Andrew Woolford, Jeff Benvenuto and Alex Hinton

(eds.), *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), pp. 292-205.

Huel, Raymond, *Proclaiming the Gospel to the Indians and Métis* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996).

Huseman, Jennifer and Damien Short, ' "A Slow Industrial Genocide": Tar Sands and the Indigenous Peoples of Northern Alberta', *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 16, 1 (2012), pp. 216-37.

Hutchison, B., *Canada: Tomorrow's Giant* (Toronto: Longman's Green, 1957).

Igloliorte, Heather, *We Were So Far Away: The Inuit Experience at Residential School* (Ottawa: Legacy of Hope Foundation, 2011).

Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement [IRSSA]. 2006. Available at: <http://www.residentialschoolsettlement.ca/settlement.html>

Ing, N. Rosalyn, *Dealing with the Shame and Unresolved Trauma: Residential School and its Impact on the 2nd and 3rd Generation Adults*, Educational Studies Thesis (PhD), University of British Columbia, 2000.

Innes, R. ' "I'm on Home Ground Now. I'm Safe": Saskatchewan Aboriginal Veterans in the Immediate Postwar Years, 1945-1946', *The American Indian Quarterly*, 28, 3-4 (2004).

Jenness, Eileen, *The Indian Tribes of Canada* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1933).

Jewczyk, Stephen, 'Davis Inlet: A Community in Crisis', in *Canada's Changing North*, ed. by Wonder (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 2003), pp. 361-363.

Johnson, Stanley, C.A., *A History of Emigration: From the United Kingdom to North America, 1763-1912* (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1966).

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

Jones, Adam, *Gendercide and Genocide*, 1st ed. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004).

——— *Genocide, A Comprehensive Introduction* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis, 2007).

——— *New Directions in Genocide Research* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012).

Kakel III, Carroll P., *Projects of "Space" and "Race" : Imperialism, Colonialism and Genocide in the American West and the Nazi East* (Houndsmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013).

Kiernan, Ben, *Blood and Soil : A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

Kirmayer, Lawrence, 'Wrestling with the Angels of History: Memory, Symptom, and Intervention', in Devon Hinton and Alex Hinton (eds.), *Genocide and Mass Violence: Memory, Symptom and Recovery* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 388-420.

Knight, Ann Cuthbert, *A Year In Canada and Other Poems* (Edinburgh: James Ballantyne & Co., 1816).

Knockwood, Isabelle, *Out of the Depths: The Experiences of Mi'kmaw Children at the Indian Residential School at Shubinacadie, Nova Scotia* (Lockeport: Roseway, 2001).

Kopte, S. and Cynthia Wesley-Esquimaux, 'Metaphorical Reflections on the Colonial Circus of the Drunken Indian and the Kidney Machine', *The First Peoples Child and Family Review*, 4, 1, (2009), pp. 66-79.

Kovach, Margaret, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

LaCapra, Dominick, *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2001).

Lackenbauer, P. Whitney and R. Scott Sheffield, 'Moving Beyond "Forgotten": The Historiography on Canadian Native Peoples and the World Wars.' In Lackenbauer, P. Whitney and Craig Mantle (eds.), *Aboriginal Peoples and Military Participation: Historical Perspectives* (Kingston: CDA Press, 2007).

Ladner, Kiera, 'Political Genocide: Killing Nations Through Legislation and Slow-Moving Poison', in Andrew Woolford, Jeff Benvenuto and Alex Hinton (eds.), *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), pp. 226-245.

Lafontaine, Fannie, *Prosecuting Genocide, Crimes Against Humanity and War Crimes in Canadian Courts* (Toronto: Carswell, 2012).

Lawrence, Bonita, 'Gender, Race and the Recognition of Native Identity in Canada and the United States: An Overview', *Hypatia*, 18, (2003).

Lawson, Tom, *The Church of England and the Holocaust: Christianity, Memory and Nazism* (Martlesham: Boydell & Brewer, 2006).

——— *The Last Man: A British Genocide in Tasmania* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014).

Leacock, Stephen, *The Dawn of Canadian History; Part I, The First European Visitors* (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company, 1922).

Leckman, James, Sarah Hrdy, Eric Keverne and C. Sue Carter, 'A Biobehavioral Model of Attachment and Bonding', in Robert Sternbery and Karin Weis (eds.) *The New Psychology of Love* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

Lee, Philip, and Pradip Ninan Thomas (eds.), *Public Memory, Public Media and the Politics of Justice* (New York: MacMillan, 2012).

Lemkin, Raphael, Ann Curthoys (ed.), 'Tasmania', in A. Dirk Moses and Dan Stone, (eds.), *Colonialism and Genocide* (London: Routledge, 2008).

Lemkin, Raphael, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals of Redress* (Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1944).

Levene, Mark, *The Meaning of Genocide*, Vol. 1 (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005).

——— *The Rise of the West and the Coming of Genocide: Genocide in the Age of the Nation State, Volume II* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005).

Liebreich, Karen, *Fallen Order: A History* (London: Atlantic Books, 2004).

Ljunggren, D., *Every G20 Nation Wants to be Canada, Insists PM*, in Reuters Available from <http://www.reuters.com/article/2009/09/26/columns-us-g20-canada-advantages-idUSTRE58P05Z20090926>. 2009 [cited 2 April 2013].

Logan, Tricia, 'Remembering Settler Colonial Genocide of Indigenous Peoples in Canada', in Nigel Eltringham and Pam MacLean (eds.) *Remembering Genocide*, (New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 112-130.

Lonetree, Amy, and Amanda J. Cobb, (eds.), *The National Museum of the American Indian: Critical Conversations* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008).

MacDonald, David, 'Reconciliation after Genocide in Canada: Towards a Syncretic Model of Democracy', *AlterNative*, 9, 1, (2013), pp. 60-73.

——— 'Canada's History Wars: Indigenous Genocide and Public Memory in the United States, Australia and Canada', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 17, (2015), p. 411-431.

——— 'Five Reasons the TRC Chose Cultural Genocide', *The Globe and Mail*, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/five-reasons-the-trc-chose-cultural-genocide/article25311423/> [accessed 3 March, 2017].

MacDonald, David and Graham Hudson, 'The Genocide Question and Indian Residential Schools in Canada', *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 45, (2012), pp. 427-449.

MacKenzie, John M., *Museums and Empire: Natural History, Human Cultures and Colonial Identities* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

Maclean, John, *Canadian Savage Folk : The Native Tribes of Canada*, Coles Canadiana Collection (Toronto: Coles Pub. Co. 1971, 1896).

Manuel, George, *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality* (Don Mills: Collier Macmillan, 1974).

McCaffery, Augustine, 'What We Know About Native Participation in Higher Education' in Reva Joshee, Lauri Johnson (eds.), *Multicultural Education Policies in Canada and the United States* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), pp. 83-89.

McClintock, Anne, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

McDonnell, M. and A. D. Moses, 'Raphael Lemkin as Historian of Genocide in the Americas', *Journal of Genocide Research* 7, 4, (2005), pp. 501-529.

McIntyre, A., *A Short History of Education: Revised Edition* (Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd., 1926).

McIntyre, W. D., *Colonies into Commonwealth* (London: Blandford Press. 1966).

McLean, John, *The Indians of Canada: Their Manners and Customs* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1892).

McQuaid, R., Amy Bombay, O. McInnis, Kim Matheson and Hymie Anisman, 'Perceived Discrimination and Coping Styles as Mediators of the Relationship Between Childhood Trauma and Depressive Symptoms Among First Nations

Adults in Canada: The Moderating Role of Unsupportive Social Interactions from Outgroup and Ingroup Members', *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 21 (2015), pp. 326-336.

Miller, Donald and Lorna Miller, *Survivors: An Oral History of the Armenian Genocide* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

Miller, J.R., Review of Andrew Woolford, Jeff Benvenuto and Alexander Hinton, *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America* and Andrew Woolford, 'This Benevolent Experiment', *BC Studies*, (2016).

Miller, J. R., *Shingwauk's Vision : A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

——— *Reflections on Native-Newcomer Relations: Selected Essays* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

Milloy, J. S., *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999).

Momaday, N. Scott, *House Made of Dawn* (New York: HarperCollins, 1968).

Monture-Angus, Patricia, *Journeying Forward : Dreaming First Nations' Independence* (Halifax: Fernwood, 1999).

Monture, Patricia, and Patricia McGuire, (eds.) *First Voices: An Aboriginal Women's Reader* (Toronto: Inanna Publications, 2009).

Monture-Angus, Patricia and Mary Ellen Turpel, *Thunder in My Soul : A Mohawk Woman Speaks* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1995).

Morris, A., *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians* (Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1880).

Mosby, Ian, 'Administering Colonial Science: Nutrition Research and Human Biomedical Experimentation in Aboriginal Communities and Residential Schools 1942-1952', *Social History*, 46, 91, (2013), pp. 145-172.

Moses, A. Dirk., 'Conceptual Blockages and Definitional Dilemmas in the "Racial Century": Genocides of Indigenous Peoples and the Holocaust', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 36, 4, (2002), pp. 7-36.

———*Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005).

———*Empire, Colony, Genocide : Conquest, Occupation, and Subaltern Resistance in World History* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008).

———'Moving the Genocide Debate Beyond the History Wars', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 54, 2, (2008), pp. 248-270.

———'Revisiting a Founding Assumption of Genocide Studies', *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, 6, 3, (2011), pp. 287-300.

———'The Canadian Museum for Human Rights and the "Uniqueness of the Holocaust" and the Question of Genocide', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 14, 2, (2012), pp. 214-238.

Moses, A. Dirk and Dan Stone, (eds.), *Colonialism and Genocide* (London: Routledge, 2008).

Moses, Daniel David and Terry Goldie, *An Anthology of Canadian Native Literature in English*. 2nd ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Moshman, David, 'Conceptions of Genocide and Perceptions of History', in Dan Stone (ed.), *The Historiography of Genocide* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), pp. 71-91.

Naka, F. Robert and William Ward, 'Distant Early Warning Line Radars: The Quest for Automatic Signal Detection', *Lincoln Laboratory Journal*, 12, (2000), pp 181-204.

National Defence Canada, *Aboriginal People in the Canadian Military*, Chapter Five, the World Wars, <http://www.cmp-cpm.forces.gc.ca/dhh-dhp/pub/boo-bro/abo-aut/chapter-chapitre-05-eng.asp> [Accessed 29 May 2015]

Neu, Dean and Richard Therrien, *Accounting for Genocide: Canada's Bureaucratic Assault on Aboriginal People* (Winnipeg: Fernwood, 2003).

Norton, Right Hon. Lord, *A Consolidation of the Acts Relating to Reformatory and Industrial Schools*, Extract from: *Proceedings of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science*, Vol. XIV, 1880-1881 and see also, *The Works and Plans of the Association of Negro Industrial and Secondary Schools*, Organized in New York City, April 1913.

Ordahl Kupperman, Karen, (ed.) *America in European Consciousness 1493-1750* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

Powell, Christopher, *Barbaric Civilization: A Critical Sociology of Genocide* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's, 2011).

Price, John A., *Indians of Canada : Cultural Dynamics* (Scarborough, Ont: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1979).

Puzic, Sonja 'Residential Schools amounted to cultural genocide TRC report says', CTV News, 2 June 2015, <http://www.ctvnews.ca/canada/residential-schools-amounted-to-cultural-genocide-trc-report-says-1.2402093> [Accessed 3 March 2017].

Read, G. and T. Webb. "'The Catholic Mahdi of the North West": Louis Riel and the Métis Resistance in Transatlantic and Imperial Context', *The Canadian Historical Review*, 93, 2, (2012), pp. 171-195.

Regan, Paulette, *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling and Reconciliation in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010).

Reisner, Edward, *Nationalism and Education Since 1789: A Social And Political History of Modern Education* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1925).

Reynolds, Henry, *An Indelible Stain? : The Question of Genocide in Australia's History* (Ringwood, Vic.: Viking, 2001).

Ritchie, John, *Among the Red Indians: Or The Triumphs of the Gospel in the Land of the Wigwam and Tomahawk* (Kilmarnock: John Ritchie, Publisher, 1900).

Rothberg, Michael, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009).

Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, in *For Seven Generations: An Information Legacy of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (Ottawa: Libraxus, 1997).

Russell, A. C., *Colour, Race and Empire* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1944).

Said, Edward, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993).

Samson, Colin, 'Dispossession and Canadian Land Claims: Genocidal Implications of the Innu Nation Land Claim', in Andrew Woolford, Jeff Benvenuto and Alex Hinton(eds.), *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), pp. 246-270.

Satzewich, Victor, 'Indian Agents and the "Indian Problem" in Canada in 1946: Reconsidering the Theory of Coercive Tutelage', *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 17, 1, (1997), pp. 227-257.

Saul, John Ralston, 'Reconciliation: Four Barriers to Paradigm Shifting', in Greg Younging, Jonathan Dewar and Mike DeGagne (eds.), *Response, Responsibility and Renewal: Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Journey* (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2009), pp. 311-313.

Schissel, Bernard and Terry Wotherspoon, *The Legacy of School for Aboriginal People: Education, Oppression and Emancipation* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Scott, James, *Decoding Subaltern Politics: Ideology, Disguise and Resistance in Agrarian Politics* (London: Routledge, 2012).

Sheffield, R. Scott, *The Red Man's on the Warpath: The Image of the "Indian" and the Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004).

Shewell, Hugh, *'Enough to Keep them Alive: Indian Welfare in Canada, 1873 - 1965* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

Short, Damien, 'Australia: A Continuing Genocide?', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 12, 1-2, (2010), pp. 45-68.

———'Burying Genocide: Official Remembrance and Reconciliation in Australia', in Nigel Eltringham and Pam MacLean (eds.), *Remembering Genocide: Remembering the Modern World* (London: Routledge, 2014).

Simon, Roger I., 'The Touch of the Past: The Pedagogical Significance of a Transactional Sphere of Public Memory', in *The Touch of the Past: Remembrance, Learning and Ethics.*, Roger I. Simon (ed.) (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005).

———*The Touch of the Past: Remembrance, Learning and Ethics* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005).

Simon, Judith A and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *A Civilising Mission? : Perceptions and Representations of the Native Schools System* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001).

Sinclair, Raven, 'Identity Lost and Found: Lessons from the Sixties Scoop', *First Peoples Child and Family Review*, 3, 1, (2007), pp. 65-82.

Smith, Derek, 'The Policy of Aggressive Civilization and the Projects of Governance in Roman Catholic Industrial Schools for Native Peoples in Canada, 1870-95', *Anthropologica* XLIII, (2001), pp. 253-271.

Smith, Paul Chaat, 'Critical Reflections on the Our Peoples Exhibit', in Amy Lonetree, Amanda J. Cobb. (eds.), *The National Museum of the American Indian: Critical Conversations* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008).

Smith, Keith, *Strange Visitors: Documents in Indigenous-Settler Relations in Canada from 1876* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014).

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai, *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples*. 2nd ed. (London: Zed Books, 2012).

Smith, Thornley, *South Africa Delineated: On Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of its Tribes and Missions and of the British Colonies of Cape and Port Natal* (London: John Mason, 1850).

Starzyk, Katherine B., Craig W. Blatz and Michael Ross, 'Addressing and Acknowledging Historical Injustices', in J. T. Jost, A. C. Kay and H. Thorisdottier (eds.), *Social and Psychological Bases of Ideology and System Justification* (Boston: Blackwell, 2007).

Stock, Eugene, *The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work*, Volume I (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899).

Stone, Dan, *History, Memory and Mass Atrocity: Essays on the Holocaust and Genocide* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2006).

——— (ed.) *The Historiography of Genocide* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010).

——— (ed.) *The Holocaust and Historical Methodology* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012).

Stonechild, Blair, *The New Buffalo: The Struggle for Aboriginal Post-Secondary Education in Canada* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2006).

Swankey, Ben, *National Identity or Cultural Genocide : A Reply to Ottawa's New Indian Policy* (Toronto: Progress Books, 1970).

Tafoya, Terry, 'Finding Harmony: Balancing Traditional Values with Western Science in Therapy', *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 21, (1995), pp. 7-27.

Tamanna, Sadeka, Jefferson D. Parker, Judith Lyons and M. I. Ullah, 'The Effect of Continuous Positive Air Pressure (CPAP) on Nightmares in Patients with Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and Obstructive Sleep Apnea (OSA)', *Journal of Clinical Sleep Medicine*, 10, 6, (2014), pp. 631-636.

Tang, Walfred, Sabine Dietmann, Naoko Irie, Harry Leitch, Floros Vasileios, Charles Bradshaw, Jamie Hackett, Patrick Chinnery and M. Azim Surami, 'A Unique Gene Regulatory Network Resets the Human Germline Epigenome for Development', *Cell*, 161, (2015), pp. 1453-1467.

Tatz, Colin Martin, *With Intent to Destroy : Reflecting on Genocide* (London; New York: Verso, 2003).

Thatcher, R., *Fighting Firewater Fictions: Moving Beyond the Disease Model of Alcoholism in First Nations* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

Thielen-Wilson, Leslie, *White Terror, Canada's Indian Residential Schools and the Colonial Present: From Law Towards a Pedagogy of Recognition*, PhD Thesis, Department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, (University of Toronto, 2012).

Trevithick, S., 'Native Residential Schooling in Canada: A Review of Literature', *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, Volume XVIII, (Brandon: Brandon University Press, 1998), pp. 49-86.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *Interim report*, 2012.

http://www.attendancemarketing.com/~attmk/TRC_jd/Interim%20report%20English%20electronic%20copy.pdf

Truth and Reconciliation Commission Canada, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and*

Reconciliation of Canada (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015).

Truth and Reconciliation Commission Canada, *History, Part 1- Origins to 1939, Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Volume 1* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015).

Truth and Reconciliation Commission Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools: Missing Children and Unmarked Burials, Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Volume 4* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015).

Truth and Reconciliation Commission Canada, *The Legacy, Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Volume 5* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015).

Truth and Reconciliation Commission Canada. *The Survivors Speak, Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015)

Veracini, L., *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010).

Vizenor, Gerald, *Native Liberty: Natural Reason and Cultural Survivance* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008).

Wakeham, P., 'Performing Reconciliation at the National Museum of the American Indian: Postcolonial Rapprochement and the Politics of Historical Closure' in Amy Lonetree and Amanda Cobb (eds.), *The National Museum of the American Indian: Critical Conversations* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), pp. 353-383.

Wallimann, Isidor, Michael N. Dobkowski and Richard L. Rubenstein, *Genocide and the Modern Age : Etiology and Case Studies of Mass Death* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1998).

Waxman, Zoë, *Writing the Holocaust: Identity, Testimony, Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Werth, Nicolas, 'The Crimes of the Stalinist Regime', in Dan Stone (ed.), *The Historiography of Genocide* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), pp. 400-418.

Wesley-Esquimaux, Cynthia and Magdalena Smolewski, *Historic Trauma and Aboriginal Healing* (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2004).

Wolfe, Patrick, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event*, Writing Past Colonialism Series, (London: Cassell, 1998).

——— 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8, 4, (2006), pp. 387-409.

Woodcock, George, *A Social History of Canada* (Markham: Penguin Books, 1988).

Woolford, Andrew, 'Ontological Destruction: Genocide and Canadian Aboriginal Peoples', *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 4, 1, (2009), pp. 81-97.

——— 'Nodal Repair and Networks of Destruction: Residential Schools, Colonial Genocide and Redress in Canada', *Settler Colonial Studies*, 3, 1, (2013), pp. 65-81.

——— *"This Benevolent Experiment": Indigenous Boarding Schools, Genocide and Redress in North America* (Lincoln & Winnipeg: University of Nebraska Press & University of Manitoba Press, 2015).

Woolford, Andrew, Jeff Benvenuto and Alex Hinton (eds.), *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

Woolford, Andrew and Jasmine Thomas, 'Genocide of Canadian First Nations' in S. Totten and R. Hitchcock (eds.) *Genocide of Indigenous Peoples, Genocide:*

A Critical Bibliographic Review, Volume 8 (London: Transaction Publishers, 2011).

X, Dr. Jacobus, 'Experiences of Flagellation: A Series of Remarkable Instances of Whipping Inflicted on Both Sexes: Compiled by An Amateur Flagellant', *Discipline in School & Cloister* (Paris: C. Unsinger, 1902).

Yehuda, Rachel, Nikolaos Daskalakis, Linda Bierer, Heather Bader, Torsten Klengel, Florian Holsboer and Elisabeth Binder, 'Holocaust Exposure Induced Intergenerational Effects on FKBP5', *Biological Psychiatry*, 2015 (In Press).

Younging, Greg, Jonathan Dewar, and Mike DeGagne, (eds.), *Response, Responsibility and Renewal: Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Journey* (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2009).

Zimmerer, Jurgen, 'Colonialism and the Holocaust: Towards an Archeology of Genocide', in A. Dirk Moses (ed.) *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004).

Appendix A**Father Albert Lacombe's Catholic Ladder**

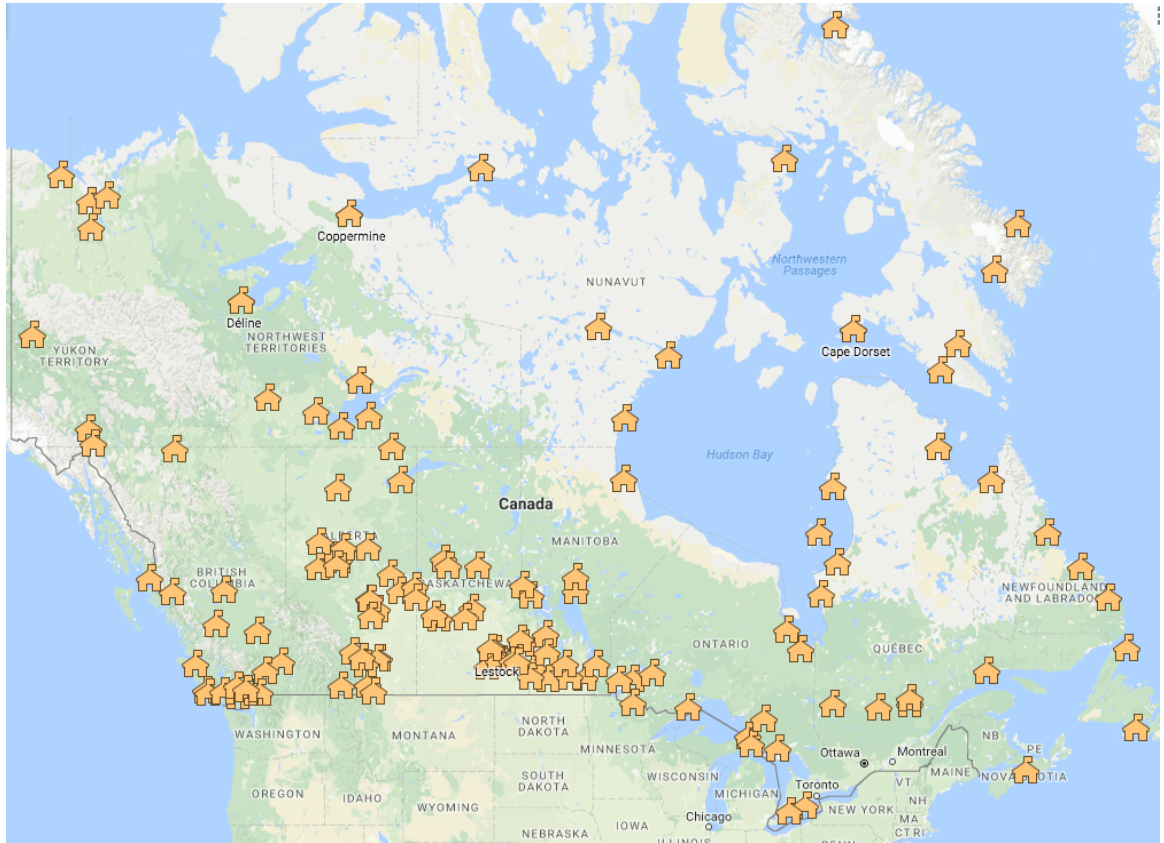
This ladder depicts the two paths towards heaven and hell. The path to hell features the seven deadly sins and depictions of savages and heathens.

These posters were adapted for lessons at Indian residential schools and copies were produced by the Department of Agriculture, Canada

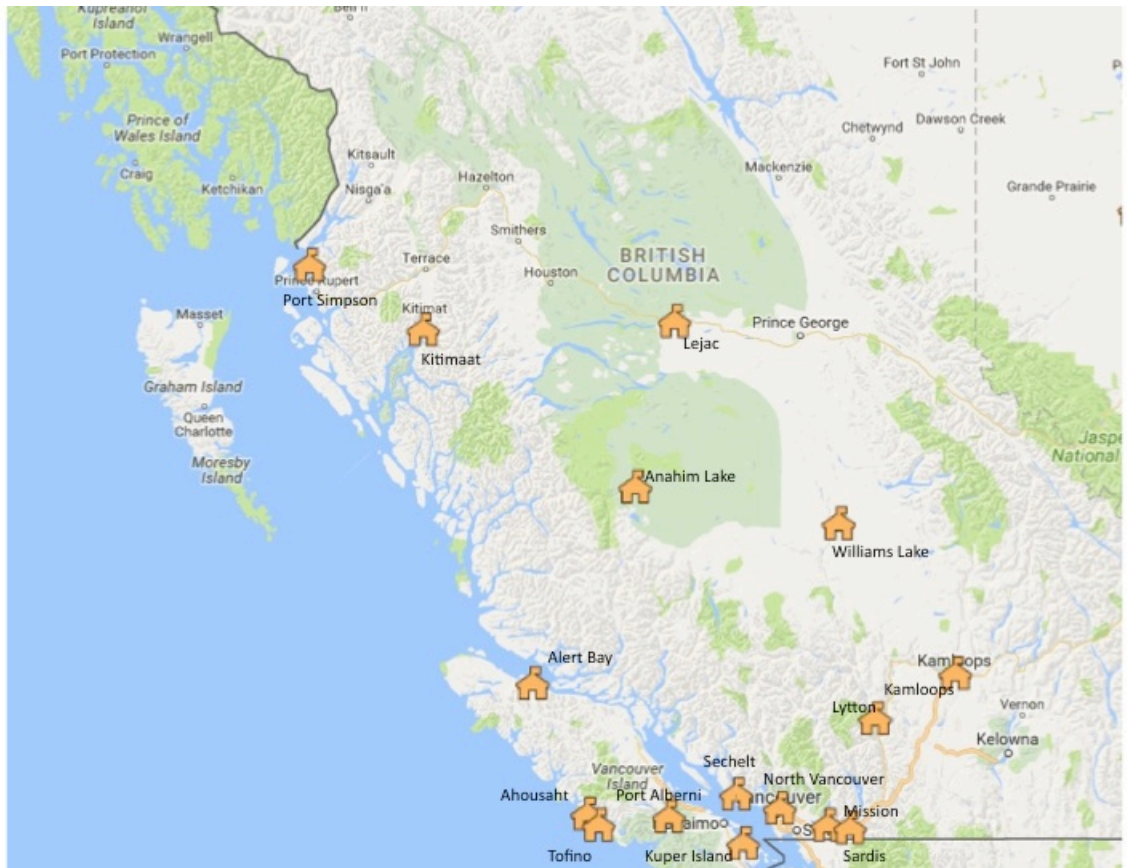
Father Albert Lacombe, OMI, 1874

Appendix B Maps of Indian Residential Schools in Canada

Canada



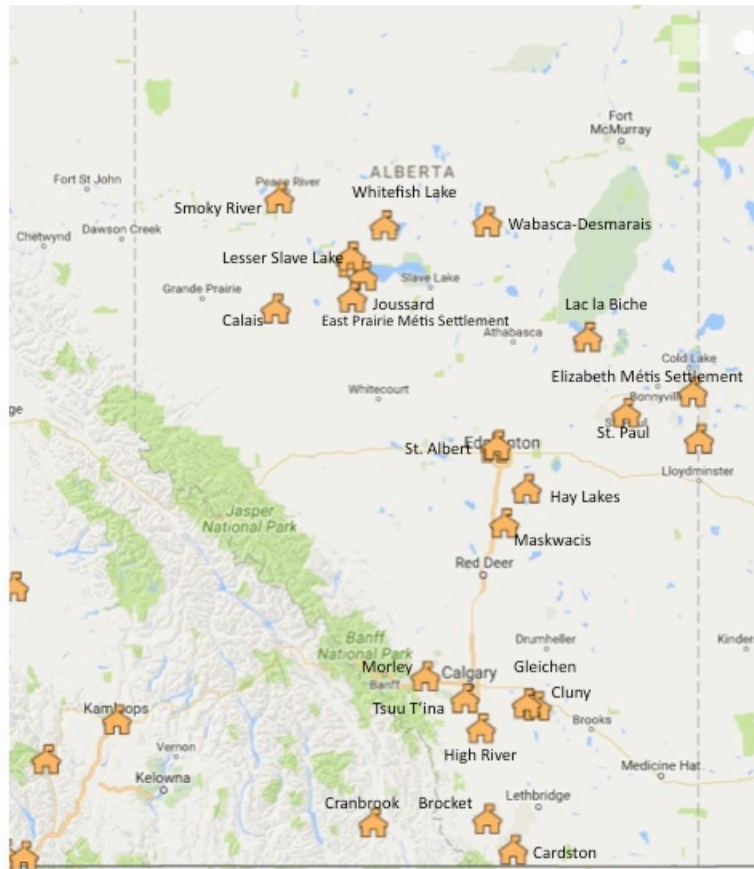
British Columbia



Location	School Name(s)	Denomination
Ahousat	Ahousat	Presbyterian
Alert Bay	St. Michael's	Anglican
Anahim Lake	Anahim Lake Dormitory	Non-Denominational
Kamloops	Kamloops	Roman Catholic
Kitimaat	Kitimaat	Methodist
Kuper Island	Kuper Island	Roman Catholic
Lejac (Fraser Lake)	Lejac	Roman Catholic
Lytton	St. George's	Anglican
Metlakatla	Metlakatla	Church of England (other)
Mission	St. Mary's (Mission)	Roman Catholic
North Vancouver	St. Paul's (Squamish)	Roman Catholic
Port Alberni	Alberni	United
Port Simpson	Port Simpson (Crosby Home for Girls & Boys)	Methodist

Sardis/Chilliwack	Coqualeetza Presbyterian and Coqualeetza	Roman Catholic
Sechelt	Sechelt	Roman Catholic
Tofino	Christie (Clayquot, Kakawis)	Roman Catholic
Williams Lake	Cariboo, St. Joseph's	Roman Catholic

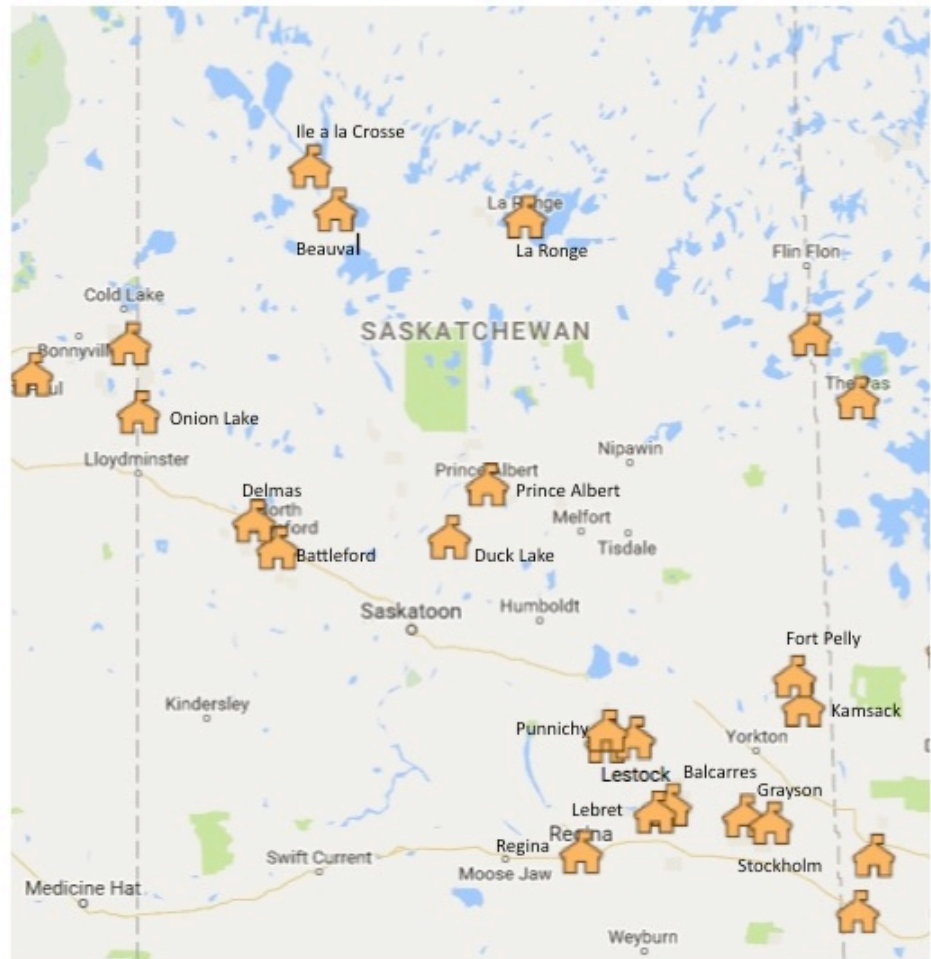
Alberta



Location	School	Denomination
Brocket	Peigan	Anglican
Calais	St. Francis Xavier	Roman Catholic
Cardston	St. Paul's	Anglican
Cluny	Crowfoot	Roman Catholic
Cranbrook (British Columbia)	St. Eugene's, Kootenay	Roman Catholic
East Prairie Métis Settlement	East Prairie School	Roman Catholic
Edmonton	St. Albert	Methodist
Elizabeth Métis Settlement	Elizabeth School	Roman Catholic
Fort Chipewyan	Holy Angels	Roman Catholic
Fort Vermillion	St. Henri	Roman Catholic
Gleichen	Old Sun	Anglican
Grouard	St. Bernard	Roman Catholic
Hay Lakes	Assumption	Roman Catholic

High River	Dunbow-St.Joseph's	Roman Catholic
Hobbema	Ermineskin	Roman Catholic
Joussard	St. Bruno	Roman Catholic
Lac La Biche	Blue Quills	Roman Catholic
Lesser Slave Lake	St. Peter's	Anglican
Morley	Morley-MacDougall	Methodist
Smoky River	St. Augustine	Roman Catholic
St. Paul's	Blue Quills	Roman Catholic
Tsuu T'ina	Sarcee/St. Barnabas	Anglican
Wabasca-Desmarais	St. John's/St. Martin	Anglican/RC
Whitefish Lake	St. Andrew's	Anglican

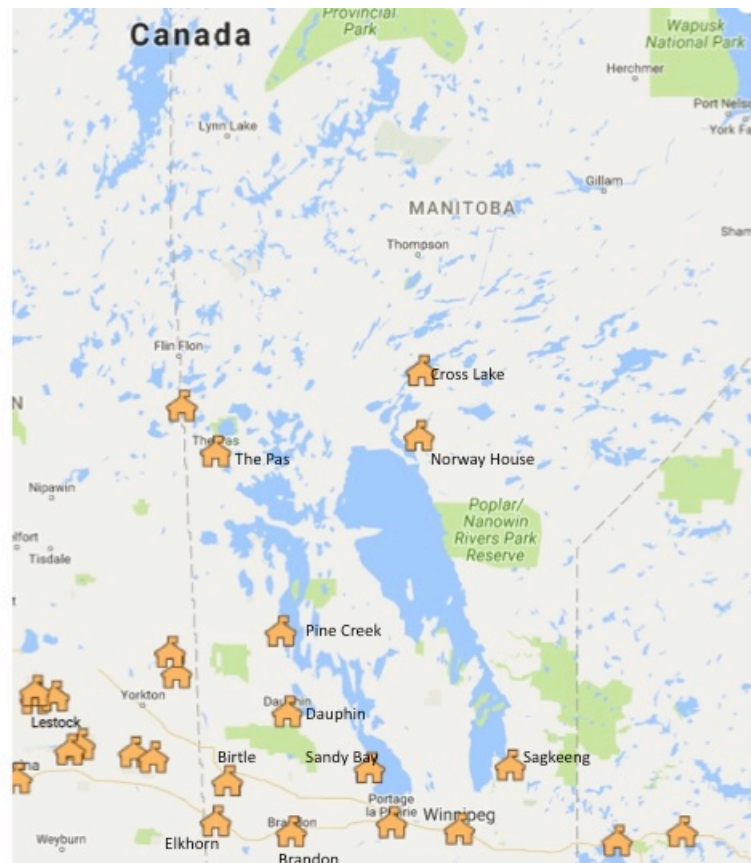
Saskatchewan



Location	School	Denomination
Balcarres	File Hills	Methodist
Battleford	Battleford	Roman Catholic
Beauval	Beauval	Roman Catholic
Delmas	Thunderchild	Roman Catholic
Duck Lake	St. Michael's	Roman Catholic
Fort Pelly	Fort Pelly	Roman Catholic
Grayson	Cowessess-Marival	Roman Catholic
Île à la Crosse	Île à la Crosse	Roman Catholic
Kamsack	Keeseekoose- St. Phillip's	Roman Catholic
La Ronge	Lac La Ronge Mission School	Anglican
Lebret	Qu'Appelle	Roman Catholic

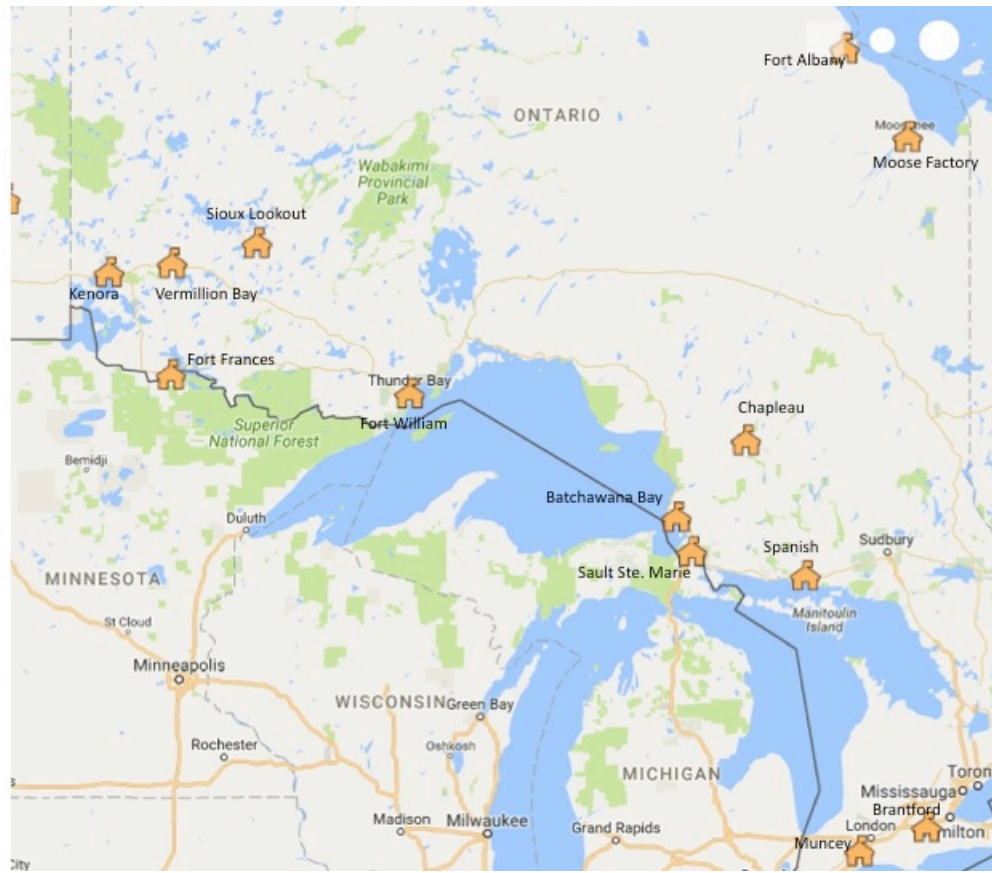
Lestock	Muscowegan	Roman Catholic
Onion Lake	St. Anthony's	Roman Catholic
Onion Lake	St. Barnabas	Anglican
Prince Albert	St. Alban's & All Saints	Anglican
Regina	Regina	Presbyterian
Punnichy	Gordon	Anglican
Stockholm	Round Lake	Methodist
Sturgeon Landing	Guy Hill	Roman Catholic

Manitoba



Location	School	Denomination
Birtle	Birtle	Presbyterian
Brandon	Brandon	Methodist/United
Camperville/Pine Creek	Pine Creek	Roman Catholic
Churchill	Churchill Vocational Centre	
Cross Lake	Cross Lake	Roman Catholic
Dauphin	Mackay	Anglican
Elkhorn	Washakada	Anglican
Marius-Sandy Bay	Sandy Bay	Roman Catholic
Norway House	Norway House	Methodist
Portage la Prairie	Portage La Prairie	Methodist/Presbyterian
Sagkeeng/Fort Alexander	Fort Alexander	Roman Catholic
The Pas	Guy Hill	Roman Catholic
Winnipeg	Assiniboia	Roman Catholic

Ontario



Location	School	Denomination
Batchawana Bay	Batchawana Bay	Other
Brantford	Mohawk Institute	Anglican
Chapleau	St. John's/Chapleau	Anglican
Fort Albany	St. Anne's	Roman Catholic
Fort Frances	St. Margaret's	Roman Catholic
Fort William (Thunder Bay)	St. Joseph's	Roman Catholic
Kenora	Cecila Jeffery	Presbyterian
Kenora	McIntosh	Roman Catholic
Moose Factory	Bishop Horden	Anglican
Munceytown	Mount Elgin	Methodist
Sault Ste. Marie	Shingwauk	Anglican
Sioux Lookout	Sioux Lookout/Pelican Lake	Anglican

Spanish

Spanish

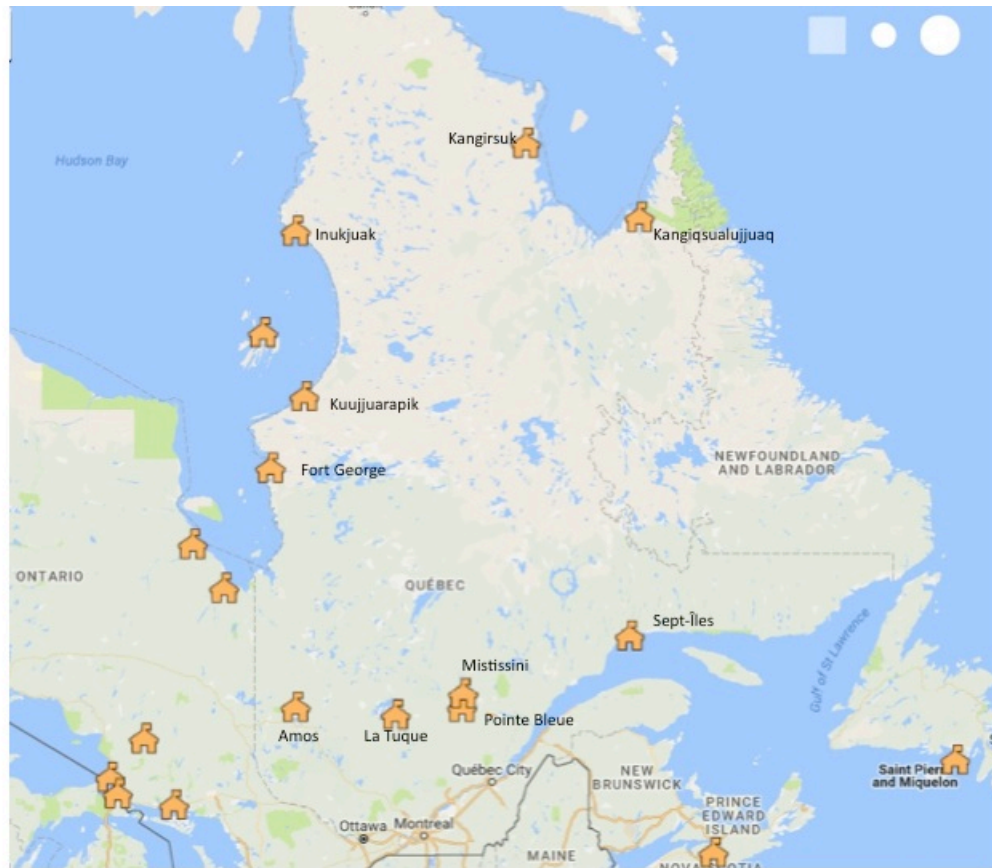
Roman Catholic

Vermilion Bay

McIntosh

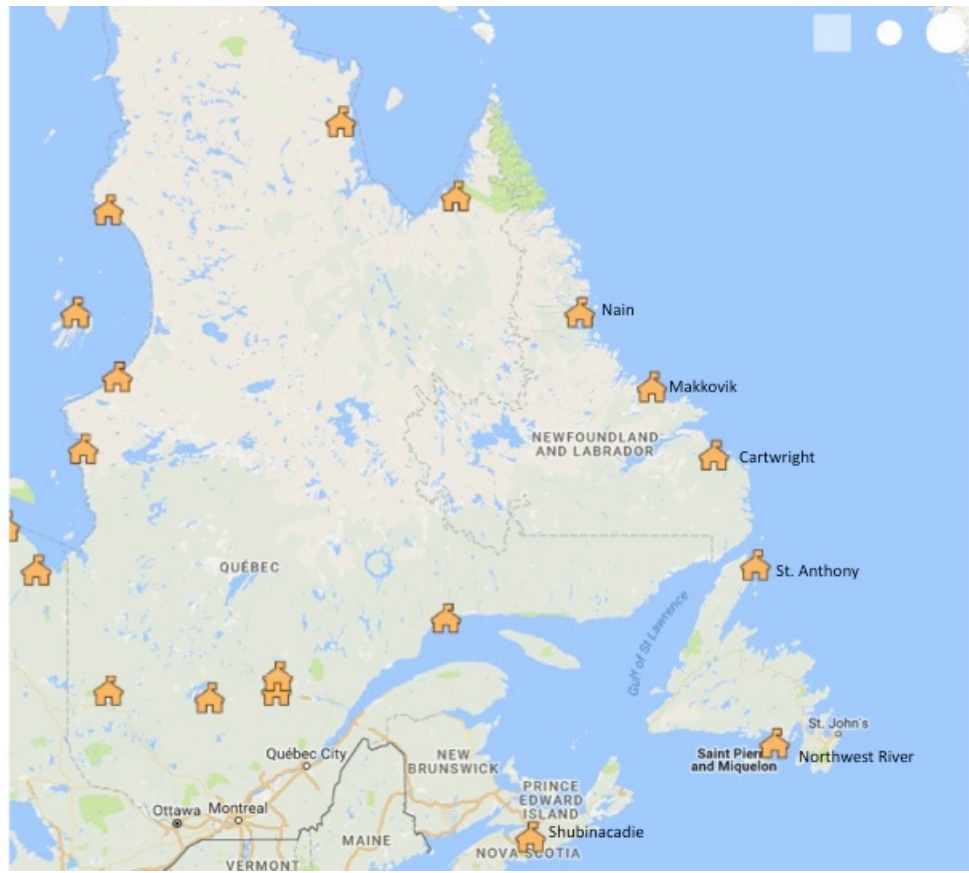
Roman Catholic

Québec



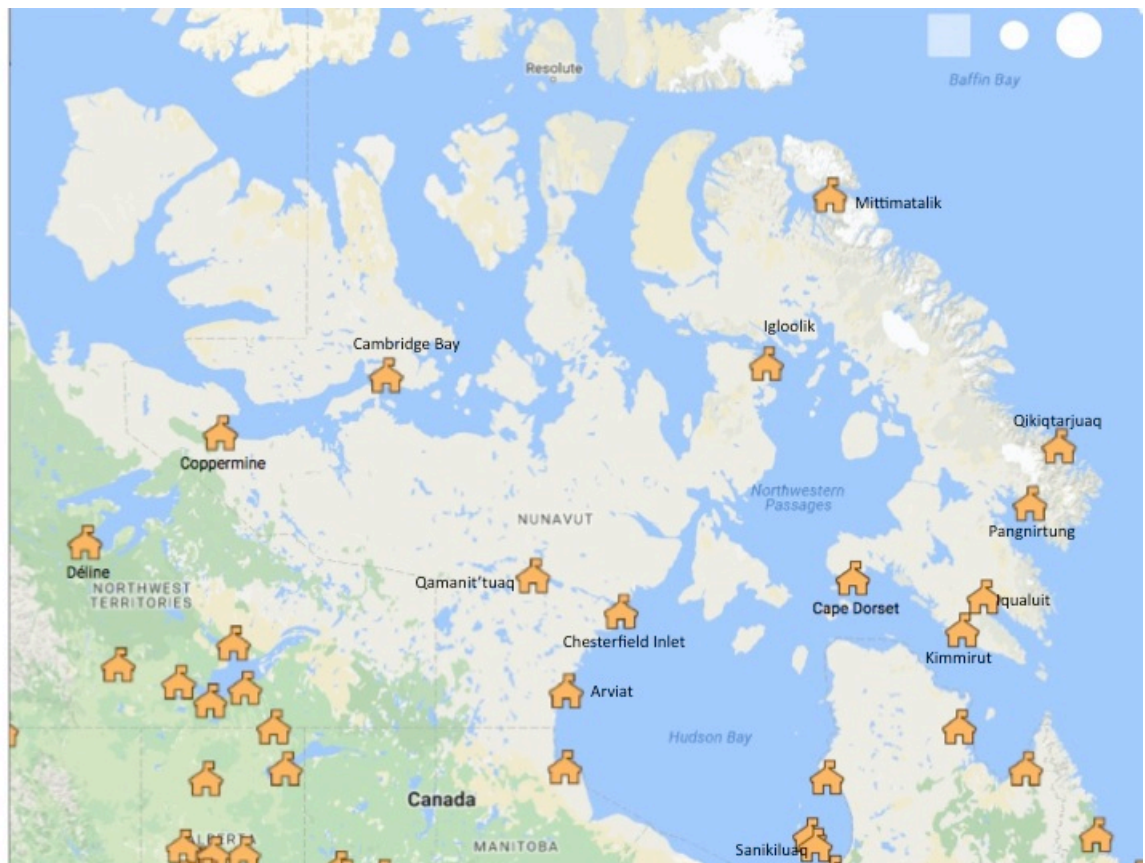
Location	School	Denomination
Amos	St. Marc's	Roman Catholic
Fort George	Fort George	Non-Denominational
Inukjuak	Fort Harrison	Non-Denominational
Kangirsualujuaq	George River	Non-Denominational
Kangirsuk	Payne Bay	Non-Denominational
Kuujuaapik	Great Whale River	Non-Denominational
La Tuque	La Tuque	Anglican
Mistissini	Mistissini Hostels	Non-Denominational
Pointe Bleue	Point Bleue	Roman Catholic
Sept-Îles	Sept-Îles	Roman Catholic

Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Labrador



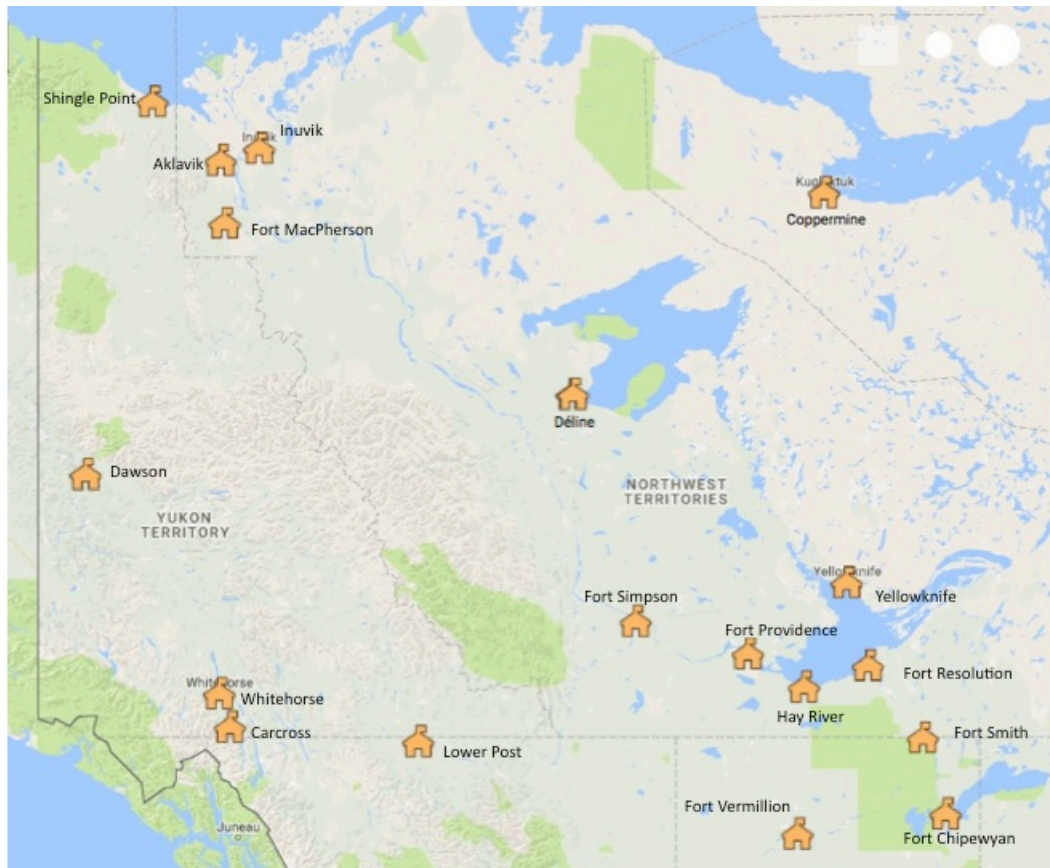
Location	School	Denomination
Nova Scotia		
Shubinacadie	Shubinacadie	Roman Catholic
Newfoundland and Labrador		
Northwest River	Yale School	Moravian
Cartwright	Lockwood School	Inter-Denominational
Makkovik	Makkovik School	Inter-Denominational
Nain	Nain	Moravian
St. Anthony	St. Anthony's Orphanage	Inter-Denominational

Nunavut



Location	School/Tent Hostel	Denomination
Arviat	Federal Hostel Arviat/Eskimo Point	Non-Denominational
Cambridge Bay	Federal Hostel, Cambridge Bay	Non-Denominational
Chesterfield Inlet	Chesterfield Inlet, Turquetil	Roman Catholic
Coppermine	Federal Hostel, Coppermine	Anglican
Igloolik	Federal Hostel, Igloolik	Non-Denominational
Iqualuit	Federal Hostel, Frobisher Bay	Non-Denominational
Kimmirut (Lake Harbour)	Federal Hostel, Lake Harbour	Non-Denominational
Kinngait (Cape Dorset)	Federal Hostel Cape Dorset	Non-Denominational
Mittimatalik (Pond Inlet)	Federal Hostel Pond Inlet	Non-Denominational
Pangnirtung	Federal Hostel Pangnirtung	Non-Denominational
Qamanit'tuaq (Baker Lake)	Federal Hostel, Baker Lake	Non-Denominational
Qikiqtarjuaq	Federal Hostel Broughton Island	Non-Denominational
Sanikiluaq	Federal Hostel, Belcher Islands	Non-Denominational

Yukon, Northwest Territories, Northern BC and Northern Alberta



Location	School	Denomination
British Columbia		
Lower Post	Lower Post	Roman Catholic
Alberta		
Fort Chipewyan	Holy Angels	Roman Catholic
Fort Vermillion	St. Henri, Fort Vermillion	Roman Catholic
Yukon		
Carcross	Chooutla	Anglican
Dawson	St. Paul's	Anglican
Shingle Point	All Saints (moved to Aklavik)	Anglican
Whitehorse	Baptist Mission	Baptist
Whitehorse	Courdert Hall, Yukon Hall	Anglican

Northwest Territories

Aklavik	Aklavik	Roman Catholic
Déline- Fort Franklin	Federal Hostel	Non-Denominational
Fort MacPherson	Fleming Hall	Non-Denominational
Fort Providence	Fort Providence Sacred Heart	Roman Catholic
Fort Resolution	Fort Resolution	Roman Catholic
Fort Simpson	Lapointe Hall, Bompas Hall	Roman Catholic
Fort Smith	Breynat Hall	Roman Catholic
Hay River	St. Peter's	Anglican
Inuvik	Aklavik	Roman Catholic
Yellowknife	Yellowknife, Akaitcho Hall	Roman Catholic