

ATTENDANCE AT INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS
IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1890-1920

by

JAMES W. REDFORD

B.A., University of British Columbia, 1975

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

Department of History

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

September, 1978

© James W. Redford, 1978

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study.

I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of History

The University of British Columbia
2075 Wesbrook Place
Vancouver, Canada
V6T 1W5

Date 2 October 1978

ABSTRACT

In the late nineteenth century, middle class Canadian reformers tried to use education to change the values and rhythms of working class, immigrant, and Indian children. They used boarding schools, however, only in the case of Indians. Educators expected boardingsschoolsttô give them complete control over the environment of their pupils, thus making it possible to rear a generation of culturally and occupationally assimilated Indians. They did not expect their efforts to be blunted or reshaped by existing Indian rhythms. Because Indians were outnumbered, and because their culture was under attack from many directions, historians too have generally assumed that native rhythms had a negligible impact on residential education. Most accounts of the schools portray them as either assisting or victimizing a decimated and essentially helpless minority.

This thesis uses Government reports, school records, correspondence, and oral accounts to investigate the way educators and Indians made attendance decisions. It shows that Indians played a vital role in deciding whether children went to residential school; which children went; at what ages they enrolled; how long they stayed; and how much contact they retained with their families and culture while in attendance. It clarifies some of the emotional, economic, and cultural needs which conditioned Indians' attendance decisions.

By examining how existing native patterns of life modified a very determined campaign to control and alter Indian society, the thesis

hopefully sheds light as well on the gradual, adaptive, and fluid process of "directed" cultural change. Residential schools were not simply an "imposed" social experience, but a mutual and changing relationship shaped by Indians as well as whites.

CONTENTS

Chapter

I. EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE: BOARDING SCHOOLS FOR INDIANS	1
II. INDIAN FAMILIES AND ENROLLMENT: POWER TO REFUSE	15
III. APPLICATION AND RECRUITMENT: THE PROCESS OF SELECTION	26
IV. THE SCHOOL REGIMEN AND TRUANCY: POWER TO COMPEL	47
V. FRAGMENTATION OF FAMILIES: EXTENT AND DURATION	62
VI. EPILOGUE	72
.	
ABBREVIATIONS %	75
NOTES	76
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE	95
SOURCES CONSULTED	97

TABLES

I. Coqualeetza Industrial Institute: Origins of Pupils by Linguistic Groups	34
II. Ages at Admission	43
III. Lengths of Enrollment	69

MAPS

1. Residential Schools, 1890-1920	13
---	----

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express special thanks to my advisor, Michael Ignatieff, for suggesting the topic, and for raising many of the questions I have tried to answer.

CHAPTER I

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE: BOARDING

SCHOOLS FOR INDIANS

"Education," wrote the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in 1876, "is the primary vehicle in the civilization and advancement of the Indian Race--without it but little progress in that direction may be expected."¹ Government and church officials believed they could prevent the extinction of Canada's native population only if they invested its rising generation with the values and rhythms of an ideal, industrialized working class. From the mid-nineteenth century, churches began conducting day schools in the Indian villages of British Columbia, but, almost without exception, failed to induce native parents to send their children to class on a regular basis. In an effort to overcome attendance problems, and create an acculturative environment more intense than day schools, Government and churches undertook jointly, between 1890 and 1920, to introduce and perfect a system of boarding schools in British Columbia.

While white educators regarded the Indian as "a blank sheet of paper, culturally speaking, who was to be written upon with European culture,"² it is now evident that he was not the passive recipient of imposed culture. Existing social, economic, and cultural patterns conditioned Indian response to white educative efforts. Yet, perhaps because only white administrators left documentary records, their assumptions continue to permeate most historical writing. Historians have

shown little interest in explaining Indian reaction as a significant aspect of residential school history. Thus H. J. Vallery's early, Whiggish account of Indian schooling is concerned essentially with statutory and administrative developments. The educational program initially encountered some opposition from primitive Indians, who, "having little foresight," clung to their pernicious customs; but once they recognized "the futility" of such a course, "education was used very extensively to assist the Indians change their method of living."³ A pair of recent writers have demonstrated deep sympathy for the Indian culture and have succeeded in shifting attention from administrative to social issues. But in illuminating one aspect of the schools' attack on native culture, Robert Levine and Freda Cooper have contributed little to our understanding of how Indian rhythms conditioned the school experience.⁴ In fact, by emphasizing the victimization of Indians, they have reinforced the tendency to see "white subjects and red objects."⁵ To date, the only study to attempt to focus the still "blurred and undifferentiated features"⁶ of Indian pupils is Jacqueline Gresko's analysis of the Qu'Appelle School in the Northwest Territories.⁷ A history of Indian education in British Columbia must, therefore, describe and explain not just the policies of white educators, but also the reaction of Indians: only then will the complete picture begin to emerge.

Examining attendance patterns should illuminate not only how officials attempted to direct acculturation through education, but also how Indians responded to their efforts. Jacqueline Gresko has lamented that while an attendance study would be the best means of assessing the social relationship and experience which residential schools produced, adequate records "are difficult to find or to establish."⁸ Fortunately, the

Department of Indian Affairs required detailed reports from its agents, superintendents, principals, and school inspectors. Combined with letters, diaries, autobiographies, and oral histories, they provide a multitude of impressionistic insights. Fortuitously preserved attendance registers contain quantitative data against which the historian can measure generalizations.⁹

*

*

*

The use of boarding schools to "civilize" Indians has a long history in Canada. Francois de Montmorency-Laval, head of the Roman Catholic Church in New France, mixed French and Indian children in such an institution in 1665. His experience prefigured almost exactly that of educators more than two centuries later: he had trouble keeping the young Indians at school because the parents

have an extraordinary love for their children, and can scarcely make up their minds to be separated from them...[and, moreover] they depend on their children, when they are somewhat advanced in years, for the support of their family.¹⁰

Protestant groups undertaking similar experiments in the early nineteenth century received encouragement from the Government of Canada: it decided, in 1845, to replace its gunpowder issues to Indians with education grants. Thus, a pattern of Church-operated, Government-subsidized boarding schools took root.

The systematic introduction of Indian boarding schools in the 1880s and 1890s was, however, part of a wider movement to use education as a tool of social change. Urban middle class reformers hoped to use schools to change the habits and values of social groups not sharing their economic assumptions and cultural heritage. By viewing environment as a decisive factor in the formation of character, these reformers became convinced that social manipulation was both

necessary and possible. The child was a seed whose growth could be shaped according to its surroundings either to good or to evil ends.¹¹ Ideally, the family ensured proper character development by providing a moral setting, screened from undesirable influences, where social virtues could thoroughly penetrate and indelibly colour the young minds of future citizens. Reformers felt, however, that working class, immigrant, and Indian families were not meeting their protective and educative obligations. Parents could not instill in their children adequate self-discipline or correct aspirations when they themselves lacked such qualities. Another agency would have to replace these families as "an asylum for the preservation and culture of childhood,"¹² and make good citizens of children who might otherwise mature into destructive, retrogressive, or burdensome elements in society. The agency reformers selected was schooling.

Proponents of education sought reform in two linked areas of working class life. First, they wanted to eliminate juvenile pauperism and crime, which seemed to menace the present and future well-being of the nation. Second, they wished to nurture a work force more fully in tune with the rhythms of industrializing society. Schools must, therefore, instill a new sense of self-regulation in several key areas. "The migratory 'habits' of the working class were perceived as part of their general want of discipline," states Ian Davey, "along with their unpunctuality, irregular work habits, affection for alcohol, and inability to save money."¹³ Stability, punctuality, sobriety, and thrift were some of the essential qualities schools would promote. Inculcation of such values would reduce crime. And instead of causing the labouring classes to despise their position, as some feared, such education would

make them more amenable to factory discipline.¹⁴

Middle class reformers considered the vast numbers of non Anglo-Saxon immigrants arriving in Canada towards the turn of the century an even more distressing problem: in addition to overcoming the social and economic deficiencies of working class life, they would have to transcend their cultural inferiority. Most reformers considered it axiomatic that cultural heterogeneity weakened any society, and that Anglo-Saxon civilization was, in any case, the most advanced.¹⁵ Immigrants were especially numerous in the western provinces, where their presence sometimes caused grave misgivings. Saskatchewan School Inspector J. T. M. Anderson did not think it possible that adult immigrants would ever become "true Canadian citizens, imbued with the highest Anglo-Saxon ideals," and added: "Were it not for the fact that their children are compelled to attend the public schools, where they obtain a knowledge of the English language, their presence might well give us cause for alarm."¹⁶ In British Columbia, the influx of Asians sparked violent protests; even charitable groups trying to ease the entry of Orientals into Canadian society viewed them as a potential threat.¹⁷ Thus, educators hoped to use schooling both to teach immigrants "the values of an expanding mercantile society,"¹⁸ and to "Canadianize" them as expeditiously as possible.

A desire to use education as an instrument of social control also prompted the establishment of schools for Canada's native population. The Indian family was producing children who might well prove culturally and economically troublesome. School would have to vanquish "deleterious home influences"--those "irregular habits and customs incident to life in the wigwam"--and be the "well ordered home" which

the Indian, like the immigrant and working class child, lacked.¹⁹

Schools would have to take children--"raw material"--and "mould" them into good citizens.²⁰ "Without education," wrote Duncan Campbell Scott in his 1910 report as Superintendent of Indian Education, "...the Indians would produce an undesirable and often a dangerous element in society."²¹

Generally, however, reformers seem to have been less alarmed by the untutored Indian than by the streetturchin or immigrant. Indians ran afoul of the law principally through their use of liquor, rather than through any antisocial activity; and the majority were isolated from white settlements. Moreover, while the number of immigrants appeared to be increasing dramatically, the Indian population had been in precipitous decline for most of the century. Concerned Canadians usually viewed the Indian as a "poor doomed savage."²² The drive to eradicate the "primitive" Indian culture thus sprang less from defensive than from philanthropic and evangelistic impulses.

There was also an economic rationale for promoting Indian education. In most unindustrialized societies, people do not organize their work habits around arbitrarily defined periods of time, but are given to "alternate bouts of intense labour and of idleness."²³ Indians were no exception. Deputy Superintendent General Frank Pedley spoke of "the peculiar constitutional tendency of the Indian to prefer employment which gives quick returns and allows of intermittent application relieved by periodical indulgence in recreation."²⁴ Like immigrant and working class education, Indian schooling aimed at eradicating pre-industrial work rhythms, and customs--like the potlatch--which inhibited the inculcation of thrift, punctuality, and order. Officials hoped education would transform Indians from fishermen and hunters into farmers

and wage-earners.

There were several reasons why they desired this occupational change. First, fishing and hunting were intrinsically inferior to more regular pursuits. They necessitated seasonal migrations--"the nomadic habits which are fatal to the acquisition of even elementary civilization."²⁵ Second, and more tangible, the Indians' continued devotion to traditional occupations threatened to make the Government's reserve policy unworkable. A member of the 1888 Commission inquiring into the condition of coastal Indians told the natives that they should scale down their land claims. Although in past times they had been "little better than wild animals that rove over the hills," and had thus required large tracts of land to survive, they would soon acquire new, better occupations that would obviate such needs.²⁶ Third, administrators were convinced that the growth of settlement would soon render traditional Indian pursuits impossible, and that unless the Indian were equipped with new skills and rhythms, he would become a serious financial burden for the Government. Finally, Indians were valued both as potential consumers and as a vital labour supply. As one school principal wrote in 1907: "With the excessive demand for labour, it would be little short of criminal to neglect the training of the thousands of Indian children in this province."²⁷

But working class, immigrant, and Indian children--the very ones for whom educators considered their influence most vital--had uniformly poor records of school attendance. Although, by the 1880s, most working class children were enrolled in school, formal education remained "something to be fitted in with the other needs of the family--the work of the farm, of the workshop, or the home."²⁸ The principal of the

Victoria Boys' School explained in 1891 that the generally irregular attendance "arises from real or supposed necessity for keeping children at home to aid their parents at certain seasons of the year."²⁹ The head of the Sapperton School was more specific in his 1897 report: "The older boys are employed during the summer and autumn at the box factory of the Brunette Saw Mills, and so attend only for a short time during the year."³⁰ Thus, although 104 of the 105 children aged six to sixteen, who lived in Chilliwack in 1895, were enrolled in school, only 63 of them attended on the average day. At Lytton, 30 of 32 were enrolled, but the average attendance was only a little over fifteen.³¹ Indeed, local opposition prevented the introduction of universal compulsory education for British Columbia children between seven and fifteen until 1921.

Immigrants often "saw no reason why they should be deprived of free labour while their children were in school,"³² or could not understand why educators felt newcomers must abandon their language and cultural heritage to be good Canadians. They were more willing to send their children to schools in which their original culture had a place. Japanese immigrants in British Columbia attended public schools when possible, but supplemented, and to some extent countered such instruction with their own.³³ Norwegians created an isolated community near Bella Coola, and established their own school, in order to retain "a measure of control over the secular and religious education of their children."³⁴

Indian day schools faced both enrollment and attendance problems. Many isolated villages had no schools at all; and where schools did exist, many school-age children completely ignored them. For example, there were 65 children, aged six to fifteen living at Quamichan in 1901, but only 17 pupils were enrolled in the day school. At Skidegate, there

were 37 school-age children; 21 pupils were enrolled in the school. In all of British Columbia, only 43 percent of Indian children were enrolled either in residential or day schools.³⁵

The average daily attendance of those on day school rolls in 1901 was just over 50 percent.³⁶ Many of the schools were located in winter villages which the Indians vacated for up to five months of each year during the fishing and hop-picking seasons. Some teachers tried to follow the Indians on their migrations, but usually with little success. Often, Indians of a single village scattered to many different places during the summer months, making any attempt to follow impossible. Even when teachers were able to establish schools at the canneries, attendance was "uncertain and intermittent"³⁷ since children's labour was in great demand.

Some groups, such as the southern Haida, "did everything possible to reduce absence from school and even took this into consideration in planning interinsular migrations."³⁸ More often, parents were indifferent or even hostile to their children's education, with the result that, even in the winter villages, pupils stayed away "on the slightest pretext."³⁹ Those students who went regularly to school still spent "some twenty hours out of the twenty-four...amid the directly opposing associations of the rancheria [Indian home]."⁴⁰ Consequently, the schools were completely ineffective as tools of the sort of social engineering educators had in mind: "The Indian who has been subject to such teaching, if indeed he has experienced any interruption at all to his listless habits and nomadic ways, soon resumes them."⁴¹ A different institution seemed a prerequisite to success: an institution which both guaranteed regular attendance and offered more thorough

environmental control.

Educators were well aware of the potential advantages of boarding schools, not just for Indians, but for working class and immigrant children as well. Nevertheless, except in the case of Indians, authorities generally constructed such institutions only in extreme cases: in England, for chronic truants "whose attendance was unlikely to improve without a spell under strict supervision";⁴² in Canada, for neglected and delinquent children of the most troublesome sort. One exception was a boarding school established in the Cache Creek area in 1875 for the children of geographically dispersed white farmers. But "public feeling was very inimical about the success of this system of education,"⁴³ and after a series of financial and moral scandals, declining enrollment forced its closure in 1890.

While officials admitted that "in many instances...results obtained at [Indian day] schools equal those of the common-schools of the rural districts,"⁴⁴ most concluded that overall, the successful reform of Indians required a more intensive system of education than did the reform of other groups. Although the percentage of enrolled working class children actually attending school was often almost as low as the same figure for Indian pupils, a much smaller proportion of Indian than working class children bothered to enroll in the first place. Deputy Superintendent General James Smart argued in 1897 that "heredity has done much to overcome in white children the natural aversion to the monotonous work and confinement of schools, but Indian children...possess this in its strongest form."⁴⁵ If Indians had greater need of intensive forms of acculturation than Anglo-Saxon Canadians of the labouring classes, at least one official contended that they also had more right to special care

than immigrants: "As the original owners of the soil of this northern continent...the Indian people have moral claims to our sympathy and assistance as no immigrant or newcomer ever has had or can have."⁴⁶

Perhaps because they seemed to pose more difficult problems of control, or because a willing Government and Church bureaucracy was already in place, or because historical experience seemed to point the way, Indians were the only "unacculturated" group to undergo the boarding school experience. It is the uniqueness of their experience⁴⁷ that makes a study of their attendance patterns especially important. Such a study may clarify the nature of one of the most concerted efforts at directed acculturation that Canadians have ever undertaken. And by elucidating the extent to which the social and economic patterns of a supposedly "sick and demoralized minority"⁴⁸ blunted or deflected that acculturative drive, it may suggest some of the limitations of any program of social control.

*

*

*

The Roman Catholic Oblates opened the first boarding school for British Columbia Indians at Mission in 1863. But though administrators thought it superior to day schools, it was not widely emulated until almost thirty years later. In 1879, the Canadian Government sent Nicholas Davin to investigate American approaches to Indian education. On his return, Davin recommended the establishment in Canada of "industrial" boarding schools for Indians, on the model of the one Richard Henry Pratt was setting up at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. In 1883, a systematic effort to construct boarding schools began on the prairies; and a year later, Sir John A. Macdonald, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, as well as Prime Minister, announced that he was discussing with an

interested religious organizations the establishment of such schools in British Columbia. Run by the churches, they would be eligible for aid from the Government, and subject to its general supervision.

Government and churches created British Columbia's system of "boarding" and "industrial" schools during the three decades after 1890. "Boarding" schools were generally smaller than "industrial" schools, and did not offer as formal a program of manual training. The term "residential" school encompasses both types of institutions. Map 1 (page 13) summarizes and locates the twenty residential schools which operated--not all concurrently--between 1890 and 1920.

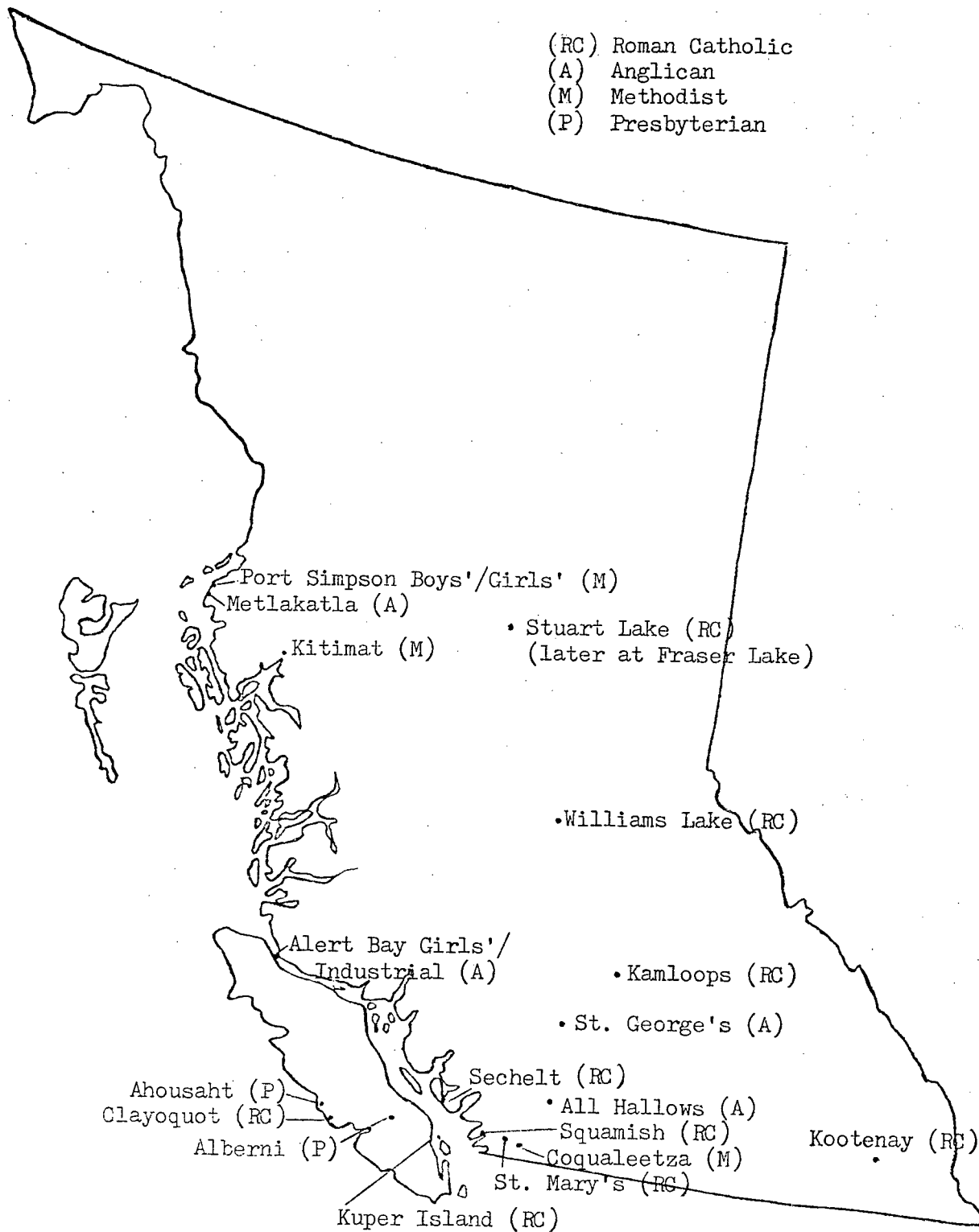
By 1920, all but one of the residential schools which were ever to operate in the province had been established. The period 1890-1920 has additional significance: it was a time of experimentation, of bureaucratic debate regarding the value of residential schools; and a time during which traditional Indian rhythms continued to be an important determinant of attendance. In 1920, the Government undertook a vigorous campaign to promote and expand the existing schools. For the first time, it empowered its officers to forcibly enroll children. Within a few years, residential schools exceeded day schools in enrollment.

Although officials of the Department of Indian Affairs would have liked all Indian children to attend residential schools at some time, they were well aware that such an objective was well beyond their reach. In 1901, the total Indian population in British Columbia between the ages of six and fifteen was 3,445. The total number enrolled in all Government-aided schools, residential and day, was 1,496, or 43 percent. Those on the roll in residential schools constituted 19.7 percent of school-age children; the average daily attendance was only 17.6 percent

MAP 1

Residential Schools, 1890-1920

- (RC) Roman Catholic
 (A) Anglican
 (M) Methodist
 (P) Presbyterian



of children six to fifteen (N=608). In 1920, there were 4,284 school-age children: 53.9 percent were enrolled in all schools; 26 percent in residential schools; and 22.3 percent (N=955) were actually in residential school classes on the average day.⁴⁹ Since there were pupils in the schools younger than six and older than fifteen, these figures actually overstate the attendance of the given age group.

While the aggregate number who attended residential schools depended on the rate of turnover, there is some evidence that a considerable proportion of young Indians never saw the inside of a classroom, residential or day. Of natives living on British Columbia reserves in 1961, over 61 percent of those born in 1896 or earlier had no schooling whatsoever; approximately one in three of those born between 1897 and 1916 had been to neither day nor residential school.⁵⁰ Since day schools continued to be the preponderant form of native education during this period, it is probably accurate to assume that only a minority of Indian children ever went to residential school. Succeeding chapters will attempt to clarify who selected that minority, how they did so, what their choice indicated, and what attendance meant for those involved.

CHAPTER II

INDIAN FAMILIES AND ENROLLMENT: POWER
TO REFUSE

In most respects, the educational experiences of Canadian Indians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries closely paralleled those of American natives. One significant difference, however, was the degree of control they retained over enrollment in boarding schools. By the early 1900s, American officials were using coercion to fill such institutions. An Arizona Hopi recalls the results:

Before sunrise on the tenth of September the police came to Oraibi and surrounded the village, with the intention of capturing the children...and taking them to school by force. They herded us all together at the east end of the mesa...The people were excited, the children and the mothers were crying, and the men wanted to fight.¹

In Canada, such scenes did not normally occur. Until 1920, parents possessed and frequently exercised the right to refuse their children's enrollment in residential schools.

From 1894, Justices and Indian Agents had the legal authority to commit Indian children under sixteen to residential schools.² But, before 1920, they could do so only if "a day school is provided, and the child does not attend."³ Regulations thus guaranteed parents the alternative of a day school: in effect, educators could not forcibly separate children from their families. In practice, even attendance at day school generally remained voluntary. For it was Department policy, formally articulated by Deputy Superintendent General James Smart in 1898, "to refrain from compulsory measures, and try the effect of moral suasion

and an appeal to self-interest."⁴

In 1920, the Government passed amendments to the Indian Act which eliminated its obligation to provide day schools. By authorizing the compulsory enrollment in residential schools of all Indian children between seven and fifteen, the changes "give the department control and remove from the Indian parent the responsibility for the care and education of his child."⁵ The first explicit admission of coerced recruitment of pupils for a British Columbia residential school is contained in a November 1923 entry of the Fraser Lake School Diary: "It was not an easy matter to have the parents let [their children] go. The policeman Mr. Manson was with the principal to force the parents to the effect."⁶

Cases of compulsory enrollment undoubtedly occurred prior to 1920, but they were scattered and probably unauthorized.⁷ In his report to the Department for the year ended 30 June 1904, J. R. Motion, principal of the Alberni Boarding School, wrote: "For lack of proper accomodation no effort was made during the past year to recruit more pupils; several applications being refused for that reason."⁸ But Fred Thornberg, a white man living at Ahousaht, charged in a letter to the Victoria Colonist that Motion had forcibly abducted his half-caste daughter on 23 September 1903:

She was screaming and running as hard as she could, and this big man was in full chase after her...I tried to prevent him, but he gave me a heavy push, that nearly tumbled me down a Rocky Bluff... I was a fool to think that I an old man (63 years) also a Cribble [sic] would be able to prevent such a big Man to do as [he] pleased... Mr. Motion of course in the end captured her...and commanded her to pack up and come with him.

The Colonist declined to publish the letter, fearing "possible action for damages," and instead sent copies to Indian Superintendent Vowell

and the Attorney-General of British Columbia.⁹ The outcome of the case is unknown.

There is, in addition, at least one recorded instance in which the Department of Indian Affairs itself authorized the compulsory enrollment of Indian children. In 1911, its officers took two ten year old girls from their mothers, on the grounds that since the latter were "notoriously bad women," they were "unfit to have charge" of their daughters. The mothers "fled from place to place, to prevent the girls being placed in school," but the Department eventually succeeded in enrolling the two children in Coqualeetza.¹⁰

These cases were, however, exceptions. Normally, parents or guardians had the power to decide which children, if any, went to residential school. Departmental regulations required that the head of the family sign a document, giving the school charge over his child. Frequently, parents shared the decision-making process with their children. A. W. Neill, Indian Agent on the west coast of Vancouver Island, reported in 1906 that attendance was "too often left to the inclination of the child, it being entirely against the customs of the Indians to use pressure, far less force, to make their children do anything against their inclination."¹¹ G. Donckele, a Belgian missionary who was principal of the Kuper Island School from 1890 until 1906, made the same observation: "The Pupils are free and independent from their Parents as far as attendance at School is concerned."¹²

Principals attempting to fill their schools had to work within the constraints imposed by the Indian family's right to refuse enrollment. When J. N. O. Scott sought pupils for the newly-opened Metlakatla School in 1889, some parents informed him curtly that "what we want from the

Government is our land, and not schools or education." Scott was obliged to start the school with only six pupils; gradually enrollment rose, but only "by the Indians sending or bringing their children" themselves.¹³ Joseph Hall, principal of Coqualeetza, tried to recruit pupils on Vancouver Island in January of 1897, but without success; Parents were apparently quite aware of their rights and not about to be rushed: "Indians do not come to a decision at once in matters of this kind."¹⁴ Continuing hostility to education among local natives forced officials of the Alert Bay Industrial School to import at least half of their pupils from distant, more favourably disposed tribes; the Girls' Home at Alert Bay remained closed for several years because parents simply refused to part with their daughters.¹⁵

Faced with the unwelcome task of persuading parents, not all principals took the honourable course. Nicholas Coccola recorded that on the eve of the opening of the Kootenay School "the faithful old man Alban came to tell me secretly that the Indians were not to trust their children to white women though called Sisters." Alarmed, Coccola decided that only a dramatic initiative could forestall serious trouble for the new school. Following Sunday Church services, he

marched [the children] into the school houses...the parents... followed to see where the march was leading. The Sisters were on the porch...[they] received the children who entered and clos[ing] the doors, told the crowd to go back to camp.¹⁶

The parents, apparently too surprised to resist, quietly left the schoolyard. As Coccola's biographer notes: "The birds were in the cage, almost without knowing how."¹⁷

While Coccola did not state how, or even if, he eventually obtained the parents' signatures, some recruiters allegedly used trickery. The Roman Catholic principal at Kuper Island, G. Donckele,

asserted in a letter to Superintendent Vowell that C. M. Tate, Methodist founder of Coqualeetza, had used false pretenses on more than one occasion to overcome parental intransigence. He suggested that Tate misled parents about what they were signing. It should be noted, however, that Donckele made his accusations in the context of long and bitter hostility between the two schools, and that his evidence was largely hearsay:

I have been told by one party that Eugene was under the influence of liquor at the time the Rev. Mr. Tate extorted the so-called application from him, and another party informed me that the whole document was drawn up by Mr. Tate and that the same paper does not even show a signature mark of Eugene or of any of his relations.¹⁸

Initially, there was a good deal of opposition to enrollment at residential schools, especially among older Indians. To some extent, this opposition was an instinctive defense of traditional customs and beliefs. The history of their contact with white civilization had made natives a wary group. During the preceding century, European settlers had decimated the Indian population by introducing disease and alcohol. Then, in the 1870s and 1880s, the Government set out to control and alter the Indian way of life. Imposed land settlements and the 1884 law prohibiting the potlatch provoked widespread discontent among natives. Many felt that the schools would prove "an additional snare to the poor Indian."¹⁹

Parents also recognized that residential education would interrupt their own patterns of instruction. Largely imitative, native education necessitated living constantly around older Indians who possessed vital knowledge. Among the Bella Coola, for example,

a boy, as he increases in strength, follows his father on hunting expeditions or fishing. The mother teaches her daughter how to make baskets, and they [her daughters] follow her when she gathers berries, or when she cooks and performs household duties.²⁰

Young children imitated in their play the essential aspects of the Indian way of life, as they observed it first-hand: they reproduced in their games not just adult occupations, but also cultural events such as the potlatch.²¹ Grandparents recounted family histories, and used popular lore to transmit an understanding of accepted values. While this traditional education, so inseparable from everyday life and contacts, might continue concurrently with attendance at day school, isolation within residential schools would mean its almost total interruption.

The emotional trauma of separation seems to have figured largely in the reluctance of parents to send their children to residential schools. British Columbia Indians traditionally lived in large, extended families. Often, several conjugal units, representing three or more generations, lived in different sections of the same large house. In her analysis of Coast Salish families, Claudia Lewis speculates that:

the emotional tie between parents and their children may not have been as intense and close as we experience it, in our nuclear family households...yet there is some evidence that children--all children--were cherished and that, in spite of the authoritarian code of behavior, good will was the basic feeling conveyed.²²

Most of those who observed the Indian family about the turn of the century emphasized without qualification the unusual closeness of parent and child. Deputy Superintendent General Hayter Reed spoke of the "fondness for their offspring, which is so admirable a characteristic of Indian parents"; Agent Perry, writing from the Nass area, felt compelled to mention "the delight taken among mothers in the care of, and devotion to, their children"; according to Froben Epper, Indians around his Clayoquot School were "passionately fond" of their young.²³

Two significant social changes during this period may have been intensifying such emotional ties. Due partially to the efforts of

white missionaries and administrators,²⁴ the extended Indian family was apparently giving way in most areas to a closer approximation of the western European nuclear model.²⁵ The changing nature of housing seems to offer the best evidence of changing family structure. From the early 1900s, agents commonly reported that Indians were abandoning their large, traditional dwellings. In Skidegate, in the Queen Charlottes, there were only two western-style houses in 1885, but twelve years later, the last of the big Indian houses stood empty.²⁶ Agent Neill reported from the west coast of Vancouver Island in 1908 that "it is the custom now generally to build a house of moderate dimensions suitable for the use of only one family, instead of the huge structures... which used to be the rule."²⁷ If Claudia Lewis is correct about the diffusion of emotion in extended families, this move towards smaller, nuclear families may have further tightened bonds between parents and children, thereby increasing the reluctance of parents to sign their children into boarding schools. Thus the very success of one attempt to direct social change may have indirectly hampered the progress of another form of social control.

The second development conceivably contributing to closer relations between parents and children was demographic. Although the rapid population decline of previous decades was checked as early as 1890 in some parts of the province, the total Indian population continued to decrease until 1929.²⁸ Officials agreed that disease struck particularly at young people. In 1907, for example, deaths from measles and influenza were "largely confined to infants and young children."²⁹ Infant mortality was not the only cause of population decline, however; low fertility was also a factor. Describing the effect of venereal

diseases, Helen Codere states: "It is apparent...that the decline in the Kwakiutl population was due not only to continual losses, but also to a lack of any healthy capacity to replace those losses."³⁰ Child mortality and low fertility meant that there were fewer Indian children than ever before, not only absolutely, but also as a percentage of the Indian population. Visitors to the Queen Charlottes in the 1880s remarked routinely on the small number of children.³¹ That those running residential schools were trying to recruit from families in which children were comparatively rare may have made their task even more difficult.

Most evidence confirms the picture of small,,closely knit nuclear families feeling very acutely the separation caused by enrollment. Alfred Hall described the struggle of one man who brought his daughter to the Alert Bay Girls' Home: "You cannot think how sorrowful he looked after he had yielded her to our care--surely it was like cutting off a right hand."³² A former pupil at Alert Bay, Mrs. Edward Joyce, recalls that she was at first very excited about enrolling in the residential school, "but after I got there, I had a different feeling altogether... Mom and Dad had gone--wouldn't see them again for a long time."³³ Margaret Butcher, a teacher at Kitimat, recorded in a personal letter the feelings of the pupils as they awaited the return of their parents from the logging camps: "How expectant the children were all that week looking up the Inlet, surmising which day they would come. Talking all the time of Mother or Father or Baby."³⁴

British Columbia Indians, who, "with the rarest exceptions," were "strictly utilitarian with regard to the standard of education they desire[d] for their children,"³⁵ were frequently unable to perceive much material advantage to be derived from it. In 1910, Duncan

Campbell Scott reflected on the occupational situation of the province's natives. He noted that they had always been self-supporting, and that "the advent of white population, which in the west caused the complete disappearance of the buffalo, did not occasion any serious change in their source of food-supply." Moreover, "they easily adapted themselves to the demands made upon them as labourers and general helpers," with the result that "they are of considerable industrial importance as a labour factor throughout the province." This, Scott affirmed, was partly why, for those undertaking educational work in British Columbia, "the difficulties to be met with are even greater than in the other provinces."³⁶ As Agent Halliday wrote of the Nimpkish band, many parents "look at it from the standpoint that, as they were able to get along without education, their children can also."³⁷ Ironically, the province's intolerant racial attitudes benefitted the Indians economically, and made new skills and knowledge seem even less important: when Oriental immigration was restricted, the demand for native labour rose.³⁸

But if education promised little future return, parents were well aware that it would exact immediate cost. There was an abundance of work which children could do: to send them to school meant economic sacrifice. When J. N. O. Scott tried to recruit pupils for the industrial school at Metlakatla in 1889, he discovered that school-age boys played an important role in the economy of the Indian family: "A few... said they would like to send their boys to this school at the end of the fishing season; but while the fishing lasted they were very useful, and could not well be spared."³⁹ In the New Westminster Agency, "they all--including men, women, boys and girls--obtained employment and good wages at the different canning establishments."⁴⁰ Most often, the men

and larger boys handled the boats and nets; the women and children worked in the canneries. Apparently they could begin at a very early age. James Sewid recalls that he went fishing, as a member of a sein-ing crew, when he was ten.⁴¹

Fishing was not the only economic activity in which children participated. On Vancouver Island's west coast, "the lads go sealing at an early age."⁴² In the Skeena area, women and children gathered wild berries and stored them for winter use.⁴³ Among the Tsimshian, children helped to carry while on hunts.⁴⁴ A photograph taken about 1899 for the Department of Indian Affairs, showing "Indian Placer Miners on their Way to the Mines near Gladwin B.C." includes two boys roughly nine to twelve years of age.⁴⁵

Less formal, but equally important contributions to the family economy might also discourage enrollment. Babysitting duties were common. The parents of Clara Clare withdrew her from the All Hallows School so that she could help care for a younger, sickly sister.⁴⁶ "Antoine" left the Williams Lake School to care for his parents, "both of them nearly blind."⁴⁷

Because of their precarious demographic situation, natives were especially anxious that their young live in the best possible environment. Fear that schools were unhealthy, or even uncertainty about conditions in them, militated against enrollment. Agent Deasy stated that the Haida "take a great deal of interest in the well-being of their children, and will not send them away from home, where they cannot learn of their health."⁴⁸ Natives from some bands in the Fraser Valley told the 1916 Royal Commission on Indian Affairs that they were "afraid to send children to [the boarding school at] Mission on account of health

conditions."⁴⁹ Many Indians seem to have been extremely uneasy about entrusting their children to an unknown and possibly harmful environment. Margaret Butcher described the way sickness in the Kitimat Home affected native attitudes towards it:

The Indians are so illogical, they do not consider the number of children who are brought through delicacy and sickness to strength and fitness, they only look at and count the children who are sick and 'are killed by the Home'.⁵⁰

Principals were well aware of the possibly disastrous effect illness or death could have on Indians' perception of their school, and consequently on future enrollment. Donckele felt a sense of relief after he sent one sick girl home from Kuper Island: "If her malady would have proven fatal at the School, there would have been great excitement amongst the Indians."⁵¹

Thus a number of factors figured in the frequent refusal of Indian parents to enroll their children in residential school: suspicion of white intentions; preference for traditional Indian education; tightening familial ties; the dubious economic value of formal schooling; the unavoidable financial sacrifice it involved; and worry over school health conditions. The next chapter will begin by investigating some of the countervailing considerations which prompted parents to apply for their children's admission.

CHAPTER III

APPLICATION AND RECRUITMENT: THE PROCESS OF SELECTION

Although many--probably most--Indian parents kept their children at home for reasons described in the last chapter, a significant minority voluntarily enrolled their young in boarding schools. This chapter will attempt to answer a number of closely related questions about the ways in which parents and educators jointly determined which children stayed at home, and which children went to school. What prompted some parents to overcome the obvious objections to the schools, and conclude that residential education was desirable? Which children did they choose to enroll in the schools? What did that choice indicate about their cultural patterns and social objectives? Conversely, which children did educators seek to recruit, and what did their preference indicate about their social objectives? This chapter will show that selecting students was a complex process in which Indians, as well as educators, played a vital role.

It is important not to oversimplify the reaction of Indians. Most Indian children did not, apparently, go to boarding schools. Nevertheless, almost all residential schools in British Columbia succeeded in obtaining the number of students for which the Government offered them grants. In fact, after a wave of initial opposition, Indians in many parts of the province seem to have experienced a rush of enthusiasm

for the new institutions. A year after the opening of the Kootenay School, Nicholas Coccola, who had felt obliged to take his first recruits by surprise, reported that the parents "seem now highly pleased, and come and offer their children, more than we are allowed by the Government at present to take."¹ At Kuper Island, "considerable dissatisfaction" among both parents and pupils gave way within two years to a deluge of applications. The principal stated in 1892 that "nearly every Indian is now desirous of having his children educated," and announced that he was consequently able to be much more selective in deciding which children to admit.² The 1916 Royal Commission on Indian Affairs heard several tribes complain that there were not enough residential schools.³

Enthusiasm did not completely replace opposition: both sentiments were usually present in varying degrees. Moreover, the predominant attitude at any one time could be reversed with astonishing alacrity. The Kamloops School was "so popular" in 1890 that "the present number of pupils might easily be quadrupled." Only two years later, however, the departure of an influential priest combined with incompetent management produced so much discontent that the school had to be closed. It was reopened in 1893, and by 1895 was again inundated with applications, some parents even offering payment to have their children admitted.⁴ Throughout British Columbia, educators gifted with varying shades of tact and competence encountered Indians of disparate cultural background and experience: naturally, reactions differed from place to place, and from year to year. But the schools generally succeeded in getting the number of children they desired.

While the majority of Indians discerned little tangible benefit in schooling, there were times when aspects of education appeared useful. The French Catholics who ran the Kootenay School maintained that the Indians in the area eventually welcomed agricultural instruction because "tous comprennent que le gibier disparaît...[et qu']ils seront obligés de vivre du produit de leurs fermes."⁵ Most officials believed Indians valued education "in proportion as it helps them to hold their own in business relations with other nationalities," and that such contact and competition was "expanding more rapidly in British Columbia than elsewhere."⁶ On the west coast of Vancouver Island, for example, Indians found it easier to obtain work in lumber camps and sawmills if they could speak English.⁷

Still, even those natives convinced of education's value rarely considered it "absolutely necessary";⁸ they did not take the decision to enroll in a residential school lightly. Indians generally found day schools an easier alternative. Thus Peter Kelly's Haida stepfather, convinced that "education would become the important factor...in the lives of all young children," signed papers committing Peter to Coqualeetza in 1897. But it took three years of further reflection before he finally concluded the sacrifice was worthwhile, and actually let Peter attend.⁹

The desire for social advancement could inspire parents to look with favour on the education of their children. Members of one band in the New Westminster Agency were particularly interested in education because "they wish to see all their people put on a level with their white neighbours."¹⁰ William Halliday recorded a speech made by one Kwakiutl father: "I allowed [my daughter] to go to school with pride

in my heart to think that she would be able to get ahead of the other girls of our people."¹¹ The first residential school pupils sometimes did experience a dramatic enhancement of their social status. A minister in Massett recorded that one Haida boy who returned from Metlakatla for holidays "walks about here quite the centre of an admiring crowd."¹²

Although schools often found it difficult to recruit because Indians feared they were unhealthy, the reverse was occasionally true as well: the particularly good health records of individual schools could encourage parents to enroll their children. E. Robson reported from Coqualeetza in 1895 that, due to the concerned efforts of his teachers, "the health of those intrusted to their care has been such, when contrasted with the children outside, as to constitute a strong reason for attendance at school, in the minds of parents."¹³ At Williams Lake, in 1910, parents were purportedly so impressed with health conditions in the school that they not infrequently enrolled their child with the remark, "I'm afraid he'll die if I keep him."¹⁴ The Indians' perception of health conditions in the schools did not just differ from place to place, or from year to year: at any single time, Indians of the same village might hold contrasting views. ~~reWhile~~ Margaret Butcher was exasperated because the majority of Kitimat Indians seemed to focus exclusively on health problems in the school, and ignore the staff's efforts to nurse sick children, she pointed out that a few natives looked at the school from a different perspective:

The mortality amongst the outside children is greater than in the Home. One man who has lost 7 children has brought his boy to us hoping we can carry him through and another has brought his one precious little son he has lost nine other children and has only a boy of 22 or so besides. So you see they do not all blame the Home and there is small doubt that the regular living, good food, cleanliness etc. help to kill or stay the disease in many.¹⁵

Parents enrolling their young in the belief that health conditions were better in the schools than at home were probably more numerous after the turn of the century. For in the early years of the schools' existence, the schools were demonstrably unhealthy. Duncan Campbell Scott acknowledged in 1913 that poor accommodation and the failure to screen applicants had contributed to the spread of tuberculosis and severely impaired the usefulness of the schools. "It is quite within the mark," he wrote, "to say that fifty percent of the children who passed through these schools did not live to benefit from the education which they had received therein."¹⁶

Schools began requiring the medical examination of applicants at various times--Kuper Island by 1893; Coqualeetza in 1897--but a strict determination to accept only the healthiest children did not become official Department policy until about 1910.¹⁷ In 1911, a doctor examined each child admitted to the Lytton School for defective limbs, poor eyesight or hearing, scrofula, fits, and smallpox. But since officials at Lytton did not find it easy to recruit pupils, their minimum standards were not, apparently, too exacting. Ivor Cisco was admitted in 1912 even though he had "some slight enlargement of the lymphatic glands"; Angelina Barrack, who had bad eyesight, exzema, and congenital syphilis, was accepted on the grounds that treatment would improve her.¹⁸ Even at Kuper Island, where there was no shortage of applicants, the principal complained that the Doctor had approved a girl who was scrofulous and deaf, as well as being an "idiot."¹⁹

Strong religious leaders or convictions could influence Indians to accept residential education. The lay principal of the Kamloops

School found it beyond his power to maintain attendance after the influential Father Lejacq departed in 1892.²⁰ Dedication to the Roman Catholic Church and respect for the advice of its priests may well have helped prompt the Sechelt Indians--former participants in Father Durieu's rigidly disciplined social "system"--to construct their own boarding school in 1903.²¹ When influenza struck Indians in the Stuart Lake area in about 1917, parents who had disobeyed the priest's injunction to ensure their children's attendance construed it as divine retribution for their disobedience.²²

Conversely, religious questions could prevent enrollment. Indians who retained their aboriginal beliefs feared that education would separate their children from them after death.²³ In addition, as Agent Frank Devlin reported,

many of those who are not attending school are most anxious to go, but there is not accommodation for them. Their parents are very particular about sending their children to any school conducted by a religious denomination other than that to which they themselves belong.²⁴

Because the Catholic schools at St. Mary's Mission and on Kuper Island were almost always full, many parents in the overwhelmingly Catholic areas of southern Vancouver Island and the Fraser Valley had either to disregard religious preferences, and send their children to the Methodist Coqualeetza School, or do without residential education. In fact, many parents were flexible enough to permit their young to attend Coqualeetza, although they usually transferred them to a Catholic school when a vacancy arose.²⁵ Parents were sometimes prepared to ignore religious differences altogether if doing so meant their children could attend a boarding school nearer home.²⁶

Religious groups competed bitterly for recruits. The desire to protect or expand religious spheres of influence was one of the main reasons churches undertook residential education. A. W. Corker encouraged the Anglican Church Missionary Society to continue administering the Alert Bay Industrial School, arguing that otherwise the Department would probably hand it over to the Roman Catholics; Catholics accepted responsibility for the Clayoquot School fearing that if they did not, Catholic children would be "perverted" by Protestant instruction.²⁷ Catholics at St. Mary's Mission hoped to train as many children as possible to "become good Catholics and realize the need of defending their religion against the assaults of non-Catholic whites and Indians."²⁸

Thus recruitment was often reduced to a numerical battle between religious sects. When Methodists at Sardis built the new Coqualeetza School, capable of holding one hundred students, Catholics at Mission found themselves "forced to increase the number [of pupils] up towards one hundred because the Protestant ministers are this year putting forth brave efforts to draw to their free schools the children of our native neophytes."²⁹ In fact, the principal of Coqualeetza, Joseph Hall, continued to recruit Roman Catholic children even after Superintendent Vowell reminded him that Department regulations "explicitly forbade" the admission of children into a school of a different denomination.³⁰ Such competition often became quite heated. G. Donckele, Catholic principal at Kuper Island, accused the Methodist missionary C. M. Tate of spreading malicious rumours about the Kuper Island School in order to convince Catholic Indians to send their young to Coqualeetza: "nothing is too low and mean for him to stoop to in order to carry his

point."³¹ Even Fred Thornberg attributed the abduction of his daughter to overzealous religious competition: the Presbyterians at Alberni hoped by their action to prevent her enrollment at the Catholic Clayoquot School.³²

Catholic schools were sufficiently widespread that most Catholic Indians who wished to attend could do so without travelling great distances from their homes. Consequently, the schools housed fairly homogeneous groups of natives. All children attending the Sechelt School were of the Sechelt band; only Kootenays went to the Kootenay School; all those attending at Kamloops came from local bands.³³ Of the 96 children admitted to the Kuper Island School between 1897 and 1906, all came from one of two different linguistic groups: 61 were Halkomelem; 35 were Straits Salish.³⁴ St. Mary's Mission was the most ethnically diverse Catholic school, containing representatives of three language groups.³⁵

In contrast, Protestant schools often contained children of many backgrounds. Protestant natives outnumbered Catholics only in the northern, coastal areas of British Columbia. But, especially after the closure of the Metlakatla School in 1909, and of the Port Simpson Boys' Home in 1916, Protestants in this area had little chance of gaining entry to a local school. In addition, there were small numbers of Protestant children scattered throughout other parts of the province--but not usually enough in any one area to support a boarding school. Meanwhile, the largest Protestant school in the province--Coqualeetza--was located in the Fraser Agency, where the native population was ninety percent Catholic.³⁶ Protestant officials undertook the obvious solution; importing children from throughout British Columbia to Coqualeetza. Table I (page 34) illustrates the linguistic backgrounds of the 489 students attending Coqualeetza between 1888 and 1911. There were representatives of

TABLE I

Coqualeetza Industrial Institute: Origins of
Pupils by Linguistic Groups

<u>Linguistic Group</u>	<u>Number of Pupils</u>
Bella Coola	28
Carrier	4
Comox	7
Haida	37
Halkomelem	203
Kwakiutl	33
Lillooet	3
Nootka	22
Okanagan	2
Sechelt	1
Shuswap	2
Squamish	30
Straits Salish	19
Thompson	5
Tsimshian	78
Others	3
Not Clear	8
Not Given	4
TOTAL	489

dozens of different tribes, and (excluding those labelled "white" and "Italian") fifteen distinct language groups. Such analysis does not take into account further possible division into dialect groups, although dialect differences were sometimes great enough to prevent communication.³⁷

While Coqualeetza was the most extreme example of ethnic mix, other Protestant schools also contained children of disparate backgrounds. All Hallows, for example, recruited from a minimum of six linguistic groups.³⁸ When officials at Lytton and Alert Bay consistently failed to obtain a sufficient number of pupils locally--even though there were plenty of Protestants in their areas--they began, like Coqualeetza, to seek them in the north.³⁹ Broadly speaking, it seems plausible that for Protestant Indians--especially those in the north--enrollment at residential school was a more difficult decision than for Catholics, involving as it often did a greater separation of parent and child.

In the United States, the Government deliberately mixed natives of different ethnic backgrounds in an effort to blur and destroy the native culture.⁴⁰ Some Canadian officials also applauded the social implications of such mingling. William Halliday, Indian Agent for the Kwakiutls, observed that since English was the only common language, children had more incentive to use it. He also noted a "friendly rivalry" between children of the different tribes.⁴¹ But it seems that in British Columbia ethnic mixture was the result of necessity, not design: in order to fill their schools, some educators were forced far afield. It is true that, in the case of the Lytton School, recruiting children from distant areas may have had the ancillary and not

unwelcome effect of rendering truancy--a persistent problem there--more difficult.⁴² Most schools, however, would have recruited locally if possible. W. E. Ditchburn, in charge of several agencies in southwestern British Columbia, observed in 1913 that there were several girls from other agencies in the Alert Bay Girls' Home, and added: "There should be plenty of girls in the Kwawkwalth agency alone to fill this school, and I am of the opinion that every effort should be made to obtain pupils from this before taking any from outside agencies."⁴³

Boys and girls attended British Columbia residential schools in approximately equal numbers. In 1894, the schools contained 165 boys and 187 girls; in 1910, 425 boys and 411 girls; in 1920, 547 boys and 568 girls. These figures do not necessarily reflect the situation in individual institutions: there were Girls' schools at Yale, Port Simpson, and Alert Bay; Boys' schools at Port Simpson, Alert Bay, and Lytton. Most schools were mixed, but not, usually, in equal numbers. Boys were rather more likely to attend the strictly "industrial" schools, girls the "boarding" schools, perhaps because fewer, and less elaborate facilities were needed to teach girls housekeeping and sewing than to instruct boys in trades.⁴⁴

Educators wanted both sexes to attend. Boys were to learn the values and rhythms essential to farming or working for wages. Girls needed an education because they would have an inestimable moral influence on their future husbands; and would have the central responsibility for creating the healthy home conditions which could obviate the need for future boarding schools. The principal of the Alert Bay Girls' Home, Alfred Hall, argued that it was even more vital to teach girls than it was to teach boys. "If we can save (morally) the girls

we save also the boys," he wrote the Church Missionary Society in 1892, "but the contrary is not true."⁴⁵ There was also a demographic imperative for the moral education of Indian girls. The number of women of child-bearing age having been decimated through prostitution and venereal disease, inculcation of correct values in the rising generation of girls appeared even more essential for the immediate survival of the race than implantation of new economic virtues in boys.

In some areas, parents were more willing to enroll one sex than the other. William Halliday wrote from Alert Bay that Kwakiutls feared education would teach girls not to participate in the potlatch. The girls' cooperation was as essential for economic as for cultural reasons:

All the Indian marriages are arranged at the potlatch, and gifts are given to the friends of the bride, who have the use of them for a certain time, during which they expect to double or even treble them before they are ultimately given back to the donors.⁴⁶

In contrast, the principal at Williams Lake found that "the Indians seem to be very anxious for their girls to attend school, but not their boys."⁴⁷

In 1910, Duncan Campbell Scott stated that the residential schools were very often ministering to a class which would be outcasts without such aid; I refer to the illegitimate offspring of white men and Indian women who are thrown upon their mothers for support, and who have no legal status as Indians.⁴⁸

But it was not the original purpose of the schools to educate children of mixed blood. When four "half-breeds" applied for admission to the Metlakatla School in 1889, J. N. O. Scott "told [them] I could not educate them; I, however, made an exception in favor of one of these."⁴⁹ The Acting Principal at Kuper Island, G. C. Van Gothen, cited a regulation issued by the Department in 1893 as stating specifically: "No

halfbreed...can be taken [into the] Institution without the express permission of the Department, and only under very exceptional circumstances."⁵⁰ Joseph Hall, of Coqualeetza, wrote in 1896 that the Department did not recognize halfbreeds as Indians, "except in the case of those living on Reserves." Since Government grants were provided only if pupils were considered legally Indian, Hall concluded: "I think the time is at hand when we shall have to refuse [half] breed children who are not wards of the Gov[ernmen]t."⁵¹

Although recruiters generally gave full-blooded Indians preference, halfbreeds continued to enter most schools. When Catholics complained that the Methodists were receiving Government grants for educating non-Indians, Agent Devlin examined the register and children at Coqualeetza in January of 1897. He concluded, in Joseph Hall's words, that "so many as 40 [out of about 100] of our present school are non Indians."⁵² In fact, even Catholics admitted halfbreeds. When Albert Wilson applied to have his half-caste daughter admitted at Kuper Island, G. Donckele hesitated because Wilson "had then a house outside the Reservation." Nevertheless, Donckele requested the Agent to authorize the girl's entry, arguing that it would not be to the exclusion of any full-blooded Indians.⁵³

Children whose parents were dead constituted a large proportion of residential school populations. Of the 489 pupils attending Coqualeetza between 1888 and 1911, complete information is available for 438. Of these, 198, or 45 percent, had lost one or both parents: 82 had a living father but no mother; 86 had a mother but were fatherless; 30 were without either parent.⁵⁴ The records of the Kuper Island School contain pertinent data on 171 children enrolling between 1890 and

1906. Eighty-five--almost 50 percent--came from families in which one or both parents had died. Fifty had only a mother; 20 had only a father; 15 were without either parent.⁵⁵ The admissions registers of All Hallows School, at Yale, and St. George's School, at Lytton, do not contain complete information regarding parents, but they do indicate that the parents of many pupils were dead, and that several couples were separated or unmarried.⁵⁶

Definite conclusions about the significance of the above information cannot be reached without a clearer picture of orphanage rates in the Indian population at large during this period. Such statistics are not contained in available census data. But one of the most striking characteristics of the school children does seem to have been that many were orphans. When the Port Simpson Boys' Home first opened, it housed "twenty-five orphans or lads from distant Reserves."⁵⁷ Alfred Hall wrote that because heathens would not leave their daughters in his Alert Bay Girls' Home, "those we have are orphans or the children of Christian parents."⁵⁸

There is abundant evidence that it was the death of parents that produced the enrollment of many Indian children. At Kuper Island, in 1899, the principal claimed he was being deluged with applications, and explained: "Through disasters, which, a few years ago befell a considerable number of Indians engaged in the sealing industry, many children have been left orphans and their guardians would also be glad to have them placed in the school."⁵⁹ When a former pupil sent her daughter to All Hallows, she wrote the principal: "I sent my little girl to you because [sic] I am dying."⁶⁰ Marriage breakdown also prompted applications. Tommy Piel asked Donckele to enroll his two nieces at

Kuper Island; one was "the daughter of his sister Mary who has lately been sent away by her husband."⁶¹

The death of only one parent did not, however, always encourage enrollment: whether it did so depended in large part on the age of the child. Young children might be a greater economic burden than a single parent could support. Mrs. Purser sent her three children under the age of 12 to the Kuper Island School in 1905 because her husband's recent death meant that she would have to go out to work, and would no longer have the time or financial resources to give them the care and attention they required.⁶² In contrast, an older child could be an economic asset to a single parent, by performing tasks previously done by the deceased parent. Thus Donckele discharged one older boy from Kuper Island, explaining: "On account of his mother having died lately he will have to help his father at home."⁶³ After her husband died, Mrs. Sam Crocker enrolled her twelve year old son, Abraham, at Kuper Island, on the grounds that she was "without any means of sustaining her family." But when Abraham reached the age of sixteen or seventeen, Mrs. Crocker asked the principal to discharge him because she was destitute, and needed "to have him home to help her."⁶⁴ Thus the age of the child at the time his parent died largely determined whether his enrollment would be financially advantageous.

It is not entirely clear how the apparent willingness of Indian families to enroll young orphans relates to ongoing social changes. The traditional, extended family of most British Columbia Indians had a multitude of "grandparents, aunts, uncles, and co-wives to share in the care of the many closely related children of the house."⁶⁵ When a child lost one or both parents, co-resident relatives outside his

immediate nuclear circle enlarged their already partial responsibility for his care. Did the frequent enrollment of orphans indicate the breakdown of this traditional way of dealing with such children? What does the fact that so many orphans were sent to boarding schools tell us about native attitudes towards children, and the changes in the Indian family?

The last chapter postulated that the small number of children, combined with the increasing nuclearization of the Indian family, produced a tightening of emotional bonds between parents and their children. If this hypothesis is correct, parents in general presumably found it hard to part with their children. Bereaved parents, however, should have found separation from their remaining family especially difficult; and ought to have been less (not more) willing than other parents to enroll their children--unless economic vicissitudes meant they could no longer care for them. But what of other relatives? Did they no longer aid widowed parents by babysitting, or by providing financial support? The comparative rarity of children should have increased the probability that they would have had both the emotional needs and financial resources to babysit partial orphans; or to adopt total orphans. On the other hand, that aunts, uncles, and grandparents were apparently less likely than before to co-reside with nephews, nieces, and grandchildren may have made such aid less probable. For while intensifying emotional ties between children and their own parents, the division of extended families into nuclear groups could have weakened bonds between the same children and their other relatives, by reducing the amount of contact they had with each other, and by diminishing their sense of community and mutual responsibility. It might also have been more difficult for relatives who lived in small, separate houses to care for the children of single working parents. Clearly, however,

we need to know much more about the exact state of the Indian family during this period, and have a considerably better understanding of the social significance of separate residences, before we can adequately explain why Indians seem to have been particularly willing to enroll orphans in boarding schools.

The policies of school officials may partially explain the large number of orphans in residential schools. Although J. H. Van Den Brink exaggerates when he says residential schools were "originally intended for orphans and children from problem families,"⁶⁶ officials apparently did give preference to the applications of orphans. At Kuper Island, for example, Donckele admitted orphans who were too young, or who even had severe physical handicaps--children he would otherwise have refused.⁶⁷ In 1902, he had sixteen students on the roll for whom he received no grant: while not obliged to admit so many, he found it "a very hard matter to refuse admittance for an orphan or a destitute child."⁶⁸ By 1924, it was explicit Government policy that "orphans, children of destitute parents and those living some distance from day schools on the reserves are given the preference, when the number of vacancies is limited."⁶⁹

The ages at which children enrolled in residential schools could be an important indicator not just of the way educators selected pupils, but of the relative importance of economic and affective considerations in the family's decision. Table II (page 43) is a frequency distribution of the ages at admission of pupils in five British Columbia residential schools.⁷⁰ The pupils entering Coqualeetza ranged from as young as three to as old as twenty-four. The mode age of entry was ten. The median was eleven: an equal number of children

TABLE II

Ages at Admission:

Age	Number of Pupils			
	Coqualeetza	Kuper Island	Lytton/Yale	Kamloops
3	8		2	
4	9			
5	21	1		
6	33	3	5	
7	44	9	21	2
8	32	12	29	2
9	40	10	27	5
10	47	33	34	3
11	39	9	18	3
12	43	6	25	7
13	46	3	24	1
14	35	1	34	
15	37	1	11	
16	33	1	5	
17	9			
18	9			1
Over 18	4			
Not Known		7	7	
Total	489	96	242	24
TOTAL KNOWN	489	89	235	24

entered under the age of eleven and over the age of eleven. The median was ten at Kuper Island, Lytton/Yale, and Kamloops.

In theory, the Indian Department wanted day schools, when available, to prepare younger children for the more advanced training they could get in the larger and often more distant residential schools.⁷¹ Occasionally, this system worked. Many of the children who travelled from the north to attend at Coqualeetza and Lytton were older pupils who came only after spending time in day or small boarding schools closer to home.⁷² However, the principals of most residential schools tried to get children while they were still as young as possible. The Department itself acknowledged that it "would be highly desirable, if it were practicable, to obtain entire possession of all Indian children after they attain to the age of seven or eight years."⁷³ At Kuper Island, G. Donckele had trouble getting younger children when the school first opened; but when applications multiplied, he let his older pupils go, replacing them with seven and eight year olds--most local children with no previous schooling.⁷⁴ If older, Donckele wrote, "the danger is that they have already contracted many of the vices of the older people, and once they have taken root it is very hard to eradicate them."⁷⁵ Similarly, the principal at Kamloops asked a recruiter to bring "un enfant de 8 à 9 ans, ou même de 7 ans."⁷⁶ The different recruiting policy no doubt accounts for the much higher percentage of teenagers entering Coqualeetza and Lytton, as compared with Kuper Island and Kamloops.

Since ten or eleven was an age at which children might be assumed capable of beginning to undertake significant roles in the family economy, the fact that half were this age or older when enrolled

indicates that the schools were not being used exclusively as a free babysitting service for those who would otherwise have been a drain on their family's finances. The exact degree to which children were able to contribute to the family at ten or eleven is, of course, problematic. Mrs. Sam Crocker, mentioned earlier, evidently considered her twelve year old son a financial burden, and believed that his enrollment helped her. In contrast, when her husband died, the mother of twelve year old "Emile" persistently badgered Donckele to release her son. Donckele resisted, arguing that Emile "would be only a bill of expense to her."⁷⁷ Perhaps in this case increased affective needs outweighed an increasingly marginal economic burden. Whatever the exact age at which the contributions children made began to exceed the cost of their maintenance, it is clear that enrollment was exacting economic sacrifice from a number of the parents of the older children.

On the other hand, that half of the children entering were under ten or eleven indicates that affective ties did not prevent a considerable number of parents from enrolling their very young children. Although the data is far from conclusive, one might speculate that, on balance, most parents had rather more to gain than lose economically by enrollment; and that emotional bonds played a less vital role overall than might have been expected. Whether recognition of the financial advantages to be realized by enrolling very young children was what actually prompted parents to do so, no doubt depended in large part on the economic situation of the individual family or band. While on the west coast of Vancouver Island parents made "generous donations of fish and venison" to one school "without thought of compensation,"⁷⁸ at Lytton and Yale they objected to a school policy requiring that they supply

their children's shoes.⁷⁹

Thus, parents and educators jointly selected pupils. Educators usually attempted to get young, demonstrably healthy children of both sexes. They gave preference to full-blooded Indians, to orphans, and to members of their own religious denomination. When necessary in order to fill their schools, they recruited natives of diverse origins. Indians who agreed to enroll their young were often those who believed in the future value of education as a tool of occupational and social advancement; or perhaps, on occasion, those who hoped for superior health conditions in the schools. Children frequently went to the school as the direct result of the death of one or both parents--most often to a school run by their own religious sect. Affective ties did not prevent parents from enrolling very young children; nor did economic considerations preclude the entry of older children.

CHAPTER IV

THE SCHOOL REGIMEN AND TRUANCY: POWER
TO COMPEL

In 1911, George Ditcham was fired as principal of St. George's Industrial School, at Lytton. In his last annual report, Ditcham bitterly described the situation he was leaving:

There are only five small boys at school--some finished and others absconded...one followed the other like cattle, and as the expense was too great for constables to bring them back and hold them at school, they are still away.¹

Parents encouraged the runaways, explaining to School Inspector Green in July of 1910 that their boys were "worked too hard and punished too severely." Green dismissed the Indians' charges as "greatly exaggerated,"² but soon a teacher quit the school without notice, and, in a letter to the missionary society which ran the school, "complained of the treatment the boys endured at the hands of Mr. Ditcham." After a personal investigation, the Anglican Bishop of New Westminster confirmed "the rumours of Mr. Ditcham's temper and punishment of the boys."³ The missionary society replaced Ditcham with Leonard Dawson, a man whom the school's most recent principal has described as "dictatorial."⁴ Entries in the school's admissions and attendance registers during the seven years Dawson was in charge make it plain that he failed to stop or control the truancy problem. Pupils ran away in droves, sometimes staying at the school only a few days between escapes.⁵ Their complaints remained essentially the same as when Ditcham had been principal: Indians

at Lytton told the 1916 Royal Commission that discipline at St. George's was "too harsh."⁶

While there are, unfortunately, no reliable truancy statistics, impressionistic evidence indicates that although the problem was unusually acute and enduring at Lytton, most other residential schools were also plagued, at least periodically, by runaways. Desertions became such a serious problem at Coqualeetza in 1894 and 1895 that Church authorities installed Joseph Hall as principal specifically because he was reputed to be "a strong disciplinarian."⁷ The principal at Williams Lake complained of poor attendance in 1902, explaining that "the children ran away too frequently and too easily."⁸ Rashes of truancy threw the Kuper Island School into near chaos on more than one occasion. After several boys disappeared in September 1894, the principal worried that he might lose control of the situation "unless some check be placed on the Pupils."⁹ This chapter will try to clarify why pupils ran from the boarding schools, and how officials dealt with the problem. Indirectly, it will demonstrate that the conflict between native and school rhythms could make residential schools a trying experience for educators, and a profoundly traumatic one for children.

Homesickness was naturally a prominent cause of discontent. At Williams Lake, the Indian Agent found that

an Indian child, no matter how well he may be treated at any school, when he goes home does not like to leave his parents. Consequently, when the vacation is over and children return to school, their whole mind is on their parents for about two weeks, and during that time they think of nothing else but running away.¹⁰

Economic responsibilities to their families caused some children to play truant. When four boys escaped from the Kuper Island School in 1894, Father Donckele wrote the Indian Agent that "no reasons were given

for their truancy, but I presume that the fishing attractions were chiefly the cause of it."¹¹ Issac Charley deserted Coqualeetza in February of 1898; he was "found with his father at a fishing camp."¹²

Children also ran from the schools to take part in traditional activities that the school was interrupting. A. W. Corker was fortunate to be able to report from Alert Bay in 1898 that "in spite of the repeated request of the old people for their boys to attend the winter dances, they stuck to their studies very well."¹³ In contrast, pupils at Coqualeetza left for Cultus Lake, five miles away, to witness the traditional festivities.¹⁴ Similarly, many boys deserted Kuper Island each year during January and February; according to Donckele, the annual winter dances were the "primary cause." In fact, these "nocturnal gatherings" proved such a strong attraction in 1897 that Donckele and the foreman moved their quarters next to the boys' dormitory: "Then if any of the boys take a notion to attend the dances they have to escape during the day time."¹⁵

The fact that no aspect of their heritage was usually permitted in the schools probably encouraged children to play truant in order to assist at cultural events. Groups of boys periodically attempted their dances at the Kuper Island School, but whenever Donckele caught them at it, he punished them.¹⁶ Nor were children allowed to use their own language--though most knew little if any English when they first went to school. Using oral histories and Department reports, Robert Levine and Fréda Cooper have shown convincingly that, starting in the 1890s, almost all residential schools in British Columbia tried to suppress native languages.¹⁷ Manuscript sources from the schools corroborate this conclusion. In 1906, School Inspector Green officially

approved a list of rules for Coqualeetza. Twice weekly, children repeated: "We must not talk Indian (except when allowed)"; infractions were "reported nightly."¹⁸ The "Conduct Books" of the Kuper Island School show that pupils there were punished routinely for "talking Indian."¹⁹ As Cooper and Levine point out, a rule prohibiting an individual's native language, suddenly imposed, is "not like a rule against staying up late... it is more comparable to a rule requiring a certain number of breaths per minute, all day long."²⁰ Combined with the often harsh discipline used in its enforcement, it almost certainly encouraged truancy.

Dislike of the school routine also promoted truancy. In the Indian home, with its pre-industrial rhythms, time was not carefully measured. But "once within the school gates, the child entered the new universe of disciplined time."²¹ Educators considered the rigidly structured way they ran the schools as important as any of the subjects on the curriculum. The medium was also the essential message:

The value of time is practically exemplified to [the pupil] in the class room, at recreation, or in any fatigue work which he may be required to perform, by the recurrence every day of the hour at which each duty has to commence and again of the time by which it should be completed.²²

The bell became the symbol of the new rhythms the Indian child must adopt. Mrs. A. Cooper, who attended Coqualeetza in the 1890s, remembers that "everything was on time, and you had to be on time...everything was done by the bell."²³ Margaret Butcher recorded the daily routine of the Kitimat School: a series of bells cut the day into perfectly compartmentalized units of time, to each of which corresponded a specific place and a specific activity.²⁴

A system of rules and punishments forced children to be in the right place at the right time. Coqualeetza's list of rules stipulated: "We

must be punctual...We must not break bounds...We must not go to the dormitories in daytime."²⁵ The Kuper Island School's "Conduct Books" show that those who failed to obey such precepts were punished. "Coming late," "slow in getting up," "playing during work hours," and "breaking bounds" were some of the infractions which commonly led to punishment. Penalties normally involved a further deprivation of freedom, such as "confinement," or "work at recess."²⁶

Being plunged into such a radically different rhythm of existence was "awfully hard"²⁷ for children. Margaret Butcher describes the arrival at Kitimat of six small Bella Coola youngsters: "They were here there and everywhere. I'd get one beside me to do some sewing and two would be missing--gone out to play...If it was play time why need they stop when a bell rang?"²⁸ As they learned what was expected of them, many pupils became discontented. One official saw in Kamloops pupils "that restlessness akin to a caged-up bird seeking its freedom."²⁹ At Stuart Lake, Joseph Allard observed how such feelings sometimes led to action:

They stood or sat sullenly in the corners of the recreation room and gave the impression that their greatest desire was to get out of their prison...A few remained wild and missed no chance to run away into the woods close by the school and then to their home or even to the far away grounds where their parents had gone.³⁰

Another cause of dissatisfaction was the manual labour pupils had to perform. Educators believed Indian children needed "to be taught to work quite as much as they do to read or spell."³¹ For half of each day, therefore, children over about the age of eight worked at chores or trades. Many schools emphasized farming skills, despite their apparent impracticality for most coastal Indians. Dairying, said Joseph Hall of Coqualeetza,

has...the advantage of creating and fostering a large number of very important qualities and habits...carefulness, cleanliness, promptness,

regularity, gentleness, the connection between cause and effect, between the use of right means and best results.³²

Since all the schools ran on extremely tight budgets, most of the agricultural work children did was as important for the schools' survival as it was as a pedagogical instrument. "Training" in specific "trades" often occurred only when the school required such work; or continued even in the absence of an instructor.³³

Indians appreciated instruction in such practical skills as carpentry, but more often they resented the menial labour of the schools. Pupils at Kamloops showed a "natural repugnance" to manual work; at Williams Lake, it was "disagreeable both to parents and children."³⁴ Kootenay Indians at first objected to farm work because they felt it confused sex roles: "According to Kootenay idea man should not humble himself to dig or plough. The gun was the toy for boys and the tool for men, the rest was left for women."³⁵ At Coqualeetza, "boys ran away from the fields where they were digging potatoes and were found fishing in Luckaluck Creek."³⁶ Social pretensions could also make work undesirable. One man withdrew his daughter from the Kuper Island School against the principal's wishes, apparently because he had an "aristocratic" heritage. He told Donckele that "he was a tyhee and that consequently he did not wish that his daughter should do any work in the kitchen laundry or sewing room."³⁷

In explaining truancy, pupils and parents almost always mentioned school food. After Tobie fled from Kuper Island, his parents charged that "their boy had only a small piece of bread to eat"; Donckele dismissed the allegation as ridiculous.³⁸ Children who deserted the Kamloops School informed their parents that "they had not sufficient food, but had to 'catch little fish and to eat them raw,'"³⁹ At

Stuart Lake, Joseph Allard found that the parents of truants "often unjustly accused me of starving them."⁴⁰ School officials admitted that the change in diet could have a deleterious effect on the health of their pupils: the doctor advised that three pupils at Kuper Island who "were used to live almost exclusively on fish and oil" be sent home.⁴¹ But School Inspector Green reported from all the schools he visited that the food was "plentiful and good," or "plain, but good and abundant."⁴²

However, the schools operated under severe financial constraints--and that fact was frequently reflected in their menus. At Kuper Island, Donckele was infuriated with new dietary restrictions issued in 1894, fearing a mass exodus of his pupils. Later he reported "a good deal of dissatisfaction," and observed that had the staff not shared their butter with the children, the latter would have had only "dry bread with black tea." Noting that the older boys had been doing heavy farm work and land-clearing, the principal concluded: "Such a kind of work would certainly entitle them to at least a plate of porridge with less than [one-half ounce] of butter on their bread in the morning."⁴³

It seems apparent that most schools tried to feed too many children on too small a budget. Mrs. E. Joyce recalls that the Spartan diet at Alert Bay was regular and "quite all right, but a lot of times we were hungry."⁴⁴ Joe Clemine, who went to the school at Williams Lake, says flatly: "You go hungry all the time in there."⁴⁵ To prevent "under-feeding," the principal at Fraser Lake decided to let pupils help themselves to "whatever there is being served."⁴⁶ But according to Mrs. R. Hall, a pupil there at the time, what was served "wasn't fit to give to dogs."⁴⁷ Children who resorted to pilfering to satisfy their appetites

at Kamloops were shown vividly "how such actions would bring them to the penitentiary for a few years."⁴⁸ At Kuper Island, a boy caught "stealing plumbs [sic]" was put on a diet of bread and water.⁴⁹

The various means used to eliminate the native culture, and to make children accept the new routine, workload, and diet, increased unhappiness, and encouraged truancy. Religious instruction and exhortation played a central role in all the schools. Principals were often clergymen who wished to make their pupils docile through the internalization of correct religious values: "It is only by thoroughly imbuing the minds of Indian children with sentiments of Christianity that their proud and stubborn disposition can be subdued."⁵⁰ Principals generally gave catechism the preeminent place in the "academic" curriculum. Writing to the Church Missionary Society from Alert Bay in 1906, Alfred Hall tried to reassure officials so that they would continue to support the industrial school. "Although a government school," he explained, "it is virtually given over to the CMS. Mr. Corker has quite a free hand and the pupils are taught as much of the Bible as if the CMS had built the school."⁵¹

Pupils found the emphasis on religion onerous. One Sunday at Coqualeetza, Peter Kelly made the mistake of whistling, and was sternly reprimanded by Joseph Hall: "It isn't you that feels like whistling on a Sunday morning--it's the Devil, boy--remember that!"⁵² Mrs. A. Cooper recalls that the revival meetings held at Coqualeetza stressed the intrinsic evil of the Indian heritage, and were a source of genuine fear.⁵³ Joe Clemine, of Williams Lake, has similar memories. There was "nothing but religion in my days, nothing else," he states. "You got to pray every move you make in there."⁵⁴

The schools also attempted to institute complete surveillance of the pupils' lives, and to unfailingly rebuke any transgression of established rules. Erik Erikson has noted that the philosophy of traditional Sioux discipline differed fundamentally from that of the Europeans. The Sioux believed a "child should be permitted to be an individualist while young," but "the dominating classes in Western civilization...have been guided by the conviction that a systematic regulation of functions and impulses in earliest childhood is the surest safeguard for later effective functioning in society."⁵⁵ Most British Columbia Indians appear to have resembled the Sioux in their conception of correct discipline. White administrators and educators all agreed that British Columbia natives were too mild with their children. Agent Halliday wrote of the Kwakiutls:

In their home life there is no such thing as compulsory obedience. If a child is asked to do anything and does it, it is well, but if it refuses, no attention is paid to the refusal. The children are allowed to do as they please.⁵⁶

From the Queen Charlottes, Agent Deasy asserted that "it is proverbial of the Indian that he will not chastise the young." He claimed: "I have been among Indians for half a century, and have [yet] to see the first parent chastising his or her child."⁵⁷

In contrast, school officials employed elaborate systems to detect and penalize disobedient children. Many thought "continual supervision" necessary;⁵⁸ and used student monitors to achieve it.⁵⁹ For minor violations of routine and rules, pupils in most schools experienced an intensification of the stern school regime. At St. Mary's Mission, the principal reported: "We usually punish the boys by giving them lines to write, depriving them of play, or by giving them a meal on their knees in the refectory."⁶⁰ At Kuper Island, a boy who used "bad

language" received "bread and water for dinner"; for breaking bounds, another was punished by "confinement and kneeling down"; for "writing letters to girls," a third received a "public reprimand."⁶¹

There is no doubt that resentment of the new discipline was an added reason for students to play truant. While Donckele consistently denied that his pupils received harsh treatment, he sometimes described prior punishment which might have angered truants. "Felix," for example, ran away shortly after he "had to take his breakfast of water and bread, with a plate containing 18 stolen pencils placed before him." "Charles" and "Albert" left the school in March 1899, two days after they were forced to write lines.⁶² Joe Clemine describes a more serious rebellion against discipline which occurred at Williams Lake. All the boys were "locked up" after two of them acted a "little rough." Feeling "just like prisoners," they decided to break out, even though it was winter, and the snow was deep: "Seventeen boys ran out of that house. I was one of them. We beat it--been locked up in there for son long so we had to beat it...."⁶³

Most schools also used some corporal punishment. A few educators were initially reluctant to do so, fearing the reaction of Indian parents. Even in the public schools, where "the rod would appear to be the chief means employed to obtain necessary discipline," parental complaints concerned administrators.⁶⁴ But Indian parents were generally even more sensitive than white parents, for corporal punishment had little place in their heritage. Indians used physical abuse less often as punishment than as one element of puberty rites: in these very special circumstances, an elderly man would whip boys "even to the point of shedding blood."⁶⁵ To be beaten by a white man, as a form of

opprobrium was, however, intolerable. E. C. Chirouse, in charge of the school at St. Mary's Mission, observed that "the Indian thinks it an awful disgrace to be struck."⁶⁶

It is clear, however, that officials in the majority of British Columbia residential schools used some form of physical threat to make pupils do their bidding. At Coqualeetza, corporal punishment was "resorted to more or less, when other means fail."⁶⁷ The staff of the Port Simpson Girls' Home dealt with "extreme cases" by "whipping or solitary confinement."⁶⁸ Mrs. R. Hall describes what children at Fraser Lake faced for speaking their own language: "They had these straps, these thick straps that the Sisters carried under their aprons."⁶⁹ In the fifteen years following the opening of the Kuper Island School, its officials dispensed progressively harsher discipline. When nine year old "Thomas" was turned in by "Antoine" for stealing apples in September 1903, he suffered "whipping and confinement." Two months later, he received the same punishment for "skulking."⁷⁰ It was such treatment which probably inspired a delegation of Indians to complain to the local Indian Agent a few years later that "the small children should not be punished severely."⁷¹ No doubt it also inspired truancy. Yet, the recurring, seemingly unsolvable problem which had initially prompted the principal at Kuper Island to seek authorization for "whipping or lashing with a cat o' nine tails" was truancy itself.⁷²

In the early years of the schools' existence, officials became convinced that strong measures must be taken to control truancy; that they must compel the attendance of pupils who voluntarily enrolled. Parents of applicants were required to sign a document committing their children for a set number of years, or "until such time as the Department

considers it advisable to grant his or her discharge."⁷³ The terms of the contracts forbade children to leave, temporarily or permanently, without the authorization of the Department.⁷⁴ But a disturbing number of Indians "only laughed at the idea."⁷⁵ Most principals believed, like Donckele of Kuper Island, that the Department must act "in a vigorous manner to make the Pupils and their Parents comply with the agreement they have signed; otherwise, there will be a continual changing of Pupils."⁷⁶

During the 1890s, the schools had little control over truants. In some circumstances, officials lacked the legal power to compel continued attendance. Joseph Hall faced a very frustrating situation when he took over Coqualeetza in 1896. Departmental regulations stated that if parents of a different Christian faith raised religious objections, school officials must release their children immediately. Numerous Catholic parents took advantage of that provision to keep their young out of Coqualeetza.⁷⁷ Hall was not sure if he had the power to force halfbreeds, not legally wards of the Government, to attend. Moreover, in what he termed a "loose way of doing business," some of his predecessors had enrolled children without obtaining written contracts, so that, as one judge told him, if the parents applied for "a writ of Habeas Corpus" they would unquestionably receive it.⁷⁸

Early schools also lacked the financial and logistical resources to compel the return of truant pupils. Donckele noted that "moral persuasion" frequently failed, and that there were no stronger means at his disposal. He contrasted the situation in British Columbia with that on the prairies, where

by keeping a detachment of Mounted Police, as I have witnessed at the St. Joseph's Industrial School, they can prevent [pupils] from

running away, but here we have no means whatsoever of compelling them to send their children to school and to make them stay for a certain length of time.⁷⁹

Thus, when two boys successfully escaped from the Kamloops School in 1899, A. Carion had no means to retrieve them: "Je n'ai personne à qui je puisse me fier pour aller à la recherche de ces deux enfants." He left no doubt that continued attendance depended on parental cooperation: "Les parents ou amis qui mettent des enfants à l'école doivent être prêts à les ramener [lorsqu']ils désertent."⁸⁰

When the schools were first established, Indians could often, in practice, decide whether and how long enrolled pupils stayed in school, even though that power was officially invested in school authorities. The record of pupils discharged from the Kuper Island School until 30 June 1906 reveals that one pupil "left without permission"; of another, that her "mother kept her home."⁸¹ The Coqualeetza Register is replete with entries such as that for Joseph Andrews: "Was discharged because taken away by his father for a holiday and was not returned"; or that for Theresa Dilly: "Stolen away by her mother Sep[tember] 1899. Discharged March 31, 1900"; or that for Edith Waitt: "Ran away Aug[ust] 9, 1900...[Discharged] Oct[ober] 1, [19]00."⁸² Lacking real power to enforce attendance, principals instead made full use of their power to deny it. Joseph Hall told the father of one truant girl that "unless he would engage to bring [her] back [to Coqualeetza] within a reasonable time and to remain for a term of years he need not bring her back at all."⁸³ The Williams Lake School was plagued with runaways in 1902; the principal stated that because the Indians "did not seem to find anything reprehensible in this...we were forced to set an example in having a few of them expelled."⁸⁴

By about the turn of the century, however, some schools were beginning to assert their legal authority over truants. In February of 1896, Donckele acknowledged receipt of a Department "circular" which evidently instructed him to compel the attendance of pupils, according to the terms of their signed contracts.⁸⁵ In September, the Acting Principal, G. C. Van Gothen, informed Agent Lomas that two boys had run from the school, and asked: "Will you kindly have both boys arrested and returned to the School as soon as possible[?]" A few days later, Van Gothen thanked Lomas for "prompt action" in the matter.⁸⁶

Despite similar instances of clear compulsion during the next few years, however, Donckele and other administrators seemed to treat one which dragged on for several months in 1900 as a test case of sorts. It became a gauge of the Department's willingness to compel the return of truants, both because of the stubborn resistance of the pupil's family, and because of the distance from which he had to be returned. When Willie failed to return from holidays on the Fraser, in July, Donckele swore out informations before a Justice of the Peace, and received warrants for the arrest of Willie, and for his father as well, "should [he] make any opposition." Donckele sent the warrants to Agent Devlin, along with a copy of the pertinent regulations, and the assurance: "I have written to Mr. Superintendent Vowell to tell him that I was going to have the law enforced and he has answered me that he has noted the contents of my letter." To prevent the Indians from thinking that "the law governing Indian schools is but a mere letter," Donckele offered to pay the costs of enforcing it. It was not until three months later--only after Devlin had sought and obtained the formal approval of Superintendent Vowell--that Willie was forcibly returned to the school.

Both he and his father, who a few months earlier had been "laughing all the time that there is no policeman after him," were reported to be "very much frightened."⁸⁷

In succeeding years, such enforcement of attendance became widespread. By 1913, the principal at Williams Lake was being much stricter than he had been in 1902: "As soon as [a pupil] is missing, the reverend principal himself starts tracing him until brought back."⁸⁸ The Lytton School, with its serious truancy problems, made extensive use of constables to bring errant pupils back to school. Its authorities even began to punish parents who abetted truancy. After Matthew Smith ran home in January of 1918, his father was "punished for Harboursing...sent to Jail...by Indian Agent." Perhaps from fear of prosecution, many parents around Lytton began--contrary to almost all descriptions of their past behavior--to help school officials enforce attendance, some returning pupils repeatedly to the school from which they had run.⁸⁹

Truant pupils almost always faced corporal punishment on their return. At Kuper Island, whipping was first employed as a means of discouraging runaways. Principals hoped to frighten the children into remaining. At Kamloops, A. Carion whipped returned truants, and asked the Indian Agent to come and speak to them; if he could "faire craindre les enfants, ce serait bien."⁹⁰ There is little evidence that fear was an efficacious tool for ensuring attendance. Where parents considered discipline "too harsh"--as at Lytton--recruitment of new pupils became an impossible task.⁹¹ Moreover, fear could produce exactly what it was supposed to prevent, as Donckele found one evening in February 1897:

I warned them, that should they persist in breaking the regulations [regarding truancy]...an exemplary punishment would surely be inflicted on some of the culprits. As soon as I was through speaking I went up to the dormitories with the boys, but Gustave ran out of the house and disappeared in the darkness....⁹²

CHAPTER V

FRAGMENTATION OF FAMILIES: EXTENT
AND DURATION

Residential schools were designed to acculturate the Indian child more rapidly than day schools by providing educators with total control of his environment. Boarding the child would not only ensure his regular attendance, but largely eliminate the retrograde influences of his heathen, nomadic family. The degree of separation which the schools should try to effect between pupils and their homes was a matter of debate among administrators. In the early 1890s, most thought such associations ought to be kept to an absolute minimum by constructing the schools some distance from reserves.¹ Parents, however, were much less willing to enroll their young when it necessitated great separation--a fact which helped prompt Deputy Superintendent General James Smart to conclude in 1899 that the institutions should be built on reserves, "where the parents can see the children from time to time, and thus greatly mitigate the sense of separation."² This chapter will investigate the extent to which attendance at residential schools isolated children from their families; and how long, for most pupils, attendance, and the resulting isolation, continued.

While attendance always involved a degree of separation between parents and children, it divided siblings somewhat less often. Of the 489 pupils attending Coqualeetza between 1888 and 1911, at least 199

had a brother or sister who also attended--almost always concurrently. Fifty-one families sent 2 children; nineteen sent 3; six sent 4; two sent 5; and one sent 6.³ A minimum of 46 percent (N=45/96) of pupils entering the Kuper Island School between 1897 and 1906 had siblings in attendance.⁴ Although the records are difficult to calculate precisely, it would appear that even more of the pupils at St. George's (Lytton) and All Hallows (Yale) had family members in attendance with them than was the case at Coqualeetza and Kuper Island. Instances of more distant relationship also emerge. Hope Duncan attended All Hallows with two aunts; when that institution amalgamated with the Boys' School at Lytton, she also had an uncle present.⁵

There is evidence that school officials were aware of such bonds and took them into consideration. At Kuper Island, the attendance register records that in December of 1896 "No. 36 took his brother Johnny to the Doctor at Duncan's."⁶ At Coqualeetza, Anna Tanasse and her sister, Mary, who had entered the school a year and a half apart, were both granted a holiday of one week on the same day in October 1897.⁷

The existence of family groups in the schools may help to explain the willingness of parents to enroll fairly young children: family ties could continue, if in attenuated form, within the walls of the institution. When James and Mary Forrest enrolled their six year old son, Jimmy, at Coqualeetza, for example, they also enrolled twelve year old Emily and eight year old Martha. Moreover, Louisa, who was fifteen, had already been in the school for a year, and would presumably be able to watch out for them.⁸ One must be careful, however, not to overstate the social implications of brothers attending with sisters: though

enrolled in the same school, they worked in different classes, and lived in different dormitories. On the other hand, the relationship between brothers (or between sisters) may have grown increasingly close in unfamiliar and sometimes threatening surroundings: on several occasions, brothers appear to have escaped together from the Lytton School.⁹

Most of the schools permitted parents to visit their children periodically. One of the main attributes of St. Mary's Mission, according to its principal, was that, being close to both rail and water transportation, it was easily accessible to parents.¹⁰ Even at Clayoquot, where school officials had deliberately selected a site secluded from Indian villages, a special house was constructed so visiting parents could remain overnight.¹¹ Almost all residential schools invited parents and friends to assist at examinations, award ceremonies, or dramas staged by students.¹² Naturally the frequency--indeed, the possibility--of visits depended on the distance of the school from the pupils' home.

While recognizing their value in reconciling parents and pupils to residential education, school officials liked to keep such visits under tight control. The principal at Kamloops complained in 1891 and 1892 that the school's location on a reserve caused "too many visitors." Their presence, he claimed, produced "considerable uneasiness" among pupils, and "inconvenience to the officers in charge."¹³ The directors of the Fraser Lake School at first encouraged visits, but when huge crowds of Indians continued to invade the school each Sunday, their patience wore thin. Not only parents, but many young Indians came, "bringing camp ideas," and upsetting discipline. However, all attempts to limit the visits to parents, or to certain hours, soon failed. Indians

insisted on seeing their children or friends, and inspecting the conditions in which they lived. Although those at Fraser Lake finally agreed to stay "in the place that has been assigned to them," instead of "wander[ing] all over the house,"¹⁴ not all natives were so tractable. At Kitimat, the old chief "would come to the Home, walk right in to any room and sit down for a talk...At times he would go up to the Dormitories and examine the bedding etc."¹⁵

Where schools were close to the reserves, pupils were often allowed weekend breaks. At Alberni, inmates could spend Friday nights, and Saturday until 5 P.M. with their families.¹⁶ When parents were in the village at Kitimat, "the children are allowed down to their own Homes on Sat[urday] aft[ernoon] provided they are 'called for' and brought back."¹⁷

On the other hand, educators were reluctant to entrust pupils to their parents for longer summer vacations. Early in the 1890s, the Department urged schools not to let pupils go home during the summer.¹⁸ A. Carion reported from Kamloops in 1894 that "it is decidedly a great advantage to keep the children under constant supervision during the whole year." He permitted three weeks of "relaxation" within the school, letting only a few favoured students visit their parents for one or two days.¹⁹

However, it soon became evident to most principals, and to the Department, that the only practical course was to allow pupils a few weeks to be with their parents during the summer. In his first year of operation at Kuper Island, G. Donckele took his pupils boating and picnicking instead of letting them go home. But they "would be whole days pining around the buildings for their parents, and the consequence

was that a good many got sick." Equally, parents had such great need of their older children as helpers during the fishing season that "unless extreme measures be taken, the Parents will forcibly take away their children." Out of necessity, Donckele began allowing a five to six week break during the fishing season.²⁰ Summer holidays became an area in which Indians vigorously asserted their rights: when a rumour circulated at Kuper Island in 1895 that the holidays were to be abolished, three boys attempted to set the school on fire.²¹

Holidays at many coastal schools lasted four to six weeks for older pupils, even though the Department officially allowed only three weeks.²² Pupils took longer holidays because the fishing season was longer.²³ Not only parents, but cannery owners as well encouraged them to stay away;²⁴ they were an irreplaceable labour force. The length of holidays could thus reflect the state of the fishing industry. While pupils at Alert Bay normally took longer holidays than officially sanctioned, A. W. Corker reported in 1898 that "owing to a poor fishing season the old pupils returned to the school at once."²⁵ Originally designed to overcome the irregularity and disruption caused by children's work, residential schools were obliged to adapt, in some measure, to the rhythms of the Indian family.

Schools also granted special permission to individual students to go home at other times of the year to visit or help their parents. For example, Donckele wrote from Kuper Island in 1900 that:

On Friday evening Felix came to my room and asked me if he could go to Cowichan to cut down his mother's oats...As his mother is a widow I allowed him leave of absence from Saturday to the following Wednesday.²⁶

At Kamloops, the principal stated that special visits were allowed "in case of serious sickness or death in the family of the pupil."²⁷ The

policy was apparently common to all schools: "Annie" was home from Kuper Island for thirty-one days in 1895 because her father died;²⁸ in 1915, Sydney Wesley travelled all the way from Lytton to his home at Kincolith, north of Prince Rupert, to see his dying mother.²⁹ Pupils who were themselves sick also almost always went home. Parents and children preferred to be together in such cases; and principals hoped to avoid both contagion and bad publicity for their schools.

Educators wanted to keep children in the boarding schools for up to ten years. They believed Indians needed "an unusually long period of most careful moral and religious training." Parents, however, were reluctant to have their families split up for so long.³⁰ In the early 1890s, they signed contracts committing their young for three to five years; after 1895, they had to accept contracts which granted the Department full discretion regarding length of stay.³¹ But most Indians felt little compunction about removing their children earlier if the need or desire arose. At Kuper Island, parents withdrew their daughters "as soon as they were able to give assistance."³² Moreover, the indiscriminate admittance of applicants, combined with poor health conditions in the schools, meant that many children remained only short periods before illness forced them to leave.

Once the schools began to enforce the signed contracts, the power of parents to determine the length of their children's attendance was severely diminished. In addition, while health problems still ended the schooling of many children prematurely, screening processes meant that more pupils who entered were physically capable of remaining several years.

Table III (page 69) is a frequency distribution of the lengths of enrollment of pupils admitted to Coqualeetza between 1888 and 1902; and discharged from Kuper Island between 1890 and 1906.³³ The median lengths of enrollment at the two schools differed fairly considerably: it was two years, ten months at Coqualeetza; three years, seven months at Kuper Island. While only 23.4 percent of Coqualeetza's students were enrolled five years or more, over 39 percent of those at Kuper Island officially stayed that long. The difference probably reflects several trends: many of the children entering Coqualeetza were teenagers who needed to finish an education they had already begun, while those at Kuper Island were predominantly younger children with no previous education; a high proportion of Coqualeetza's early pupils were Catholics who cut short their stay by expressing religious objections or by transferring to a Catholic school; and, finally, Kuper Island officials seem to have been especially energetic in compelling the return of truants.

Enrollment did not, of course, mean that the child was necessarily in attendance for the entire period. Children were sometimes left on the roll for months or even years after they had ceased to attend because school officials mistakenly expected them to return. Many others were periodically absent for extended periods due to illness or truancy.³⁴ Between 1890 and 1920, the number of pupils actually in British Columbia residential schools on the average day was usually eighty to ninety-five percent of the number on their rolls.³⁵ Of course, the situation could be much worse in individual schools. Of 88 pupils enrolled at Lytton in October of 1918, 12 missed time during the month due to illness, 17 "absconded," and 9 had not yet returned from holidays.³⁶ On the other hand, analysis of the lengths of

TABLE III

Lengths of Enrollment

Years on Roll	Number of Pupils	
	Coqualeetza	Kuper Island
Less than 1	66	16
1-2	38	29
2-3	45	15
3-4	42	13
4-5	35	13
5-6	14	17
6-7	12	14
7-8	4	16
8-9	9	4
9-10	9	5
10-11	10	
11-12	6	
12-13	3	
More than 13	2	
Not Known	10	
Total	305	142
TOTAL KNOWN	295	142

enrollment of students at any one school may understate the actual fragmentation of some families, since a minority of pupils attended more than a single boarding school. For example, many of Coqualeetza's Catholic pupils later attended at St. Mary's Mission.

The children who attended residential schools before 1920 do not appear to have been seriously alienated from their families or native patterns of life when they returned home. J. H. Van Den Brink states that young Haida who went back to the Queen Charlottes "after long absences" found themselves "permanently estranged from the life there."³⁷ It is clear, however, that only a minority were away from their families for unreasonably long periods; and that most retained at least some contact with reserve life while enrolled in school. Thus, although some administrators believed boarding schools were alienating Indian children from their own people and environment, without adequately equipping them to live among whites;³⁸ and while parents occasionally claimed that pupils returned home "disobedient and conceited,"³⁹ it is evident that most resumed family relationships with little difficulty, and pursued the same occupations they would have, had they never gone away to school.

Students almost always returned to live with their families after they completed their schooling. Examination of the Coqualeetza Register shows that those who were totally or partially orphaned went to live with the relatives they did have. Mary Maye, whose mother was dead, went to live with her father. Both of Chrissie Kelly's parents were dead; she took up residence with her brother. Similarly, the 1911 report of the Ahousaht School shows that boys returned to parents if they had them, to uncles if they did not; and took up a life of fishing

and sealing.⁴¹ In North Vancouver, girls educated at the Squamish boarding school helped their mothers make baskets to sell to tourists.⁴² A few ex-pupils of the schools attempted to work at the trades they had learned, or worked primarily for wages. "Still," noted the principal at Kamloops, "they always remain in contact with their own people."⁴³ E. Palmer Patterson II is thus correct when he states: "Social relationships and responsibilities and community ties were frequently left unchanged by [the new education's] introduction."⁴⁴

CHAPTER VI

EPILOGUE

Residential schools for Indians constituted one of the most rationally planned and resolutely executed campaigns of directed acculturation of the late nineteenth century. It was a campaign inspired by the same middle class theories of environmentalism, Social Darwinism, and enlightened humanitarianism that prompted similar efforts, in many parts of the Anglo-Saxon world, to control and improve the "unsucessful," the foreign, and the generally misled. Canadian reformers used education extensively to try to change the values and culture of working class, immigrant, and Indian children. But the singularly concerted form education took in the case of the Indians makes it a particularly inviting area of study. In few forums are the lines of cultural confrontation more clearly drawn, or the limitations of social control more effectively tested.

When administrators and missionaries first began building boarding schools in the 1880s, they hoped the new institutions would produce a generation of completely assimilated natives. Isolated as completely as possible from their families and culture, children would pass their formative years in a meticulously planned, civilizing environment. Having learned new trades, and internalized new occupational rhythms, they would not return to their reserves, but move instead to white settlements or cities, "and thus become amalgamated with the general community."¹

By the turn of the century, however, officials recognized that the ex-pupils "to all intents and purposes remain Indians, with all their deepest interests, affections and ambitions centred in their reserves."² It was becoming increasingly plain that residential school attendance was not, in itself, an influence sufficiently powerful to eradicate the Indian's attachment to his people and his culture. Consequently, educators adjusted their stated objectives to correspond more closely with their accomplishments. In 1910, Duncan Campbell Scott announced that residential education aimed "to fit the Indian for civilized life in his own environment."³

This alteration of goal in effect constituted administrative acknowledgement of the capacity of Indian rhythms to influence the nature and outcome of white acculturative efforts. Educators originally conceived boarding schools as powerful instruments of social change, over whose operation and results they would exercise complete control. But a whole range of factors--not just the efforts of the churches or of the Department of Indian Affairs--determined the educational experiences and social destinies of Indian children. Native patterns of life conditioned thousands of everyday decisions concerning details of attendance. Parents decided, out of a combination of emotional, economic, and cultural considerations, whether to send children to school; which children to send; at what age to let them go; how many to enroll; and, to a limited extent, how much contact between family and child existed during attendance. Children reacted to the schools' programs according to their traditional rhythms, sometimes refusing the new discipline with such persistence that officials were driven to seek new means of coercion. And, after the conclusion of their

education, most pupils resumed interrupted native patterns of life, instead of trying to join the white community.

Of course, there were some factors affecting attendance at residential schools--such as health problems--and others affecting the impact of the institutions--such as enduring prejudice against even educated Indians in the white population--over which neither administrators nor Indians had any real control. Still, these two groups jointly made the vast majority of decisions relating to the schools. It is unfortunate, therefore, that writers have portrayed Indians as essentially passive during this period. According to this view, they were a decimated and bewildered minority, fit only to "be pitied, converted, and administered."⁴ The perspective of the last one hundred years reinforces such assumptions: Indians, apparently "losers" in the cultural "battle" which transpired, let slip control of their own destiny; and watched powerlessly as they were helped or victimized by schemes of social manipulation. In fact, as Robert Berkhofer has noted, "both groups behaved according to their own cultural systems."⁵ Examining the way each group made attendance decisions reveals much not only about its cultural assumptions, but also about social problems and changes it was experiencing. Indian society was undergoing transformation. But that does not mean Indians were quiescent--or reacted without reference to important cultural rhythms. Any relationship is a mutual and perpetually changing phenomenon; to examine the contributions of only one of its participants is to see not half a picture, but a gravely distorted image.

ABBREVIATIONS

- AA: Anglican Church Archives, University of British Columbia
- CMSA: Church Missionary Society Archives, microfilm, University of British Columbia Library
- DIAN: Department of Indian Affairs District Office Archives, Nanaimo, British Columbia
- IA: Annual Report of the Department [Branch] of Indian Affairs
- OC: Orchard Collection, in the Aural History Collection of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia
- OR: Records of the Oblate Missions of British Columbia, microfilm, University of British Columbia Library
- PABC: Provincial Archives of British Columbia
- SGIS: St. George's Industrial School, Lytton, British Columbia
- UCA: U~~U~~nited Church Archives, University of British Columbia

NOTES

Chapter I

¹Canada, Department of the Interior, Report of the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended 31 December 1876 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1877), p. 6. From 1880 to 1937, a separate Department of Indian Affairs existed. From 1937 to 1950, the Indian Affairs Branch was part of the Department of Mines and Resources. Whatever particular Government Department to which the Branch belonged in any given year, it always issued its own annual report, abbreviated henceforth as IA. Until 1892 (Year Ended 31 December 1892), reports are for the calendar year, January to December. Between 1893 (Year Ended 30 June 1893) and 1906, reports conclude in June of each year. After 1907 (Year Ended 31 March 1907), reports conclude in March. In all future references, reports will be cited by the year in which they conclude.

²E. Palmer Patterson II, The Canadian Indian: A History Since 1500 (Don Mills: Collier MacMillan, 1972), p. 109.

³H. J. Vallery, "A History of Indian Education in Canada" (M.A. thesis, Queen's University, 1942), pp. 97, 104, 121.

⁴Robert Levine and Freda Cooper, "The Suppression of B.C. Languages: Filling in the Gaps in the Documentary Record," Sound Heritage IV (1976): 43-75.

⁵James W. St. G. Walker, "The Indian in Canadian Historical Writing," Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers (1971): 29.

⁶Gareth Stedman Jones, "Class Expression Versus Social Control? A Critique of Recent Trends in the Social History of Leisure," History Workshop Journal 4 (Autumn 1977): 163. Discussing the historiography of leisure, Jones comments: "It is as if class conflict in England had been a largely one-sided affair conducted by capitalism and its representatives; as if the rural and urban masses...were simply a blank page upon which each successive stage of capitalism has successfully imposed its imprint." (163)

⁷Jacqueline Gresko, "White 'Rites' and Indian 'Rites': Indian Education and Native Responses in the West, 1870-1910," in Western Canada Past and Present, ed. A. W. Rasporich (Calgary: McClelland & Stewart, 1975), pp. 163-181.

⁸Ibid., p. 174.

⁹The paper will make frequent use of detailed attendance records from four specific schools. The Roman Catholic School on Kuper Island was

one of the first of the new "industrial" institutes opened in 1890. The Government helped to transform the Methodist Coqualeetza Home at Sardis into a full-fledged industrial school in 1892-3, making it "the largest and most complete establishment of its kind in the province." IA, 1893, p. 220. The Anglican All Hallows Girls' Home at Yale operated from 1885 until 1918, when it amalgamated with St. George's Industrial School at Lytton. St. George's, also Anglican, had opened in 1903. The schools represent each of the three main religious denominations involved in Indian residential education in British Columbia. Together, they also dealt with a fairly diverse sample of the province's natives.

¹⁰ John Calam, "An Historical Survey of Boarding Schools and Public School Dormitories in Canada" (M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1962), p. 51.

¹¹ See Neil Sutherland, Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), pp. 17-21 and passim.

¹² Joseph F. Kett, Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present (New York: Basic Books, 1977), p. 123.

¹³ Ian Davey, "The Rhythm of Work and the Rhythm of School (Typescript, n.d.), p. 13.

¹⁴ David Rubinstein, School Attendance in London, 1870-1904: A Social History (Hull: University of Hull, 1969), pp. 2-3.

¹⁵ See Allan Smith, "American Culture and the Concept of Mission in Nineteenth Century English Canada," Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers (1971): 169-182. Smith argues that English Canadians, like Americans saw themselves as representing "a special and chosen society." (170)

¹⁶ J. T. M. Anderson, The Education of the New-Canadian (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1918), pp. 8, 26-27.

¹⁷ See W. Peter Ward, "The Oriental Immigrant and Canada's Protestant Clergy, 1858-1925," BC Studies 22 (Summer 1974): 40.

¹⁸ Haley P. Bamman, "Patterns of School Attendance in Toronto, 1844-1878: Some Spatial Considerations," in Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past, eds. Michael B. Katz and Paul H. Mattingly (New York: New York University Press, 1975), p. 218.

¹⁹ IA, 1889, p. xi; IA, 1876, p. 33.

²⁰ IA, 1907, p. 415.

²¹ IA, 1910, p. 273.

²² Ronald G. Haycock, The Image of the Indian (Waterloo: Waterloo Lutheran University, 1972), p. 1.

²³E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," Past and Present 38 (December 1967): 73.

²⁴IA, 1907, p. xxiii.

²⁵IA, 1907, p. xxiv.

²⁶British Columbia, Papers Relating to the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Condition of the Indians of the North-West Coast (Victoria: Richard Wolfenden, 1888), p. 47.

²⁷IA, 1907, p. 415.

²⁸R. D. Gidney, "Elementary Education in Upper Canada: A Reassessment," in Katz and Mattingly, p. 18.

²⁹British Columbia, "Public Schools Report, 1890-1891," Sessional Papers, 1892 (Victoria: Richard Wolfenden, 1892), p. 204.

³⁰British Columbia, "Public Schools Report, 1896-1897," Sessional Papers, 1898 (Victoria: Richard Wolfenden, 1898), p. 234.

³¹British Columbia, "Public Schools Report: Statistical Returns, 1894-1895," Sessional Papers, 1896 (Victoria: Richard Wolfenden, 1896), pp. ii-v.

³²Robert M. Stamp, "Education and the Economic and Social Milieu: The English-Canadian Scene from the 1870s to 1914," in Canadian Education: A History, eds. J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, and Louis-Philippe Audet (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970), p. 304.

³³H. Keith Hutchinson, "Dimensions of Ethnic Education: The Japanese in British Columbia, 1880-1940" (M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1972), pp. 57-63.

³⁴Jorgen Dahlie, "Learning on the Frontier: Scandinavian Immigrants and Education in Western Canada," Canadian and International Education 1 (December 1972): 60.

³⁵IA, 1901, pp. 38-51, 158-167.

³⁶Ibid., pp. 38-39.

³⁷IA, 1897, p. 88.

³⁸J. H. Van Den Brink, The Haida Indians: Cultural Change mainly between 1876-1970 (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1970), p. 139.

³⁹IA, 1888, p. 102.

⁴⁰IA, 1877, p. 49.

⁴¹IA, 1876, p. 33.

⁴²Rubinstein, p. 53.

⁴³British Columbia, "Public Schools Report, 1874-1875," Sessional Papers, 1876 (Victoria: Richard Wolfenden, 1876), p. 98.

⁴⁴IA, 1896, p. xxxvii.

⁴⁵IA, 1897, p. xxvi.

⁴⁶IA, 1913, p. 303.

⁴⁷As one recent observer has noted, "no other group in Canadian history has experienced government policy separating parent and child. Even the Japanese in the Second World War were removed as a group." James Spears, "An Experiment in Failure," Vancouver Province, 4 July 1978, p. 10.

⁴⁸Wilson Duff, The Indian History of British Columbia: vol. 1: The Impact of the White Man (Victoria: Provincial Museum, 1964), p. 45.

⁴⁹IA, 1901, pp. 38-51, 158-167; IA, 1920, pp. 34, 62-67.

⁵⁰W. T. Stanbury, "The Education Gap: Urban Indians in British Columbia," BC Studies 19 (Autumn 1973), p. 27.

Chapter II

¹Leo W. Simmons, ed., Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), p. 100.

²Indian Affairs Education Division, The Education of Indian Children in Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1965), p. 5.

³IA, 1920, p. 13.

⁴IA, 1898, p. xxvi. Thus, although Agent Halliday reported from the Kwawkwalth Agency in 1906 that "a few parents were fined for not sending the children to school," it is clear that compulsion was seldom employed. Seven years later, Agent Deasy was still urging the Department to institute coercion: "We shall never make the Indian realize the importance of education until we take hold of him and compel attendance at school." IA, 1906, p. 232; IA, 1913, p. 408.

⁵IA, 1920, p. 13.

⁶"Memoirs and diary; Indian School at Ft. St. James, later Fraser Lake. 'Lejac Indian School,' 1916-1922. Fr. Joseph Allard," 5 November 1923, Records of the Oblate Missions of British Columbia, microfilm, reel 712, University of British Columbia Library. The school diary was kept not by Allard but by an unnamed school teacher. Allard's memoirs appear at various places throughout the diary. Henceforth, references to this source will be shortened to Allard Memoirs or Fraser Lake Diary; the

abbreviation OR will indicate the Oblate Records held on microfilm in the University of British Columbia Library. With respect to compulsory enrollment, see also Charles Moser, Reminiscences of the West Coast of Vancouver Island (Victoria: Acme Press, 1926), p. 126. Moser states that compulsion began in 1922.

⁷The principal of the Old Sun's Boarding School in Alberta admitted in 1913 that "compulsion has to be used to get the parents to bring their children to the school." IA, 1913, p. 578.

⁸IA, 1904, p. 392.

⁹Fred Thornberg to Editor of Victoria Colonist, 1 August 1904; Editor of Victoria Colonist to Fred Thornberg, 31 August 1904; Editor of Victoria Colonist to Attorney-General Charles Wilson, 31 August 1904, MSS, Provincial Archives of British Columbia. Henceforth, the Provincial Archives will be abbreviated PABC.

¹⁰IA, 1911, p. 495.

¹¹IA, 1906, p. 257.

¹²G. Donckele to W. Lomas, 1 October 1894, MS, Department of Indian Affairs District Office Archives, Nanaimo, British Columbia. Henceforth, references to the archival collection at this location will be abbreviated DIAN.

¹³IA, 1889, p. 120.

¹⁴Joseph Hall to E. Robson, 14 January 1897, MS, PABC.

¹⁵IA, 1907, p. 235. The extent of Indian hostility is forcefully expressed in the report from the Alert Bay Girls' Home for 1907: "This home was reopened in August. Only three pupils entered, and as two of these left in three weeks, it was closed." IA, 1907, p. 395.

¹⁶Fr. Nicholas Coccola, Memoirs, in (Coccola) "Letters and Papers, 1881-1929," OR, reel 705.

¹⁷Denys Nelson, "The Life and Work of Father Coccola" (Typescript, PABC, 1924), p. 39.

¹⁸G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 5 May 1905; G. Donckele to W. Robertson, 22 August 1905, MSS, DIAN.

¹⁹IA, 1891, p. 169.

²⁰British Columbia Department of Education, B.C. Heritage Series: Our Native Peoples: vol. 10: Bella Coola (Victoria: Provincial Museum, 1953), pp. 35-36.

²¹Clellan S. Ford, Smoke from Their Fires: The Life of a Kwakiutl Chief (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 33.

²²Claudia Lewis, Indian Families of the Northwest Coast: The Impact of Change (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 41.

²³IA, 1895, p. xxii; IA, 1911, p. 236; Froben Epper, "Christie Indian Industrial School," in British Columbia Orphan's Friend [Historical Number, PABC] (December 1913), p. 175.

²⁴Such officials appear to have made a fairly concerted effort to change the co-residency patterns of Indians. At Alert Bay, Alfred Hall "wished to teach his charges to...have homes of their own instead of living in the community houses. At Kuper Island, both G. Donckele and Agent W. Robertson felt that discouraging young couples from living with their parents would help avert domestic problems. Their opinions were shared by most other administrators. Elizabeth Healey, comp., A History of Alert Bay and District (Vancouver: J. W. Bow & Co., 1958), p. 26; G. Donckele to W. Robertson, 13 November 1902, MS, DIAN; IA, 1911, p. 377.

²⁵The change was not, of course, a linear progression from extended to nuclear family; nor did the change occur to the same extent in all places at the same time. Claudia Lewis found modified versions of the extended family among the Coast Salish as late as 1954. Lewis, pp. 89-95.

²⁶Brink, p. 60.

²⁷IA, 1908, p. 257.

²⁸Duff, p. 39.

²⁹IA, 1907, p. xxii.

³⁰Helen Codere, Fighting with Property: A Study of Kwakiutl Potlatching and Warfare, 1792-1930 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966), p. 54.

³¹Brink, p. 65.

³²Alfred Hall to Church Missionary Society, 3 September 1895, Church Missionary Society Archives, North Pacific Mission, British Columbia, Original Letters (In) to 1900, microfilm, reel 49, University of British Columbia Library. Henceforth, the abbreviation CMSA will refer to the microfilm records of the Church Missionary Society which are held in the University of British Columbia Library.

³³Mrs. E. Joyce, Interview No. 965-1, Orchard Collection, PABC. Henceforth, the Orchard Collection will be abbreviated as OC.

³⁴Margaret Butcher, Correspondence, 1917, MSS, PABC. Butcher's papers deal with the period 1916-1919. Their disorganized state makes it difficult to cite precise dates; only the year of each reference will, therefore, be given.

³⁵IA, 1903, p. xxviii.

- ³⁶IA, 1910, p. 327.
- ³⁷IA, 1907, p. 235.
- ³⁸IA, 1907, p. 247.
- ³⁹IA, 1889, p. 120.
- ⁴⁰IA, 1890, p. 128.
- ⁴¹James P. Spradley, Guests Never Leave Hungry: The Autobiography of James Sewid, A Kwakiutl Indian (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1972), p. 60.
- ⁴²IA, 1902, p. 266.
- ⁴³IA, 1903, p. 245.
- ⁴⁴British Columbia Department of Education, B.C. Heritage Series: Our Native Peoples: vol. 1: Tsimshian (Victoria: Provincial Museum, 1952), p. 37.
- ⁴⁵IA, 1899, p. [272].
- ⁴⁶Clara Clare, Interview No. 400-1: "An Indian Child at School in Yale, B.C.," OC, PABC.
- ⁴⁷IA, 1893, p. 136. The report does not provide Antoine's full name.
- ⁴⁸IA, 1912, p. 396.
- ⁴⁹British Columbia, Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 4 vols. (Victoria: Acme Press, 1916), 3: 651.
- ⁵⁰Margaret Butcher, Correspondence, 1919, MSS, PABC.
- ⁵¹G. Donckele to W. Robertson, 25 October 1900, MS, DIAN.

Chapter III

- ¹IA, 1891, p. 136.
- ²IA, 1891, p. 135; IA, 1892, p. 260.
- ³British Columbia, Royal Commission, 1: 189, 236, 330; 2: 473, 480; 3: 561, 563, 650, 733; 4: 775.
- ⁴IA, 1890, p. xxx; IA, 1892, p. 260; IA, 1893, p. 131; IA, 1895, p. 156; "Report of the Vicariate of British Columbia, 1893, English translation," OR, reel 712.

⁵"Codex historicus and visit, St. Eugene's Mission, Cranbrook, 1895," OR, reel 712.

⁶IA, 1906, p. xxxiii.

⁷IA, 1908, p. 258.

⁸IA, 1904, p. 270.

⁹Alan Morley, Roar of the Breakers: A Biography of Peter Kelly (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1967), pp. 51-52.

¹⁰IA, 1898, p. 227.

¹¹W. M. Halliday, Potlatch and Totem: And the Recollections of an Indian Agent (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1935), p. 38.

¹²IA, 1892, p. 259.

¹³IA, 1895, p. 155.

¹⁴IA, 1910, p. 509.

¹⁵Margaret Butcher, Correspondence, 1917, MSS, PABC.

¹⁶Duncan Campbell Scott, "Indian Affairs, 1867-1912," in Canada and Its Provinces, eds. Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Co., 1914), VII: 615.

¹⁷G. Donckele to W. Lomas, 2 January 1893, MS, DIAN; Coqualeetza Industrial Institute Register of Admissions and Discharges (Doomsday Book), April 1888-24 October 1911, MS; ~~United Church Archives~~ University of British Columbia. The Register will henceforth be abbreviated as Coqualeetza Register; UCA will stand for the United Church Archives. G. C. Van Gothen, of Kuper Island, referred in 1896 to a Department "circular" as specifying certain key questions which an examining doctor ought to answer before applicants were admitted. But in many schools the rigorous examination of prospective pupils was not standard policy until much later. In 1910, the principal of the Port Simpson Girls' Home stated: "In compliance with the request from the Indian Department the examination now given those seeking admission has been made more rigid." G. C. Van Gothen to A. W. Vowell, 14 August 1896, MS, DIAN; IA, 1910, p. 521.

¹⁸St. George's Industrial School, Lytton, Register of Admissions, 7 July 1911-1922; All Hallows Girls' School, Yale, Register of Admissions, 1910-1922, MSS, St. George's Industrial School, Lytton. Henceforth, these Registers will be abbreviated as St. George's Admissions Register and All Hallows Admissions Register. The presence of documents at the St. George's School will be indicated by the notation SGIS.

¹⁹G. Donckele to W. Lomas, 13 May 1899, MS, DIAN.

²⁰IA, 1892, p. 260.

²¹For a discussion of Durieu's "system," see E. M. Lemert, "Life and Death of an Indian State," Human Organization 13 (Fall 1954): 23-27.

²²Allard Memoirs, OR, reel 712.

²³IA, 1897, p. xxvi.

²⁴IA, 1896, p. 88.

²⁵Coqualeetza Register, MS, UCA.

²⁶G. C. Van Gothen to A. W. Vowell, 14 August 1896; G. C. Van Gothen to A. W. Vowell, 8 September 1896, MSS, DIAN; St. George's Admissions Register, MS, SGIS.

²⁷A. W. Corker to CMS, 4 March 1897, CMSA, reel 51; Moser, p. 128.

²⁸"Report of the Vicariate of British Columbia, 1898, English translation," OR, reel 712.

²⁹"Report of the Vicariate of British Columbia, 1893, English translation," OR, reel 712.

³⁰Joseph Hall to E. Robson, 24 July 1896, MS, PABC; Coqualeetza Register, MS, UCA.

³¹G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 12 April 1905; G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 5 May 1905; G. Donckele to A. Green, 23 March 1905, MSS, DIAN.

³²Fred Thornberg to Editor of Victoria Colonist, 1 August 1904, MS, PABC.

³³IA, 1911, p. 376; IA, 1907, p. 448; "Report of the Vicariate of British Columbia, 1893, English translation," OR, reel 712.

³⁴Kuper Island Industrial School, Records of Admissions, 7 August 1897-7 April 1906, MSS, DIAN.

³⁵IA, 1906, p. 480.

³⁶This discussion is based on censuses published by the Department of Indian Affairs. See, for example, IA, 1901, pp. 158-167.

³⁷The information for Table I is drawn from the Coqualeetza Register, MS, UCA. The linguistic divisions are taken from Duff, pp. 18-37. Different Nootka dialect groups were represented in Coqualeetza--groups who were sometimes unable to understand each other. See British Columbia Department of Education, B.C. Heritage Series: Our Native Peoples: vol. 5: Nootka (Victoria: Provincial Museum, 1952), p. 9.

³⁸All Hallows Admissions Register, MS, SGIS.

³⁹IA, 1907, p. 235; IA, 1913, p. 599; IA, 1916, pp. 220-221.

⁴⁰The American Indian Commissioner from 1889 to 1893, Thomas Jefferson Morgan, wrote: "Education should seek the disintegration of the tribes, and not their segregation." Francis Paul Pruscha, American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), p. 299.

⁴¹IA, 1911, p. 383.

⁴²See pp. 47-48.

⁴³IA, 1913, p. 497.

⁴⁴IA, 1894, pp. 258-259; IA, 1910, pp. 362-365; IA, 1920, pp. 64-67.

⁴⁵Alfred Hall to CMS, 20 June 1892, CMSA, reel 49.

⁴⁶IA, 1911, p. 383.

⁴⁷IA, 1910, p. 406.

⁴⁸IA, 1910, pp. 273-274.

⁴⁹IA, 1889, p. 120.

⁵⁰G. C. Van Gothen to W. Lomas, 7 September 1896, MS, DIAN.

⁵¹Joseph Hall to E. Robson, 24 July 1896; Joseph Hall to E. Robson, 7 September 1896, MSS, PABC.

⁵²Joseph Hall to E. Robson, 14 January 1897, MS, PABC.

⁵³G. Donckele to W. Robertson, 3 January 1902, MS, DIAN.

⁵⁴Coqualeetza Register, MS, UCA.

⁵⁵Kuper Island Industrial School, Records of Admissions, ca. 1890-7 April 1906, MSS, DIAN. Details regarding the first thirty-two students admitted to the school are illegible.

⁵⁶St. George's Admissions Register; All Hallows Admissions Register, MSS, SGIS.

⁵⁷Isobell McFadden, Living by Bells: The Story of Five Indian Schools; (1874-1970), (n.p.: United Church of Canada, 1971), p. 11.

⁵⁸IA, 1898, p. 338.

⁵⁹G. Donckele to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 24 February 1899, MS, DIAN.

⁶⁰IA, 1901, p. 416.

⁶¹G. Donckele to W. Robertson, 2 November 1905, MS, DIAN.

⁶²G. Donckele to "Mrs. Purser," 11 March 1905; Kuper Island Industrial School, Records of Admissions, 7 August 1897-7 April 1906, MSS, DIAN.

⁶³G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 19 December 1900, MS, DIAN.

⁶⁴G. Donckele to W. Lomas, 20 September 1899; G. Donckele to W. Robertson, 13 June 1904; Kuper Island Industrial School, Records of Admissions, 7 August 1897-7 April 1906, MSS, DIAN.

⁶⁵Lewis, p. 41.

⁶⁶Brink, p. 120.

⁶⁷G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 23 October 1895; Kuper Island Industrial School. Attendance Register for Quarter Ended 30 September 1899, MSS, DIAN.

⁶⁸G. Donckele to Ralph Smith, 10 February 1902, MS, DIAN.

⁶⁹IA, 1924, p. 15.

⁷⁰The samples include the 489 pupils entering the Coqualeetza School between March 1888 and 24 October 1911; the 96 pupils entering the Kuper Island School between 7 August 1897 and 7 April 1906; 88 female pupils entering the All Hallows Girl's School and St. George's Industrial School between 1910 and 1922; 154 male pupils entering St. George's Industrial School between 7 July 1911 and 1922; and the 24 pupils entering the Kamloops Industrial School between 19 May 1890 and 21 July 1890. Coqualeetza Register, MS, UCA; Kuper Island Industrial School, Records of Admissions, 7 August 1897-7 April 1906, MSS, DIAN; All Hallows Admissions Register, MS, SGIS; St. George's Admissions Register, MS, SGIS; IA, 1890, pp. 126-127.

⁷¹Ideally, both "day" and "boarding" schools would prepare children for "industrial" schools. See IA, 1906, p. 251; IA, 1911, p. 380.

⁷²Coqualeetza Register, MS, UCA; St. George's Admissions Register, MS, SGIS.

⁷³IA, 1890, p. xii.

⁷⁴IA, 1892, p. 260.

⁷⁵G. Donckele to W. Lomas, 9 March 1899, MS, DIAN.

⁷⁶Alphonse-Marie Carion to unnamed priest, 13 September 1893, in (Carion) "Letters and Papers, 1876-1910," OR, reel 705.

⁷⁷G. Donckele to W. Robertson, 2 March 1901; G. Donckele to W. Robertson, 21 November 1902, MSS, DIAN.

⁷⁸IA, 1903, p. 413.

⁷⁹British Columbia, Royal Commission, 2: 477; All Hallows in the West VI (Michaelmas 1906): 538.

30

Chapter IV

¹IA, 1911, p. 576.

²IA, 1911, p. 492.

³A. R. Hives, "The New England Company" (Typescript, Anglican Church Archives, University of British Columbia [1958]), pp. 29-30.

⁴A. W. Harding, "St. George's: I Renders Over 100 Years Service to Interior Indian Children," Cariboo Contact 3 (January-February 1978): 4.

⁵St. George's Admissions Register, MS, SGIS.

⁶British Columbia, Royal Commission, 2: 477.

⁷Morley, pp. 50-51.

⁸IA, 1902, p. 423.

⁹G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 20 September 1894, MS, DIAN.

¹⁰IA, 1911, p. 392.

¹¹G. Donckele to W. Eomas, 1 October 1894, MS, DIAN.

¹²Coqualeetza Register, MS, UCA.

¹³IA, 1898, p. 339.

¹⁴Morley, pp. 50-51.

¹⁵G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 8 February 1897; G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 16 February 1897; MSS, DIAN.

¹⁶Kuper Island Industrial School, Conduct Books, 1 January 1891-1 January 1907, MSS, DIAN. Hereafter cited as Kuper Island Conduct Books.

¹⁷Levine and Cooper, pp. 43-75.

¹⁸G. H. Raley, "Rules," in "Coqualeetza Industrial Institute and other schools, various papers," MSS, PABC.

¹⁹Kuper Island Conduct Books, MSS, DIAN.

²⁰Levine and Cooper, p. 57.

- ²¹Thompson, p. 84.
- ²²IA, 1889, p. xi.
- ²³Mrs. A. Cooper, Interview No. 732-1: "Coqualeetza Residential School in the 1890s," OC, PABC.
- ²⁴Margaret Butcher, Correspondence, 1916, MSS, PABC.
- ²⁵G. H. Raley, "Rules," in "Coqualëetza Industrial Institute and other schools, various papers, " MSS, PABC.
- ²⁶Kuper Island Conduct Books, MSS, DIAN.
- ²⁷Clara Clare, Interview No. 400-1, OC, PABC.
- ²⁸Margaret Butcher, Correspondence, 1916, MSS, PABC.
- ²⁹IA, 1913, pp. 396-397.
- ³⁰Allard Memoirs, OR, reel 712.
- ³¹IA, 1911, p. 502.
- ³²IA, 1903, p. 427.
- ³³IA, 1913, p. 596; IA, 1912, p. 574. In the United States, the 1928 Meriam Report stated: "A distinction in theory is drawn between industrial work undertaken primarily for the education of the child and production work done primarily for the support of the institution... [however] the question may very properly be raised as to whether much of the work done by Indian children in boarding schools would not be prohibited in many states by the child labor laws." When officials of the Kootenay School decided "to completely change our method of Indian training," in about 1930, they decreed: "Hard labour is abolished...An instructor is present at all times with the children." The most successful schools were those which made use of traditional Indian skills, in effect substituting the school economy for the family economy. At Alberni, in 1906, "the boys and girls made a large drift gill-net, which has been a great help to the school, in giving a supply of fresh fish." Robert H. Bremner, ed., Children and Youth in America: A Documentary History, vol. II: 1866-1932, Parts Seven and Eight (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), II: 1379; Codex historicus and visit, St. Eugene's Mission, Cranbrook, 1926-1948," OR, reel 712; IA, 1906, p. 430.
- ³⁴IA, 1893, p. 131; IA, 1892, p. 264; IA, 1911, p. 502.
- ³⁵Nelson, p. 39.
- ³⁶Morley, p. 50.
- ³⁷G. Donckele to W. Lomas, 20 March 1894, MS, DIAN.

- ³⁸G. Donckele to W. Lomas, 7 March 1897, MS, DIAN.
- ³⁹P. Dowling to J. M. R. Le Jeune, 8 July 1893, in (Le Jeune) "Letters, 1880-1927," OR, reel 708.
- ⁴⁰Allard Memoirs, OR, reel 712.
- ⁴¹IA, 1892, p. 260.
- ⁴²IA, 1905, p. 451; IA, 1908, p. 448. Whether Inspector Green saw what the pupils typically ate is less than certain; schools may have been forewarned of his arrival. The school diary at Fraser Lake noted on 15 May 1922: "To-day an extra cleaning up was held, to prepare for the visit of the Chief Inspector, who is announced for to-morrow." Fraser Lake Diary, OR, reel 712.
- ⁴³G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 24 January 1894; G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 12 April 1894; G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 12 June 1894, MSS, DIAN.
- ⁴⁴Mrs. E. Joyce, Interview No. 965-1, OC, PABC.
- ⁴⁵Joe Clemine, Interview No. 361-1, OC, PABC.
- ⁴⁶Fraser Lake Diary, 8 September 1922, OR, reel 712.
- ⁴⁷Mrs. R. Hall, Interview No. 1044-1: "A Carrier Woman Tells of Her People and Her Life," OC, PABC.
- ⁴⁸IA, 1903, p. 431.
- ⁴⁹Kuper Island Conduct Books, MSS, DIAN.
- ⁵⁰IA, 1896, p. 385.
- ⁵¹Alfred Hall to CMS, 12 May 1896, CMSA, reel 49.
- ⁵²Morley, p. 53.
- ⁵³Mrs. A. Cooper, Interview No. 732-1, OC, PABC.
- ⁵⁴Joe Clemine, Interview No. 361-1, OC, PABC.
- ⁵⁵Erik Erikson, Childhood and Society, (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1963), pp. 154-155.
- ⁵⁶IA, 1907, p. 235.
- ⁵⁷IA, 1911, p. 390; IA, 1913, p. 409.
- ⁵⁸IA, 1903, p. 425.
- ⁵⁹Kuper Islands Conduct Books, MSS, DIAN; G. H. Raley, "Rules," in "Coqualeetza Industrial Institute and other schools, various papers," MSS.

MSS, PABC.

⁶⁰IA, 1896, p. 391.

⁶¹Kuper Island Conduct Books, MSS, DIAN?

⁶²G. Donckele to W. Lomas, 7 March 1897; G. Donckele to W. Lomas, 1 March 1899, MSS, DIAN.

⁶³Joe Clemine, Interview No. 361-1, OC, PABC.

⁶⁴British Columbia, "Public Schools Report, 1894-1895," Sessional Papers, 1896 (Victoria: Richard Wolfenden, 1896), p. 201. The Report concluded that the high incidence of corporal punishment did "not speak well for the teachers." (p. 201) The Vancouver Board of School Trustees received a number of complaints from parents concerning the physical punishment of children. See Vancouver Board of School Trustees, Minute Book, 1 June 1892-31 November [sic] 1898, MS, Vancouver City Archives.

⁶⁵British Columbia Department of Education, B.C. Heritage Series: Our Native Peoples: vol. 3: Interior Salish (Victoria: Provincial Museum, 1952), p. 39.

⁶⁶IA, 1896, p. 391.

⁶⁷IA, 1896, p. 379.

⁶⁸IA, 1897, p. 295.

⁶⁹MrsDoRckHall, Interview No. 1044-1, OC, PABC.

⁷⁰Kuper Island Conduct Books, MSS, DIAN.

⁷¹Lewis, p. 42.

⁷²G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 1 February 1897, MS, DIAN.

⁷³G. Donckele to W. Robertson, 7 January, 1901, MS, DIAN.

⁷⁴Epper, p. 175.

⁷⁵G. Donckele to W. Lomas, 2 December 1895, MS, DIAN.

⁷⁶G. Donckele to W. Lomas, 1 October 1894, MS, DIAN.

⁷⁷Joseph Hall to E. Robson, 24 July 1896, MS, PABC; Coqualeetza Register, MS, UCA.

⁷⁸Joseph Hall to E. Robson, 24 July 1896, MS, PABC.

⁷⁹G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 30 April 1895; G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 24 January 1894, MSS, DIAN.

- ⁸⁰A. Carion to unnamed priest, 12 August 1899; A. Carion to unnamed priest, 13 September 1893, in (Carion) "Letters and Papers, 1876-1910," OR, reel 705.
- ⁸¹Kuper Island Industrial School, Record of Discharges to 30 June 1906, MS, DIAN.
- ⁸²Coqualeetza Register, MS, UCA.
- ⁸³Joseph Hall to E. Robson, 24 July 1896, MS, PABC.
- ⁸⁴IA, 1902, p. 423.
- ⁸⁵G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 5 February 1896, MS, DIAN.
- ⁸⁶G. C. Van Gothen to W. Lomas, 22 September 1896; G. C. Van Gothen to W. Lomas, n.d. [between 22 September and 30 September 1896], MSS, DIAN.
- ⁸⁷G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 7 July 1900; G. Donckele to W. Robertson, 12 July 1900; G. Donckele to F. Devlin, 31 July 1900; G. Donckele to F. Devlin, 8 August 1900; G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 31 December 1900; G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 15 March 1901, MSS, DIAN. Part of the information described as being sent to ~~from~~ Donckele to Devlin was actually sent from Donckele to Robertson, who, in turn, forwarded it to Devlin.
- ⁸⁸IA, 1913, p. 412.
- ⁸⁹St. George's Admissions Register, MS, SGIS.
- ⁹⁰A. Carion to unnamed priest, 12 August, 1899, in (Carion) "Letters and Papers, 1876-1910," OR, reel 705.
- ⁹¹Leonard Dawson himself noted in 1913 that the school was only partially filled, even though "there are plenty of boys among the Thompson River Indians who could and should come." IA, 1913, p. 599. To "solve" the problem, he later began importing pupils from the north.
- ⁹²G. Donckele to W. Lomas, 7 February 1897, MS, DIAN.

Chapter V

¹Jacqueline J. Kennedy [Gresko] cites Deputy Superintendent General L. Vankoughnet as stating (ca. 1885) that in order to prevent parental visits and vacations at home "no Industrial School...should be upon an Indian reserve." Jacqueline J. Kennedy, "Qu'Appelle Industrial School: White 'Rite' for the Indians of the Old North-West" (M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1970), pp. 72-73. See also IA, 1891, p. xiii.

²IA, 1899, p. xxxii. See also IA, 1903, pp. xxvii-xxviii and IA, 1906, p. xxxiii.

³Coqualeetza Register, MS, UCA.

⁴Kuper Island Industrial School, Records of Admissions, 7 August 1897-7 April 1906, MSS, DIAN.

⁵All Hallows Admissions Register; St. George's Admissions Register; St. George's School Quarterly Attendance Reports, 1918-1923, MSS, SGIS.

⁶Kuper Island Industrial School, Attendance Register, f6raQuarternded Ended 31 December 1896, MS, DIAN.

⁷Coqualeetza Register, MS, UCA.

⁸Ibid.

⁹St. George's Admissions Register, MS, SGIS.

¹⁰IA, 1906, p. 439.

¹¹IA, 1913, p. 501

¹²IA, 1894, p. 170; IA, 1903, p. 419; IA, 1905, p. 387.

¹³IA, 1892, p. 260; IA, 1891, p. 134.

¹⁴Fraser Lake Diary, 12 February 1922; 19 February 1922; 23 March 1922; 28 March 1922; 10 September 1922; 9 December 1922; 4 February 1923; 11 February 1923; 4 March 1923; 11 March 1923; 29 April 1923; 17 June 1923, OR, reel 712.

¹⁵Margaret Butcher, Correspondence, 1918, MSS, PABC.

¹⁶McFadden, p. 16.

¹⁷Margaret Butcher, Correspondence, 1918, MSS, PABC.

¹⁸G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 11 December 1893, MS, DIAN.

¹⁹IA, 1894, p. 168.

²⁰G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 11 December 1893; G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 7 May 1895; G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 8 June 1894; G. C. Van Gothen to A. W. Vowell, 6 July 1896, MSS, DIAN.

²¹IA, 1896, p. 386. Donckele's published account of the incident differs from that contained in his correspondence. In his annual report, he stated: "These boys, when questioned as to the reason for their misbehavior, said: 'We have done so because we were informed that henceforth the holidays would be abolished.'" But in a letter to Superintendent Vowell at the time, he wrote: "I can only surmise that they thought by setting the building on fire, they would be sent home on a long holiday. When questioned by Mr. Lomas whether they had any complaints against the management of the school, they

answered no." G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 20 November 1895, MS, DIAN.

²²Not all schools offered such holidays, however. The Clayoquot School abolished them altogether some years. At Alert Bay there was normally a break of about six weeks during the fishing season. At Kuper Island, in the late 1890s, the smaller children took a three week vacation before the fishing season began. IA, 1904, p. 405; IA, 1909, p. 246; IA, 1911, p. 384.

²³Some continued their holidays indefinitely simply because they did not wish to return to school. The records of the Coqualeetza and Lytton Schools show that many refused to return voluntarily; while some were no doubt brought back by force, a considerable number were simply "discharged." Coqualeetza Register, MS, UCA; St. George's Admissions Register; St. George's School, Monthly Returns of Trade Instruction, 1918-1923, MSS, SGIS.

²⁴G. Donckele to W. Lomas, 5 September 1893; G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 11 December 1893; G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 20 August 1894, MSS, DIAN.

²⁵IA, 1898, p. 333.

²⁶G. Donckele to W. Robertson, 8 September 1900, MS, DIAN.

²⁷IA, 1892, p. 260.

²⁸Kuper Island Industrial School, Attendance Register for Quarter Ended 31 March 1895, MS, DIAN.

²⁹St. George's Admissions Register, MS, SGIS.

³⁰IA, 1906, p. 257; IA, 1901, p. 415.

³¹G. C. Van Gothen to A. W. Vowell, 14 August 1896; G. Donckele to W. Robertson, 7 January 1901, MSS, DIAN.

³²G. Donckele to A. W. Vowell, 10 September 1895, MS, DIAN.

³³The Coqualeetza sample is limited to the 305 pupils entering the school before 1902, since data on discharges for pupils entering after that date is spotty, and probably biased in favour of those who left earliest. The Kuper Island sample may, however, be unavoidably distorted towards those who left earliest. Legible records do not permit the isolation of information regarding the lengths of stay of a sufficiently large group of children entering before a given date; the sample consequently includes all students discharged from the school between its opening in 1890 and 30 June 1906. Hopefully, any distortion caused by examining pupils grouped together because they were discharged will be minimized by the length of time over which the sample extends. Coqualeetza Register, MS, UCA; Kuper Island Industrial School, Record of Discharges to 30 June 1906, MSS, DIAN.

³⁴Coqualeetza Register, MS, UCA; St. George's Admissions Register; St. George's School Quarterly Attendance Reports, 1918-1923, MSS, SGIS; Kuper Island Industrial School, Attendance Register for Quarters Ended 30 September 1894-31 March 1909, MSS, DIAN.

³⁵IA, School Statements, 1890-1920.

³⁶St. George's School, Return of Trades Instruction, October 1918, MS, SGIS.

³⁷Brink, p. 82.

³⁸IA, 1911, p. 387; IA, 1913, p. 395.

³⁹British Columbia, Royal Commission, 3: 561.

⁴⁰Coqualeetza Register, MS, UCA.

⁴¹IA, 1911, pp. 592-593.

⁴²IA, 1912, p. 578.

⁴³IA, 1910, p. 500.

⁴⁴Patterson, p. 110.

Chapter VI

¹IA, 1887, p. lxxix-lxxx.

²IA, 1901, p. xxix.

³IA, 1910, p. 273.

⁴Duff, p. 45.

⁵Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862 (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), p. ix.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Finding manuscript source material for a study of residential schools is not always an easy task. The Provincial Archives and the University of British Columbia Library contain important but spotty material, which can often be located only by laboriously searching card catalogues for references to long lists of selected names or places. School records offer the most fertile area of research, but since almost all of the schools have been closed, the records, if not lost, have usually been transferred elsewhere. When questioned, officials of the Department of Indian Affairs normally refer the researcher to church authorities, who in turn suggest that any school records are in Department hands.

Basically, school records may be found in five places. They may be in the school buildings themselves (as at Lytton); in church archives (as is Coqualeetza's "Doomsday Book"); in the Department's District Offices (like the Kuper Island records in Nanaimo); in the inaccessible, because as yet uncatalogued, Departmental "archives" in Burnaby; or in the Public Archives of Canada. I was unable to explore the two last mentioned locations, although Department officials assured me there was no relevant material in Burnaby.

Although there are probably other sets of records still in school British Columbia, I have reached a number of dead ends trying to track them down. At present, the RG 10 file in the Public Archives in Ottawa-- "Records Relating to Indian Affairs"--would seem the most promising

place to seek further records. The published catalogue* of this file indicates that it may contain fairly extensive correspondence concerning British Columbia residential schools.

*Public Archives Canada (Public Records Division), General Inventory Series: No. 1: Records Relating to Indian Affairs (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1975).

SOURCES CONSULTED

Manuscript Sources

School Records

All Hallows Girls' School, Yale. Register of Admissions, 1910-[1918]. MS. SGIS.

Coqualeetza Industrial Institute, Sardis. Quarterly Records of Admissions and Discharges, Quarter Ended 30 September 1900-Quarter Ended 30 June 1905. MSS. UCA.

----- . Register of Admissions and Discharges (Doomsday Book), April 1888-24 October 1911. MS. UCA.

Kuper Island Industrial School. Conduct Books, 1 January 1891-1 January 1907. MSS. DIAN.

----- . Correspondence Outward, 18 October 1892-27 July 1906. MSS. DIAN.

----- . Daily Journals, 1893-1920. MSS. DIAN.

----- . Quarterly Attendance Records, Quarter Ended 30 September 1894-Quarter Ended 31 March 1909. MSS. DIAN.

----- . Records of Admissions, ca. 1890-7 April 1906. MSS. DIAN.

----- . Record of Discharges to 30 June 1906. MS. DIAN.

St. George's Industrial School, Lytton. Monthly Returns of Trade Instruction, October 1918-December 1922. MSS. SGIS.

----- . Quarterly Attendance Records, Quarter Ended 31 December 1919-Quarter Ended 30 September 1923. MSS. SGIS.

----- . Register of Admissions, 7 July 1911-1922. MS. SGIS.

Letters and Papers

Butcher, Margaret. Correspondence Outward, 1916-1919. MSS. PABC.

Church Missionary Society. Archives, North Pacific Mission, British Columbia. Original Letters (In) to 1900. Microfilm, reels 49 and 51. University of British Columbia Library.

- Green, A. E. Correspondence Inward, 25 March 1912-10 July 1912. MSS.
Vancouver City Archives.
- Hall, Joseph. Correspondence to Ear Robson, 8 July 1896-29 July 1898.
MSS. PABC.
- Raley, G. H. "Papers Relating to Coqualeetza Industrial Institute and
other schools." MSS. PABC.
- Records of the Oblate Missions of British Columbia. Microfilm, reels
705-714. University of British Columbia Library.
- Thornberg, Fred. Correspondence, 1904. MSS. PABC.

Theses and Essays

- Calam, John. "An Historical Survey of Boarding Schools and Public
School Dormitories in Canada." M.A. thesis, University of
British Columbia, 1962.
- Davey, Ian. "The Rhythm of Work and the Rhythm of School." Typescript,
n.d.
- Hives, A. R. "The New England Company." Typescript, AA, [1958].
- Hutchinson, H. Keith. "Dimensions of Ethnic Education: The Japanese
in British Columbia, 1880-1940." M.A. thesis, University of
British Columbia, 1972.
- Kennedy, Jacqueline Judith. "Qu'Appelle Industrial School: White 'Rites'
for the Indians of the Old North-West." M.A. thesis, Carleton
University, 1970.
- . "Roman Catholic Missionary Effort and Indian Acculturation
in the Fraser Valley, 1860-1900." B.A. essay, University of
British Columbia, 1969.
- Nelson, Denys. "The Life and Work of Father Coccola." Typescript,
PABC, 1924.
- Parminster, Alfred Vye. "The Development of Integrated Schooling for
British Columbia Indian Children." M.A. thesis, University of
British Columbia, 1964.
- Peterson, Lester Ray. "Indian Education in British Columbia." M.A.
thesis, University of British Columbia, 1959.
- Vallery, H. J. "A History of Indian Education in Canada." M.A. thesis,
Queen's University, 1942.
- Walkem, Clarence. "Life of an Indian Lad in a Residential School."
Typescript, PABC, 1953.

Zeleny, Carolyn. "Governmental Treatment of the Indian Problem in Canada." M.A. thesis, Yale University, n.d. [ca. 1940].

Miscellaneous Manuscript Materials

Tate, C. M. "Autosketch." Typescript, UCA, 1929.

Vancouver Board of School Trustees. Minute Book, 1 June 1892-31 November [sic] 1898. MS. Vancouver City Archives.

Printed Sources

Government Publications

British Columbia. Papers Relating to the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Condition of the Indians of the North-West Coast. Victoria; Richard Wolfenden, 1888.

----- . Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia. 4 vols. Victoria: Acme Press, 1916.

----- . "Public Schools Reports." Sessional Papers. Victoria: Richard Wolfenden, 1876-1902.

Canada. Department [Branch] of Indian Affairs. Annual Reports. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1876-1950.

Church and School Publications

All Hallows in the West. Various Issues, 1899-1908. AA.

British Columbia Orphan's Friend [Historical Number] (December 1913). PABC.

Coqualeetza Commencement Exercises. Various Issues 1920-1934. Special Collections, University of British Columbia Library.

Golden Christie Jubilee. 1950. PABC.

Biographies and Contemporary Accounts

Anderson, J. T. M. The Education of the New-Canadian. Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1918.

Crosby, Thomas. Up and Down the North Pacific Coast By Canoe and Mission Ship. Toronto: Methodist Church, 1914.

Ford, Clellan S. Smoke from Their Fires: The Life of a Kwakiutl Chief. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.

*

- Halliday, W. M. Potlatch and Totem: And the Recollections of an Indian Agent. Toronto: J.M.Dent & Sons, 1935.
- Morley, Alan. Roar of the Breakers: A Biography of Peter Kelly. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1967.
- Moser, Charles. Reminiscences of the West Coast of Vancouver Island. Victoria: Acme Press, 1926.
- Pierce, W. H. From Potlatch to Pulpit. Vancouver: Vancouver Bindery, 1933.
- Qoyawayma, Polingaysi. No Turning Back. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1964.
- Simmons, Leo W., ed., Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942.
- Spradley, James P. Guests Never Leave Hungry: The Autobiography of James Sewid, A Kwakiutl Indian. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972.
- Whittington, R. The British Columbia Indian and His Future. Toronto: Methodist Church, 1906.

Articles

- Carstens, Peter. "Coercion and Change." In Canadian Society: Pluralism, Change, and Conflict, pp. 126-145. Edited by Richard J. Ossenberg. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1971.
- Dahlie, Jorgen. "Learning on the Frontier: Scandinavian Immigrants and Education in Western Canada." Canadian and International Education 1 (December 1972): 56-66.
- Gresko, Jacqueline. "White 'Rites' and Indian 'Rites': Indian Education and Native Responses in the West, 1870-1910." In Western Canada Past and Present, pp. 163-181. Edited by A. W. Rasporich. Calgary: McClelland & Stewart West, 1975.
- Harding, A. W. "St. George's: Renders Over 100 Years Service to Interior Indian Children." Cariboo Contact 3 (January-February 1978): 1-4.
- Jones, GarethhStedman. "Class Expression Versus Social Control? A Critique of Recent Trends in the Social History of 'Leisure'." History Workshop Journal 4 (Autumn 1977): 162-170.
- Lemert, E. M. "Life and Death of an Indian State." Human Organization 13 (Fall 1954): 23-27.
- Levine, Robert and Cooper, Freda. "The Suppression of B.C. Languages: Filling in the Gaps in the Documentary Record." Sound Heritage

3 and 4 (1976): 43-75.

Scott, Duncan Campbell. "Indian Affairs, 1867-1912." In Canada and Its Provinces, vol. VII, pp. 591-626. Edited by Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty. Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Co., 1914.

Smith, Allan. "American Culture and the Concept of Mission in Nineteenth Century English Canada." Canadian Historical Association. Historical Papers (1971): 169-182.

Spears, James. "An Experiment in Failure." Vancouver Province, 4 July 1978, p. 10.

Stamp, Robert M. "Education and the Economic and Social Milieu: The English-Canadian Scene from the 1870s to 1914." In Canadian Education: A History, pp. 290-313. Edited by J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, and Louis-Philippe Audet. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970.

Stanbury, W. T. "The Education Gap: Urban Indians in British Columbia." BC Studies 19 (Autumn 1973): 21-49.

Thompson, E. P. "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism." Past and Present 38 (December 1967): 56-97.

Walker, James W. St. G. "The Indian in Canadian Historical Writing." Canadian Historical Association. Historical Papers (1971): 21-51.

Ward, W. Peter. "The Oriental Immigrant and Canada's Protestant Clergy, 1858-1925," BC Studies 22 (Summer 1974): 40-55.

Wilson, J. Donald. "No Blanket To Be Worn in School: The Education of Indians in Early Nineteenth-Century Ontario." Histoire Sociale/Social History VII (May 1974): 293-305.

Books

Barnett, Homer G. The Coast Salish of British Columbia. Eugene: U University of Oregon, 1955.

Berkhofer, Robert F. Jr. Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965.

Bremner, Robert H., ed. Children and Youth in America: A Documentary History. Vol. II: 1866-1932, Parts Seven and Eight. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971.

Brink, J. H. Van Den. The Haida Indians: Cultural Change mainly between 1876-1970. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974..

British Columbia Department of Education. B.C. Heritage Series: Our Native Peoples. 10 vols. Victoria: Provincial Museum, 1951-1953.

- Codere, Helen. Fighting with Property: A Study of Kwakiutl Potlatching and Warfare, 1792-1930. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966.
- Cronin, Kay. Cross in the Wilderness. Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1960.
- Duff, Wilson. The Indian History of British Columbia. Vol. 1: The Impact of the White Man. Victoria: Provincial Museum, 1964.
- Erikson, Erik. Childhood and Society. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1963.
- Fisher, Robin. Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977.
- Haycock, Ronald G. The Image of the Indian. Waterloo: Waterloo Lutheran University, 1972.
- Healey, Elizabeth, comp., A History of Alert Bay and District. Vancouver: J.W. Bow & Co., 1958.
- Indian Affairs Education Division. The Education of Indian Children in Canada. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1965.
- Johnson, F. Henry. A History of Public Education in British Columbia. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1964.
- Katz, Michael B., and Mattingly, Paul H., eds. Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past. New York: New York University Press, 1975.
- Kett, Joseph F. Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present. New York: Basic Books, 1977.
- King, A. Richard. The School at Mopass: A Problem of Identity. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967.
- LaViolette, Forrest E. The Struggle for Survival: Indian Cultures and the Protestant Ethic in British Columbia. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961.
- Lewis, Claudia. Indian Families of the Northwest Coast: The Impact of Change. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970.
- McFadden, Isobel. Living By Bells: The Story of Five Indian Schools (1874-1970). N.p.: United Church of Canada, 1971.
- McGregor, Gordon. Warriors without Weapons: A Study of the Society and Personality Development of the Pine Ridge Sioux. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946.
- Ormsby, Margaret A. British Columbia: A History. Vancouver: Evergreen Press, 1959.

- Patterson, E. Palmer II. The Canadian Indian: A History Since 1500. Don Mills: Collier MacMillan Canada, 1972.
- Prentice, Alison L., and Houston, Susan E. Family and Society in Nineteenth-Century Canada. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975.
- Priest, Loring Benson. Uncle Sam's Stepchildren: The Reformation of United States Indian Policy, 1865-1887. New York: Octagon Books, 1972.
- Pruscha, Francis Paul. American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976.
- Report of Conference on Native Indians: Indian Affairs, at Acadia Camp, U.B.C., Vancouver, April 1-3, 1948. Sponsored by the B.C. Indian Arts and Welfare Society. Victoria: Provincial Museum, 1948.
- Rohner, Ronald P. The People of Gilford: A Contemporary Kwakiutl Village. Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1967.
- Rubinstein, David. School Attendance in London, 1870-1904: A Social History. Hull: University of Hull, 1969.
- Sutherland, Neil. Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.
- Utley, Robert M. The Last Days of the Sioux Nation. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963.
- Wolcott, Harry E. A Kwakiutl Village and School. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967.

Oral Accounts

- "An Interview with George Clutesi." In When Strangers Meet: A Source Book for the Study of a Meeting between Indian and European Cultures. Edited by Francis C. Hardwick and others. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Center for Continuing Education and the Indian Education Resource Center, 1972.
- Clare Clara. Interview No. 400-1: "An Indian Child at School in Yale, B.C." OC. PABC.
- Clemine, Joe. Interview No. 361-1. OC. PABC.
- Cooper, Mrs. A. Interview No. 732-1: "Coqualeetza Residential School in the 1890s." OC. PABC.

Hall, Mrs. R. Interview No. 1044-1: "A Carrier Woman Tells of Her People and Her Life." OC. PABC.

Joyce, Mrs. E. Interview No. 965-1. OC. PABC.