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Department of Education.

The University of British Columbia,
Vancouver 8, Canada.

Date October 1, 1962.
ABSTRACT

During the first half of the fifteenth century, Vittorino da Feltre was employed by the Duke of Mantua to preside over a classical residential school for the sons of influential men of the day. This task Vittorino accomplished with singular success, standing in loco parentis and establishing from the start a family atmosphere that contrasted sharply with the harsh educational methods of the times. Since the inception of Vittorino's Mantua boarding school, the idea of an educational institution that combines school and home has remained very much alive in Europe.

When the French settled permanently in the New World, it was natural that they should transplant their own version of the residential school to North American soil. As a means of maintaining a learned and influential Catholic clergy and of spreading a general culture, such schools have continued in French-speaking Canada down to the present day. After the cession, the English, too, introduced boarding schools, some of which were modelled on such famous "public" schools as Eton or Winchester. At first designed to serve the wealthy upper classes, these schools found the residential plan well-suited to the aims of preserving British institutions and of providing leaders imbued with a sense of social purpose and responsibility.

In the course of time, both French and English authorities found themselves faced with the considerable
problem of educating the native Indian whose level of civilization, according to European standards, appeared extremely primitive. Though several different objectives lay at the foundation of Indian instruction, there appeared common recognition that isolating the Indian pupil from retarding home influences would play an important part in introducing the young savage to white man's ways. Accordingly, Indian boarding schools were established, at first under private auspices and later with federal government assistance and direction.

Although many French, English and Indian residential schools were firmly established in British North America prior to Confederation, it was not until the post-Confederation era and the emergence of provincial education systems that public boarding schools received serious consideration. An early attempt at running such a school was made at Cache Creek, British Columbia in 1874. However, mismanagement together with widespread establishment of one-room rural schools soon brought about its closure. Nevertheless, the Cache Creek experiment anticipated later boarding establishments that were to be devoted not to religious, national or class proselytizing but to providing a day school education to geographically isolated children.

As Canada pushed back its frontiers, there arose a need to satisfy the educational requirements of children located along the outer fringes of settlement. Thus, in spite of the earlier Cache Creek failure, British Columbia once again gave thought to public boarding schools, and since 1948
has evolved a successful scheme of public school dormitories. In Alberta, depression and drought of the early nineteen-thirties caused grave concern about making high school education available to young rural people whose presence on the labour market posed a threat to more seasoned workers. As in British Columbia, the public school dormitory provided a partial answer to the question of bringing pupils to centrally located high schools.

Unlike their earlier French, English and Indian counterparts, public school dormitories in Western Canada have been almost exclusively associated with problems of geography and communications. Because of new population patterns, better roads and more advanced vehicles, however, day school education can now be provided for the majority of Canada's rural pupils by transporting them in buses to central schools. So rapid has been the improvement of transportation and communication and so widespread the development of new population centres that Alberta's once extensive scheme of public school dormitories has been entirely discontinued. Further, though British Columbia continues to operate nine such establishments, three at least are now facing diminishing enrolment, whilst the public education systems of most other Canadian provinces find bus transportation adequate to the educational requirements of their country school population. Thus it appears that public school dormitories founded for the sole purpose of equalizing educational opportunity on a regional basis are destined to remain in operation for a relatively brief period.
of time.

This survey has shown, though, that boarding schools, whose basic aims have transcended mere geographic considerations, have developed quite steadily throughout Canada's educational history. Therefore it is suggested that British Columbia, whose public dormitory system appears to have reached, and perhaps just passed, its peak of usefulness, immediately seek alternative objectives for its school dormitories before probable disillusionment, associated with their inevitable decline in the face of economic growth, rules them out as strong and important educational forces for the future. The central contention herein put forward is that British Columbia's public school dormitories must serve the province in the years ahead as instruments of educational excellence.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Sincere thanks are due to Dr. F. Henry Johnson for his guidance and encouragement and to Dr. C. E. Smith, Dr. Leonard C. Marsh and Dr. W. J. Hartrick for their many helpful suggestions. Original documents relating to the Cache Creek Boarding School have been made available through the kind co-operation of B. C. Provincial Archivist, Dr. Willard Ireland, Assistant Archivist Miss Inez Mitchell and Mr. Basil Stuart-Stubbs and staff of the Special Collections Division of the University of British Columbia Library.
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CHAPTER I
RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS OF THE FRENCH IN CANADA

In Acadia and New France, founded and peopled by Frenchmen and administered by French commercial, governmental and ecclesiastical officials, it was natural that an effort should be made to reproduce, as faithfully as possible, manners, customs and institutions that were dear to the colonists.¹ In the field of education, the Catholic Church brought to a new continent all the skill, devotion and prestige that in Old France it had exercised since the Middle Ages. With it, too, came the residential school, a traditional French institution that was to become for an emerging French Canada an important instrument for the training of the clergy and for the establishing and extending of a general culture. In the face of criticism and of changing times,² these establishments that are both home and school for their charges continue their special work in modern Canada, largely unchanged in purpose and atmosphere.

Data on early residential schools of the French Régime in Acadia is scarce, perhaps since the education of the French population was considered by religious orders as a duty


requiring no special mention in their relations. Nevertheless, it appears probable that the Capuchins, brought to the New World by the Company of New France in 1632, provided at La Hève and later at Port Royal, boarding accommodation for French as well as Indian pupils. Further evidence, cited by Le Gresley, indicates that the pious Mme.de Brice directed a boarding school for girls at Port Royal about 1641. Financial difficulties, aggravated because of the 1643 attack on the settlement by "les Bostonnais", appear to have harassed the school until a more stable economic pattern characterized the colony after 1650.

A century after the first Capuchin residential schools, the Soeurs de la Congregation are known to have conducted a boarding school at the French Atlantic fortress of Louisburg. This establishment, bearing letters patent from the Navy Board, was founded in 1733 and officially opened in 1737 under the supervision of Sister St. Joseph and three teaching nuns. Of particular interest is the degree of tangible support which the school received. Besides the grant of 1500 livres a year, the King gave 3,000 livres in 1739 to help defray the cost of the building they had erected, whilst in 1740, the Sieur Louis de Forant, ex-ship captain and


5 Ibid., p.39.
governor of Ile Royale, died and bequeathed the whole of his property as an endowment to provide for the board and tuition of eight pupils, daughters of colonial officers. The Sieur de Quesnel is said to have founded two free places in perpetuity for boarders, whilst additional subsidies were granted by the island's government from fines collected as a result of illegal fishing. The fact that orphans together with the children of settlers, military officers and even the governor himself shared the same boarding school sheds some light on the class attitudes of the French colonists and garrison; it likewise testifies to the skill and patience of Sister St. Joseph and her staff.

New France, somewhat less affected by the fortunes of war that had changed the pattern of life and government so often in Acadia, provides more abundant records of its residential schools. By 1635, numerous children of the Quebec colony were in need of elementary instruction, and that same year, the Jesuits were able to build and set in operation near the fort their famous petit école, a boarding school for young boys. Whether through priestly over-anxiety to keep the building and its occupants warm during the savage Quebec winter, or carelessness on the part of its pupil inmates, in 1640 the building burned down. However, by 1651, a new seminary was in operation under the watchful management of one

7 Le Gresley, op.cit., p.79.
Martin Boutet. Something of the curriculum may be gained from relations such as those of Père Raqueneau who reported in 1651:

They have started this year a Seminary where the children are in residence under an honest man who has taken charge of them, where they learn to read and to write and where they teach them plain chant along with the fear of God... 9

Young girls of the Quebec settlement were not neglected. As soon as the Ursuline order had taken possession of their first convent in 1642, they opened boarding facilities. For their day, the Ursulines were well situated. We learn that -

... their building is large and substantial, and thoroughly and carefully constructed. They have discovered an excellent spring of water in the foundations of the dwelling, to their very great convenience.10

The school prospered until the night of December 30, 1650, when it was reduced to ashes. Restored in 1652, it offered to between twenty and thirty boarders a programme which included prayers, reading, writing, arithmetic, singing, church doctrine

8 Gosselin, op. cit., p.329.

9 Relation de Père Raqueneau, 1651, p.4, cited in Gosselin, L’Abbé Amédée, L’Instruction Au Canada Sous le Régime Français, Quebec, Laflamme et Proulx, 1911, p.36.

and moral instruction. Fees for those who could afford to pay were about 120 livres a year.¹¹ Mère Marie de l'Incarnation and her teaching nuns worked tirelessly to inculcate in their pupils the niceties of character and accomplishment that might otherwise have been hard to come by in the direct context of the struggling colony itself. As Laval reported the situation—

> The Ursuline Mothers have had so great success in the instruction of the girls who have been confided to them... that in visiting the households of Canada and each house in particular, it is easy to distinguish by the Christian education of the children, the mothers who have come out of Ursuline houses from those who have not had that advantage.¹²

Whilst the Quebec colony consolidated its position, educationally speaking, settlements elsewhere gave thought to the effect of primitive conditions upon the children. In frontier Montreal, Soeur Marguerite Bourgeois converted a stone stable into a school house and in 1657 began to instruct young boys and girls. In 1666, however, the Sulpicians took over the education of boys and suggested a boarding house as a means of regularizing attendance. This development took place in 1694 with the setting up of an orphan school for trade training by the Institut des Frères Hopitaliers. For some 36 livres a year plus payment in kind or in labour, pupils might

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¹¹ Gosselin, op. cit., p.162.

find a haven from age five to as late as age twenty-two, though the institution was considered elementary in nature.  

Meanwhile, Bishop Laval himself was sensitive to the part the church might play in encouraging practical trades and agriculture, and to achieve his purpose in 1668, opened at Cap Tourmente in the parish of St. Joachim a model farm school whose pupils tilled the soil and learned the catechism and the three R's. The institution not only served the parish surrounding it but also received from miles around children whose lack of aptitude made them unsuitable candidates for the classical courses that were proffered in the developing secondary institutions. By 1690, there were about forty boarders, several of whom were housed free of charge.

The boarding schools mentioned above form, of course, but a small part of the developing pattern of residential schools in early New France. Numerous secondary institutions particularly concerned with training for the priesthood found the system of student residence invaluable to their cause. The Petit École of the Jesuits, previously referred to, quickly developed and by 1655 boasted teachers not only for elementary subjects but likewise for grammar, humanities, rhetoric and philosophy. The Jesuit fathers indicated in 1663 that twenty boarders were included in the student body, and later

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14 Ibid., p.56.
figures about 1668 tell of sixty to seventy resident pupils. Another distinguished institution based on the residential scheme was the Petit Séminaire at Quebec opened by Laval in October, 1668, for young boys destined for the priesthood. In December, 1677, a new building was required in which to lodge nearly 120 boarders - a building razed by fire in 1701, restored only to be rekindled four years later.

A notice posted for the edification of students and their parents hoping for admission in Quebec's Petit Séminaire is cited by Gosselin, and serves to give some impression of life there. Boys of ten, in good health, were required to obey the rules "promptly, joyously and continually." The "journalier" proclaimed the order of the day. Summer and winter, pupils rose at five, aided where necessary by the "exitateur" whose job it was to haul out sleepyheads. Ablutions, made in no small haste, were followed by a short personal prayer after which a communal prayer was said from five-fifteen to five-thirty, followed by a period of study to six-forty-five. At seven, a simple breakfast of bread preluded classes from seven-thirty to nine. The saying of mass and a further period of study occupied the pupils' time to eleven, and from eleven to noon menial tasks were assigned. Dinner accompanied by scriptural readings, singing, classes and

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16 Thwaites, op.cit., vol.47, p.258.
17 Gosselin, op.cit., pp.418-419.
further study led up to supper at seven, and by nine everybody was in bed having undergone fourteen hours of constant surveillance.  

The sleeping quarters, at first individual cubicles, were furnished with the utmost simplicity, a hard bed, a wooden chest and a wash basin comprising the appointments. Until 1730 the seminary provided such items as bedding and certain articles of clothing; thereafter these were to be supplied by the parents of pupils seeking entrance.  

In both Acadia and New France, the objectives of these first residential schools formed similar patterns. Common to the efforts of the various teaching orders, for instance, was the "Frenchification" of the Indians, a question to be discussed in Chapter III. Then too, the church was anxious to perpetuate its religious, social and political activities and to that end placed a high priority upon the training of priests. This latter activity was heartily endorsed by such governors as Denonville who wrote to the Minister in 1685 -

I have found here in the Bishop's seminary ... those who are found with a disposition to letters for whom an attempt is made to provide a training for the church, since these in the end can render more service than the French priests, being more familiar than the others

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18 Gosselin, op. cit. p.421.

19 Ibid., p.425.
with the hardships and customs of the country.\textsuperscript{20}

From such a beginning, the curé, spiritual leader of today's French Canadian parish, may trace his training.

Another objective, born of church conviction that the happiness and security of France's North American possessions lay ultimately in the rural life, was to provide practical training in agriculture and trades at residential establishments. Laval in particular was eager in his St. Joachim venture, to mix propagation of the faith with training in occupations necessary to the development of the colony. To what extent his ambitions were fulfilled in this particular school is questioned by Parkman who comments dryly -

\begin{quote}
Judging from repeated complaints of Governors and Intendants of the dearth of skilled workmen, the priests in charge ... were more successful in making good Catholics than ... good masons, carpenters, blacksmiths and weavers.\textsuperscript{21}
\end{quote}

But Quebec's present day schooling and accomplishments in the practical arts suggest that the pioneering of the Catholic Bishop proved of more lasting value than his Protestant critic might have imagined.

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The care and training of orphans rendered homeless by the fortunes of war, disease or desertion continued as a major objective of the early boarding schools, as did the training of girls as future homemakers. However, all these specific aims were part of an overall educational objective - a basic religious aim obtainable through the teaching of the liberal and practical arts. Indeed, the Jesuit goal in education has been summed up crisply by Phillips as being directed "to ensure the salvation of souls - of as many Indians as could be reached and of all the colonists if possible."22 In the light of so succinct an educational aim, the early residential institutions presented, at least from the teachers' point of view, certain distinct advantages.

To begin with, it is certain that protection from worldly contamination figured largely in the idea of the first residential schools. Such protection was of no small concern, as glimpses of morals and manners in New France reveal. Sister Morin of the Montreal Hôtel Dieu writes of military arrangements. "Our good King has sent troops to defend us from the Iroquois, and the soldiers and officers have ruined the Lord's vineyard, and planted wickedness and sin and crime in our soil of Canada."23 La Barre on his visits to Montreal and the military settlements of the Richelieu tells of gambling,

22 Phillips, op.cit., p.4.

drinking and stealing and a prevailing spirit of disobedience and lawlessness.\textsuperscript{24} The strait-laced Denonville concurs with a gloomy account of idleness and mischief among young persons both in the settlements and the woods beyond. Indian life, attractive to adventurous youth, is reported as consisting in doing nothing, caring for nothing, following every inclination and getting out of the way of all correction.\textsuperscript{25} Though not all reports were so pessimistic,\textsuperscript{26} it is safe to assume that close supervision of resident students such as that outlined in connection with the Petit Séminaire was a positive method of abstracting a child from his social context and creating for him quite another world for the enlightenment of his mind and the salvation of his soul. With such a benefit in view, Mgr. de Saint-Vallier visited Laval's St. Joachim boarding school and reported of its inmates "... the distance they are from their parents and from all dangerous company contributes not a little to keeping them in innocence."\textsuperscript{27}

Though boarding schools thus favoured the church educational cause, it is not to be assumed that they were

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{24} La Barre au Ministre, 4 novembre, 1683, cited in Parkman, \textit{op. cit.}, p.374.
\item \textsuperscript{25} Denonville au Ministre, 13 novembre, 1685, cited in Parkman, \textit{op. cit.}, p.376.
\item \textsuperscript{26} Intendant Raudot settles for the time-honoured opinion that Canadian children have no respect for parents or curés.
\item \textsuperscript{27} Saint-Vallier, cited in Gosselin, \textit{op. cit.}, p.55.
\end{itemize}
geared solely to church advantage. One must recall that the institutions referred to so far were all founded before the population of New France had reached ten thousand. Family settlements were scattered along the banks of the St. Lawrence, facing an inhospitable wilderness and connected with other homesteads by the degree of skill and vigor with which colonists could handle the canoe or the snowshoe. "It is sad," wrote Denonville in 1685, "to see the ignorance of the population at a distance from the abodes of the curés, who are put to the greatest trouble... by travelling from place to place through the parishes in their charge."28 For the child, the opportunity to live at the boarding school provided security unheard of in most settlements. That he should receive a formal education to boot was a great comfort to isolated parents or those who were constantly on the move according to the commercial, military or domestic necessity of the time.

Although the objectives of early schools were clear and the residential system favourable to their realization, seventeenth century boarding schools of New France were not without their problems.

Looming large among the worries of boarding school administrators was the ever-present menace of fire. Stoves were heaped high against the raw St. Lawrence winters but leather fire buckets passed hand to hand were the only means

of fighting the all too frequent accidental blazes. An interesting account of the 1701 conflagration that on a November Monday ruined Laval's Petit Séminaire, is provided by the Quebec engineer Vasseur\(^2\) who blames a certain Father Petit for the flames that devoured an otherwise vacant building. Fortunately, no lives were lost, but two thousand livres worth of church property were looted!

A second notable problem was faced in accommodating various age groups. Life at early boarding schools turned about a rigid routine which of necessity appears to have served for all pupils despite the fact that the age range in such establishments as the Brothers Hospitaliers' Montreal school was from five to twenty-two.

Examination of early records reveals a third difficulty - that of fixing and collecting appropriate fees. Since social status was held to be of little consequence in the face of God, ability to pay was not a condition of entry. Gosselin records that at the Petit Séminaire, the fees varied somewhat with the means of the parents. In effect the boarders were divided into three categories - those who could pay the full sum of 100 livres a year, those who gave what they could and those who, being poor, were taken in as charity students.\(^3\)

At Quebec, the Ursuline boarding school for girls made modest

\(^2\) Vasseur au Ministre, 24 November, 1701, cited in Parkman, *op.cit.*., p.386.

\(^3\) Gosselin, *op.cit.*., p.427.
charges, but since money was exceptionally scarce, payment in kind was acceptable. The problems of collection and bookkeeping can readily be imagined from an entry recorded in the Annals of the Ursuline order.

For the board of Miss C.
Received, January 13th, 3 1/2 cords of firewood.
Received, March 6th, 4 cords of firewood.
Received, March 13th, 1 twelve-pound pot of butter.
Received, November 1st, 1 fat pig,
1 barrel of salted eels.31

Educational history in the period immediately following the establishment of British rule in 1763 centred in the adjustment necessary between a minority claiming right by conquest and a majority asserting the right to continue its own way of life.32 Though the Quebec Act of 1774 guaranteed free exercise of Roman Catholicism however, French Canadian accounts of education in this period tell a dark story. Maurault33 (writing in 1918) asserts that in appropriating the Jesuit and Recollet properties, the new government contradicted in fact what it claimed to uphold by law. At all events, it is certain that many members of Catholic teaching orders left for France and that new boarding schools faced additional problems of finance and staffing. The evidence suggests, though, that such problems did not prove insuperable.

31 Gosselin, op. cit., p.162.
32 Phillips, op. cit., p.75.
Described in some detail by Maurault, the Little Seminary at Montreal is a good example of a residential school established soon after the cession.

At Longue-Pointe in 1765, M. Jean Baptiste Curatteau de la Blaiserie founded a petit collège and in 1773, removed to occupy the Sulpician Collège St. Raphael and to supervise the communal life of some fifty boarders there. Regrettably, the 6th of June, 1803, marked its total destruction by fire. A new seminary was opened on September 29th, 1806, capable of housing 120 interns, which number had increased to 160 by 1824. Prospering for thirty-seven years, the establishment became obliquely involved in the 1862 Trent incident. A contingent of 5,000 British regulars charged with bolstering Canada's U.S. Border defences, found themselves in Montreal without billets. By special arrangement with the government, pupils were released for a vacation and later quartered in the Sulpicians' Grand Séminaire whilst an infantry regiment took over the pupils' building, which in 1866 was gutted by fire.

Sharing accommodation with much older students in a building yet under construction proved to be no easy matter for the young boarders. The upper floor of the Grand Séminaire, to that point used as a library, was converted into a dormitory. Unfortunately the unfinished building lacked certain window panes and biting winter blasts made life miserable for tired

*"Pourquoi nous séparer? Oh flammes trop cruelles! Pourquoi nous arracher de ses mains paternelles?*, wrote Michel O'Sullivan, student of rhetoric at the college.
children in need of sleep. In time, though, the seminary was completed and assumed a way of life evidently little altered by the vagaries of fire or national emergency.

From the start, no boarders younger than ten were accepted. They were required to furnish bedding, cutlery and clothing and charged in 1790 £4-11s.-8d. per annum. A typical Sunday saw pupils rising at five-thirty and following a rigid programme of religious instruction and prayer punctuated by meals, study and recreation, continually supervised and ending at nine in the evening. Meals were frugal. Breakfast consisted of porridge with a little cheese and treacle; dinner might include boiled beef and potatoes or a quantity of milk; a four o'clock snack of dry bread and supper of beef or veal stew or a bowl of milk and a soft-boiled egg completed the regular menu.

According to Maurault, external students were held in grave suspicion as agents of mundane infiltration into the bosom of the organization, and certain steps were taken to ensure maximum church influence upon them. They were required to attend seven-thirty mass at the school (holidays included), and to present themselves on Sundays and feast days for catechism, prayers, mass and vespers. In addition, they were encouraged to follow at home the rules of the college concerning rising and retiring, meals, prayers, scripture reading and the rosary. Such recommendations leave little doubt as to the underlying aim of the institution.\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{35} Maurault, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.12, 28, 36, 52, 120, 130, 154.
Even so, post-conquest boarding schools were not so strict as to allow no worldly pursuits whatsoever. For example, hand bills printed and distributed in 1775 tell of "Le Monde Démasqué: Comédie Française. En trois Actes. Que sera Répresentée dans la Cour du Séminaire à Québec par les Ecoliers du Séminaire ...."\(^36\) The play was part of graduation exercises held on Wednesday, August 9th and attended by Sir Guy Carleton who distributed prizes.

Firmly re-established after 1763, then, French residential schools continued to flourish. In 1803, Brassard, the curé of Nicolet bequeathed to that parish a small estate on condition that an elementary school should be established. This institution soon developed into a Latin school. Situated midway between Quebec and Montreal, the Nicolet College was soon able to provide for over seventy boarders. At St. Hyacinthe in 1811 the curé Girouard opened a secondary establishment which in 1824 accommodated sixty-six resident pupils who followed courses in Latin, English, French, literature and rhetoric.\(^37\) Supported by endowments and contributions from

\(^{36}\) Tremaine, Marie, *A Bibliography of Canadian Imprints*, Ottawa, Public Archives, 19\(^{\text{th}}\) (Microfilm Item Number 214), University of British Columbia Microfilm Library.

the clergy, it received some state assistance in 1829.\textsuperscript{38} The College of Chambly, opened in 1826, and of Ste. Anne de la Pocatière, founded in 1829, offered similar training and facilities.

From these beginnings, over ninety Quebec "collèges classiques", many of them residential, have sprung. Since World War II, their place in the overall pattern of Quebec's system of education has become the subject of debate,\textsuperscript{39} however. One interesting outcome is a brief presented by the College of Jean de Brébeuf in 1954 to the Royal Commission of Enquiry on Constitutional Problems. In it, one gains a contemporary impression of the spirit of operation of a fairly recently-established boys' school that provides for residents.

Opened in 1928 to six hundred pupils, Jean de Brébeuf accommodated over three hundred and fifty boarders who shared with day pupils an eight year classical course, re-

\textsuperscript{38} Phillips, \textit{op.cit.}, p.87.

ently modified to allow more scope to the sciences. Since its inception, the college has admitted boys of eleven, not only from Montreal itself but also from many parts of the province. Boarders, the sons of fathers engaged in a wide variety of occupations, pay $475 a year plus $210 tuition fees, and provisions are made for a number of scholarship places.

The boarding system is held to be of particular importance. It is maintained that today's fourteen or fifteen-year-old profits little from daily family contact. Parents attempt to give training in "la vie selon l'esprit", but a world of distractions - movies, television, commercial sport and comic books to mention a few - surround the lad with "la vie selon les instincts." College life in residence, on the other hand, is said to help the adolescent escape these pressures that prevent intellectual development. Under the careful supervision of adults devoted to awakening the intellect, boys are believed to receive a more suitable upbringing than most modern homes can render. The overall aim is not only to train future priests but also "to give an education guided by religion ... to people called by Providence to live in the world."

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40 Mémoires du Collège Jean de Brébeuf à la Commission Royale D'Enquête sur les Problèmes Constitutionnels, Collège Jean de Brébeuf, Montréal, 1954, p.98.

What then, is the heritage of the French residential school in Canada? Firstly, it is clear that those charged with supervisory and teaching duties do not appear merely as hired help but as devoted religious or lay personnel, rigorously trained and responsible in fact and in conscience for the physical, academic and spiritual well-being of their pupils.

Secondly, these schools have exhibited very close coordination between school and dormitory. This fact results not simply from the involvement of staff or the juxtaposition of buildings, but rather from the assumption that life in residence itself constitutes an educative experience no less important than life in a classroom.

Thirdly, the outlook of these institutions has been and continues to be essentially religious. They are staffed and administered by religious orders, prepare future priests for higher studies, observe religious ceremony and give regular religious instruction. Complementary to such an outlook is a rigid discipline and an abstraction from adverse worldly influences whereby residents are to be given every chance for intellectual development.

Lastly, the French boarding schools of the earlier paternalistic régime were based upon a classless social concept which originally made possible the constructive communal life of students from many family, occupational and cultural backgrounds. Though a century after the conquest, fees had
risen considerably, and pupils tended to be drawn thereafter from more well-to-do families, something of the early influence remains, and "class" consciousness in the collège classique is perhaps less marked than in the English-type "public" boarding schools that were to develop in Nineteenth Century British North America. Moreover, the aim of the French boarding institutions has been not the duplication of day school programmes but the offering of a type of education different from that obtainable elsewhere. Consequently, the schools today continue, founded neither upon a partial solution to a problem of geography nor a self-conscious concern with "class" but on a definition of education itself. With over three hundred years of distinguished history on Canadian soil, they are likely to continue as institutions of lasting influence and prestige.

42 eg. Conditions of admission to the Couvent des Soeurs de la Congregation Notre-Dame, founded in 1859 at Montreal for the education of young girls read as follows:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Charge</th>
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<tr>
<td>Pension par un an (payable d'avance...)</td>
<td>£18 10s. Od.</td>
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<tr>
<td>La Musique</td>
<td>8 10 0</td>
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<td>Piano</td>
<td>5 10 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guitare</td>
<td>9 12 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harpe</td>
<td>2 15 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Le Dessin</td>
<td>3 0 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>L'Italien</td>
<td>2 15 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Le Blanchissage</td>
<td>12 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Le Lit</td>
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<td>Entrée</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pupitre et Chaise</td>
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CHAPTER II

SCHOOLS FOR LEADERS - BRITISH BOARDING SCHOOLS
IN UPPER AND LOWER CANADA, AND THE MARITIMES

After twenty-seven years of rule in Canada, Britain saw the need of readjusting to the reality of two cultures. Under the terms of the 1791 Constitutional Act, Canada was therefore divided. The French, forming the majority in the eastern portion, henceforth were to preserve their way of life, though not without protracted political struggle. West of the Ottawa, British Upper Canada welcomed as its first Lieutenant-Governor, John Graves Simcoe.

A monarchist of the first order, Simcoe's views on the nature and scope of education can readily be deduced from his numerous pronouncements upon Canadian society. "The general spirit of the country," he complained shortly after assuming office, "is against the election of half-pay officers into the Assembly, and prejudice runs in favour of men of a lower order, who keep but one table, that is, who dine in common with their servants."¹ From the start he envisaged upper class schools along the lines of the prominent public schools of England. His deep-seated concern was that young "aristocrats" of the infant province would be sent to United States schools, there to be seduced from British principles by inadmissible republican ideas.

In those early times, numerous private schools such as the Rev. Mr. Arthur's Newark establishment were already in operation, claiming vaguely that "boarders will have the benefit of private tuition in geography and other parts of useful and ornamental education." But these schools lacked the prestige sought by the ruling classes. Seventeen ninety-seven saw the Hon. Peter Russell, President of the Legislative Council, petitioning the King for aid in setting up a respectable grammar school in each district. A favourable reply suggested that such institutions should include apartments for a master, a moderate family and ten to twenty boarders. In accordance with Russell's petition, ten townships were appropriated, amounting to over half a million acres, but land was cheap, sales were slow, and a decade passed by before tangible results showed.

Early in 1807, a bill to provide a fund for the support of one Public School in each district was introduced in the Upper Canada Assembly, and soon thereafter, its acceptance without amendment by the Legislative Council was announced. Accordingly, £800 annually was to be paid to Public Grammar

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3 Bell, W.N., The Development of the Ontario High School, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1918, p.12.

Schools established in each of eight districts as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>Town of Sandwich</td>
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<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>Township of Townsend</td>
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<tr>
<td>Niagara</td>
<td>Town of Niagara</td>
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<tr>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Town of York</td>
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<tr>
<td>Newcastle</td>
<td>Township of Hamilton</td>
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<td>Midland</td>
<td>Town of Kingston</td>
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<tr>
<td>Johnstown</td>
<td>Township of Augusta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>Town of Cornwall</td>
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</table>

In addition, £100 a year was available for each teacher. Trustees were to be appointed by Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council and had powers of hiring and dismissing teachers.

Bannister suggests that in theory at least the concept of the British boarding school found favour among early trustees of the above-mentioned schools. For trustees such as Thomas Talbot of London District, who was at once Member of the Executive Council, Colonel of Militia, Lieutenant of the County of Middlesex, Road Commissioner, Commissioner for the purchase of hemp and Commissioner for the prevention of sedition, or for seven other colleagues who together held down no fewer than twenty-four important government posts, the idea of widespread common schooling boded no good. In practice, however, neither the London District school nor its seven early duplicates ever remotely resembled Winchester or Eton.

Generally, the district schools founded under the act were boarding institutions, although day pupils were admitted. In terms of the economy of the day, their fees were

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5 Bannister, op.cit., p.70.
high. At Johnstown district's Brockville school, for instance, board and tuition in Greek, Latin, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy and Composition cost £ 30 per annum. Gourlay\(^6\) points out that as late as 1817 in the London district, a common labourer could earn perhaps £ 22-10s-0d per year. Evidently these were not schools for the working class.

A notice published by the Johnstown trustees advised that boarders were to provide for their washing and were to bring bed and bedding, towels and a silver spoon.\(^7\) But it was not to luxurious quarters that pupils from afar were dispatched by their patriotic and wealthy parents. Instead they were jammed into the master's house, usually a building in very poor repair. Nor did the schools grow to any great size. Nearly fifty years after the 1807 Act, of fourteen residential grammar schools listed by Bell,\(^8\) ten had but a single teacher and four but two. Classes themselves might be held in rented rooms, and taverns, business blocks, temperance halls, court houses, jails, printing offices and hotels are said to have seen service in the cause of grammar-school education.\(^9\) All

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\(^7\) Hodgins, op. cit., vol.1, p.156.

\(^8\) Bell, op. cit., p.73 ff.

this was a far cry from Simcoe's dream.

Severe criticism was soon to follow. William Crooks of Grimsby wrote to Robert Gourlay that "They (the Grammar Schools) have been productive of little or no good... for... they are looked upon as seminaries exclusively instituted for the education of the more wealthy classes of society to which the poor man's child is considered unfit to be admitted."\(^{10}\) Feeling was abroad among farmers, merchants and labourers that the scheme did nothing for the middle or poorer classes but cast money into the lap of the rich. Community jealousies were frequent, and while rural dwellers complained bitterly of unfairness, trustees such as those of the Sandwich Grammar School blamed its failure "upon the unhealthfulness of the town which prevented scholars being sent there from a distance, and... because of the illiteracy of the neighbouring farmers and their consequent inability to appreciate a liberal education."\(^{11}\) General grumbling became a matter of government concern.

An amendment in 1819 relocated certain grammar schools and provided ten free places in each for less fortunate pupils. In line with the broader struggle for responsible government in the province, by 1855 grammar school trustees were elected by their county councils whilst municipal councils

\(^{10}\) William Crooks to Robert Gourlay, 1818, in Gourlay, \textit{op.cit.}, vol.1, p.126.

\(^{11}\) Report to the House of Assembly in 1828, in Hodgins, \textit{op.cit.}, vol.1, p.301.
were allowed to raise money by local taxation for their support. An act of 1855 likewise provided for their inspection by such outstanding officers as Dr. George Paxton Young who in 1864 gave the blunt opinion that many of them were "needless and contemptible and required by no popular demand."\(^\text{12}\) By 1871, localities had to show proof of adequate local financial support and soon thereafter, the name "high school" was adopted. Thus, the aristocratic boarding schools envisaged by Simcoe and existing tenuously since their inception were metamorphosed into democratic high schools with no facilities for residents.\(^\text{13}\) Simcoe's ambitions were to be realized in schools of quite different backgrounds and more lasting imprint.

Parallel with the development of district boarding schools, there evolved in Upper Canada certain church-sponsored residential schools receiving government assistance and somewhat less easily diverted from their initial objectives. It will be recalled that Simcoe had hoped to build up in the forests of Upper Canada a community which would hold firmly to an intimate union with Great Britain and reproduce her social system with its established church and its public schools in close alliance with the church.\(^\text{14}\) After 1829, his ambitions, in terms of education at least, began fulfilment with the

\(^{12}\) MacPherson, _op.cit._, p.18.


\(^{14}\) MacPherson, _op.cit._, p.3.
founding of Upper Canada College. Initially, this school served as the Home District Grammar School and was for a time Upper Canada's university. One of its supporters was Church of England prelate and outstanding teacher, John Strachan, whom Coleman likens without hesitation to Arnold and Thring of Rugby, Uppingham and Hawtrey of Eton and Bradley of Marlborough. Another was Sir John Colbourne, afterward Field Marshal Lord Seaton, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada and veteran of the Peninsula and Waterloo. Such was the station and background of these and other founders that there is little wonder the school became the replica of the exclusive English institutions it consciously emulated.

In a letter to the Rev. Dr. Jones, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, Colbourne advised

The principal will have a fixed salary at six hundred pounds (£600) per annum. He will be provided with a home, allowed to take boarders and will regulate the students of the whole school. The two junior Classical Masters will receive £300 per annum for their fixed salaries and will be allowed to take boarders. The Mathematics Master will have the same advantages.

Government land endowments of some thirty-four thousand acres and, by 1834, an annual grant of £1,000 bolstered the revenues

15 Coleman, J.H.T., Public Education in Upper Canada, New York, Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1907, p.44.

obtained by boarding and tuition fees.\textsuperscript{17} By 1838, some forty boarders\textsuperscript{18} proved too much for principal and assistants and we learn that a Mr. Cozens received an appointment as residential master of a new boarding house. Whether or not the task proved too enervating is not clear, but the records indicate a Mr. M.C. Crombie succeeded to the vacant position in January, 1839.\textsuperscript{19}

An "official" image of life at the boarding house around 1847 may be secured from a document entitled "Regulations to be observed by the boarders at the College Boarding House."\textsuperscript{20} In summer, students rose at six o'clock to the boom of the college bell. Pupils studied to breakfast time, when they remained standing until grace was said and seated until given permission to leave. Morning and evening prayers were said with no plea whatsoever accepted for absence, excepting illness. After supper each evening, the boarders were summoned

\textsuperscript{17} "Returns in regard to Upper Canada College, 1835, Answers to enquiries of the Assembly, 3 March, 1835", in Hodgins, \textit{op. cit.}, vol.2, p.162.

\textsuperscript{18} Report of Upper Canada College, January, 1832 to August, 1839 in Hodgins, \textit{op. cit.}, vol.2, p.257.


\textsuperscript{20} Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, \textit{Letter Books and Correspondence, 1820-1855}, Microfilm, McGill University. The handbill appears to have been solicited by the Institution in connection with drawing up house rules for McGill College.
to the study, there to prepare lessons for the following day. After nine o'clock prayers all retired to bed, it being at the discretion of the master occasionally to allow serious senior students to remain up until ten. Leave to visit friends was by written invitation or verbal application of the boy's friend to the master, and such permission was granted only if both master and house matron were convinced that the boy's conduct deserved the privilege. The Sunday schedule required morning and evening Divine Service but was somewhat more liberal concerning visiting.

What is perhaps a more human picture is presented by Robertson who recalls boyhood days there, punctuated by fagging, pillow fights and midnight feasts. He remembers awe-struck boys peering through dormitory windows at the mass funeral corteges of Irish immigrants who died of cholera - admiration of Sir Francis Bond Head who rode up on a tour of inspection and granted a half-holiday - throwing stones at William Lyon MacKenzie on the outskirts of Toronto, and the sounding of the college bell during the fiery patriot's advance up Yonge Street.

If the district boarding schools were criticised by those unable to benefit from them, it was not surprising that Upper Canada College was assailed in like manner. William Lyon MacKenzie objected to its sectarianism, its high fees,

classical curriculum and means of electing its staff.  

Methodist Ryerson questioned Church of England domination, whilst enemies at large charged that in spite of the boarding house, Toronto benefited chiefly, at the expense of the province at large. An attack in the Brantford Exposition stated that the college was nothing remarkable and The Canada Educational Monthly alleged that it had degenerated into a nursery for the propagation of youthful priggism.  

An 1832 Select Committee on Education and certain subsequent investigations gave rise to replies to some of the criticism. The Rev. Dr. Harris observed that though the number of boys from the country was generally about a third, the benefits to the province were not to be estimated solely from the number of boarders. "No one," he insists, "thinks of enquiring whether a Bacon or a Newton, a Johnson or an Addison, received his education in his native town or at a distant school... Is then, the Province in general really deriving no advantage...?" Principal George Parkin in his 1830 in-

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22 "Articles of Impeachment or Public Accusations... Against the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province and the Advisors to the Crown", Colonial Advocate, January, 1832, in Hodgins, Documentary History..., vol.2, p.58.


24 eg. 1832, March 20, 70 day boys, 31 boarders, Returns of Jos.H.Harris, Principal, in Hodgins, op.cit., vol.2, p.58.

augural address was yet more precise in remarking -

The conditions on which a great public school can be... built up and maintained as a great school and as a living power for good in a land can be stated almost as definitely as a proposition in mathematics. In the first place, there must be a moral purpose behind it. To have a moral purpose, you must... have a religious spirit.26

Over eighty years later, an ex-teacher agreed that the inculcation of a sense of social purpose, reinforced by life in a residence with its own educational aims, continued to represent fairly the spirit of the institution.27 Of this fact alone, friends of the college are singularly proud.28 Unquestionably, here is the sort of thing Simcoe had in mind.29

It is not to be understood, however, that Upper Canada College had the field to itself. As early as 1830, another kind of reaction was occurring - not like Mackenzie's editorial work or that of Select Committees - but rather certain specific steps toward establishing other schools that


27 Andrew, Dean Geoffrey, sometime master of Upper Canada College, interview with the writer, 6 September, 1961.

28 Sir John Willison, op.cit., p.137, tells of Upper Canada College boys bringing news of the 1837 Rebellion, charging with Cardigan and the Light Brigade, winning the V.C., campaigning to the Nile and pleading Canada's case in the Alaska Boundary dispute.

29 Note: Whitaker's Almanac lists the College among the Commonwealth's great "public" schools.
would counter-balance the arch-rival in religious domination and purpose.

In 1830, the Upper Canada Methodist Conference busied itself with the twofold task of petitioning the Lieutenant-Governor regarding the unsuitability in a frontier land of Upper Canada College's classical curriculum, and of drawing up plans for an academy of their own. These plans expedited by the indefatigable Egerton Ryerson, not to mention the orthodox architecture of the era, were drawn with alacrity. On June 7, 1832, at Coburg, Dr. John Gilchrist laid the cornerstone of Methodist Upper Canada Academy, a boarding school for middle-class folk to provide moral education equivalent to any in Canada or the United States and to prepare common school teachers.

On November 20th, 1835, Ryerson departed for England, arriving a month later with Colbourne's letters of introduction to Colonial Secretary Lord Glenelg and Undersecretary Sir George Grey. The notion was to secure a charter and government assistance, aid that the persistent Ryerson, of all his colleagues, appeared most likely to obtain. It is in the latter's subsequent voluminous writing that we learn -

There is room within the building of the Institution for the residence as well as the tuition of one hundred and seventy (170) students. This is as large a number as can be accommodated in the Boarding Hall of Upper Canada College.30

For various reasons, Ryerson's first efforts were in vain. Nothing daunted, he and his colleagues forged ahead. The Rev. Dr. A. Green in *Lives and Times*, 1877, recalls that the academy was opened on June 18th, 1836, with Rev. Matthew Rickey as Principal, and remembers, mundanely, that board, including room furniture, washing, etc., was £ 22-0-0 per annum. When others might have given up, Ryerson struggled on until June 12th, 1837, when he returned from England with the pleasing intelligence that upon learning of the failure of a bill in the Upper Canada Legislative Council for a grant to the academy of £ 4,100 he had applied to Lord Glenelg, who had instructed Lieutenant-Governor Bond Head to advance that amount from Casual and Territorial Revenue which had not as yet been surrendered to the Upper Canada Parliament. Such were the subtleties of boarding school politics during the troubled years of the Rebellion!

Not all of Upper Canada College's rivals emerged via religious denominational pressure, however. Occasionally local drive and personal leadership produced remarkable boarding schools, as was the case with Galt Collegiate Institute that flourished for over forty years and continues with distinction today.

On January 21st, 1852 there appeared in the *Dumfries Reformer* an advertisement for Galt Grammar School that claimed it would prepare candidates for Upper Canada College and

Trinity Scholarships as well as those of the secular university of Toronto. In 1853, Mr. William Tassie, described once as "a good sample of the old Dominie who believed that the rod was the best remedy for indolence, indifference, listlessness, and laziness," became headmaster of the school that was to attract boys from afar and win national and international fame.

Dr. Cody, speaking at the Institute's 1952 Centenary Dinner, underscored the unique status of the school. On the one hand, it was part of the provincial system of education, governed by elected trustees and supported by public funds. On the other hand, it bore the marks of the English Public School in its belief in honour, self-devotion and playing the game. Dr. Tassie believed implicitly in a system of residences or supervised boarding houses. For these, the trustees assumed no responsibility, nor did Dr. Tassie require his assistants to share in the supervision. Thus, in his own house, under the care of kindly Mrs. Tassie, some forty lads lived, whilst twenty-five boys resided in each of three

32 The Honourable Beattie Crozier, quoted by T.H. Wholton, M.A., in an outline of the history of Galt Collegiate Institute, prepared for presentation at the Centenary Dinner, February 9th, 1952, p.1, material made available by Dr. F. Henry Johnson.

33 Dr. Cody, address given at Centenary Dinner, p.1, copy made available by Dr. F. Henry Johnson.

34 Ibid., p.4.
authorized residences. Each dormitory built a wigwam along the river and organized raiding parties or tusselled with day boys from Galt Central School, but when it came to work, the pupils excelled and brought the school fame in 1872 when it headed the list of six schools granted the name "Collegiate Institute".

Inevitably though, a school depending upon a person rather than a system fluctuates with its leadership. So at Galt, Tassie's refusal to accept the principle of payment by results, his strenuous opposition to co-education and his age brought with them a decline in the fortunes of the school he loved. The names of Canadian political and professional leaders of days gone by bear witness, however, to the calibre of this remarkable institution, one of the first Canadian boarding schools to operate successfully within a public system.

Whilst Upper Canada worked out its own educational destiny, an English minority in Lower Canada, exhibiting sensitivity to its cultural isolation, laid plans accordingly. An act of 1801 to establish free schools remained largely inoperative, but in 1818, a predominantly Protestant committee, The Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, devised a

35 Cody, *op. cit.*, p.5.


37 Dr. Cody lists names like Tupper, Blake, Mowat, Osler, Moss, Keefer, Cronyn, Macbeth, Carling, Boulton, Cayley, Galt, Gamble, Senkler, etc.
scheme for establishing both English and French free schools. Three years earlier when the British government intended to give up the confiscated Jesuit estates for the purpose, free Grammar Schools of Royal Foundation were established at Quebec and Montreal. Masters were sent out from England, and the Royal Institution assumed administrative control soon after its inception, determined to encourage education upon British principles.

At Montreal the indomitable Mr. Alexander Skakel, assisted by one teacher, supervised the activities of some thirty-five day and resident pupils for the sum of £10 tuition and £30 board per year. The scholars tackled a hearty classical offering - "Gorderius, Eutropius, Nepos, Caesar, Ovid, Virgil and Sallust, Horace and Livy and sometimes Terrence, Collectanea Graeca Minora by Dalzel of Edinburgh, the Testament, Xenophon and Homer."\(^{38}\) Twiner's Grammatical Exercises and Prosody rounded out the classical side, whilst a daring departure for its day was a series of supplementary demonstrations performed with "Philosophical Apparatus of the value of £400 sterling."

Quebec presented a similar picture. Under the watchful eye of the Rev. Mr. R. R. Burrage, boys studied the classics and lived in the headmaster's house for an equivalent fee.

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Clearly, in cost and clientele, the schools were envisaged as institutions for the sons of gentlemen well able to pay. Less fortunate children admitted free were not always afforded work on a par with that of their more fortunate fellows. In fact, Mr. Skakel, in his 1821 report, declares that for certain free scholars, "... instruction in the branches of common education has been substituted in the place of classical instruction. Whether... I have erred, the Royal Institution will decide." 39

The Institution appears not to have been unduly concerned.

For all their apparent upper-class English allure, the two boarding schools in question had much in common with Upper Canada's district grammar schools. In a gloomy letter to the Institution, a discouraged Burrage tells of an ill-constructed virtually unheated house and a student privy "too low to admit of a communication with the main drain." 40 By 1832, the Rev. headmaster was telling of lack of public support and charges that the classical system of instruction was not adapted to the circumstances of the country. 41 Seven years later, the Quebec school closed, with Burrage himself alleging that the two large Grammar Schools had become "nothing more than places of cheap education for the children of people in the lower

39 Skakel, op.cit., p.2.

40 Rev.R.R.Burrage to Rev.A.Mackintosh, Secretary-Treasurer, R.I., November 17th, 1831, McGill microfilm.

41 Burrage to Rev.T.J.Mills, Secretary, R.I.A.L., 5th June, 1832, McGill microfilm.
walks of life." Letters written by Mr. Skakel asking for sick-leave in February, 1836, show ample evidence of a trembling hand, and a decade later, upon the death of this famous teacher, his school was amalgamated with Montreal High School. Thus ended the questionable careers of a brace of educational anachronisms.

Of more lasting character were seminaries such as those at Stanstead and East Hatley in the Eastern Townships. They were strongly influenced not only by American-type interest in education but also by American-trained teachers of a superior class, many of whom were graduates of Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, or the University of Vermont. These schools for young women and young men respectively, in 1830 received grants of $800 per annum from the Provincial Legislature. Boarding facilities were available and students from many parts of the Eastern Townships and of the State of Vermont came to study. These classical schools tempered by an American bias for practical studies, appear to have secured a large measure of public confidence. By the turn of the half-century, over

From the draft of a letter prepared for Sir John Doratt, Inspector General of Hospitals but which, at Mr. Arthur Buller's request, was put into his hands by the Principal of the Board, to whom it had been submitted for approval, August 1, 1838, McGill microfilm.

twenty of them, mostly with dormitories, were in operation. Evidently their somewhat lighter treatment of Latin, Greek, and British institutions suited their surrounding public as well as their students.

In the Maritimes, the development of boarding schools was not unlike that in Upper Canada. With the coming of the Loyalists in 1783, the number of English inhabitants increased from about 1,500 to nearly 13,000, among them some of the best educated and ablest people of the former American Colonies. Only a few, such as Edward Winslow, could afford to advise their friends "My boy Murray embarks tomorrow for England... He's to be put to school in the country." Since sending children to the United States was running the risk of republican contamination in the eyes of the Loyalists, good schools operated along British lines became a major necessity. At first, boarding accommodation was provided in the homes of respectable families, as in the case of the Sussex Vale Girls' School, according to a late 18th century advertisement. Though later, dormitories were provided at such institutions as Fredericton Academy, the family boarding scheme persisted in a host of Church of England

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private schools and was recommended by a Commission on Kings College in 1854. Nevertheless strict attention to manners and morals was to be paid by supervising headmasters and the student resident reminded constantly that education was the badge of aristocracy and the qualification for leadership and Church of England respectability.

In Nova Scotia, meanwhile, a law of 1758 proclaiming the aforementioned church "by law established" favoured the founding of such government aided institutions as Windsor Academy, later Kings College University, whose charter proclaimed that no member was "to frequent the Romanish Mass or the Meeting Houses of Presbyterians, Baptists or Methodists." Subordinate to the University was the Collegiate School, later said to have "apartments in it for the headmaster and his family, his ushers and about forty boarders." According to all accounts, however, Nova Scotia was by no means solidly Church of England, and subsequent boarding school developments appear to have hinged principally upon reaction to Church of England domination.

An early example is the institution founded privately by Presbyterian Rev. Thomas McCullough at Pictou. In a log cabin chinked with moss, the dynamic minister gave to boys of many denominations an education suitable to their ability, and his biographer speaks of "youngsters studying a-b-c and young

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lads reciting qui, quae, quod; children slyly drawing pigs on their slates, and older ones trying to cross the 'Pons Asinorum'. To the back of the homestead was added a wooden building that served as a dormitory for sixteen boys, and as McCulloch's teaching fame spread, pupils from places as far distant as the West Indies came to stay. Fire charred the "Log College", but the school, one of the first to promote non-sectarian education in the Maritimes, persevered and from it Pictou Academy was to emerge in 1816. This latter institution arranged for its resident students to lodge in private houses, at moderate expense, and free from restraints. Many of its graduates sat external examinations from Glasgow University and went on to attain distinction in public service.

The Baptist Horton Academy provides yet another example of a boarding school catering to all denominations. First opened in 1829, it provided classical training and by 1831 recognized the need of a boarding house. At a rental of £40 a year, the dwelling of one William Johnson, Esq. was secured and board arranged at about £20 a year. Soon a permanent building sufficient to accommodate the principal and his family, the assistant and steward, and fifty boarders, was constructed at a cost of £1200. A committee reporting on it in


48 Memorial of Acadia College and Horton Academy, 1828-1878, Montreal, Dawson Brothers, 1881, p.61.
1832 spoke of a system of rules and of supervisory influence "sought to be of the most paternal and affectionate character, but without any vicious levity; a respectful and rational regard for the Sacred Scriptures is cultivated, and while perfect liberty of conscience is permitted, pious character is carefully cherished, and correct moral behaviour diligently enforced."\textsuperscript{49}

In the interim, a boarding school for young ladies was opened at Wolfville in 1857 and later organized as a branch of Horton Academy. Financial difficulties about 1870 suspended its activities, but two years later, the management committee for Horton Academy decided to open its classes to girls until some better plan could be adopted, and several rooms in the west end of the boarding house were assigned for the residence of the young ladies.\textsuperscript{50} Here was an early instance of a co-educational boarding arrangement that operated satisfactorily at a time when a similar system was ruining reputations in far away British Columbia.

The pattern in Newfoundland, though not unlike that of the mainland maritime provinces, hewed more rigidly to denominational lines. As early as 1827, the Bishop of Nova Scotia had observed of Newfoundland that "the most respectable inhabitants" felt the need of sending their children to the

\textsuperscript{49} Memórial of Acadia College and Horton Academy, 1828-1878, Montreal, Dawson Brothers, 1881, p.222.

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., p.107.
mainland, to England, or (worst of all!) to the United States, for a suitable education. In 1859, the Methodists opened Wesleyan Academy that offered primary, intermediate and college courses with a decidedly classical flavour and charged the then astronomical sum of £40 per academic year for young gentlemen boarders. Another St. John's boarding school, Catholic St. Clare's, opened in 1861 and assured its patrons that "It need only be said that while the utmost attention will be paid to the formation of the children's character, their health, diet, necessary relaxation and general comfort shall be provided for with truly maternal solicitude." Littledale Academy, an Anglican boarding school for girls, provided similar accommodation, but Bishop Powers, its founder, observed in 1884 that many well-to-do people of St. John's seemed to prefer the implied distinction of sending their children to boarding schools further afield. Along these multi-denominational lines, not only the boarding schools but also the entire educational system of Newfoundland has since developed.

From such brief consideration of these British boarding schools of early days, certain common characteristics emerge. The schools were, for example, frequently founded by a so-called established church and later challenged by rival non-conformist institutions. Headmasters were nearly always men of the cloth, and substantial amounts of student time were

given to religious observances and moral education. Boarding with the headmaster or under supervision of a resident assistant made for very close integration of school and residential phases of education, while a strict discipline, tempered not a little with natural boisterousness, paternalism and frequent sorties into the world beyond the school walls, made for a sense of humour, responsibility and coöperation. There was great scope under such circumstances for the personal genius of a McCulloch, a Tassie or a Harris, genuinely to inspire the pupils whose lives they shared. And, politically, it was to schools of this sort that government support was first given in English-speaking Canada. Yet such incidental features fail clearly to distinguish the British boarding schools from their French counterparts of Chapter I. In other broad areas, however, the difference is very marked.

First of all the schools were considered indispensable to the task of preserving British institutions. The need for emphasizing British traditions sprang only in part from counterpoising French influences and very much more from mistrust of the American neighbour. It will be recalled that the period of boarding school evolution in question encompasses the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and the American Civil War, to Canadian Loyalists, distasteful reminders of republicanism. Emulation of England's great public schools was thus more than an aping of social graces; it was a means of insurance against a looming republican threat. Modified somewhat in the Eastern Townships, this pro-British attitude was
shared by influential Loyalists in Upper Canada and the Maritimes alike, though they were not always of the "established church".

Then too, the early British boarding schools, unlike their French images, generally operated along lines of definite class distinction. Whatever attempts were made by various denominations for children of assorted creeds, high fees tended to filter out all but those of wealthy parents. Where free places were made too easily accessible or where common school subjects extensively taught, the institutions either failed outright or were absorbed by a public school system that in no way resembled them in their original conception. Quebec and Montreal Royal boarding schools and the Upper Canada district boarding schools illustrate this last point. Though exceptions existed, education at a British-type boarding school was the insignia of an upper class.

Lastly, though these schools produced many candidates for the clergy, their underlying philosophy was training for leadership in all branches of social, political and professional life. Such a philosophy makes much of personal accomplishment, and boarding school historians consider it a matter of course to regale their readers with formidable lists.

52 Compare Montreal's Petit Séminaire - £4-1ls-8d in 1790 and St. John de Brébeuf, $475 - $210 tuition in 1954 with Montreal's Royal grammar school - £30 - £10 tuition, 1815 and Upper Canada College - $1,400 in 1953.
of "prominent" graduates who have found riches or honour or both in a society whose concepts of morality and success often appear to run together. Unlike the French institutions, they sought not so much to isolate their inmates from mundane contamination as to prepare them for prominence in a highly competitive social order and at the same time instill in them a sense of social purpose and an obligation to put their education to work for the general weal. Such were the boarding schools designed to produce followers of the church and leaders of men.
CHAPTER III
RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS
FOR CANADA'S NATIVE POPULATION

The Indians of Canada, when discovered by the early French explorers, were many hundreds of years behind the civilization at that time attained by Europeans.¹ Indeed, to the first missionaries, their way of life appeared little short of scandalous. As Acadia's pioneer Jesuit Father Biard put it -

They are, I say, savage, haunting the woods, ignorant, lawless and rude; they are wanderers with nothing to attach them to a place, neither homes nor relationships.²

That they were either ignorant or lawless in terms of their own views on such matters is highly debatable. But for the rest, Biard's immediate mention of their nomadism indicated a field of educational challenge that has continued to perplex the best teachers and administrators up to the present day.

From the beginning, the missionaries and the French government saw eye to eye regarding an Indian educational policy. The savages were to be Christianized on the one hand and made into creditable citizens of France on the other. In


Acadia, a quick start was made and before long both at Port Royal and La Hève, French children shared classes and sleeping quarters with their copper-skinned Indian brothers. Soon appreciating the natives' hate of confinement, the Capuchins are said to have conducted some classes in the woods "where the varied song of the birds blended with the dull thud of the axe." Yet, sometimes the temptations of the wandering life proved irresistible, to the distress of such as Father Le Caron whose New France Indian students sometimes "threw off their student habits, put on the 'capot' of the hunter, and dashed, wild with joy, toward the forest paths."

In the infant Quebec settlement, the missionaries found that making Christian Frenchmen of pagan Indians was no incidental task. It was even suggested that the most expeditious method would be to educate savage children of promise in France, but Father Le Jeune favoured a colonial seminary. "If we had one built," he argued, "I would hope that in two years Father Brébeuf would send us some Huron children; they could be instructed here with all freedom, being separated from

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their parents." The pious priest's dream was realized at Quebec in 1636 and the following year he was able to write "Behold then, our Seminary begun under very great difficulties. These young men... are dressed in the French way... Our French people are pleased at seeing these young Savages anxious to live after the French fashion." Sixteen thirty-nine saw the establishment at Quebec of an Ursuline convent for French and Indian girls but here, too, native inmates were at first given to slipping away into the woods beyond the settlement. Some twenty-nine years later, Bishop Laval showed great insight into this problem.

In contrast to the impetuous Biard of young Acadia, Laval probed deeply into fundamental causes of the continued problem of carrying out official Indian educational policy. Though his conclusions were pessimistic, his analysis of the situation wears well after nearly three centuries. At his Petit Séminaire, opened in 1668, he attempted to fulfill the desires of the French crown regarding the "Frenchification" of Indians, and later explained his tactics. "In order to succeed the better," he writes, "I have been obliged to join with them some little French children, from whom, by living with them, the Savages will learn more easily the customs and the lan-

5 Letter from Father Paul LeJeune to the Reverend Father Provincial at Paris, 1634 in Thwaites, *op. cit.*., vol.6, p.83.

6 Relation of Father LeJeune, 1637, in Thwaites, *op. cit.*., vol.12, p.45.
guage."  But difficulties loomed large. The prelate continues in part, that the parents -

... have an extraordinary love for their children, and can scarcely make up their minds to be separated from them. Or, if they do permit this, it is very difficult to effect a separation for any length of time, for the reason that ordinarily the families of the Savages do not have many children... only two or three... As a result, they depend on their children, when they are somewhat advanced in years, for the support of their family. This can only be gained by the Chase...

Though the great churchman vowed his utmost efforts for the undertaking, he confessed that "... its success seems to be very doubtful." 8

Thus, early in Canada's history, a pattern of Indian education emerged. Under the watchful eye of the missionaries, native children were brought up apart from their parents. But Laval's worst fears were to be realized when it became apparent that it was one thing to bring up a savage in a boarding school and quite another to expect a radical change in attitude and behaviour when the child returned to his parents and the old way of life. Isolation from the adverse influences of a pioneer land had a positive effect upon white children such as the girls Laval described as having learned graciousness,


8 Ibid., p.43.
morality and efficiency under Ursuline care. Regrettably, such was not always the case with Indian boys and girls struggling upwards from a stone age. Nevertheless, to modern Canadians, the efforts and aims of those French missionaries of days gone by must seem simple and charitable. Though scarcely crowned with unbounded success, their boarding schools tried to make stable citizens of nomadic savages. Full citizenship has not always been first in the minds of authorities of more recent times.

Nearly a century and a half after Laval's assessment of Indian educational problems, extensive English settlement was taking place in Upper Canada. At that time, as Duncan Campbell Scott is quick to point out, greater attention was paid to the religious instruction and education for the Indian than to like services for the white population. In those days, education and class privilege were part and parcel of a common argument, and it comes as no great surprise to find that the Indian was not to be a candidate for the "public" residential schools. This is not to detract from the honest endeavours of Protestant missionaries or the authorities who tried to smooth their way. But in considering Indian education in early Upper Canada, one detects the distinctively British approach. As was the case during the French régime,

best results were believed to be obtainable when the Indian was removed from his family environment, and to this end, boarding schools emerged. Two differences were soon in evidence, however. In the first place, Indian and white were separated; in the second place, greater emphasis was placed upon trade training. Though both early French and British Indian schools shared a religious basis, the British evidently exhibited less haste at educating for full citizenship.

By the turn of the century, the Six Nations Indians, led to Canada by Joseph Brant after the American Revolution, were receiving education from S.P.G. teachers resident on their Grand River and Bay of Quinté territories. Attendance proved a real problem, however, and difficulties encountered by such prominent Anglicans as the Reverend Dr. Stuart soon reached official ears. Sir John Colbourne, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada in 1828, advised the Imperial Government that private undertakings were praiseworthy but inadequate and that increased government participation was indicated. The New England Company, an Anglican group dating back to England's 1649 Long Parliament and devoted to the education of North American Indians, did not wait for government help but in 1830 established near Brantford the Mohawk Institute for the teaching of handicraft trades. In 1833 it became a boarding school

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10 Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, an Anglican organization founded in 1701 to supply schoolmasters for the colonies.
for ten boys and ten girls from the Six Nations reserve and later expanded to house free of charge almost a hundred native children.\textsuperscript{11} By 1837, an Indian Manual Labour School was built at Alnwick, near Rice Lake, where twelve children were educated and boarded at the expense of the British Wesleyan Conference. Here, the children were taught to read and write and to make axe-handles, ladles, brooms, shovels, and other farm implements.\textsuperscript{12}

Colbourne and his successors (with the notable exception of Sir Francis Bond Head)\textsuperscript{13} seem to have approved heartily of such arrangements. Subsequent correspondence further testifies to the thinking of the time. For instance, Methodist Reverends Peter Jones and Robert Alder urged "the establishment and support of two or more Central Schools in which the most promising youth should be placed and gratuitously boarded"\textsuperscript{14} Lord Glenelg affirmed that "the first step


\textsuperscript{12} Scott, Duncan Campbell, "Indian Affairs, 1840-1867" in Shortt, \textit{op.cit.}, vol.5, p.349.

\textsuperscript{13} In a Dispatch of January 14, 1836, Bond Head wrote to Lord Glenelg "that the greatest kindness we can perform toward these... people is to remove and fortify them as much as possible from all Communication with the Whites", cited in Scott, \textit{op.cit.}, p.337.

\textsuperscript{14} Rev.R.Alder to Lord Glenelg, December 14, 1837 in Hodgins, \textit{op.cit.}, vol.4, p.122.
to the real improvement of the Indians is to gain them over from a wandering to a settled life... In this connection, I recommend... suggestions offered by Alder." The Colonial Secretary, with a historical glance over his shoulder, further declared "Under the French Government of Canada, that people were placed under the special care of the Jesuit Missionaries... It is time for us to emulate their example." Additional indications of a general adoption of the residential school idea for Indian instruction were furnished by a resolution of the 1837 Methodists Conference that the Board of Upper Canada Academy be requested to direct their immediate attention to Central Manual Labour Schools, and by Sir George Arthur's 1838 report that attendance at the Six Nations Reserve day schools was incredibly bad. Government financial aid was soon to follow. In 1845, a change in the policy of the Government of Canada, in regard to giving presents to Indians, was made. In that year, Lord Metcalfe, then Governor General, arranged with most of the settled tribes that the annual issue of gunpowder should cease and that the sum thus saved would be

15 Lord Glenelg to Sir George Arthur, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, August 22, 1838, in Hodgins, *op. cit.*, vol.4, p.123.

16 Lord Glenelg to Earl of Durham, Lord High Commissioner to Canada, August 22, 1838, in Hodgins, *op. cit.*, vol.4, p.124.

17 Resolution No.2, Methodists Conference, June 14-24, 1837, in Hodgins, *op. cit.*, vol.4, p.126.

applied in promoting education among them. From these early Indian boarding-schools, operated by religious denominations and receiving government support, Canada's present residential system for Indian and Eskimo has sprung.

Of course, the mere concurrence of missionaries and government officials on the question of industrial boarding schools for natives awaited for the scheme's success the addition of a third dimension of agreement - that of the Indian himself - and no pains were spared to secure his cooperation. At an Orillia Council Meeting in the summer of 1846, Capt. Thomas G. Anderson, Rev. Peter Jones and other Methodists assured the assembled Chiefs that in the boarding schools their children would be well cared for. The boys, they explained, would learn farming and trades such as blacksmithing, carpentry and shoe-making whilst the girls would be taught housekeeping, spinning, knitting and sewing. However hesitantly, the Indians voted to make contributions to a central fund from their government annuities. Thus was added the third dimension.

To the already established residential schools were added others whose operations were delineated by written contract with the government. At Alderville in 1848, and Mount


Elgin in the year following, Indian boarding schools were organized under the Wesleyan Methodist Society's care. Vallery renders an interesting account of their status. The Indian Department furnished buildings and an annual grant for board, clothing and education, of about $60 per child. On their part, the Wesleyans supplied furniture, books, farm stock and implements as well as paying teaching salaries. Other funds came from Indian contributions mentioned above. But problems abounded in these pre-Confederation institutions. Many children were too old or stayed too short a time to make any significant progress. Parental prejudice and a demanding daily routine for the freedom-loving pupils created discipline problems whilst graduates returned to a way of life far removed from that of the schools. Laval had despaired of making good French citizens of his bronze-skinned charges. Protestant clergymen with government help experienced no less difficulties two centuries later in producing good farmers, tradesmen and housewives.

Thus, in the face of adverse conditions, the Indian industrial schools of eastern Canada continued to educate in their fashion increasing numbers of children. Then, with the advent of Confederation, the Canadian prairies were to become the focus of attention in matters touching upon the instruction of the native population. To the already considerable and not always beneficial influence of whiskey-trading fur

21 Vallery, op. cit., p.61.
merchants, was added that of the hard-working, hard-drinking railroaders, who between 1872 and 1885 drove the millions of iron spikes that secured the steel tracks linking British Columbia with her "back east" compatriots. In their wake, a deluge of settlers, less violent but more numerous, brought white civilization to the threshold of the red man's teepee. In 1873 was established Canada's Department of the Interior, and through its workings, three strong men were to come to the forefront of Indian educational affairs - Nicholas Flood Davin, Sir John A. Macdonald and Father Lacombe.

Upon the return to power of Macdonald in 1879, Davin was appointed to study Indian education in the United States and to see how U.S. methods might apply to the Indian problems of the North West Territories. Impressed and not a little worried at the prospect confronting Canada's prairie natives faced with white domination, Davin called for "a large, statesmanlike policy," that would include the setting up of industrial boarding schools specifically designed to counteract retrogressive home influences and bad attendance.

John A. Macdonald, who carried the added portfolio of Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, shared the views of his official investigator. Soon after the receipt of Davin's report, he declared -

The greatest obstacle to the successful education of Indian children at day schools consists in the irregularity of

\[22 \text{ Scott, op. cit., vol.7, p.613.}\]
their attendance, caused in part by the neglect of their parents to oblige them to attend, and by the frequent absence of many families from the reserves while fishing, hunting and berry-picking... the necessity for the establishment more generally of institutions whereat Indian children, besides being instructed in the usual branches of education, will be lodged, fed, clothed, kept separate from home influences, taught trades and instructed in agriculture, is becoming every year more apparent.23

These views were repeated in his 1883 report, and by 1884, Macdonald was able to state -

It having been considered advisable to establish Industrial Schools in the North West Territories for the instruction of Indian children in mechanical arts and agriculture, as well as the ordinary branches of education, three of these institutions were directed by Order-in-Council of the 19th of July last, to be established at the following points, namely:- one at Battleford... another near Qu'Appelle and the third at High River in the Blackfoot Country.24

The three schools in question led stormy careers. During the 1885 Rebellion, the Battleford institution was pillaged and the building greatly damaged and later occupied by a contingent of Canadian artillery.25 At Qu'Appelle, the Reverend J. Hugonnaud seems to have been more fortunate, for in

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24 47th Victoria Sessional Papers, (No. 4), vol. 17, op. cit., 1884, p. xi.

1885 he was able to report that only two older pupils had deserted, the remaining thirty-nine between six and fourteen years old being well pleased with their new home, and language problems constituting the only major barrier to progress in agricultural trades and housekeeping pursuits. From Father A. Lacombe, beloved shepherd of his flock, there came quite a different story, however.

Father Lacombe, for many years the key figure among the Cree and Blackfoot tribes and recognized as such not only by his government but also by Van Horne and the backers and engineers of the C.P.R., stated with a characteristic frankness that most of the boys committed to his charge had deserted the St. Joseph's Industrial School. He pointed out that Blood and Peigan parents refused to part with younger boys and that older ones, 15-18 years old, "being their own masters, came here without the consent of parents or guardians - merely, I suspect, because they considered it a very comfortable way of getting through the winter months." These latter ridiculed those in charge, engaged in free-for-alls and prevented educational progress of any sort, excepting that they seem to have remained extraordinarily healthy! Feeling that he had insufficient powers of coercion, the business-like priest


27 Father Lacombe to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, July 13, 1885, op.cit., p.76.
summarized his observations for the benefit of the Regina Indian Commissioner and later for Macdonald himself. He proposed in part -

1. That parents be compelled to send their children to the Industrial School.

2. That no children over eight be accepted.

3. That parents should not be allowed to camp near the schools for fear of demoralizing the pupils.

4. A few whites and half-breeds should be enrolled to help with the development of spoken English.28

To these and other suggestions, the federal government gave heed. By 1892 emerging financial problems called for a more definite arrangement between the Churches and the Department of Indian Affairs. Accordingly, contracts were drawn for boarding schools29 whereby buildings were to be kept in repair jointly by the government and the managing churches who were to furnish materials and pay labourers found by the government. The Indian Department supplied books and other

28 Father Lacombe, *op. cit.*, p.76 ff.

29 The terms "industrial school", "boarding school" and "residential school" have been employed since Confederation in official reports on Indian education. Industrial schools provided for boarders from a considerable distance and emphasized trade training. Boarding schools housed Indian children from nearby reservations and stressed instruction in agriculture. Today, the term "Indian residential school" designates a federally supervised Indian school that houses pupils, regardless of the curriculum they follow.
items of school equipment and made a per capita grant of between $115 and $140 depending on location. Gradually, the industrial schools that had experienced such an uncertain start managed to retain their pupils. The eventual success of these latter institutions was to be limited, however, by mounting Indian opposition to the distance of the centralized schools from the reserves they served.

The principal reason behind growing preference for the newer boarding schools sprang from the fact that many students from the industrial schools found full acceptance of themselves and their trades in white society exceedingly difficult to attain. It likewise became evident that many trades such as weaving or shoemaking found little chance of expression on a reserve whose ancient customs called for the fashioning of garments from the skins of animals. Then too, the government-operated industrial schools were far removed from many reserves and though they continued to attract a fair number of pupils, numerous Indian parents refused to send their children such long distances. In terms of these two impediments, the newer boarding schools presented a compromise between day and industrial schools. They emphasized farming rather than trades and they were set up on or near the reserves. Children did not lose all contact with their parents, who were permitted occasional visits, yet the schools overcame the attend-

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ance problems of the day schools just as well as did the industrial schools. Parental acknowledgment of these institutions is demonstrated by their countrywide development as illustrated in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Industrial Schools Number</th>
<th>Boarding Schools Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was towards the turn of the century, however, that traces of a growing malaise became evident in the reports as to the reduced prestige of Indian day schools. James A. Smart, Deputy Superintendent General under Clifford Sifton, warned of the ever-present danger in education of running to extremes, particularly in what he termed educating Indian children "above the possibility of their station." Boarding and industrial schools were costly and their graduates, with rare exception, returned to the communities of their own race without being accorded full citizenship. In 1910, Smart's successor, Frank Pedley, again raised the question of the purpose and accomplishments of the residential schools. He argued that retarding home influences and bad attendance that lay at the root of the boarding establishments had been substantially

31 Sessional Papers for dates indicated, Indian Affairs, pp.xxxvii, xxv, xxviii, dxxxii respectively.

overcome by a reduction of nomadism and an improvement of home conditions. His appeal was for a restoration of the balance between boarding, industrial and day schools.\textsuperscript{33} That his views were to be eventually recognized is borne out by the fact that fifty years later, a more complex picture nevertheless showed day schools serving nearly half of Canada's Indian school population as follows:

**Enrolment of Pupils, 1960**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indian Day Schools</td>
<td>18,812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential School Boarders</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attending Indian Day Schools</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seasonal Schools</td>
<td>773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital Schools</td>
<td>401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential Schools (a) Boarders attending</td>
<td>9,109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential Schools (b) Day Pupils attending</td>
<td>1,701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non Indian Schools</td>
<td>9,479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL Indian Enrolment</td>
<td>40,637</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The boarding schools nonetheless continued to operate, many of them adopting what was known as a "half-day plan", under which regular school subjects were given in the morning, the latter part of the day being devoted to manual work characteristic of the school in question. Industrial schools hence offered to boys training in farming, carpentry, blacksmithing, harness-making, tailoring, shoemaking and printing. Girls worked at sewing, spinning, weaving, needlework and


\textsuperscript{34} Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, \textit{Report of Indian Affairs Branch, 1960}, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1960, p.55.
mending, together with housework. In addition, fatigue work directly connected with the operation of the institution was required. Boys cleaned stables, repaired machinery and worked in the fields while girls made beds, scrubbed floors and helped prepare and serve meals. But in spite of government support and economies effected by student-labour, many religious groups in charge of boarding schools found costs beyond their means.

It was in connection with these financial anxieties that a conference of Roman Catholic, Church of England, Methodist and Presbyterian church groups met with Superintendent Duncan Campbell Scott in Ottawa on November 8, 1910. A new schedule of increased grants, minimum standards of accommodation and increased efficiency of boarding school operations was agreed upon. Thereafter boarding schools were to be of three types. Class "A" buildings, owned by the churches, were to be of up-to-date design and have sufficient farm land for practical work in agriculture. Class "B" buildings were to feature similar facilities but would be government-owned, whilst Class "C" structures, again church-owned, would be somewhat more modest and would receive a smaller grant. Incentive for improvement of accommodation lay behind the arrangement, and contracts between government and church were drawn up to ensure a business-like and well coördinated joint

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effort. By 1916, Scott was able to report that the moral, mental and physical welfare of the children attending residential schools was receiving the earnest attention of the principals and staffs in charge and that steady progress was in evidence. Three years later he ventured to declare that such schools were geared "to give the rising generation of Indians such training as will make them loyal citizens of Canada and enable them to compete successfully with their white neighbours."

Today the operation of the Indian residential schools follows in many ways the pattern developed up to the time of Duncan Campbell Scott's Superintendency. By 1940, ten were operated by the United Church of Canada, twenty by the Anglican, two by the Presbyterian and forty-five by the Roman Catholic Churches. Though the Indian Affairs Branch has assumed almost the entire cost of residential schools, the religious groups continue to administer them in the following numbers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government-Owned Indian Residential Schools - 1962</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Church of Canada . . . 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican Church . . . . . . 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian Church . . . 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic Church . . . 37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In addition, the Roman Catholic Church itself owns six residential schools. Courses prescribed by the province in which the school is located are used as a guide for preparing suitable programmes, and most Indian residential schools offer for boys at least two of woodwork, sheet metal, farm mechanics, welding and motor mechanics. Yet in spite of these improvements not all present day observers would agree that Scott's aim of successful competition with white men is being fulfilled, for in a modern age, the competition must be academic as well as occupational whereas in fact, academic emphasis in today's Indian boarding schools tends to lag behind that in the modern public high school.

The relative merits of the Indian residential school thus continue to furnish a topic of considerable debate. On the one hand, expense, breaking of family ties, developing of a dependent attitude and the frequent dissatisfaction with life on the reserve of Indian graduates are voiced as distinct disadvantages. On the other hand, good health, progress in speaking English and vocational training under a regular régime are seen as factors that may well improve the reserves which the boarding schools serve. Vallery cites the Hon. T. A. Crear

39 Indian Affairs Branch, Names and Addresses of Principals of Government-Owned Indian Residential Schools, mimeographed, Ottawa, 1962.

40 Canada, op. cit., 1960, p. 58.

whose 1940 opinion was to the effect that Indians in many parts of the country are not yet mentally and temperamentally equipped to compete successfully with the white population and therefore should receive help in making a living in their own fashion. In 1959, Peterson concluded that the integration of the Indian with the Canadian way of life is not taking place and that the destination of the Indian, educated or not, is the reservation whence he came. Further, official statements indicate that the wide variety of living conditions ranging from those of the migrant hunter to that of the suburban industrial worker impose upon all Indian education an intricate pattern of curriculum activities. It would appear that whereas educators recognize the value of the Indian residential schools as educating devices per se, their successful operation will always await a clear definition of the overall status of Canadian Indians as far as the full range of benefits and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship is concerned.

No survey of Canada's use of residential facilities in connection with the education of her nomadic native population would, of course, be complete without passing mention of developments in the far north among the wandering Indians and Eskimos. Especially as far as the latter peoples are concerned, it is only relatively recently that the government has

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acknowledged any responsibility. Scott pointed out in 1910 that there was no reason why in the course of time elementary education should not be introduced among them, but fifteen years later, it was reported that among a nomadic and primitive race that still saw killing as a reasonable answer to overpopulation, revenge and old age, instruction in white man's ways presented the greatest difficulties. For many years, incidental contacts by whalers, missionaries and explorers were made, but it was not until World War II and the subsequent concern with the defence of North America that a careful assessment of the northern situation vis à vis education was made. The magnitude of the challenge was soon evident.

The population of Canada's northern territories in 1955 was about 25,000 of which 16,000 lived in the Northwest Territories and the remainder in the Yukon. In the N.W.T., most of the 5,300 white people and some 3,800 Indians lived in the District of Mackenzie. More than half the Eskimo population of 6,900 lived on the mainland in the Districts of Keewatin and Mackenzie and the remainder was scattered along the very long coastlines of the Districts of Franklin. In the Yukon Territory, the population was largely of white origin, constituting 7,500 out of a total of 9,100. There were some 1,500 Indians and a few Eskimos on Herschel Island in the Arctic Ocean. Some 1,800 Eskimos inhabited Northern Quebec.

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44 Scott, *op.cit.*, vol.7, p.611.
and about 850 were located in Labrador.\(^{45}\) Geographically, then, the difficulties faced by northern educators beggar description.

To problems of distance, cost, the securing of teaching personnel and the wandering habits of these primitive peoples has been added a second dimension of no small concern. With the opening up of the north, wandering Indians and Eskimos are confronted with numerous economic and social problems. Populations are on the rise, yet game and fur-bearing animal resources show no parallel increase. Because of fluctuations in World fur prices, the nomads of the Territories are faced with securing alternative or at least supplementary livelihoods.\(^{46}\) In the round, here is the central educational challenge.

In September, 1952, a Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education was formed to advise the administration on these and other problems. The Committee felt that the Eskimo people should be furnished with that degree and kind of education that would enable them to live a fuller life in their own environment and, at the same time, be able to take advantage of opportunities that may arise as a result of the white man's penetration into their world.\(^{47}\) One of their most significant


\(^{47}\) *Indian and Eskimo Education*, University of Alberta, July-August, 1956, Education Division, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa, p.6.
recommendations was that hostels be established at which Eskimos might live whilst attending a day-school. These hostels would supplement the already well-run residential schools such as those operated at Aklavik by Church of England and Roman Catholic authorities.

By 1955, the Roman Catholic Mission at Chesterfield-Inlet accommodated in the first of these hostels Eskimo children not resident at the settlement but attending the local federal day school. The following year a unique development took place at Coppermine. Under the sponsorship of the Anglican Mission, the Eskimo boys and girls from the surrounding districts lived in a tent hostel in conjunction with the local school. In 1957, these two establishments housed 74 and 36 Eskimo children respectively. Arrangements were continued for the maintenance of Eskimo and Indian children at mission residential schools, but these latter institutions are now giving way to hostels serving federal day schools. The trend is illustrated by the figures on hostel enrolment appearing in Appendix "B".

Nevertheless hostel services still fail to reach many of the Indian and Eskimo children who might benefit from their services, and each year dramatic evidence of the deep-rooted nomadism common in northern tribes is forthcoming. In

50 Canada, op.cit., 1957.
June, 1961, for instance, the R.C. Mission School at North West River, Labrador, finished the school year with 82 pupils in actual attendance. September saw 54 registered, October 32, November 22 and December 36. After Christmas, attendance picked up as Indian trappers and hunters started their return from the bush. For this and other schools, dormitory facilities are planned, but in Canada's gigantic northern territories as a whole, the question of instructing wandering tribes remains as a problem to test the most outstanding administrative and educative talents.

Thus, since the days of Father Biard, Canada's native population has been torn between the instinctive roaming existence of its ancestors and the static community life of the French and English settlers who have appropriated its hunting and fishing grounds. For over three hundred years, boarding schools of some sort or other have been pressed into service in order to modify the native's habits - to Christianize him, to make him French, to turn him into a farmer, a mechanic or a shoemaker, to help him engage in more diversified economic activities or, in rare cases, to pursue professional training. Much emphasis was at first placed upon removing him from the supposed retrograde influence of his parents, but of late, enlightened observers have concluded that the boarding school is scarcely the place to learn to

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hunt the caribou, harpoon the seal, or fill snowshoe frames with well-prepared rawhide. On the other hand such modern contrivances as the outboard motor have been seized upon by many Indians and some Eskimos as a tremendous advance in their hunting and fishing techniques and whilst they still tend to live by the chase, there is a growing recognition that residence at or near the white man's schools provides opportunities for learning important mechanical skills.

It hence appears that the future of Canada's native residential schools and hostels is intimately tied to two major factors - the integration of the Indian and Eskimo with white man's society and the extent to which they continue to roam over a vast land. To the degree that integration takes place will the Indian especially be subject to those basic principles governing the conduct of French and English type boarding schools outlined in Chapters I and II, or those of provincial public systems dealt with in later chapters. Particularly in Canada's northland, it would seem that future decades, if not centuries, of a fundamental trapping and hunting economy will work against this complete integration and that as settlements continue to be established, Indians and Eskimos must perforce move away from and not towards them so long as they derive income or subsistence, from the hunt. Whilst this process lasts, the school hostel will always represent a good compromise for the children of parents jammed between two civilizations.
PLATE I

Cache Creek, B.C. About 1870

(Courtesy of the Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C.)
Seldom in the history of education does a school overcome the scandal of its infant years and struggle against public opinion, only to find, a mere sixteen years after its inception, that it is no longer needed. Seldom, too, do the affairs of a relatively small rural school become a threat to a government or the ruination of numerous educators' careers. Yet the Cache Creek Boarding School of early British Columbia managed all this, the while getting newspaper coverage rivaling that of Dietz's Williams Creek gold strike, Confederation or the building of the C.P.R.!

B.C.'s entire education system was, of course, born of a rough and rugged era. During the period 1857-1858, thousands of adventurers, spurred by tales of gold on the Fraser River bars, flocked through Victoria, acquired supplies and sailed for the mainland in anything that would float. The subsequent boom was short-lived, however. In 1865, a Free School act was passed but depression and government bankruptcy robbed much of its meaning. Eighteen seventy-two saw the first post-Confederation school legislation which, in spite of continuing economic problems, established a free, non-sectarian school system for children 6-16, and provided for a measure of local control by elected representatives.

Into the province, with its economic and educational
growing pains, walked John Jessop, a graduate of Toronto's Normal School, miner, teacher, principal and eventually Superintendent of Schools for B.C. Jessop was foremost in pointing out the young province's rural educational difficulties. In a survey of 1873 he reported that "There are 402 children of all ages scattered along the Fraser from Yale to Quesnel... of these, 287 are of school age..." Further evidence of travel problems and isolation in a province whose population as yet fell short of 40,000 is available in Jessop's diary.

June 18, 1874, from Yale to Hope by Canoe. May 14, 1875, Obtained a horse from McCole and started from Lillooet (from 21 mile house) at 4 a.m. Arrived at 9. I then went to Clinton on my own horse - met a heavy rainstorm on Pavilion Mountain - got to Clinton at Midnight.

Not a man for half-measures, Jessops suggested a system of boarding schools. Such institutions would be run by man and wife as teacher and matron and would assure interior farmers

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1 The term is both figurative and literal. From Toronto, he set out on foot for B.C. via Fort Garry, and in August, 1859, reached Fort Ellis. With six others, he traversed the Prairies, crossed the Cascades and reached Victoria, January, 1860. See Victoria Daily Colonist, March 31, 1901.

2 From a report published in the Colonist, January 10, 1873, p.2.


and stock-raisers that their children could receive an educa-
tion whilst still keeping in touch with the rural life. The
*Colonist* agreed that the Superintendent's report bore "traces
of careful thought and painstaking industry" and indicated
its support.

Jessop, however, was not alone in his views. The
Rev. J.B. Good, Episcopal Minister at Lytton, made zealous ex-
ertions to collect information and bring the idea of Public
Boarding Schools to the attention of the public. In 1873, the
Yale representatives in the Provincial Assembly, (Messrs. Robert
Smith, James Robinson and C.A. Semlin) interviewed the newly-
formed De Cosmos government, and urged that an experimental
Boarding School should be started in the upper country. During
the session of 1874, Mr. Semlin, proprietor of Cache Creek's
Dominion Ranch and later provincial Premier, introduced and
carried the Boarding School Act through the Assembly.  

But if there was agreement in principle on the
boarding school scheme, its precise location became a matter
of intense feeling and bitter debate. Jessop and the Board of
Education recommended Kamloops, but the *Colonist* got wind of a
government preference for Cache Creek and began to bring the
thrust and parry of controversy to the public eye. Petitioners
from Kamloops eulogized their "commercial centre and garden of

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5 *Colonist*, January 10, 1873, p.2.

6 See *Minute Book*, Cache Creek Boarding School,
1876, p.2, Victoria, Provincial Archives of
British Columbia.
The Cache Creek Boarding School

This institution is built on a plot of ground contributed by Mr. James Campbell, tanner, of Cache Creek, and Mr. Philip Parke, farmer, of Cache Creek, and consists of 25 acres as thereof as surveyed by Mr. Edgar Beverley, C.C. for the Provincial Government. This plot of ground is bounded on the North by Mr. Parke's land, on the East by Mr. Campbell's land, on the South by Cache Creek, and on the West by the Bonaparte River.

The idea of a Public Boarding School System was forced upon the friends of education in this part of the country by the isolated condition of the settlers, and the distance from any centre that might form a day school. There were much discussion on the subject before any legislative action was taken. The Rev. J. B. Good, Episcopal Minister at Lytton, made zealous exertions to collect information, the B. St. Lytton, and bring the idea of Public Boarding Schools to the attention of the public.

(Courtesy of the Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C.)
B.C.," and claimed the advantages of beauty, availability of building materials, good water, lower cost of living and, what seemed reasonable, more children. Government sympathizers retorted that a more "central" location, telegraph communications and proximity to the then main trunk road gave Cache Creek the edge. In due course, the latter site was selected, to the dismay of the Kamloops camp, and the Colonist editor who spoke darkly of "an unsightly skeleton covered up somewhere in this question which will doubtless be brought to light sooner or later," and agreed with certain up-country prophets that at Cache Creek, "... the so-called experiment will be a wretched failure."9

Meanwhile, the 1874 Act Respecting the Management of Public Boarding Schools was somewhat different from the 1872 legislation governing public day schools. Clause 2, for instance, empowered the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council to appoint persons to be trustees of any such schools which might be established. In contrast, the Public School Act of 1872 stated that each school district was to elect three trustees from the qualified voters of the district. The Colonist was not slow to notice this point and its initial charges of wire-pulling were given further credence when in the spring of that year,

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7 Colonist, April 25, 1873, p.2.
8 Colonist, January 16, 1874, p.2.
9 "An occasional correspondent", Kamloops, to the Editor, Colonist, July 19, 1873, p.3.
prominent political or business figures were appointed as
Cache Creek's Trustees, viz -

Hon. C.F. Cornwall, Senator
C.A. Semlin, M.P.P.
James Campbell, Esq.
Philip Parke, Esq. \(^{10}\)

The government nevertheless held its course and early progress reports indicated that the development was by no means paltry. Some ten acres at the confluence of Cache Creek and the Bonaparte River were jointly "donated" by trustees Campbell and Parke and upon them was to be constructed a 45' by 45' edifice with a wing 21' x 18', both two stories high. Weatherboarded and painted outside and lined with stained and varnished tongue-and-groove lumber inside, the building was to be erected by D.W. Withrow of New Westminster for $3,950. \(^{11}\) The project spelled business all round. Early invoices tell of the arrival of hardware from Mansell and Halroyd of Victoria, and ranges, box stoves and bedsteads from other capital city merchants. John McCulley of Clinton sold the chimney fittings whilst James Campbell, Cache Creek trustee, supplied over the years everything from glue to peppermints. \(^{12}\) Before its demise, the school was to absorb vast quantities of beef, mutton, potatoes, butter and hay, to the eminent satisfaction of the

\(^{10}\) Minute Book, op. cit., p.2.

\(^{11}\) Information published in the Colonist, June 29, 1873, p.2.

\(^{12}\) Invoice Book, Cache Creek School, Microfilm, Victoria, Provincial Archives of British Columbia.
PLATE III

Cache Creek Boarding School

(Courtesy of the Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C.)
On May 12, 1874, Mr. Jessop travelled to Cache Creek to arrange for school opening and at the official June 2nd ceremony, eighteen pupils were present. Under the care of Mr. J.T. Jones, teacher, and Mrs. Jones, Matron, (paid $75 and $50 a month respectively) the number soon reached thirty-six girls and boys paying $8 a month. Those chiefly responsible for the project were generous in their praise. As early as one month after its inception, Superintendent Jessop boldly stated that the success of the Boarding School experiment was placed beyond a doubt. A May 30, 1875 entry in his diary speaks of teacher Jones as "active and energetic" and an official report reprinted in the Colonist uses such terms as "eminently satisfactory - reading intelligently - history class particularly distinguishes itself - anxious to improve - comfortable, happy, contented - praiseworthy exertions - school a complete success." At the same time the trustees expressed satisfaction and commented on "the evident fitness of the teacher and matron... for the various duties devolving on them." Distinguished visitor, Supreme Court Judge Henry Pellew Crease, described boarding arrangements as "excessively good" and though he had visible mistrust of co-educational residences, and would have liked to see religious education on

13 Colonist, June 8, 1875, p.3.

14 From Cache Creek Visitors' Book, May 31, 1875, cited in the Colonist, June 8, 1875, p.3.
Defending the work of Principal Jones and his family, Jessop wrote "He has not only to look after the school but to attend to nearly all the multifarious business matters pertaining to this establishment--Mrs Jones is admirably adapted for the onerous position of matron--Her quiet motherly demeanour and constant attention to the wants of the children are deserving of the greatest possible commendation--Miss Jones also is of great help in the school, taking as she does, all the duties of an assistant--If desirous of finding fault it would be difficult for an unprejudiced person to do in and around the Cache Creek Boarding School--"
the programme, nevertheless expressed hearty approval of the school. However, one or two dissentient voices were to be heard. For example, "A Parent", whilst supporting the teacher, attacked the Board outright. Lack of a well, shortage of meat and inadequate fuel supply were bad enough, but the holding of Community divine service on the premises by the Episcopal Minister was held to be inadmissible. Such were the warning winds. The real storm was not long in coming.

Subsequent Annual Reports, Board Minutes and Colonist articles furnish the first inkling of a major disaster. One of the first sour notes is sounded by Jessop himself when in his Fourth Annual Report he indicates that Mr. Jones has not forwarded his account of the year's activities, a document of no small interest to the government. "The only excuse received," relates Jessop, "is that 'harvest and politics must be held answerable for the delay of our returns...'." Between January 1st, 1876 and April 1st, the same year, the Board recorded numerous problems. For instance, an idea of pupil age-range is given in the resolution that "young people from 16 to 18 years of age pay $15 per month; over that age, $20...".

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15 From Cache Creek Visitors' Book, May 31, 1875, cited in the Colonist, June 8, 1875, p.3.

16 Letter published in the Colonist, August 18, 1874, p.2, and September 30, 1874, p.3.

17 B.C. Government, Fourth Annual Report on the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, Victoria, Queen's Printer, 1875, p.25.

18 Minute Book, Cache Creek Boarding School, January 1st, 1876, meeting.
Hints of doubtlessly connected co-educational difficulties arise with "The School Board deem it expedient that in future the boys and girls dine at separate tables."\(^{19}\) Haphazard collection of fees shows up in "Correspondence from Mr. Selbie offering to turn some cattle belonging to the mother of the Heffly children to pay for board of said children, at the usual market value of such cattle - accepted,"\(^{20}\) whilst deliberations over a $278 debt to a local butter supplier are reviewed with "Resolved to communicate with Mr. Beak offering him one per cent for his bill until the school is in funds to pay in full."\(^{21}\) Most curious of all is a resolution that "the Board deem it advisable that no one except pupils be boarded at the school."\(^{22}\) Evidently the school was sometimes a hotel!

It was not until Jessop's Fifth Annual Report, however, that the full impact of the Cache Creek irregularities burst upon an indignant province. The Superintendent disclosed that only an approximate statement of affairs could be obtained from Jones. Neglected and incomplete books showed liabilities of $2,200, with assets of $1,300, much of which was impossible to collect. To financial chaos had been added charges of immorality and lax discipline. Mr. Jessop's official

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\(^{19}\) *Minute Book, Cache Creek Boarding School, January 4, 1876 meeting.*

\(^{20}\) *Ibid., February 5, 1876 meeting.*

\(^{21}\) *Ibid., February 5, 1876 meeting.*

\(^{22}\) *Ibid., February 5, 1876 meeting.*
account of the condition of the school must stand as one of
the most startling in the story of Canadian education. It
states in part -

... the building, which was so well provided with every requisite two
years ago, is now almost destitute of kitchen and dining room furniture.
The great amount of breakage of crockery, lamps, lamp chimneys, table
forks, etc., etc., said to have taken place must have been the result of
carelessness on the part of the authorities in charge. Two first class
cooking stoves are much damaged and nearly burned out. One of the doors
is broken off its hinges, and the panels of another are split. Since
the completion of the addition to the building, last Autumn, several
panes of glass have been broken. The entire edifice has therefore a dilapidated and neglected appearance.23

To make matters worse, Mr. Jones, as well as trying to manage
both teacher's and secretary-treasurer's job, had been engaging in teaming and trading as a side-line.

Mr. Jessop's recommendations and those of a Select Committee on Public Schools struck to investigate the situation agreed on several points. A government advance of over $2,000 to stave off the disgruntled creditors and the even more complete separation of boys and girls, "by a high board fence" if necessary, were suggested. The Committee proposed that inmates should be freed of menial duties, that no balls or political meetings should be held on the premises and that

the appointment and dismissal of teachers should be placed in government hands. Both parties put forward a plan to appoint a Deputy Superintendent specifically charged with the task of establishing some semblance of order at Cache Creek and of inspecting Canyon, Caribou and Okanagan Schools. Singular indeed were the circumstances leading up to the establishment in B.C. of the post of Deputy Superintendent.

The board, itself an appointed body, strenuously objected to political appointment of teachers and insisted that menial tasks for students were part of "a necessary preparation for life." Jones pointed out that the expression "harvest and politics" had no reference to himself but to the fact that those two things had prevented the Board from meeting. But his April resignation was nonetheless accepted and the records show that for a slight extra charge, trustee Semlin himself became teacher pro tem. To cap it all, in an article entitled "Extraordinary Development", the Colonist pointed out with relish that the government had no written title to the Cache Creek School land and that now "donor" Campbell was

24 Report of Select Committee on Public Schools, published in the Colonist, January 26, 1876, p.3.

25 Memorial from Cache Creek Trustees to the Honourable House of Assembly, published in the Colonist, April 9th, 1876, p.2.

26 Jones to the Editor, Colonist, January 27th, 1876, published February 22nd, 1876, p.3.

27 Minute Book, op.cit., April 25th, 1876 meeting "Resolved Mr. Semlin allowed $100/mo. for temporary services."
claiming rent. Charged with crass incompetence, a beleaguered government and a harassed board tried to stem the tide of public annoyance that few schools have provoked before or since. But worse was yet to come.

Before the frosts of 1876, a relative calm had been established. The government grant partially satisfied creditors, new equipment and supplies had been obtained and Mr. Archie Irwin and Mrs. Irwin instated as teacher and matron respectively. Jessop described the former as "efficient, industrious and painstaking," whilst newly appointed Deputy Superintendent R.M. Clemitson assured his chief that with separation of the sexes and strict attention to the collection of fees, "a brighter day will soon dawn upon the Cache Creek Boarding School." Not a classical institution, the re-oriented school offered reading, British history, geography, elementary arithmetic and the study of Lennie's Grammar. Irwin is said to have had great diligence and aptitude for communicating knowledge and his class described as "prompt,

28 Colonist, April 12, 1876, p.3.

29 Jessop, John, School Inspector's Diary, 1872-77, handwriting of Mr. Jessop, June 7th, 1876.

30 Report of Deputy Superintendent of Education, October 24th, 1876, copied into Minute Book, Cache Creek Boarding School.

31 See books to a total of $40 from Education Office, Victoria, Invoice Book, Cache Creek School, October 31, 1876, Microfilm, Victoria, Provincial Archives of British Columbia.
quiet, orderly and clean." Such terms were not appropriate, as things turned out, to describe the non-class atmosphere of the school.

On March 20, 1877, R.M. Clemitson in a letter to Jessop stated recent investigations had revealed that over a period of months, girls from the dormitory had frequented the boys' quarters until reported by a disgruntled student informer. The Board had expressed grave displeasure at Irwin's neglect in assuming that a bolt on the outside of the boys' door and the inside of the girls' door was sufficient to ensure a high moral tone. Moreover, the trustees were incensed because their teacher had failed to report the discovery post-haste. Irwin's resignation was called for and promptly submitted, and for the second time in less than two years, the boarding school became the centre of a flurry of abuse, recrimination and public anger.

Clemitson's letter to the Superintendent, later published in the Colonist, went on to assert that such betrayal of trust on the part of the boarders "must, I think be imputed to outward influences and not to any defect in our management." He referred to "the horrible state of social life here," (i.e. Cache Creek) and remarked of the trustees "... they are not the men qualified by social standing, soundness of judgment and thorough discretion to discharge successfully the duties

of their position. Teacher Irwin, in a March 21st, 1877, letter to his Superintendent, confessed almost plaintively -

I never for a moment supposed that the girls would be the aggressors... in the meantime, James Uren was taken from the school to assist in collecting his father's cattle, and as soon as possible, he made the affair public.

But the forthright Semlin resented such charges. In a vigorous letter to the Colonist Editor, he replied to the Deputy -

If using our best endeavours to make intelligent and useful citizens of the rising generation is reason for Mr. Clemitson calling us a lot of blackguards, then he is right, for that is just what we are trying to do. Trying to leave the community better than we found it.

He says "we are not qualified by experience or social standing" for the position. It is a well known fact that social lines are not drawn very tight up here...

How does the deputy reconcile the fact of the surroundings with the fact that the school has been running for three years with the same surroundings as far as the neighbourhood is concerned and it was not until surrounded by the deputy superintendent that its greatest misfortune befell it?

Other community voices are raised in protest, including that of ex-pupil W. Mimmie Sabiston who writes of Clemitson's "cowardly report", places the morals of the parents just as high

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33 Clemitson to Jessop, March 20, 1877, reprinted in the Colonist, April 15, 1877, p.2.
34 Colonist, April 15, 1877, p.2.
as those of the Deputy and points out that -

... we did not like to sew for the boys and neglect our own clothes and do all the dirty work around and pay the same as the boys paid for board.

Her culminating thrust is -

Mr. Irwin had the parlour to look after and no time for children.\textsuperscript{36}

In the meantime, the \textit{Colonist} said "we told you so" in a series of crushing editorials which spoke of "details too horrible for belief." It insisted that to date the institution had cost the taxpayer $18,000 whilst in return allowing the grossest immorality, the news of which could be read only with mingled amazement and disgust by the startled province. Yet the government doggedly resisted the public clamour for closure, and after a short interregnum during which Clemitson kept the school in operation, one Thomas Leduc, teacher, commenced the quiet régime long hoped for by all concerned. Shortly thereafter came the resignation of John Jessop. As an economy measure, the same administration that decided to continue with the Cache Creek Boarding School had cut his salary from $2,000 to $750 a year!

Despite his previous comments upon social life at Cache Creek, Clemitson continued in the capacity of Deputy Superintendent, reporting on typical rural educational problems such as those of Lac La Hache whereof he wrote -

\textsuperscript{36} Letter to the Editor, \textit{Colonist}, May 6, 1877, p.3.
Visited Lac La Hache School. Exercises commenced at 11:30 owing to difficulty in getting School together on a/c of milking... Class of 6 in History did poorly, only one boy answering at all... 37

He likewise reported to new Superintendent C.C. McKenzie that Leduc's pupils at Cache Creek were neat and healthy and that a very fair amount of proficiency in all branches of learning was evident. 38 Subsequent Annual Reports showed a satisfactory educational situation but a gradual decline in other respects as the following table indicates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Receipts</th>
<th>Expenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1878-79</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879-80</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>$1,149.98</td>
<td>$1,980.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880-81</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1,201.87</td>
<td>1,911.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-82</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1,241.59</td>
<td>1,744.53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Then in the summer of 1883, Thomas Leduc, by whose endeavours the school had regained a degree of composure, resigned and left the field to Mr. and Mrs. Clemitson as full time teacher and matron.

In Clemitson, the Board found an energetic educator. The recriminations of the past largely forgotten, and with wisdom gained in the hard school of experience, he presided

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37 Entry, September 25th, 1877, B.C. Provincial Secretary, Board of Education, School Inspector's Diary, 1876-77, handwriting of R.M. Clemitson, Victoria, Provincial Archives of British Columbia, p.21.

over one of the school's most productive eras. In 1885, for instance, we learn that one William Uren passed the standard required for admission to a high school.\textsuperscript{39} The year 1886 saw Superintendent S.D. Pope note with pleasure that enrolment was again increasing and that "While the pupils are afforded every opportunity of receiving a good common education... instruction in social and moral virtues is not neglected."\textsuperscript{40} It was therefore with the regret of community and government alike that Clemitson retired in 1887. His successor, Mr. Joseph Irwin, carried on until 1890 when declining enrolment finally forced the closure of one of Canada's most controversial boarding schools.\textsuperscript{41} It was to be some thirty-five years before the question of public dormitory schools was to be raised once more in British Columbia.\textsuperscript{42}

It is superfluous to state that the Cache Creek Boarding School experiment was a failure. Nevertheless its brief but stormy career serves as a classic reminder to those

\textsuperscript{39} B.C. Government, Fourteenth Annual Report on the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, Victoria, Queen's Printer, 1885, p.326.

\textsuperscript{40} B.C. Government, Fifteenth Annual Report on the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, Victoria, Queen's Printer, 1886, p.160.

\textsuperscript{41} Enrolment from Clemitson's appointment to J. Irwin's resignation was as follows:
1883-84 - 34 1886-87 - 31 1889-90 - 25
1884-85 - 38 1887-88 - 29 1890 - 12
1885-86 - 34 1888-89 - 28

in any way connected with such institutions of the multifarious pitfalls surrounding them. Hence, a review of three or four specific retarding influences may serve to bring into focus important principles that no residential school can afford to ignore.

Firstly, the Colonist's contention that the school was located among the dry sagebrush and bald hills of the lower Bonaparte for reasons not exclusively educational must be given some credence. The school has been shown to have provided a ready market for local supplies, and in the records, the names of Semlin, Campbell, Parke, and Sandford, all trustees at one time or another, head a considerable list of community residents who sold goods or services to the school or its personnel. Though at the time the Boarding School Act did not prohibit such sales, it is reasonable to suppose that trustees commercially involved may well have affected initial location and prolonged the life of the school in question without enhancing the cause of education in early interior B.C.

Secondly, the organization's business affairs have been shown to be at best deficient and at worst chaotic. This fact is curious considering that trustee Semlin not only operated his Dominion Ranch with skill and efficiency but later served for a time as Premier of British Columbia. However, a close look at the evidence reveals that whilst the trustees were men of prominence, the teacher experienced and the Superintendent energetic, their rôles vis à vis such matters as the collection of fees were ill-defined. Jones, for example, ap-
pears to have been at once teacher, secretary and treasurer and his task was infinitely complicated by payment in kind, by enrollment fluctuation during the term and by the provision of the premises for private celebrations, political meetings, church services and even the lodging of passing travellers.

Thirdly, the entire scheme was based upon the assumption that a good day school teacher would make a satisfactory boarding school master and that his wife, with no training beyond that of caring for her immediate family, would be suitable as a matron. Such, indeed, had been the custom in Jessop's time among the Loyalist settlers of Upper Canada. It will be recalled, though, that these early Ontario boarding (grammar) schools were themselves often a failure, and even at that, were not faced with the white and half-caste progeny of tough Caribou miners, farmers, ranchers and wagoners. The very fact that Semlin himself kept school for a period is further proof that the care and instruction of boarding school children was looked upon as requiring no special training or experience. In their time, both Jones and A.Irwin came to the job with good references as teachers, but seem to have lacked the ability to extend their influence much beyond the classroom.

Fourthly, the matter of co-education dominated the school's several woes. Phillips\textsuperscript{43} goes so far as to suggest that "partly because such an arrangement was a scandal to

Victorian morality, it closed...." The observation is rather strong. As the Board indicated in its Memorial replying to the Select Committee's recommendations, many family units of brothers and sisters were resident, and Judge Crease himself referred to boarding arrangements as being "excessively good." Moreover, no one appeared scandalized at a similar arrangement about the same time at Nova Scotia's Horton Academy. But whereas no one at first objected to the co-educational principle involved, or to the architectural, structural or administrative means of achieving its success, there was overwhelming cause for complaint in the use of such means. The dangers inherent in a school that brings together boys and girls, some of whom are 18, 19 or 20, that is placed upon a wagon road to the gold fields and that opens its doors to adult transients, seem not to have been recognized especially by A.Irwin whose reduction of the situation to a ridiculous system of locks was naïve to say the least. Thus, not the principle of a co-educational boarding school but the inadequate administration of its facilities and its pupils shocked the province whose taxes sustained it.

One cannot, as a final point, avoid speculation as to why the ill-fated school did close, however. That moral scandal was alone responsible is contradicted by the fact that under Clemitson in 1884, eight years after the A.Irwin fiasco, the school reached a high enrolment of 38 boys and girls.
Both Phillips and MacLaurin\textsuperscript{44} speak of financial difficulties and of course there is ample evidence of deficits. Then too, the influence of the Colonist in informing the public is not to be discounted, for there were few secrets at Cache Creek. But it is from quite another direction that the most satisfactory answer arrives, involving as it does the original purpose for which the school was designed.

It will be remembered that in 1873, Jessop spoke of two hundred and eighty-seven school-aged children scattered from Yale to Quesnel and that his plan was to provide a common school education for those who, because of isolation, could not secure such training locally. Here was no question of training for religious office, for the classical studies, for agriculture, for the upholding of British Institutions or for political and professional leadership, as has been noted to be the case in early French and British boarding schools. In short, Cache Creek had no educational aim beyond that of the common public day school, and such household activities as were carried out by its inmates were connected more with economics and busy-work in mind than with a systematic educational philosophy, that sees in residential schools an educative dimension that other types of schools cannot provide.

Now, by 1891, B.C.'s population had risen to over

Even in 1877, a correspondent in the Colonist had mentioned that the wagon road was in better condition than at any time since 1865, with large parties employed in replacing worn out with sound cribbing. By 1890, statistical returns for day schools located in the Caribou and the Okanagan and Nicola Valleys show upward of five hundred pupils, with Ashcroft, Clinton, Spences Bridge, Williams Lake and Kamloops alone accounting for 120. In a steadily expanding province with an improved main road north, a rail link east and a growing network of one-room schools, there is little wonder that the Cache Creek Boarding School dwindled and died. The need first clarified by Jessop and Semlin no longer obtained. No institution, boarding school or otherwise, can long survive a needless existence.

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46 Colonist, April 20, 1877, p. 3.

British Columbia's population continued during the early decades of the nineteen hundreds to develop in much the same pattern as had obtained prior to the turn of the century. Vancouver Island and the Lower Mainland bordering the Fraser River accounted for a substantial proportion of a growing total population expressed as 392,480 in 1911 and 694,263 in 1931.¹

In 1925, commissioners J.H. Putman and G.M. Weir published what was to be a cornerstone of modern B.C. education, the Putman-Weir Survey of the School System. These reporters, greatly influenced by Dewey and insistent upon the rights of secondary education for all, showed sensitivity to the schooling problems of the rural child, stating in part,

We have had abundance of opportunity to observe at first hand the inadequacy of many one-teacher schools. The reports of government inspectors show unmistakably that many children in remote or isolated areas are at present denied the opportunity for any training beyond the present elementary school.²


Pointing out that free education systems are of little use to parents who cannot afford to pay for board and lodging of children but who must send them to some education centre for high school, the authors continue:

An experiment might be made at some centre with a community boarding school where the boys and girls themselves under competent supervision would do the necessary household work. This in itself would be an admirable experience. It is safe to say that under such a system, with good teachers, a six months' term would be more profitable than a full year in the small "assisted" school taught by an inexperienced teacher.3

The scheme, the first public boarding school proposal since the Cache Creek imbroglio, fell upon an unprepared province, however. The plan was educationally sound but in the depression of the late 20's and early 30's, the province was still economically unable to engage in much experimentation. Perhaps recalling the sad experience of Cache Creek, the government decided not to implement the proposal. It is interesting to note that the very economic conditions, which in Alberta were to expedite public school dormitory development, in B.C. impeded its progress.

Nevertheless, other outstanding educators, sympathetic to the rural child's educational needs, nurtured the idea re-introduced by the Putman-Weir Report. Such a man was Maxwell A.Cameron, teacher, principal of a small and relatively isolated high school at the coastal town of Powell River, 3

and a graduate student of Dr. Weir at U.B.C. Weir's influence and Cameron's concern for the small high school can be found in the latter's M.A. thesis, *The Small High School in British Columbia*, presented to the Department of Philosophy and Education, U.B.C., in October, 1932.

Cameron's thesis was to the effect that small rural high schools by virtue of poorly trained teachers, were unsuited to teaching the university preparatory subjects. He contended that a policy of releasing such institutions from the duty of training university candidates was worthy of consideration. He proposed a school for a rural, academic élite thus:

> Such a plan, first suggested in the Putman-Weir School Survey, would involve a provision for the education of future university students from communities served by small high schools, in a central boarding school, administered by the Provincial Department of Education...

> The enrolment in this school would... have to be limited and would be fixed after consideration of the mental ability and personality traits necessary to success in University work.4

The plan was, of course, highly selective and might not have found favour in a province already very democratically-minded in educational matters. The Masters' Thesis was literally shelved, but in modified form, it was to be voiced again by the author thirteen years later.

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In the meantime, B.C. gradually recovered from depressed circumstances. By 1935, the whole question of educational finance was brought into focus as a result of the report by H.B. King on School Finance in British Columbia. King noted that "the top forty per cent of the adolescent population is not intellectually contemptible." The inference was that educational facilities in rural as well as urban areas should be extended to serve all those students who could benefit, regardless of their programme.

The advent of World War II postponed any major changes in B.C.'s rural education system, but, as often happens in times of catastrophe, the conflict led to serious thought about education in a post-war world. It no doubt appeared clear to many that no war effort calling for equal contributions from men and women in the four corners of the province could be followed by a period denying equal educational privileges to the sons and daughters of these very people. As far as dormitories were concerned, the proposals of Putman-Weir and of Cameron were once again foremost in the minds of many educational officials. Thus, by enactment in 1943, any board of school trustees was empowered to erect, purchase or rent a building to be used as a dormitory for pupils of the district who lived at a considerable distance from the school and for whom transportation to school was not found to be

5 King, H.B., School Finance in British Columbia Victoria, King's Printer, 1935, p.35.
practicable. These boards were, of course, to make the requisite arrangements for managing the dormitory and supervising the pupils. Here was a major legislative break-through. It incorporated one of Cameron's basic ideas without specifying a university programme. The act was permissive, however, and for a time no board felt able to put it into effect.

In the immediate post-war days, when the presence of ex-service men throughout the province further underscored the need for an educational philosophy based on equal opportunity for rural and urban areas, a re-examination of the provincial system took place, with Maxwell Cameron, now head of U.B.C.'s Department of Education, playing a central rôle. His 1945 B.C. Cameron Report on Educational Finance once more considered the rural child.

In this historic document, Cameron, speaking of alternative solutions to transportation of pupils, asserted in part:

The most obvious of these is the dormitory or hostel for high school children in very sparsely scattered areas.

Subsequent remarks showed modification of previous views expressed in his 1932 thesis. Now, with the proposed creation of large school districts, dormitories were seen as serving a

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6 Statutes of British Columbia, 1943, Chapter 57, Section 13.

7 Cameron, M.A., B.C. Cameron Report on Education Finance, Victoria, King's Printer, 1945, p.77.
much larger provincial student population. "If these prove beneficial," he declared, "a fairly large number might eventually develop."  

Turning to control and finance, Cameron presented a changed view with:

It should be obvious that these are not the kind of institution for which the Government can assume responsibility other than placing them upon the same footing as transportation for grant purposes.

It was this report, presented some seventy years after the first proposal for public school residences in B.C., that finally cemented the idea in the minds of the province's citizenry. Legally, the report was given a smooth path. In 1946, amendments were made to provide this sort of accommodation in a large municipal or rural district. Nineteen forty-seven saw provisions made whereby a board might assist parents whose children were compelled to use the dormitories and the following year, the Minister of Finance was authorized, upon certain conditions, to reimburse boards extending assistance to parents, to a maximum of seven dollars per month per pupil.

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8 Cameron, op.cit., p.87.
9 Ibid., p.88.
10 Statutes of British Columbia, 1946, Chapter 64, Section 97.
11 Statutes of British Columbia, 1947, Chapter 79, Section 88.
12 Statutes of British Columbia, 1948, Chapter 80, Section 45.
B.C. educators were quick to seize upon the significance of the Cameron suggestions and the permissive legislation connected with it. During the school year 1946-1947, Inspector S.J. Graham of Peace River spoke of the purchase of army buildings to furnish a dormitory at Dawson Creek, and observed that "A dormitory at Fort St. John is the only means by which secondary education can be extended to rural pupils." His colleague, Inspector L.B. Stibbs of Prince George, said of dormitory affairs in his inspectorate, "A careful study has been made to make sure that adequate facilities will be provided and that competent personnel will be in charge of the organization." By 1947, these three northern districts operated dormitories in former army huts. Prince George, for instance, secured for $35,000 an army "H" hut complete with furnishings. Double army bunks did yeoman service for nearly six years whilst at first, a coal and wood camp-sized cook stove and an old galvanized iron sink saw kitchen duty. But not all districts used temporary quarters. In 1951, Kamloops constructed a dormitory as an integral part of its High School, 1954 saw Williams Lake put out $125,000 for a frame and stucco structure and the following year Vanderhoof erected a frame.


14 Ibid., p.100.

15 Secretary-Treasurer, District No.57, Prince George, letter to the writer, 2 April, 1962.
dormitory costing $66,000. By 1956, public school dormitories operated in Prince George, Dawson Creek, Fort St. John, Vanderhoof, McBride, Quesnel, Williams Lake, and Kamloops. In September, 1959, the Lillooet School Board purchased the old Lillooet Hospital at a cost of $25,000 and spent $5,000 for equipment, bringing to nine the number of public school dormitories currently operating in B.C.

As the dormitory scheme gained momentum, B.C. inspectors soon pointed out the benefits provided. Graham of Peace River proffered the information that fifty students attended the Dawson Creek dormitory in 1947-48 and thirty in similar accommodation in Fort St. John. The period 1945-48 saw a 400% increase in high school attendance in this inspectorate. "On this count alone," Graham pointed out, "changes... brought about by the Cameron Report have been amply justified."  

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16 Secretaries-Treasurer of Districts 24, 27, 56, letters to the writer, April, 1962.

17 Dr. Phillips is not clear on this point. Commenting on Roman Catholic opposition to public school dormitories in Alberta, he writes, "In British Columbia, for a like reason perhaps, the one section of the Cameron Report not implemented by the government was a recommendation that school dormitories be provided in certain areas." Phillips, C.E., The Development of Education in Canada, Toronto, W.J. Gage, p. 362. As has been shown, B.C.'s Government not only passed permissive legislation regarding these facilities but has also shared expenses.

18 Down, D.W., Secretary-Treasurer, School District Number 29 (Lillooet), letter to the writer, 16 August, 1962.

Inspector W.H. Grant of Prince George later announced the success of his inspectorate's dormitory and commented -

... its worth is measured in terms of the better average marks made by dormitory students as compared to the average for the school.20

Increased size of facilities was indicated by W.J. Mouat of Williams Lake and R.G. Williston of Prince George, who in the term 1952-53 inspected dormitories with capacities of 80 and 90 respectively.21 Certainly the idea of dormitories appeared to have taken a firm and steady hold on the province.

Something of the tone of the first dormitories may be gathered from the comments of those intimately involved. Mr. Hallvard Dahlie, a former senior matriculation student under Principal R.G. Williston in the early days of the Prince George Dormitory operation, recalls his initial impressions. A wide age range, very standard accommodation and strict rules at first posed problems, but the genuine efforts of Matrons Yost and Hotelling, and the drive of Principal Williston, soon created a healthy atmosphere. Mr. Williston visited the premises on occasion and made a point at school assemblies of commending dormitory students for good marks. An esprit de corps developed and was manifested in dormitory plays, dormitory newspaper articles and pride in dormitory academic progress at


school. Williston's feeling for his north country charges is demonstrated by a message to the students.

The economic development of our province has been made lopsided by the large concentration of industry and population in a small remote southern section... (but now) the North is on the march. Are you prepared to play your part?...

A correspondent in the same publication rounds out the picture.

Dormitory life trains one to get along with others. It is an education in itself. I'm sure there is not one student at the dorm who would want to change his place of residence.

Such then, were the salad days of B.C.'s high school dormitories, characterized by close relationship between school administration and dormitory operation, high morale and a sense of energy and enthusiasm. They satisfied a need first spotted by Jessop and Semlin, underlined by Putman and Weir, emphasized by Cameron and made possible by permissive legislation together with the pioneering outlook of Williston and others and the progressive thinking of certain interior and

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22 Dahlie, Hallvard, Coordinator of General Programme Development, West Vancouver Senior High School, interview with the writer, 21 October, 1961.


24 Ibid., p.30.

25 Hartrick, Dr. Walter, College of Education, University of British Columbia and sometime Principal, South Peace High School, Dawson Creek, B.C., interview with the writer, 5 March, 1962.
northern school boards. Today, British Columbia operates Canada's only public school dormitory system.

In order to derive an up-to-date impression of B.C. dormitories, the writer recently conducted a survey, inviting those concerned with their operation to provide factual information and to express opinions. Generous assistance was received from superintendents, board chairmen, secretaries-treasurer, principals, matrons and students. Survey forms were forwarded directly to the three first-mentioned officials in each of eight districts. Principals were asked to assess their local factors and pass on questionnaires to matrons and students only if they felt responses from these sources would not be detrimental to their particular dormitory situation. Samples of the survey forms appear in Appendix "A", 1-7. A summary of replies from all sources follows.

In descending order of merit, the benefits of dormitories were listed by seven district superintendents thus:

1. Equal educational opportunity for rural pupils.
2. Social benefits derived through co-operative communal living.
3. A broader curricular and extra curricular programme.

Other comments included opportunity for good study habits, reduced cost of living, increased attendance, time saved from transportation, better teaching and good meals and regular hours.

Regarding difficulties confronted by them in their associations with dormitories, the superintendents gave equal
emphasis to two points, viz. -

1. Securing the services of a good matron.
2. Ensuring good discipline.

With a view to offering advice to those contemplating new dormitory operations, the Department officials stressed these points in descending order of frequency:

1. Careful selection of matron and staff.
2. The drawing up of regulations. (Some variety in their description was indicated - eg. fair, sensible, rigid, etc.)
3. Attention to seeing regulations carried out.

The provision of comfortable quarters and careful design for efficient supervision were also mentioned.

The chairmen of four boards providing dormitory facilities revealed a measure of unanimity regarding policy and opinion. Three asserted that today the dormitory was not the best answer to the rural educational needs at the high school level, only one declaring that it offered the best organized opportunity. All respondents indicated that their boards would expand facilities if necessary but three intimated that such an exigency was very unlikely. Most pressing problems were connected first with supervision and discipline and second with securing and retaining a competent matron, though all but one professed having no serious problems at present. Districts contemplating establishment of dormitories were advised to consider bus service first, and to secure a good matron if a dormitory was an absolute necessity. One chairman
strongly advised avoiding dormitory establishment at all costs!

A clear picture of the business side of public school dormitories was supplied by each of six secretaries-treasurer. Replies regarding the initial establishment of dormitories indicated that between 1947 and 1959, nine such buildings were made available at cost ranging from $1.00\textsuperscript{26} to $125,000. Of frame construction, such buildings have housed high school pupils beyond the range of bus service in large districts, and by-laws for their establishment and expansion have received a degree of public support ranging from the necessary majority to complete backing of both rural and urban taxpayers. Early problems were largely concerned with obtaining a suitable matron and staff, though one secretary reported a high incidence of property damage sustained in the early years of operation.

Most district dormitories employ one matron and either a full- or part-time assistant, depending on enrollment and weekend arrangements. Salaries of these personnel range from a low of $100 a month for an assistant, to a high of $400 a month for a full-time matron. Ability to handle teen-aged children, good managerial ability and some nursing training are the qualifications preferred. One secretary recommends "the wisdom of Solomon, the patience of Job..." All secretaries reported no lack of applications for the position.

\textsuperscript{26} Cost of U.S. Army surplus building to District Number 60 (South Peace), 1948.
of matron but a great scarcity of satisfactory candidates. In most cases one cook is employed, the lowest salary for full-time work being $125 a month and all found, and the highest $240 a month. Qualifications sought are quantity cooking skill, ability to get along with children and willingness to cooperate fully with the matron. Three secretaries indicated difficulty in finding cooks meeting the requirements whilst three experienced no such problem.

In all cases fees are collected monthly in advance by principal, matron or secretary, and range from $25 a month for pupils resident within the district boundaries to $35 a month for non-residential students. Government assistance is given to all boards.

Without exception, secretaries state that the most pressing problems from their point of view stem from obtaining staff capable of carrying out effective supervision of the boys and girls. One secretary speaks outright of present lack of control and disciplinary shortcomings. Two others indicate that a steadily declining enrolment brings up the question of when to cease offering dormitory services.

Other snags mentioned in passing include housing Grade XIII pupils with younger children, varying the menu and collecting for damages. One respondent in an argument against dormitories points out that improved roads and upgraded elementary schools should do away with "... the expenditure of large sums of money on a building and equipment which may well outlive their usefulness in a comparatively short time."
Five principals of schools served by dormitories have provided a wealth of information concerning the details of operation. Perhaps the most significant fact arising from their replies is that in four of nine cases, enrollment is low and continues to decline. Two dormitories operate at their maximum capacity and the remainder could accommodate a few extra pupils.

Facilities provided show many common elements with most dormitories featuring a dining room, study hall and recreation room and providing the means of washing and repairing clothes. One instance of a special smoking room was reported. All dormitories have separate sleeping rooms and are set up to take from two to four students per room in either single or bunk beds. Various schemes of room inspections, monitor systems, rewards and penalties are employed to ensure that these rooms are kept neat and tidy. Though never more than four students share a room, two principals report occasional requests for more privacy.

In all cases admittance to the dormitory is secured upon the authority of the school board, with recommendations from a pupil's former or current principal regarding conduct and overall performance playing a major part in the board's decision. Once accepted, students may serve on dormitory councils designed to plan and conduct social functions, though only in one case was a student reported as being a representative on the board's dormitory committee. Pupils in all instances are required to perform certain household chores such
as waxing floors and washing windows, and schedules of these duties are posted periodically by the matron.

Though the principal is in most cases responsible for the smooth operation of the dormitory, the matron plays the major rôle in direct supervision. Each dormitory was reported as conducting a compulsory study period varying from one to two hours duration and watched over by the matron who, in two cases, had the authority to permit senior students to work in their own rooms. Matrons were likewise reported as assisting principals and other officials in such matters as fire drills, and the keeping of attendance records.

Pupils living in dormitories are in all cases permitted to return home at weekends and in one case either obliged to do so or to make other arrangements since the dormitory in question operates from Sunday evening to Friday evening only. Various devices such as counter-signed passes or notes from parents are used to keep track of the pupils' actual whereabouts at these times. Two establishments permit smoking and one allows this privilege to senior pupils only. For the breaking of these and other regulations, or for general lack of cooperation, penalties include detention, extra fatigues, loss of privileges, warnings to pupils and parents, reference to principal and, in extreme or persistent cases, suspension or expulsion from the dormitory. A student's well-being is of major concern. In addition to regular hours and a balanced diet designed to promote sound health, arrangements are made for first aid, nursing care, medical attention and
hospitalization if necessary.

Greatest problems as seen by principals centre upon such things as the ability of the permanent dormitory staff and the hearing of appeals resulting from inconsistent application of regulations. The principals also mention the annoyance of girls by boys no longer in school and the expectation of a large measure of freedom by Grade XIII pupils. Though the administrators agree that dormitories provide a better educational opportunity for a rural child than he might otherwise secure, they nevertheless agree that dormitory pupils as a group do not achieve higher marks than the grade average for the school. This latter fact they attribute, amongst other things, to a previously poor grounding in academic matters. Difficulty of securing suitable dormitory staff, pupil misbehaviour and lack of a bona fide home are listed in that order as disadvantages of the existing dormitory system, and districts contemplating the establishment of such services are cautioned to be sure that at least the first of these obstacles can be overcome before proceeding too far with plans.

To the views of these officials, have been added those of persons most intimately acquainted with life on the "inside" - notably, matrons and student residents. From five of the former comes an interesting picture.

Two matrons reported having received nursing training, one indicated some study at a religious academy and two professed having received no training whatsoever. Experience in handling young people in fairly large numbers varied from
ten to twenty years in school dormitory work, through assist-
ing with young people's denominational summer camps and look-
ing after own children and grandchildren.

Duties of matrons form a common pattern and are per-
formed throughout a long day that might commence as early as
six-thirty and end at eleven. Acting as a "house-mother", the
matron sees that pupils are on time for meals, school, study
and bed, organizes and oversees work parties, ensures that
rooms, ground and equipment are well-cared for, gives help
where possible with personal problems, plans menus, supervises
kitchen operations and does the necessary purchasing. As one
lady remarked, the job is "... intriguing, interesting and
very demanding on all of one's physical and mental capacities."

In the performance of these rigorous duties the
matrons report insolence, insubordination and disobedience as
being the greatest problems, one house-mother observing that
much of this sort of thing results from an age range of 11-21
superimposed upon a co-educational situation. Honour systems,
restricted privileges and even suspension are mentioned as dis-
ciplinary devices and in most instances the school principal is
considered the best source of advice and backing on all ques-
tions involving dormitory behaviour. On a five-point scale
ranging from poor through satisfactory, good, very good and ex-
cellent, of five matrons, three assessed pupil conduct as very
good, one as good and one as satisfactory.

In considering the chief benefits of dormitories, the
five matrons raised the following points in order of importance:
1. Social development of pupils.
2. Opportunity for a high school education.
3. Regular hours.
4. Supervised study.
5. Balanced diet.
6. Cheap room and board.

To help round out the B.C. picture, three principals very kindly consented to allow their dormitory pupils to reply to a number of questions. Since a considerable degree of local flavour was in evidence from the responses, the replies are hereby summarized by dormitory.

Dormitory "A", currently operating at less than half capacity, houses Grade IX-XII pupils from locations averaging 40 miles distant. Fourteen pupils reported. One only expresses a desire to continue studies beyond Grade XII. Pupils report having done an average of 0.8 hours nightly homework prior to their becoming residents and a present average of two hours each evening. Three indicate a better, nine a similar and five a worse academic performance since coming to the dormitory. On a five-point scale ranging from far too easy, through rather easy, very fair, rather strict and far too strict, three pupils consider the dormitory rules very fair, nine as rather strict and two as far too strict. In order of frequency of mention, dormitory advantages include a greater choice of courses, having a gymnasium and sports, and regular study hours. Disadvantages from most to least serious encompass strict rules, distractions in town, and lack of privacy.
All students report going home every weekend.

Operating at full capacity, Dormitory "B" caters to young people ranging from Grade VIII-XIII and coming from places averaging 80 miles away. Twenty-eight returned completed survey forms. Seventeen of them indicate a desire to finish Grade XIII or beyond with six professing definite ambitions to secure a university degree. Average hours of homework accomplished per day are expressed as 1.5 before and 2.4 after coming to the dormitory. Eight report a better, twelve the same and eight a worse academic standing. Two consider regulations far too strict, fifteen rather strict and eleven very fair. In order of importance, advantages are said to include regular homework hours, more course choice and good preparation for university, whereas disadvantages are listed as lack of privacy, strict rules and inability to help family at home. Most pupils return home at weekends.

At near capacity, Dormitory "C" provides a home for pupils in Grades eight to twelve who come from an average of 80 miles distant.\(^ {27} \) Of forty-six responding, the majority wishes to complete Grade XII, but six desire to do Grade XIII or beyond. Average daily hours of homework have increased from one to two, and thirteen pupils report a better, twenty-seven the same, and twenty a worse academic performance. Regulations are far too strict, say two pupils. Twenty-four

\(^ {27} \) This figure appears deceivingly high since five pupils live from 500-750 miles from the dormitory.
consider the rules rather strict, twenty-six very fair, seven rather easy and one far too easy. Meeting new friends is considered the chief advantage, with regular homework hours and wider choice of courses following in order of emphasis. Lack of privacy, inability to help family at home and strict rules are seen as disadvantages. Though most pupils return home each weekend, a core of about ten remain most or all the year by virtue of their very distant homes.

Thus, the scheme first envisaged by Jessop and Semlin and again endorsed by Putman, Weir and Cameron, has been brought into effect in Canada's most westerly province. It is true that numerous modifications have been introduced since the school dormitories were first conceived. Today, for instance, they are not the exclusive preserve of pupils heading for the university, nor has any marked degree of educational research taken place among their inmates. Moreover, though superintendents and matrons mention the matter of socialization as an advantage, the stated purpose of dormitories as expressed in official board literature, is the provision of secondary education for rural pupils beyond the effective range of school buses, and not the development of character. As one authority puts it, "... living accommodation is provided for the sole purpose of making it possible for children to pursue their studies as effectively as possible... All other factors are of secondary importance." Nevertheless the dormitory objectives in B.C. today are much in line with Cameron's later views put forward in his 1945 report.
The extent to which these objectives are being attained remains a subject of no small controversy, however. On the one hand, superintendents, matrons and principals continue to place equal educational opportunity high on the list of advantages provided by the dormitory system. Pupils themselves indicate greater choice of courses and regular homework hours as being important benefits. On the other hand, indications from chairmen suggest that reconsideration of extended bus routes is taking place whilst statements from secretaries together with data on enrollment confirm that in some districts at least, serious discussion as to the advisability of continuing dormitory services must soon take place. Further, the ever-present staffing problems, the continued energy expended on maintaining good discipline and the fact that principals and pupils agree that dormitory life may not necessarily improve academic performance in spite of the aforementioned study routines, all add weight to the argument that in terms of objectives, overall results are falling wide of the mark.

At present then, the dormitories find themselves at the threshold of a new era in the ever-changing story of B.C.'s educational history. It is certain that those establishments drawing their pupils from the greatest distance will, by very definition, continue longest to serve their purpose. But B.C. is a province much-devoted to the extension and improvement of its lines of communication. The Pacific Great Eastern Railway continues its northern thrust; the old wagon road to Caribou, clearly recognized as such in Cameron's day, has been
transformed into a ribbon of blacktop that makes a Prince George to Vancouver journey a long but not unfeasible day's drive; the road link from Prince George to Prince Rupert, quite recently so bad that tourists often shipped their automobiles by flat-car, is within a few score miles of being a continuous high-speed highway. New routes north and east are being constructed whilst equipment once used to keep the main routes open is now released for back-road maintenance. Clearly, the effective range of school buses has been substantially increased, and this increase is likely to bring with it a corresponding decline in the need for dormitories devoted principally to making a high school education possible for a pupil living at a distance. Appendix "C", compiled from information supplied by secretaries-treasurer, shows that in nine districts currently providing accommodation for a total of 310 students in Grades IX-XIII, available enrollment figures show a marked downward trend in four cases.

Then too, there are signs that the amalgamation of the B.C. Normal Schools with the University of British Columbia will continue to produce superior teachers in increasing numbers and that some of these graduates will accept the challenge of the small communities of B.C.'s hinterland. Their presence in the smaller superior or elementary-senior high schools of the province may well disprove the common assumption born of the earlier days of district consolidation, that a good secondary education has to be acquired in a large centre at a big high school. This is not to say that the laboratory facilities
and so forth that are characteristic of these latter institutions are not important. It is simply to suggest that the steady securing of better-qualified, better-paid teachers, the judicious addition of special facilities to smaller schools, the careful development of programmes and the well-planned routing of buses may produce just as satisfactory educational opportunity as the dormitories are at present providing, without many of the associated problems, without removing the pupil from his home and without additional cost to taxpayers.

What would become of B.C.'s high school dormitories should these alternative means of educating rural boys and girls of high school age be generally adopted remains a matter of conjecture. Assuredly, their continued operation appears to hinge upon a broadening concept of what constitutes an "educational opportunity". In the light of a review of dormitories and residential schools, from early times, this question will be discussed in Chapter VIII.
Recent facts and figures about Alberta's economic progress are encouraging. Since 1950 this western province has accounted for about 70% of Canada's crude oil production and over 15% of all minerals. Important natural gas discoveries were made in 1959 in the Clear Hills and Pincher Creek areas while in agriculture, cash incomes from the sale of farm products exceeded 17% of the Dominion total. An expanding network of highways provides for more than 430,000 registered motor vehicles. By 1960 construction contracts of all kinds represented capital and repair expenditures of over a billion and a quarter dollars.1 A promising economic future seems assured.

As was the case with neighbouring prairie provinces, however, the picture during the depression years gave little reason for optimism. By 1931, the price of wheat, which in 1916's war years stood at a high of $1.33 a bushel, had dropped to a mere 33 cents.2 Between 1926 and 1933, Alberta's

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1 Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canada, 1960, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1960, pp. 80, 82, 81, 97, 180, 234.

gross provincial income declined steadily\(^3\) and by 1936, over one thousand young people aged 14 to 19 were unemployed because jobs were not available for them.\(^4\)

For the young people thus affected, for their anxious parents and for those who wished to limit juvenile competition in a meagre employment market, education loomed large as a solution. Many students who in better times would have been gainfully employed appeared in classrooms, seeking to improve their scholarship in preparation for the period when they would be able to secure work. Others, frankly and perhaps understandably, saw the schoolroom as a somewhat less taxing daily routine than that of farm chores. Whatever the motive involved though, a marked trend in connection with secondary education during the early thirties was the constantly growing enrollment in the high school grades. Particularly evident, and arising from the stresses of the times, was an increasing demand for Grade XII instruction.\(^5\)

Unfortunately Alberta's high schools were scarcely ready for a sudden influx of older pupils. Of necessity, educational costs were kept to a minimum and many high school


\(^{5}\) Alberta Department of Education, Annual Report, 1932, Edmonton, King's Printer, 1932, p.15.
teachers had agreed to accept pay reductions in order to keep their jobs. High schools were generally small as the following 1931 figures show:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of rooms in high school</th>
<th>Number of schools</th>
<th>Number of teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 or more</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>208</td>
<td>524</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yet parents in rural areas found it financially impossible to send their boys and girls to board at private homes in distant urban centres and continued to press for the provision of additional years of education in the local school rather than have their children remain long without occupation. Other alternatives were tried by a few. One was for parents to hire a light housekeeping room in the nearest town where high school facilities were available. Here, two or more students "batched", sharing expenses. But often, these teen-aged youngsters in town on their own for the first time, neglected their school work, while "batching" was not always satisfactory from a nutritional point of view. Another was to work for one's board by tending small children or doing housework, but again, the irregularities of the schedule and occasional student-exploitation worked against academic progress. Boys,

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less able to obtain board in exchange for work, frequently travelled long miles to school each day, and stories of incredible winter journeys on horseback in sub-zero weather are common. However, none of these quasi-solutions worked in the best interests of the students' high-school careers.

Early in 1930, the Rev. John Nyholm, pastor of the Danish Lutheran Church at Dickson, a hamlet 20 miles southeast of Rocky Mountain House, first took steps to overcome the problem at hand. Parents and community-spirited neighbours cooperated to furnish land and a comfortable two-story girls' residence, and later, granaries and sheds were moved in, weather-proofed and adapted as boys' quarters. The lads shared the cash expenses with the girls and did the heavier chores. Dried-out crops and disastrously low prices are said to have motivated parents around Big Valley (near Drumheller) to open a similar private venture in 1935. Thus, dormitories, operated voluntarily and accepting produce in lieu of cash, first became associated with Alberta's public school system.

At the same time, the provincial government sought to remedy a situation born of lean years. In April, 1934, a committee was appointed to make a comprehensive survey and study of education in the rural districts of Alberta and report its findings and suggestions at the next session of the


8 Ibid., p.54.
Legislature. The following year was published the Report of the Legislative Committee on Rural Education, reading in part —

That residential schools to serve the needs of families scattered over wide areas on the fringes of settlement be established either by the province directly or through a change in the School Act to permit of the organization of administrative units of larger size and greater resources, and that in the meantime, every effort be made to enroll the children of such parents in the Department Correspondence Courses.10.

In the 1936 to 1939 Annual Reports, no mention is made of the Legislative Committee's recommendation, but rearrangement of the old standard school districts into large school units got under way in 1937. With between 50 and 100 of the old four mile by four mile districts included in the new units, greater effort and resources were applied to increase the opportunities for rural high school education. In the south, where the chinook winds, improved roads and low precipitation made winter car-travel possible, school vans were used to transport high school pupils to and from larger consolidated schools. Other parts of the province built additional high school rooms on existing buildings, or constructed one-room ungraded high schools, and still others relied upon the Correspondence Branch. Many districts, however, turned to the dormitory as the answer to their particular


Some idea of the sudden and considerable impact of school dormitories upon Alberta's educational system may be gained from the official reports. By 1941, there were two dormitories operating in each of the divisions of Tilley East, Bow Valley, E.I.D., Wheatland, Berry Creek, Sullivan Lake, Drumheller, Olds, Neutral Hills, Holden, Red Deer, Ponoka, Clover Bar, Lac Ste. Anne, Vermilion, Pembina and Stony Plain. A total of 248 boys and 345 girls received their education in this manner at low cost. The largest dormitory with 80 students was at Red Deer, the smallest at Forks. The Drumheller dormitory cost $20,000, had a capacity of 70 and a staff of two supervisors and a cook. The cost to students varied between $6 and $12 a month depending on location and type of service, and most dormitories accepted farm produce as part payment.\(^{11}\) By 1946, over a thousand students were housed in dormitories sharing household work, increasing their level of attainment and receiving experience in practical living.

The early system was not without its problems, however. To feed and house adolescents away from home for the first time and to keep them happy, healthy and faithful to their studies, was no simple matter, depending as it does upon trained supervision.\(^{12}\) Wartime conditions aggravated this

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\(^{11}\) Alberta Department of Education, *op. cit.*., 1941, p.65.

\(^{12}\) This opinion was expressed by W.H. Swift, Alberta's 1944 Chief Inspector of Schools and present Deputy Minister, to Marjorie Dowler Styles and recorded by her, *op. cit.*., p.55.
problem by making suitable supervisors hard to find. By dint of experience, boards came to agree on certain desirable features for dormitories to ease supervision. Boys and girls were to be installed in separate wings of the building. Sleeping wards were at first held to be better than smaller rooms,\textsuperscript{13} while reading and recreation rooms were considered essential. By the end of the war a common pattern of problems appears to have developed throughout the system, and though twenty-two divisions operated these units and received $30 per pupil provincial grant, the procurement of good supervisors, the arrangement of wholesome and varied meals, the provision of recreational facilities and the acceptability of restrictions by parent and student alike constituted major administrative difficulties.\textsuperscript{14}

Life at the early school dormitories was not always fraught with problems, though, for some districts were fortunate in securing very good staffs. At Red Deer in the early forties, an energetic couple\textsuperscript{15} created a home-like atmosphere. The matron planned menus, did the buying, cared for the sick, supervised the girls' dormitory and arranged for recreation with the assistance of a Student House Committee. The super-

\textsuperscript{13} Such views were, of course, subject to economic considerations and when large army surplus buildings such as the ones at Red Deer were available after World War II, separate rooms were to be used.

\textsuperscript{14} Alberta Department of Education, \textit{op.cit.}, 1945, p.20.

\textsuperscript{15} Mr. and Mrs. Paice, see Styles, \textit{op.cit.}, p.55.
visor was responsible for the boys' floor, the heating system and the grounds, and a cook and maid prepared meals in a spotless kitchen. Board and lodging was $12 a month and parents and students were required to sign agreements of acceptance of dormitory rules so that the eighty or so pupil inmates could share a common basis for a harmonious community.

A similar atmosphere obtained at Drumheller with the administrative difference that both boys' and girls' supervisors were members of the Drumheller high school staff. Supervisors met each week with a student council to discuss matters of recreation and discipline. At both Red Deer and Drumheller lady staff members had received training at the Olds School of Agriculture in dietetics.\(^\text{16}\)

As the dormitory plan gained momentum, a variety of different buildings was pressed into service. At Medicine Hat and Red Deer, converted war surplus military huts were used. At Kitscoty, a former bank building and a small structure initially planned as a hospital were modified as boys' and girls' quarters respectively whilst at Pincher Creek a large family home was made available.\(^\text{17}\) Not all structures were second-hand conversions though. The County of Grand Prairie spent

\[^{16}\] Styles, \textit{op.cit.}, p.55.

\[^{17}\] Letter from A.Bernice MacFarlane, Supervisor of Home Economics, Alberta Department of Education, to Mr.W.A.Marchbank, District Superintendent of Schools, Dawson Creek, B.C., February 9, 1959, p.2.
$100,000 to build Wapiti Lodge in 1949. Described as the most modern and costly building of its sort in the province, it constituted an edifice deserving of the best attention and care. Another permanent dormitory was Lamont Division's $42,000 project with a capacity of 32 boys and 32 girls.

With a widespread and costly dormitory system in effect, and annual government subsidies increased to $50 per pupil by 1951 and later to $60, it was natural that the Alberta administration was anxious to assure as efficient operation as possible. Liaison with the Department of Education was therefore achieved in several ways.

When in May, 1948, Miss A. Bernice MacFarlane became Supervisor of Home Economics for Alberta Schools, Minister of Education Casey asked that her work should include visits to the dormitories to render whatever assistance possible. It need scarcely be said, however, that the main job of Home Economics Supervisor was arduous enough. Miss MacFarlane thus was able to visit each establishment once only in a school year. She further assisted in securing staff, mainly by giving names to prospective employers and employees, helped in plan-

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18 Bowen, R.B., Secretary-Treasurer, County of Grand Prairie Number 1, letter to the writer, 19 December, 1961.

19 See brochure Wapiti Lodge, High School Students' Residence, Grand Prairie, Alberta, supplied by R.B. Bowen.


21 MacFarlane, Miss B., letter to the writer, 7 November, 1961.
ning menus, loaned quantity cook books and carried on a con-
siderable correspondence with supervisors. She felt, how-
ever, that further help and training of personnel would be in
the best interests of the success of the dormitories and her
views were duly noted.

Under the direction of Miss Joyce Lewis, Nutritional
Specialist with the Department of Agriculture, short Summer
courses for dormitory staff personnel were successfully started
in 1946. That year, a ten-day session for dormitory cooks was
initiated to provide up-to-date instruction in such matters as
food planning, storage, bulk buying and quantity cookery. A
programme for July, 1949, shows such topics as "Group Feeding
Across Canada", "Feeding the Teenager", "Step and Labour-
Saving Devices for Your Kitchen", "Planning Menus", "Food Cost
Accounting" and "Etiquette for Teenagers". The courses were
quite well-attended, expenses in most cases being paid by the
school divisions sending delegates. Then in the spring of
1949, Miss Lewis suggested that a course in dormitory super-
vision, conducted by one of the superintendents with extensive
dormitory experience, would be of value. Mr. J. S. Hambly,
Superintendent of Schools, Grand Prairie, was selected and

22 Miss MacFarlane to Mr. Marchbank, 9 February, 1959, p.1.

23 Macdonald, Mrs. V. G., Supervisor, Home Economics
Extension Service, Alberta Department of Agri-
offered at Olds a three-day programme.24

Superintendent Hambly's course was extremely comprehensive, some idea of its scope being indicated by the following topics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dormitory Supervision</td>
<td>review of dormitory accommodation in Alberta; rules and regulations; problems of supervision; student duties; study periods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Dormitory Unit</td>
<td>review of various plants in Alberta and B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dormitory Administration</td>
<td>review of Alberta and B.C. attendance; school liaison; recording; purchasing; fees and finance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ideal Set of Rules</td>
<td>essential regulations; drafting the outline.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ideal Plant</td>
<td>Kitchen, storage, recreation, study, sleeping, dining, staff, wash rooms, health provisions, fire protection, laundry, lockers, furniture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideal Administration</td>
<td>administrative bodies, cook, staff, house committees, parent participation, fees, eligibility, recreation, heating and maintenance.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But the course, though successful in itself, was not the final outcome of Mr. Hambly's endeavours. In preparing himself to offer the course, the Grand Prairie Superintendent had sent questionnaires to all superintendents and secretaries of school divisions operating dormitories as well as to the heads of twenty-five dormitories involved. From the returns of his survey together with his class discussion at Olds and meetings

24 Information supplied by Dr. J.R.S. Hambly, 18 December, 1961.

25 Programme for Dormitory Supervisors, Olds, July 7, 8, 9, 1949.
with colleagues, he prepared the Report on the Operation of School Dormitories in the Province of Alberta, Department of Education, 1950. Regarded as a "working document", the report is of value to those interested in the topic in that it focuses attention on the problems of dormitory operations and suggests certain answer-approaches to the many questions raised by this school service. 26

The report first summarizes information obtained from supervisors in charge of dormitories. A great deal of detail regarding liaison between dormitory, board and school, discipline and the nature and extent of facilities is presented. In ten of the 25 schools answering, the principal indicated close association with the dormitory. The consensus of opinion among supervisors, however, was that the principal should not be associated with the enforcement of dormitory rules and regulations. Twenty-two replies considered a regular study period at night a success. Coöperative efforts in tidiness and the inclusion of students on dormitory house and discipline committees in 19 instances suggested a measure of democratic consideration in the communal life of the children involved. 27


27 Ibid. P.3.
Next follows the substance of round table discussions at the 1949 Olds conference. Much concern was in evidence for the physical and moral welfare of the pupils. Cheerful cooperation and an intelligent and ready obedience to a set of rules and regulations designed to keep the domestic machinery working smoothly were considered of major importance, not only from an administrative point of view but also as a vital factor in the social and educational growth and development of the child.28

A summary of returns from secretaries-treasurer indicates that fees for the 1948-49 year varied between $17 and $23 a month, with some divisions charging a little extra for weekend meals for students not going home. Supervisors' salaries varied from $125 to $150 a month and in some divisions teachers were employed for supervision in return for a small fee plus free room and board. Cooks commanded from $85 to $210 a month. Though some smaller dormitories secured foodstuffs from parents, the general opinion of the secretaries was that purchase on a cash basis was much preferred.29 While extraneous to student life in the dormitory, wise business practice and accurate accounting were held essential to success.30


29 Ibid., p.3.

30 Ibid., p.3.
Replies from superintendents showed the latter viewing the school dormitory as part of the broad total educational pattern of their school divisions. In descending order of frequency of mention, five of thirteen difficulties were listed thus:

(a) Securing a competent supervisor with the personality and adequate training for the work involved.

(b) Lack of suitable recreation facilities.

(c) Securing a suitable cook.

(d) Providing accommodation that will furnish good living quarters for students.

(e) Securing competent supervision for study periods.

Most superintendents favoured a Dormitory Board to handle dormitory affairs and consisting of a Board member, the matron, superintendent and possibly a parent. The school principal was not included. Their recommendations underlined the importance of careful planning. The combined resources of matrons, cooks, superintendents and architects under Department of Education leadership were considered essential for the design of new dormitories.31

While short courses for dormitory personnel were being given and opinions collected for Dr. Hambly's 1950 Report, official reports from the Department of Education began to indicate that the peak of usefulness of public dormitories might

have been reached and passed. Indications were of two main sorts. They either suggested operational snags or they spoke of alternative means of solving the problem, born of depression years, of giving high school educational opportunities to rural pupils.

In 1948, for example, the Annual Report mentions a "growing list of administrative problems"\(^{32}\) and the following year, it was observed that "... dormitory discipline has caused difficulty in some Divisions."\(^{33}\) In only a few cases was a marked degree of correlation noted between dormitories and the high schools they served.\(^{34}\) Between 1953 and 1958, the discipline question was raised time and again, and one can infer from the space its discussion demanded that it was a worry of no mean proportion. "The main problem facing dormitories," said the 1953 Annual Report, "is that of obtaining and maintaining competent help. Good supervision is essential. This requires persons who understand adolescents and who can organize and lead young people. Those with such qualifications can often command more lucrative employment than the average dormitory can provide."\(^{35}\) "When a good supervisory staff is available," claimed the 1955 report, "there are fewer

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\(^{34}\) Alberta, \textit{op.cit.}, 1950, p.24.

\(^{35}\) Alberta, \textit{op.cit.}, 1953, p.25.
administrative and disciplinary problems.  

Such observations were repeated in 1956\(^{37}\) and 1957\(^{38}\). Tied in with the difficulty was the fact that by 1957, costs in some districts had risen to $40 a month for student board and lodging.

Parallel with these disciplinary matters were considerations of alternative means of providing education. By 1947, the Deputy Minister reported that "In three cases, road improvements and an increasing number of van routes did away with the necessity for the dormitory service."\(^{39}\) In 1949,\(^{40}\) it was shown that dormitory enrolment had decreased with the extension of van services. Nineteen fifty, the year of the Hambly Report, appears to have been recognized as the turning point in Alberta's dormitory programme, with the Deputy Minister stating -

Despite the usefulness of the dormitories, it is doubtful that many new ones will be opened. The establishment of van services to the centralized schools has made it possible for many high school students who would formerly spend the week in the dormitory to return home each night. One or two small dormitories have been closed on this account.\(^{41}\)

37 Alberta, \textit{op. cit.}, 1956, p. 25.
40 Alberta, \textit{op. cit.}, 1949, p. 22.
The decline in the number of dormitories was nearly as sharp as its rise. Nineteen forty-seven had seen 24 divisions operating such services. A decade later, only seven public dormitories remained, whilst the school year 1959-60 saw four at Grand Prairie, Kitscoty, Pincher Creek and Red Deer, with a total enrollment of 265 boys and girls. At the time of writing, the number has been reduced to one, namely the small dormitory at Kitscoty in the Vermilion Division. Mrs. Isabella Matthewson, Kitscoty dormitory matron for over twenty years, reports that the enrollment which at times reached 32, is at present only seven and that closure in the 1962-63 school year is strongly indicated. Hence, in less than three decades, a system of public school dormitories has run its course.

It is not correct, of course, to consider Alberta's scheme as an outright failure. Educational opportunity for rural children was the raison d'être of the dormitories, and these institutions served the purpose until alternative methods were made possible. In certain cases, temporary buildings have become obsolete and have been written off with no great loss to the authorities. In other instances, permanent structures continue under private management. An example is Grand

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43 Report received from Mrs. Isabella Matthewson, Kitscoty, December, 1961.
Prairie's Wapiti Lodge which now operates, at about a third its 1952 enrollment of 90, under a committee of St. Paul's United Church. It is said that supervision and the general atmosphere at the Lodge has improved under this private arrangement. There is reason to believe, too, that needless government involvement in continued subsidies on such new appointments as a Provincial Supervisor of Dormitories has been averted and funds thereby saved put to more effective use. On the other hand, some divisions have unquestionably found themselves over-extended. A propos, the 1959 Cameron Report of the Royal Commission on Education, Province of Alberta, to be considered in more detail in Chapter VII, calls for a re-examination of the entire question and the action taken as a result will doubtless determine the extent to which the province as a whole has miscalculated the number and permanence of dormitories in terms of pupil need. At all events, Alberta's brief venture into dormitories in connection with public schools provides a number of interesting features.

To begin with, the system evolved not along cultural or traditional lines but along economic ones. It was not the original office of the dormitory to help preserve national or even provincial institutions, to educate an élite or to prepare a learned clergy. Rather, the upper grades of high school

44 Bowen, R.B., Secretary-Treasurer, County of Grand Prairie, No. 1, letter to the writer, 19 December, 1961.

45 Hambly, Dr. J.R.S., Superintendent of Schools, Cameron, Alberta, letter to the writer, 19 December, 1961.
were to be useful holding units for youthful unemployed, born in a more vigorous wartime economy but maturing in a disillusioning depression, and as part of this concept, the dormitory was initially a preferable alternative to adolescent "batching" or working for board. In effect the concern for additional education was not unlike that exhibited by the Federal Government that currently encourages young unemployed people to study, and provides the wherewithal. To the rural pupil thus engaged, the dormitory was a practical substitute for a home.

In connection with the first point, dormitories thus tended to emerge as units separate from the schools they served. This is not to say that the experience of their inmates was not educationally beneficial but that it was educationally apart and that those out-of-class associations of staff and students that lie at the heart of many French and British boarding schools discussed in Chapters I and II were not cultivated. With no philosophical basis beyond that of gathering together young people so that they could attend a nearby high school and of providing for the normal requirements of communal adolescent life, the dormitories answered no further purpose when improved communications and new demographic patterns connected with economic prosperity made high schools available to nearly all pupils living at home. Certainly, there is no evidence of mismanagement remotely approaching that of the ill-fated Cache Creek experiment of early B.C. Still, the main reason for closure, namely the availability of schools not dependent upon dormitories, is not
A unique and outstanding feature of the Alberta story is of course the firm steps taken by the Department of Education in making available the training of dormitory personnel other than teachers in order to try to improve the quality of dormitory service. As Chapter V points out, authorities in B.C. agree upon the crucial necessity to the success of the school dormitory scheme of trained supervisors, yet indicate that suitable staff members are hard to come by. Thus far in that province, training by such means as University Extension short courses seems not to have entered the picture. The possibilities of such training will receive some attention in Chapter VIII.

Lastly, one cannot consider the Alberta experience without being struck by the dangers inherent in a situation in which a tide of enthusiasm can in a short decade raise the dormitory system to such popularity that some of its long-term implications are overlooked. To the government in 1944 for example, the United Farm Women of Alberta sent a resolution requesting dormitory facilities be provided in all divisions as soon as possible. Yet by 1952, Killam District dormitory with accommodation for one hundred cared for only thirty. Other permanent and sometimes costly buildings were operating at reduced capacity very soon after their establishment. From such facts may be plucked a central question - that of deter-

mining as precisely as possible the exact purpose of the dormitory and keeping this purpose firmly in mind during the planning stages. Canada's vast northland which at present finds itself facing the Dominion's age-old problem of educating a scattered population, might well note that in the space of three decades Alberta's public school dormitory plan has gone full cycle.
Steadily since Confederation and powerfully since the end of the Second World War, two forces have been at work influencing Canadian education. The one, concomitant with industrialization and secondary manufacturing, is the trend towards living in urban areas. According to the 1956 Census, some 65% of the population were classed as urban dwellers and the proportion is increasing. In 1958, Saskatchewan, that once had nearly 4,600 one-room schools, had fewer than 2,300, and Alberta, from 3,000, was down to 500 or so. It is in the remaining rural areas that Canada's most insistant educational problems remain. The other is the growing international outlook cultivated by Canada. The adoption for example, of Belgium's Cuisenaire method of arithmetic instruction or the introduction of courses in comparative education to growing numbers of teacher training institutes, illustrates a developing awareness of educational possibilities. Specifically, such awareness has brought about in most provinces a critical

1 Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Education Division, Research Section, The Organization and Administration of Public Schools in Canada (Second Edition), Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1960, p.9.


3 D.B.S., op.cit., p.9.
examination of educational systems. Together, the two forces have led to what one might call the "decade of educational Royal Commissions", and these legally constituted bodies have found the matter of residential schools and school dormitories worthy of their close attention.

One of the first such commissions in 1950 presented the Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario. In many regions, the report pointed out, and with particular reference to Northern Ontario, that it was not feasible to transport pupils to secondary schools. Other provinces, it stated, provided services in lieu of transportation. Nova Scotia, for instance, made provision for the central authority to pay 75% of the costs of the board and lodging of pupils who could not be transported, or of the maintenance of hostels to be erected and paid for by the provincial government.\(^4\) Manitoba's Department of Education, the report continued, had recently approved the construction of a hostel in the northern part of the province, and Alberta, too, in 1946 operated dormitories in the public school systems of twenty-two school divisions.

To their discussion of dormitories, the Ontario commission added two firm recommendations, viz. -

\(^4\) Regulation No.44 (III) (2) under the Nova Scotia Education Act, cited in Ontario, Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, 1950; Toronto, Baptist Johnston, King's Printer, 1950, p.312, part II.
(a) ... that where transportation of pupils to publicly supported post-elementary schools is not feasible... or where cost would be prohibitive, regional boards be authorized to provide residential facilities for pupils...

(b) ... that the cost of providing and operating residential facilities... be eligible, subject to the approval of the Minister, for general legislative grants.\(^5\)

As it transpired, the commission's arguments were hardly compelling ones. Up to the present time, Nova Scotia has not found it necessary to erect hostels or dormitories for the boarding of public school children. Following the original plan for rural high schools, rapid expansion of these units has established a network of high schools easily accessible by bus. In the few areas where pupils cannot thus reach a Consolidated High School, pupils board privately in the community and the provincial Foundation Program grant reimburses the School Boards concerned for the amount they pay toward such board up to $10 per week per pupil.\(^6\)

In Manitoba, according to the latest information, the plan referred to by the Ontario commission was not to reach fruition. At one time, the province gave consideration to the construction of hostel-type accommodation for children whose parents were employed by the Hudson Bay Railway joining The Pas and Churchill as well as pupils along the Lynne Lake line. Located at fifteen mile intervals along these routes,

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\(^{5}\) Ontario, \textit{op.cit.}, p.312, part 12.

section men's families were by no means permanent, nor was any one group of youngsters large enough to warrant a school. The plan for residence received serious consideration but was discarded because the expense involved was prohibitive.\textsuperscript{7}

As has been indicated in Chapter VI, Alberta's system of public school dormitories started a precipitous decline about the time the Ontario report was handed down. By the same token, B.C.'s scheme, not mentioned in the report in question, was in its formative years. Such was the dynamic nature of Canada's social and economic picture in 1950, and so ill-coordinated is the nation's total educational pattern, operating as it does on an individual provincial basis under the terms of the B.N.A. Act, that the Ontario Royal Commission seems to have mistaken permissive legislation in other provinces for successful operative plans, and to have recommended dormitories on a very dubious premise.

Fortunately for Ontario's public purse, if not for her rural students, the recommendations put forward by the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario have thus far been ignored. At present, bus systems operate in the various District High School areas to transport pupils who live at some distance from school. There are no dormitories operating in connection with public high schools in Ontario.\textsuperscript{8}

\textsuperscript{7} Grafton, Bernard, Supervisor of Special Schools, Department of Education, Province of Manitoba, letter to the writer, 4 December, 1961.

\textsuperscript{8} Steinhauer, D., Assistant Superintendent of Secondary Education, Ontario Department of Education, letter to the writer, 6 December, 1961.
Several years after the dissolution of the Ontario Royal Commission, the Government of Saskatchewan ordered an enquiry into the whole vast question of country living and in 1956 were published the findings of the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life. Report No.6, Rural Education, deals at length with dormitories in connection with the retention of students in the upper high school grades. A number of briefs submitted to the commissioners raised the matter of student residences, but such dormitories were generally felt to be acceptable only if conveyance could not be provided, and even then, rural parents were often found reluctant to trust their children to school bus drivers. Further, shielding young people from influences that might lead them permanently away from the farm remained a major concern. Not all groups in the province resisted the dormitory concept, however.

One such organization, the Lashburn Women's Co-operative Guild, proffered a brief, stating in part -

... children of rural areas finishing grade VIII are only 13 years old on the average. We believe this is far too young to turn them loose in a town to board at places that assume no responsibility for their study or leisure time... the solution is to provide a supervised dormitory at those points where there are at least 20 rural students attending high school... 10

9 Saskatchewan, Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life, Report No.6, Rural Education, Government of Saskatchewan, Regina, Queen's Printer, 1956, p.16.

10 Saskatchewan, op.cit., p.328.
Another group, the Saskatchewan College of Education, contended -

... it has been shown that children tend to terminate their formal education at the level of the highest grade in which instruction is given in their own local school.

The College recommended "dormitories in which to house and supervise the study activities of high school pupils," and summarized "Adequate support for these findings has been found in rural areas, particularly in Alberta, where school centralization through dormitories or school buses has been effected." 11

It is not certain whether the Saskatchewan commission took cognizance of the fact that the College brief endeavoured to support its argument for dormitories by reference to what was at the time her western neighbour's dwindling system of student residences. At all events the commission's Recommendation No. 25 was, compared with Ontario's official 1950 suggestions, very cautious indeed. It merely stated -

That in view of the lack of adequate information on the cause of Saskatchewan's low retention of high school students, immediate steps be taken by the Government of Saskatchewan to initiate an exhaustive analysis... with special reference to the influence of distance from home to school and of the economic status of farm families. 12

That the proposals for dormitories came to nought in Saskatchewan is today evident. An impressive illustration of

11 Saskatchewan, op.cit., p. 322.
12 Ibid., p. 364.
the use of conveyance is given by the fact that in 1959-1960, this prairie province employed no fewer than 772 buses, 378 panel vans, 331 snowmobiles and 227 private automobiles to transport school children.\textsuperscript{13} It is further to be noted that Recommendation No. 25 has not yet been implemented at the provincial level, although no doubt a good number of school units have studied the matter and presumably found transportation the answer. Hence, there are at present no public school dormitories in Saskatchewan. \textsuperscript{14}

Meanwhile in 1959, the Alberta Report of the Royal Commission on Education, was published, furnishing a document unique in the history of residences for students. True, it produced some of the standard arguments. Alberta's school bus service, it asserted, had reached its outer limits in drawing pupils into one centre and on this count alone, the entire question of student residences merited re-examination.\textsuperscript{15} But the major line of argument took quite a different direction, constituting an appeal to consider the educational value of the British-type residential schools such as were described in Chapter II.

On this latter point the commissioners of Alberta

\textsuperscript{13} D.B.S., \textit{op.cit.}, p.47.

\textsuperscript{14} Waugh, T.H., Assistant to the Deputy Minister, Province of Saskatchewan, Department of Education, letter to the writer, 6 November, 1961.

placed elaborate and extensive emphasis. Many of the older residential schools such as Trinity College School at Port Hope, Upper Canada College, St. Andrews, Appleby, Ravenscourt at Winnipeg and University School at Victoria, not to mention girls' schools like Quebec's Compton, Ottawa's Elmwood or Ontario's Bishop Strachan, Havergal and Whitby Ladies' College, have, it insisted, made a more than significant contribution to Canada's educational history through wise use of residences. According to the commission it was regrettable that in Western Canada, a strong strain of republicanism tended to look with a "somewhat less than sympathetic eye" upon private schools. The investigators believed that whatever suspicions remained, the long history and continued popularity of private residential schools should dispel popular fears that they are threats to the welfare of children.16

Continuing, the commission deplored the fact that there were many indications that rural parents would choose to keep their children at home, even if it meant an inferior education, rather than send them to any of the then remaining school dormitories. The Alberta School Trustees Association and the province's Home and School Association went so far as to charge that many farm parents saw in their children sources of cheap labour that could be exploited at the expense of an education adequate to the times. Others, more gentle, placed the onus upon the poor buildings, poor food and poor super-

16 Alberta, op. cit., p.235.
vision reputed to have hallmarked numerous school dormitories of past years, upon the high cost of boarding fees, appropriate clothing and incidental spending allowances, and, no doubt correctly, upon improved highways. But whatever the cause, insisted the commission, there obtained in Alberta a "double standard of education", inferior in the country and superior in the town, supported by many rural dwellers, and making it impossible for the less well educated rural youth to compete with his urban counterpart in securing a job in the city.

Not content with such a situation, the Alberta Royal Commission goes on record as favouring school residences and in outlining their educational as well as their demographic value. Its central statement, one of the most positive of the decade in review, leaves no doubt as to its enthusiasm, and reads in part -

The Commission wishes to affirm that life in a properly built, equipped and well-run residence can be an enriching life experience, from which most normal students would benefit. It wishes to emphasize equally that substandard residences, for whatever reason, should have no place in a modern school system.

A successful residence must be well-built and equipped, with approved standards of comfort and convenience. Trained personnel are a prime requisite: they must be able to prepare and serve good food, to exercise high standards of supervision, and to deal with young people firmly, but with sympathy and

18 Ibid., p.237.
understanding. The residence should be looked upon as an integral part of the school facilities, offering an additional opportunity to improve standards of conduct and study habits.

If the foregoing principles are intelligently applied, there is every reason to believe that school residences can make a valuable contribution not only to the equalization of educational opportunity for rural youth, but to the quality of educational training as well.19

One is reminded here, of Dr. Tassie's Galt Collegiate Academy!

Three recommendations were forthcoming, viz. —

- that the Department make a special study regarding the place of pupil residences in the public school system.
- that grants and services re. school buildings be extended to include school residences.
- that a plan be developed and held in readiness whereby the Department will sponsor the training of selected personnel to operate school residences.20

But a province drilling oil wells, welding pipelines, riding herd on beef cattle or driving combines has thus far turned a deaf ear to proposals that Upper Canada College has a message pertinent to Alberta's educational needs. To enquiries regarding most recent views on the above proposals, Dr. W.H. Swift, Alberta's Deputy Minister, replied "First, it may be said that no action has been taken, nor is contemplated, relative to a

19 Alberta, op. cit., p.238.

20 Ibid., recommendations Nos.225, 226 and 227, p.238.
special study of school dormitories. It appears that for this western prairie province, the residence in the public school system has no strong appeal.

As has already been established, Manitoba's public school hostels for the children of railroaders did not develop, nor did the 1959 Manitoba Royal Commission on Education see the need of raising the matter other than mentioning that in the education of most categories of exceptional children (blind, deaf, etc.), transportation is necessary but costly. The following year in British Columbia, however, the Chant Commission expressed approval of such a system, largely on the grounds of its equalization of opportunity for education, regardless of a child's whereabouts in the vast and rugged province.

The Chant Commissioners inspected a number of dormitory establishments and in general were favourably impressed by the type of accommodation and by the quality of supervision. They cautioned that experience had indicated the success of the dormitory schools depended a good deal upon the type of accommodation provided and that the quality of the supervision is especially important, but went on to urge they be established wherever they can serve the purpose of extending to pupils in rural areas the advantages of modern high schools.

21 Swift, Dr.W.H., Deputy Minister of Education, Province of Alberta, letter to the writer, 31 October, 1961.

Their recommendations were hence conservative at the side of those of their Alberta colleagues. Examining as they did a reasonably well-functioning scheme, they made no mention of the training of personnel or the closer integration of school and dormitory (indeed, the trend at the time was in the opposite direction), and certainly avoided drawing upon the example of present or past "public" establishments of the Upper Canada College variety to aid their cause. Thus, with the exception of B.C., do we see little, if any action vis à vis residential schools, dormitories, or hostels stemming from the recommendations of a decade of Royal Commissions. It remains to take a glance at those eastern provinces and northern territories not yet mentioned in order to complete the survey.

In Chapter I, it was indicated that the Quebec colleges and seminaries, with their highly integrated residential facilities, continue today largely unchanged in atmosphere and purpose. Although the Quebec Royal Commission on Education is currently hearing opinions that would indicate dissatisfaction in some circles over the ultra-classical nature of the offerings of many church-operated secondary schools, there is little evidence to date that the idea of studying whilst in residence is considered a subject of critical re-examination or widespread doubt. However, certain new concepts appear from time to time.

Late in 1961, youth Minister Paul Gérin-Lajoie announced at Quebec that the government would propose establishing of "school towns" - self-contained areas where
teachers and students live. Such towns, which have operated experimentally in France for several years, would aim at increasing contacts between students and teachers on all secondary education levels. Though boarding houses would be employed only in certain instances where part of a given school's enrolment happened to be from a widely dispersed population area, the scheme underlines the continuing belief in Canada's French province that a teacher's influence on a pupil need not be restricted to the classroom.

New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island present only slightly differing pictures. In the former area Central Schools are firmly established for students from grades 7 to 12, and buses are used to convey them to and from their homes, there being no public school dormitories. In the latter, Prince of Wales College, Charlottetown, opened a dormitory for women students (Grades XI and XII and the Freshman and Sophomore years of University). A dormitory for young men is presently being planned. In Canada's newest province, however,


24 MacDiarmid, F.E., Chief Director and Deputy Minister of Education, Government of the Province of New Brunswick, letter to the writer, 15 November, 1961.

the situation is complex in the extreme.

Newfoundland's education system is organized along denominational lines; that is to say, public schools are operated by denominational school boards and staffed by teachers of the same religious affiliation as the pupils except in the case of some forty Amalgamated (Protestant) schools. Public schools with dormitory facilities are presently operated in a few areas by various denominational and Amalgamated school authorities. There are, however, no grants by the Department of Education in aid of these dormitories. The school boards concerned receive the usual grants for public school purposes but there are no special votes by the government to assist with the provision or maintenance of pupil residences. Such a system naturally brings with it a wide range of residential facilities exhibiting the characteristics both of western dormitories and of earlier denominational boarding schools.

At St. Anthony, for instance, the Grenfell Amalgamated School (which is no longer operated by the International Grenfell Association but by a local school board, governed by the Department of Education but having three I.G.A. representatives) educates certain children resident in the I.G.A. "Orphanage" that currently houses about forty pupils. Roughly half of these children are welfare cases, being parentless,

26 Bishop, B.L., Professional Assistant to the Deputy Minister, Department of Education, St. John's, Newfoundland, letter to the writer, 15 December, 1961.
from excessively bad homes, or recuperating from T.B. There is no administrative connection between school and residence here. A similar arrangement obtains at North West River and at Cartwright. Social Welfare cases, invalids and children from northern villages benefit.

In St. John's itself, other residences are available, closely connected with the schools they serve and administered by various religious bodies. St. Bride's College was founded in 1884 by the Sisters of Mercy and served as an academy until 1958 when students were diverted to Holy Heart of Mary Regional High School, the old academy serving as a residence and teacher training institution. Today, high school students reside at McAuley Hall, a new residence managed by the Catholic Sisters of Mercy and serving Catholic pupils from Newfoundland's "outposts". St. Bride's College continues to conduct courses in first year education in affiliation with Memorial University and to require of its young lady residents "the ordinary usages of well-bred young people."

27 Information provided by C.L. Buffett, Principal, Grenfell Amalgamated School and Miss Olive Matthews, house mother, I.G.A. Orphanage, St. Anthony, Newfoundland.


29 Nolasco, Sister Mary, Principal, Holy Heart of Mary Regional High School, St. John's, letter to the writer, 21 January, 1962.

30 Teresina, Sister Mary, Principal, St. Bride's College, St. John's, letter to the writer, 17 February, 1962.
College and Presbyterian College, St. John's, established in 1859 by the Wesleyan Methodists, likewise continues to operate a residence for the benefit of outpost pupils, grades 11 to First Year University, who attend Prince of Wales College. The residence is under the supervision of a United Church Minister. Boarding schools in the older application of the term appear to be giving way to separate residences, but in many instances, a large measure of control rests with school authorities. Hence, Newfoundland's residential pattern for high school students is a mixture of the practices of all other Canadian provinces, past and present, and administratively lies somewhere between a public and a private system.

The Yukon Territory, prior to 1898 a part of the North West Territories, with the discovery of gold and the consequent increase in population was made into a separate political entity. It is not, at least so far as the populated areas are concerned, as isolated and difficult of access as are the North West Territories. Transportation is comparatively reasonable in cost, and schools are accessible by a well constructed highway system. The problems of bringing education to most of the white citizens of the Yukon are therefore much less acute than are experienced in the N.W.T. Thus, there are no public dormitory schools in the Yukon, nor

31 McCurdy, Sherburn G., Principal, Prince of Wales College, St. John's, letter to the writer, 31 January, 1962.

32 Education in Canada's Northland, Department of Northern Affairs, 1954, p.2.
does the Territorial Government operate any such facilities. The situation regarding residences for Indian children has been outlined in Chapter III.

Though such residential schools as Fort Resolution (R.C.), N.W.T., showed over forty white pupils in 1957 and isolation remains one of the major difficulties faced by all N.W.T. educators, the development of residential schools or school dormitories has to the present time been principally connected with the education of Indians and Eskimos. Public dormitory schools other than these do not exist at present in the North West Territories.

It goes without saying that the survey here made is basically one of residential schools drawing entirely or in part upon public funds and that hundreds of private residential schools similar to those described in the first two chapters serve thousands of children. In Saskatchewan alone, for instance, eighteen Roman Catholic, eight Protestant and three Greek Catholic schools provide residential facilities exclusive of the Federally operated Indian schools. Apart from these institutions though, and considering the country as a


34 Wattie, D.F.K., Principal, Yellowknife Public School, Yellowknife, N.W.T., letter to the writer, 9 January, 1962.

whole, the present situation may be summarized as follows.

First, where, historically, public school administration deals with several religious denominations engaging in educational activities and where territories are large, schools with residential facilities are relatively numerous. Quebec and Newfoundland provide examples. Though geography naturally creates a need for these facilities, and though the tendency in Newfoundland is away from boarding schools and towards schools with affiliated boarding facilities, life in residence is held to be of considerable educational value and is usually a function of the philosophy underlying the school in question.

Second, smaller provinces such as Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island have not resorted to the use of public school dormitories or hostels, though, as is the case in Nova Scotia, permissive legislation is on the books. Bus transportation looks after all public school needs and that character-forming education, held to be the specialty of the older-type of boarding school, is left to the private organizations.

Third, from Ontario to Alberta, Kitscoty, soon to close, remains as the only true public-system school dormitory. Though Royal Commission recommendations have ranged in these provinces from Saskatchewan's cautious call for further study to Alberta's outright plea for character-forming institutions, transportation continues to be the answer to an educational question which, officially at least, is considered solely upon a geographic basis.
Fourth, British Columbia, with nine true public school dormitories, remains as the only western province at present operating such a scheme steadily and with fair success. And even in B.C. it appears that the underlying notion is the equalization of educational opportunity for rural pupils. The dormitories themselves seem to be drifting apart from school influence and administration whilst their own influence upon their inmates is connected with the chances of good supervision and the common sense and economy regulations calling for a modicum of student housework - not upon a systematic philosophy.

In short, the larger part of Canada sees in the public dormitory school an answer, faute de mieux, to educational problems created by its immense size, and preferably solved by transportation. A public high school education for as many boys and girls as possible, not a training in "correct" social behaviour, is the central consideration.
CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Although the foregoing chapters have dealt with residential schools and dormitories largely from the standpoint of either their national affiliations or their location in Canada, it now becomes clear that they differ most markedly in the various purposes for which they were initially established. The French, for instance, saw the aim of their schools as that of guaranteeing a constant supply of candidates for the priesthood, or of extending a general culture by means of a classical education. The residential schools they devised aided their cause by extracting the pupil from mundane influences that worked contrary to their objectives. The British, too, recognized the value of having the pupil live at or near the school. British aims, however, were linked with patriotism, anti-republicanism and the conventions of upper class conduct on the one hand and with the very practical matter of getting rid of the children on the other. For their part, Indian boarding schools first saw service as substitute homes where native children could be weaned from the supposedly savage tribal influence and instructed in white man's ways. Early boarding schools such as B.C.'s Cache Creek establishment and similar B.C. institutions of more recent times resulted exclusively from the desire to provide a public education for geographically isolated children. In Alberta, school dormitories stemmed at first from a faltering economy that necessitated retaining young people in school as long as possible; these dormitories were also considered a means of solv-
ing some of the educational problems of a widely scattered population.

In spite of the five or six basic purposes underlying the Canadian residential or dormitory schools discussed so far, the institutions themselves may be conveniently arranged in two larger groupings. On the one hand are those establishments devoted to preserving or changing some aspect of society. Their outlook is hence quite broad, crossing local and even provincial boundaries. Both French and British-type boarding schools and, to a degree, Indian residential schools as well, fall into this category. On the other hand, are those organizations concerned principally in gathering together in one place pupils who would be otherwise denied a high school education. Their outlook is relatively restricted, being tied to the level and quality of education in a particular locality. The British Columbia and Alberta school dormitories have been shown to satisfy this second classification. Thus, the first group of schools exhibits long range purposes whilst the second group features more immediate aims.¹

With these two distinct classes of residential schools in mind, it is now possible to compare more fully the

¹ The problem of establishing objectives for a formal organization receives unique treatment in Barnard, C.I., The Functions of the Executive, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948. The author maintains that organizational aims must be generalized. An organization, he claims, must disintegrate if it cannot accomplish its purpose. It also destroys itself by accomplishing its purpose.
basic characteristics of each. The schools of the first group were of early origin and have developed steadily up to the present day. The second group represents more recent thinking, (nearly all of it taking place in the 20th century) and has featured an erratic and fluctuating pattern of establishment and decline. The first group of schools has been concerned with the inculcation and preservation of a way of life. In their attempts to instil in their pupils not only certain skills but also a sense of social purpose and responsibility, teachers have been closely associated with their pupils both in and out of the classroom. The removal of the pupil from his home has taken place because it is felt that the school atmosphere is generally superior. Group two schools have been more closely associated with questions of individual opportunity and personal entitlement to a secondary education. By and large, teachers have not been involved in the non-school life of their pupils who in turn have been removed from their homes simply because other, preferable means of securing high school training were not available. Along the same lines, schools of the first type have continued to operate in spite of the availability of alternative and equivalent facilities whereas those of the second type have not. Such are some of the fundamental dissimilarities that exist between the private boarding schools and the public school dormitories.\(^2\)

\(^2\) The Indian residential schools become marginal when the terms "private" and "public" are used. They are private in the sense of their sectarian administration and influence, but public in terms of federal funds supporting them and federal regulations governing them.
School dormitories have been considered by many Canadian provinces as an answer to the problem of providing a public high school education for pupils of far-flung rural districts. For various reasons, however, all but B.C. and Alberta have avoided their use. In some instances, such as is the case in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, the areas involved are held to be too small and transportation considered too good to necessitate a scheme of dormitories. In others, Ontario and Manitoba, for example, serious thought has been given to the use of dormitories along the northern fringes of settlement, but the costs involved, the difficulty of predicting population shifts and the availability of efficient bus routes has placed the matter of public dormitories in a low priority. In Saskatchewan, and of more recent times, in Alberta as well, there have been signs of resistance to the dormitory scheme, both from the point of view of its private school innuendos and the standpoint of its effect upon available labour for a domestic farming operation. In addition, these provinces have found bus transportation at least adequate to their requirements, with certain educators going so far as to contend that the school bus constitutes an important part of a pupil's education.  

Only in Alberta and British Columbia then, have the public school dormitories seen general use. In each province,

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equality of educational opportunity, at least insofar as a given region is concerned, has been the reason behind the establishment of these residences for young people. In both provinces a certain pattern of dormitory evolution has thereafter obtained and whereas Alberta has completed a full cycle of dormitory development and decline, B.C.'s system, initiated five or six years later than her neighbour's, only recently begins to show some evidence of an impending downward trend, according to present location of population.

The evolutionary pattern in question may be stated as follows. From the premise that rural pupils are entitled to an education at least equivalent to that of their closest urban counterparts springs government-aided local action to provide a dormitory. Its establishment may be attended by a good deal of local enthusiasm and the benefits it provides become a subject of local public pride. Pupils from remote rural areas are cared for by dormitory staff, sometimes of minimum formal training and limited experience and seldom in receipt of salaries comparable to those of the teaching staff affiliated with the school served by the dormitory. However, as difficulties of staffing, discipline and sometimes finance are encountered, there occurs the parallel development of improved roads, better motor vehicles and, not infrequently, parental mistrust of or dissatisfaction with the kind of supervision the children appear to be receiving. Boards then find no alternative but to revert to other equalization methods (almost always conveyance), often after not inconsiderable
expenditures on residences. One can thus state with reasonable certainty that in a country with constantly expanding population and improving roads, dormitory facilities established for the sole purpose of equalizing educational opportunity on a regional basis will have a relatively brief life span.

As the 1959 Alberta Royal Commission on Education was to discover, it is not easy to restore for general consideration a public dormitory scheme that within the framework of its original purpose is rapidly becoming redundant. Guided by the experience of others, the writer, therefore, does not seek to present sweeping recommendations for the use of public school dormitories throughout the numerous provincial systems of Canada. Rather, ensuing discussion will be restricted to the province of B.C. where, it is felt, signs of the decline of public school dormitories are not so apparent as to preclude a serious reassessment and readjustment of their role in the future. In this way, general principles may be associated with a specific problem which has already been stated by several B.C. secretaries-treasurer as determining accurately the point beyond which, under the present expanding circumstances of the province's economic and population pattern, dormitories will no longer be required to serve their initial purpose.

First of all it may be said that fringe settlement in the B.C. hinterland will for many years to come constitute an educational problem, particularly at the high school level. At Fort St. John for instance, the B.C. dormitory with the
highest present enrolment draws boys and girls from such outposts as Cassiar, Lower Post and Fireside, all over five hundred miles distant. Young people such as these will continue for some time to require dormitory services in lieu of available local high schools or transportation. Since the building of dormitories in one part of the province and the discontinuing of them in another, is scarcely in the best interests of the public purse, it is reasonable to entertain the idea of maintaining some existing facilities to serve the needs of isolated pupils. Such a plan would, of course, require in some cases the nullifying of district boundary restrictions, and cost-sharing and general co-ordination would have to be worked out between the Department of Education and the school boards involved. It would serve the double purpose of solving the immediate problems already encountered by some districts of when and how to dispose of dormitories and of benefiting isolated pupils regardless of the school district of their origin. Though not a final solution, it might well provide a period of reflection and planning in conjunction with the much more important question of devising lasting purposes for dormitories. At the same time, teachers whose interests lie along special lines might well be attracted to and maintained in schools with dormitory facilities. Such increased stability of staff would be of considerable advantage to rural students.

As has been previously pointed out, the Chant Commissioners, while giving passing mention to B.C.'s public school dormitories, failed in any way to connect them with the
central theme of their eventual report, notably "... that the primary or general aim of the educational system of British Columbia should be that of promoting the intellectual development of the pupils, and that this should be the major emphasis throughout the whole school programme." It will be recalled that in 1932, Cameron had made this connection in his concept of dormitories to house a rural academic élite. But Cameron's early proposals were never implemented. The suggestion that dormitories should house only university programme pupils did not appear in his 1945 report. Since 1945, however, indications of a growing concern with tighter standards have appeared in the province. University entrance requirements have only recently been made more stringent by the University's refusal to accept as freshmen candidates who have written supplemental tests. Indeed, such "second try" examinations are to be done away with altogether. Then too, in Cameron's day, the completion of Grade XII was a reasonably ambitious goal. Today the Bachelor's degree is becoming fairly commonplace and the Master's degree is no longer a target aimed at only by the very few.

Such an educational atmosphere necessarily demands a great deal of re-examination of previously held notions about

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5 See p.97.
what constitutes an educational opportunity. There is no question about the fact that in terms of conditions obtaining in rural B.C. Prior to the Cameron Report of 1945, a large measure of educational equality on a regional footing has been acquired. That is to say, a rural pupil in District "A" and an urban pupil in the same district, find themselves playing on roughly the same pitch as far as getting an "equal" education is concerned. Such may also be the case in Districts "B" and "C". However, an assessment of the standard of education as such in each of the three districts might well reveal not inconsiderable differences, based upon a number of factors.

Regional differences may not, of course, be readily apparent to the public at large. As David Riesman indicated in a recent article, they many parents resident for a long period in a given district may not know the difference between a quality education and one that gives children the minimum and most meagre fare. Even amongst schoolmen such differences may not be too readily discernible since prior to the Chant formulation, the aims and objectives of B.C. education were so numerous and wide-sweeping that almost any school could lay claim to quality in some area or other. To the Department of Education, however, the assessment of the province's high schools has not always been so much of a mystery. Annually a substantial number of schools apply for accrediting, i.e., the

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privilege of excusing their better students from writing external provincial examinations. Through the medium of the Accrediting Booklet, principals present information concerning a gamut of data from the organization of clubs to the size of the gymnasium floor. The Department in each case notes carefully the qualifications and experience of the staff, staff turnover, library facilities and general organization and administration. It then ranks the schools and either grants accreditation for one, two or three years, or denies it. A continuing good performance on departmental examinations is recognized as a strong argument in favour of the continued accreditation of a given school.

Yet more convincing evidence of regional differences in educational opportunity has been pointed out by Dr. C.B. Conway, Director of the Division of Tests, Standards and Research of the British Columbia Department of Education. Though recognizing many major steps that, like consolidation, have given the rural child a better chance at receiving a good education, Conway points to factors that have continued to restrict efforts to equalize opportunity for rural pupils. In part, he states -

(1) Three-quarters of the population of B.C. is concentrated in the southwestern corner of the province, within 100 miles of Vancouver.

7 Conway, C.B., Educational Effectiveness of Schools in Relation to School District Size, British Columbia Research Council, Report Number 1, Mimeographed.
(2) Because of amenities that cities provide, there is continuous drain­age of experienced and highly qualified teachers from rural to urban areas. (In 1958, "beginning" teachers - teachers with no ex­perience anywhere - ranged from 5.3% of the staffs on Vancouver Island and 6.4% in metropolitan Vancouver to 16.2% in northwestern B.C. In individual districts with more than 50 teachers the range was from 2.9 in Victoria to 19.2 in Creston.)

(3) The out-of-school educational facilities, such as public libraries, which assist extracurricular learning and undoubtedly play a large part in the total education of children, still are much better in urban areas.

(4) The transportation of pupils to central schools does not make these schools equal to community schools of equivalent size. In fact, in some cases transporting may handi­cap teachers and pupils in their achievement of educational objectives.

Conway concludes that retention and high-school graduation seem to be functions of the facilities related to high school enrolment. Larger urban areas, he pointed out, retain and graduate the highest proportions of pupils.

Hence, if one takes into consideration the fact that pupils of certain districts receive an adequate education whilst those of other areas get a superior one, the situation is relatively similar to that which Cameron described in 1932. That is to say, in some schools, exceptionally capable stu­dents find insufficient challenge. Under such circumstances,

the original Cameron thesis comes to the fore. The excellent pupil must be placed in the excellent school and the dormitory makes such a process possible. Seen in this light, dormitories no longer become simply a way of securing a pro-tern, regional educational equality of opportunity, but a means of obtaining the opportunity of quality education as defined on a highly competitive provincial basis. Seen as an instrument of educational excellence, the public dormitory would no longer be tied to a relatively restricted local concept of a good education. More important, it would cease to be discussed exclusively in the context of correspondence courses, bus routes, communications and population patterns. Subsequent planning for its development and operation would therefore be possible on a long-term basis.

Before going into detail regarding such a way of looking at dormitories, it might be well to think first of all about objections in principle that are likely to arise. For one thing, the implication that the schools of one district are able in some fields to provide better education than those of another, may not find too sympathetic an ear among administrators and teachers. Indeed, in view of the splendid efforts, since Cameron's 1945 report, to bring a good education to every boy and girl in the province, such an attitude would not be surprising. For another thing, able and enthusiastic young teachers might, under such a plan, be disinclined to spend several years in non-dormitory areas. Then too, it perhaps could be argued that a scheme of this sort would patronize the
university-programme student and penalize the general-programme pupil, a situation contrary to the democratic outlook in education that has developed in the province since the Putman-Weir report of 1925. Further, it might be argued that the very concept of consolidation and the comprehensive high school would be seriously endangered if several places in the province were specifically and publicly designated as centres of educational excellence in some field or other.

In answering these and similar criticisms of the proposal, it cannot be too emphatically stressed that the plan is in no way designed deliberately to debase the offerings or the reputations of one group of B.C.'s schools, whilst at the same time enhancing the public's opinion of another. In the first place, it has long been the policy of the medical men to refer particular patients to the specialist. Far from detracting from the general practitioner's reputation as a physician, such action is judged as a shrewd diagnostic move that results in the best possible care for his client. Likewise, it is argued that in spite of a good general level of education proffered in B.C. high schools as a whole, some schools are in a position to render special services, including accelerated academic programmes, languages laboratories, or staff and facilities to offer superior courses in agriculture, commerce, music, industrial and domestic arts and the like. The action of an alert principal in bringing to the attention of a student the speciality of a school in a neighbouring district would be interpreted as an admission of
inferiority only by the most obtuse observer, whilst its significa
cance in the matter of avoiding costly duplication of edu-
cational services is patently obvious. It must also be made
clear that Chant's aim of "intellectual development" would re-
quire a flexible interpretation under a dormitory system such
as is being offered for consideration. Surely such activities
as art, music, typing and the properly-executed manual arts
must be held as intellectual activities if any sound concept
of culture is to survive in the province. Therefore, the dor-
mitories in question would not strive to subsidize only bril-
liant university candidates but to ensure that brilliance in
all worthy branches of education goes neither unnoticed nor
unchallenged, no matter how good the provincial road system
becomes!

Though it is not the purpose of this thesis to out-
line the minor and manipulative requirements of the school
dormitories he proposes, the writer feels it proper to present
in conclusion one or two important sub-principles which would
be of vital concern to those who should carefully examine the
dormitory question in the not-too-distant future.

The first of these broad considerations is location.
Since in the immediate past, B.C. dormitory thinking has been
tied to geography, it has been universally assumed that dor-
mitories would normally be located in some central town of a
wide rural area. It should now be quickly apparent that a
public dormitory or boarding school concerned with educational
excellence might also be a metropolitan institution - even one
drawing some of its pupils from within a circle of fairly short radius. This point, first stated by Cameron, but never taken seriously by B.C. educators, now needs further development.

One of the many matters brought to the public eye during the Chant investigation was the fact that in the opinion of many university professors, undergraduates arrived in courses unprepared for the demands made upon their prowess as essay-writers. Parallel with, though not connected to the Chant commissioners' findings, was the ever-increasing difficulty expressed by U.B.C. College of Education personnel of providing in the Lower Mainland area sufficient demonstration teaching of the right kind to do justice to an evidently increased interest in teaching as a career. Together, these two problems point to the valuable role that could be played by a large model high school with dormitory facilities established on the University of B.C. campus and devoted not only to the aims outlined earlier but also to educational research, teacher training and practical experimentation in all matters touching the adequacy of preparation in high school of university candidates. Debate as to who should pay for such an institution should not stand in the way of a most careful and early investigation of the many benefits it could provide.

Continuing, it must be pointed out that dormitories in certain country areas would be of equal importance in the scheme. Although it is obviously premature at this juncture to specify towns, thought might be given to the eventual placing
of a dormitory in each of B.C.'s major economic territories of the Fraser Valley, Okanagan, Kootenay, Cariboo, Central, Bulkley and Skeena Valleys and Peace River. The fact that accommodation already exists in certain of these areas is a considerable advantage. Moreover, it should be remembered that a provincial university already expanding at an unprecedented rate is now much more favourably disposed toward the creation of provincial junior colleges. Thus extended into the central interior of the province, university standards and influence should prove helpful in supporting any basis of educational excellence the boarding schools might seek to attain. In fact it is not unlikely that such dormitory schools would be closely integrated with the junior colleges in question.

Apart from the strictly "subject matter" benefits of the more demanding sort of dormitory schools thus far discussed, other social and cultural advantages are potentially possible. The stimulation of contact with students from various parts of the province is a beneficial outcome which Cameron spoke of in theory. Regrettably, the present picture indicates many dormitory students feeling the rigidity of regulations more keenly than a camaraderie born of varied and interesting personal backgrounds. Such a picture would have to be changed, of course, if the social tone of any dormitory establishment were to be in keeping with its educational

demands. Assuming its possibility, such esprit de corps might well greatly enhance the effect upon pupil residents of those special social or cultural facilities a given area may produce. In the lower coastal metropolitan area for instance, the availability of symphony and theatre, art gallery and library, archives and museum would enrich the total educational programme of pupil residents. Similarly, those features of topography and climate especially appealing to life in the outdoors would help round out the more formal aspects of education in rural centres. It is to be hoped that outstanding pupils from both city and country might well secure a more accurate and a more tolerant concept of their province by receiving some education at least whilst resident in a dormitory removed a considerable distance from their homes. In short, the dormitories would hold as their objective not simply the feeding, sheltering and discipline of teen-aged boys and girls, but the wider aim of character training and the inculcation of a sense of responsibility and social purpose.

It is, of course, one thing to speak of tone and quite another to get it, and it is reasonable to assume that no amount of educational potential in an area will guarantee the kind of dormitory that is envisaged in this proposal. In fact, the scheme would probably come to naught if those directly concerned with the social as opposed to the instructional phase of the pupils' lives were not at least as well qualified and experienced as the teachers and administrators involved in the actual school operation. This is not to suggest that at
present in B.C. the matrons and their cooking staffs are failing in their duties. The fact remains, however, that some of them receive relatively low salaries for very demanding work, whilst few report training especially geared to the duties they now carry out. With a view to getting trained professional personnel involved in dormitory work, three proposals follow.

The first would in any case help to improve the existing system and would consist of the offering, by the College of Education, through the Extension Department of the University of B.C., short courses that would help broaden the outlook of present dormitory personnel, or guide those younger people interested in dormitory work. Such courses would be similar in purpose to those previously offered in Alberta but would emphasize not only the logistics of dormitory operation but also the sociological implications inherent in any situation involving the bringing together of teen-aged boys and girls.

As a logical projection of the above idea, the second proposal would be that of a concerted effort to raise the prestige of the rôle of matron by associating with it a university degree in some branch of the humanities or the domestic sciences and at least a minimum measure of outstanding teaching experience as well. Such a move would place the all-important house-mother or dormitory supervisor on the level she deserves beside the teachers, principals, superintendents and board personnel who with her share the responsibilities of
education in its broader sense. The image in the public eye of a supervisor with superior qualifications, outstanding personality and a professional salary would do much to place the atmosphere of the dormitory on a sound footing. No area dormitory striving for continuing educational excellence could afford to ignore such a fundamental matter as this.

The third suggestion concerns the involvement of teaching personnel in dormitory affairs. At the present time, few B.C. teachers find either time or inclination to keep in close contact with the dormitories, and principals themselves, though nominally responsible for the dormitory operation, seldom appear to become involved even in such fundamental things as study supervision. In the past, there have been isolated instances of teachers residing in the dormitories, but inexpensive accommodation at times of local housing shortages rather than a keen interest in the non-school activities of pupil inmates seems to have been the incentive. It is here contended that the social leadership of staff members in such matters as extracurricular dormitory activities, outings of various kinds, personal counselling and public relations work with tax payers in general and parents in particular would be invaluable to the undertaking. It is likewise asserted that any institution subscribing to educational excellence in a wide sense must be not a sort of junior hotel with certain business and administrative connections with a school board, but a closely integrated part of the school itself. The rôle of the school staff in aiding this integration process is seen
as a timetable matter involving the careful assignment of dormitory liaison and leadership duties to teachers best-suited by temperament, training and experience to carry them out.

The central theme of this concluding chapter is thus seen to be the question of finding some means whereby dormitories as they exist in B.C. today might seek a basic purpose other than one that must inevitably cease to exist as economic expansion occurs. In proposing educational excellence as that aim, the writer has proffered a broad framework within which it might be realizable, and which, in the final analysis, calls for a combining of characteristics of both public and private school residences as they have been outlined in previous chapters. It cannot be too emphatically stressed, however, that whereas the proposal involves a closer coördination of school and dormitory, such being a feature of private institutions past and present, it calls for no great alterations in the existing educational system, and postulates as its premise the aim of intellectual development. Resistance to the scheme could therefore not come from those who fear the use of residential schools for maintaining class distinction, promoting religious sectarianism or manipulating young minds so that they are conditioned to a particular political ideology.10 Opposition could only arrive from quarters that do not believe

in the right of maximum educational challenge to the brightest pupils of B.C. regardless of their location in the vast Pacific province.

But of course, it would be folly to ignore the considerable mass of detail attending the re-orientation of any institution that changes the basic assumption under which it operates. The proposal herein put forward calls for superior and devoted school principals willing and able to maintain close contact with various University Departments, Higher Technical Institutions and the provincial education system at large. It likewise requires outstanding matrons, specially trained in the work of managing large numbers of young people. The cost of the scheme would unquestionably be great whilst attempting to carry it out on too limited a budget would invite failure. Though such detail is beyond the scope of this thesis, it must be said that matters of finance, training, responsibility and control would demand the most thorough and searching investigation and discussion. It is also to be stressed that such discussion can only sensibly take place in the light of extensive spadework already completed, and of the fact that British Columbia has operated a system of public school dormitories since 1948 and is still doing so with a good degree of success. A large number of those who played such a distinguished part in organizing the scheme are still involved in its operation or are readily available for comment, and their experience in many practical matters constitutes an invaluable asset.
To several groups the revised scheme of public dormitories should have great appeal. Its provisions are consistent with the Department of Education's adoption of many Chant Commission recommendations designed to improve standards. For the College of Education it might provide ideal centres of practice teaching and research. British Columbia trustees and teachers could find in it a special opportunity to encourage top pupil performance. Parents in a province much given to population shifting would be assured of at least one focal point of stability, whilst outstanding students themselves, whether from town or country, could widen their social, cultural and academic horizons in a province whose gigantic size tends to dictate a regional outlook in education in spite of the best efforts of those responsible for the schools to avoid it.

Because of the estimated wide interest that the proposal might evoke, it is therefore suggested that at an early date, the Department of Education invite into conference at the University of British Columbia, delegates from their own supervisory staff, from the University College of Education, from the British Columbia Teachers' Federation, the British Columbia School Trustees' Association, and the administrators and staffs of existing dormitories. At least, such a meeting would serve the purpose of assessing the value and discussing the future of the current scheme. At most, it would lay the foundation for a careful study of the contention herein held that in the B.C. education system, the public residential
school can play a lasting and dynamic role as an example of excellence.
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APPENDIX "A" - 1

SURVEY FORM
FOR SUPERINTENDENTS WHOSE DISTRICTS HAVE DORMATORIES

1. Please indicate what you regard as the principal benefits received by dormitory students.

_________________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________________

2. Please list what you consider to be the chief difficulties in operating a dormitory.

_________________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________________

3. Assuming a new public dormitory were to be started, what recommendations would you make for getting off to a good start?

_________________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________________

Thank you for your kind co-operation. Please return this survey form to:

John Calam, Graduate Assistant
U.B.C. College of Education
c/o 2221 Kings Ave.
West Vancouver, B.C.
APPENDIX "A" - 2

VIews of Boards of School Trustees,
Survey of Public School Dormitories

1. Does the Board consider the dormitory best meets the needs of High School education for rural students? Please comment.

2. Would the Board expand dormitory facilities should the demand for accommodation increase? Please comment.

3. What are the most pressing problems of dormitory operation that face the Board at present?

4. What special features of your dormitory operation do you think would be of interest to other districts contemplating a similar educational service?

Thank you for your kind co-operation. Please return the survey form to:

John Calam, Graduate Assistant
U.B.C. College of Education
c/o 2221 Kings Ave.
West Vancouver, B.C.
APPENDIX "A" - 3

SURVEY FORM FOR SECRETARIES-TREASURER
OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS WITH DORMITORIES

1. Establishment:
   a. Year in which dormitory operation started ____________
   b. Original cost of building ____________________________
   c. Type of building (frame, converted, etc.) ____________
   d. Circumstances which led to establishment of dormitory ____________________________
   e. Degree of public support as exhibited by results of by-law voting, etc. _______________________
   f. Early problems encountered (if any) __________________________

2. Staffing:
   a. Supervisors: How many do you employ? __________________
   What salaries are paid? __________________
   What qualifications are preferred? __________________
   Are supervisors difficult to find for employment? __________________
   b. Cooks: How many do you employ? __________________
   What salaries are paid? __________________
   Are cooks difficult to find for employment? __________________
   What qualifications are preferred? __________________

3. Fees:
   How much do you charge each student per month or per year? __________________
   What grant is made by the Provincial Government? __________________
   Do you refund money for weekends at home? __________________
   How are fees collected? __________________

4. Operation:
   What are the most pressing problems of the dormitory operation as you see them? __________________

5. Rules: Would you please forward a copy of dormitory rules and regulations if possible.

Thank you for your kind co-operation. Please return the survey form to: John Calam, Graduate Assistant
U.B.C. College of Education
c/o 2221 Kings Avenue
West Vancouver, B.C.
SURVEY OF SCHOOLS WITH DORMITORY ACCOMMODATION

VIEWS OF PRINCIPALS

1. Maximum accommodation: Girls_______ Boys_______
   Number now in residence: Girls_______ Boys_______

2. Special facilities: Please check the facilities you provide.
   Reception room (boys)___ Reception room (girls)___
   Laundry room___ Dining room___ Recreation room___
   Study Hall___ Washing machines___ Sewing machines___

3. Cubicles or rooms:
   a. Briefly describe sleeping facilities (number to room, etc.)________________________
   b. How do you encourage tidiness?________________________
   c. Have you demands for more privacy?________________________

4. Admission of students:
   a. Who is the authority deciding upon who shall enter and who shall not?________________________
   b. On what do you base your own recommendations to this authority regarding the desirability of admitting certain students?________________________

5. Dormitory organization:
   a. Do the pupils serve on dormitory committees such as house committees, discipline committees, etc.?__________
   b. What committees operate and what is their function?________________________
   c. Are these committees successful?________________________

6. Plan for duties:
   a. Do pupils help with such things as cleaning, washing dishes, etc.?________________________
   b. Who arranges delegation of duties?________________________
   c. How does pupil know what his duties are and when?________________________

7. Study period:
   a. What are study hours?________________________
   b. Who supervises?________________________
   c. Do all students generally study together?________________________

8. Fire drills:
   a. Who conducts fire drills?________________________
   b. What would be your recommendation regarding their frequency and importance?________________________
Appendix "A" - 4 (2)

9. Liaison between school and dormitory:
   a. Is the dormitory operated by the school board?
   b. How is absenteeism from school supervised?
   c. Does Principal and/or staff share dormitory supervision?
   d. Is Principal held responsible for dormitory supervision?

10. Leaves:
    a. How many late passes are allowed each month?
    b. How often are students permitted to visit their homes each month?
    c. How do you avoid having students sign out for home on the weekends and go elsewhere?

11. Problems of Supervision:
    a. Is smoking allowed?
    b. Do you think a smoking room has merit?
    c. What steps are taken with students who break general regulations?

12. Records:
    a. How do you record daily attendance at the dormitory?
    b. How do you record leaves?
    c. How do you record student misbehaviour?

13. General problems: What are the greatest difficulties you, as Principal, face as a result of the dormitory in your area?

14. Health: What routine is followed if students become ill while resident in the dormitory?

15. General questions:
    a. In your experience, have dormitory students made higher marks than the grade average for the school in a given year? Please comment.
Appendix "A" - 4 (3)

b. In your opinion, is the dormitory in your area extending a better educational opportunity to pupils from surrounding places than they might otherwise have secured? Please comment.

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

Please indicate three major advantages and three major disadvantages of dormitory affairs in your district by placing 1, 2 and 3 in the spaces provided in each column.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ADVANTAGES</th>
<th>DISADVANTAGES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Better qualified teachers.</td>
<td>Difficulty in securing suitable supervision.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better study facilities.</td>
<td>Inadequate accommodation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wider choice of courses.</td>
<td>Expense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better chance of University success.</td>
<td>Pupil misbehaviour.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better student-teacher relationship.</td>
<td>Unwillingness of pupils to accept authority.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better all-round social training.</td>
<td>Health problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (please specify).</td>
<td>Social problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other (please specify).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

d. Do you have available for loan any student newspapers with articles about dormitory life? I would appreciate any such material.

e. Please add any further comments which you think might be of interest to districts contemplating a dormitory operation.

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

f. Please indicate scholarships or bursaries your district makes available for dormitory students.

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

Thank you for your kind co-operation. Please return the survey form to:

John Calam, Graduate Assistant  
U.B.C. College of Education  
c/o 2221 Kings Avenue  
West Vancouver, B.C.
APPENDIX "A" - 5

VIEWS OF MATRON OR SUPERVISOR,
SURVEY OF PUBLIC SCHOOL DORMITORIES

1. What training and experience did you have in similar work before taking the job of matron or supervisor?

2. How would you describe briefly your present duties as dormitory supervisor?

3. What disciplinary methods are you able to use to ensure that regulations are carried out?

4. What are the greatest difficulties you have to cope with?

5. What district official do you recognize as your best source of advice on dormitory matters?

6. What are the chief benefits of dormitory life for resident students?

7. Please indicate your opinion of general student conduct and co-operation (leaving out exceptional cases) by placing a check mark in one of the spaces below.
   Excellent__; Very good__; Good__; Satisfactory__; Poor__

8. Please add any further comments you would like to make about school dormitories as you see them.

Thank you for your kind co-operation. Please return the survey form to:

John Calam, Graduate Assistant
U.B.C. College of Education
c/o 2221 Kings Ave.
West Vancouver, B.C.
APPENDIX "A" - 6
SURVEY OF DORMITORY SCHOOLS
Views of Students

The answers you give to the following questions will be of
great help in a study now being made of B.C. School Dormi-
tories. Please read the directions carefully. Do not place
your name on the paper. All answers will be considered
confidential.

1. Give the name of your home town or community__________________________

2. About how many miles is it from your home to the dormitory
where you now live?____________________________________

3. What Grade are you now in?__________________________________________

4. What Grade do you wish to complete?___________________________________

5. About how many hours of homework did you do each day in
the Grade you attended before you came to the dormitory?
_______________________________________________________________

6. About how many hours of homework do you do now?
_______________________________________________________________

7. Since you came to the dormitory, are your marks in your
courses better__; the same__; worse__; than before?
(check one space)

8. On the line below, put a check in the space that you think
best describes the enforcement of dormitory rules.

   Far too strict__ Rather strict__ Very fair__
   Rather easy__ Far too easy__

9. Below are two lists. List A gives some advantages of dor-
mitory life and List B some disadvantages. Read the items
in List A. Place a figure "1" in the space to the right
of the most important advantage. Place a figure "2" in
the space to the right of the second most important
advantage. Place a figure "3" in the space to the right
of the third most important advantage. Do the same in
List B.
### LIST A - Advantages

- Meeting new friends
- More choice of courses
- Regular homework hours
- More school activities (dances, etc.)
- Living in a bigger town
- Having a gymnasium and sports
- Good sleeping and dining arrangements
- Good preparation for university
- Good preparation for a job
- Relief from work at home
- More variety of teachers
- Training in housekeeping
- Any others (please write out)

### LIST B - Disadvantages

- Strict rules
- Lack of privacy
- Feeling "lost"
- Lack of friends
- Too much schoolwork
- Cost to parents
- Inability to help family at home
- Distractions in town (movies, etc.)
- Too many school activities
- Strange teachers
- Too many housework chores
- Any others (please write out)

10. About how often do you visit your home during term?
APPENDIX "A" - 7

DORMITORY ENROLMENT SINCE ESTABLISHMENT OF DORMITORY FACILITIES

School District

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>Grades</th>
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<td>19__</td>
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</table>

Many thanks for your kind co-operation. Please return this form to:

John Calam,
General Delivery,
Main Post Office,
West Vancouver, B.C.
**APPENDIX "B"**

HOSTEL ENROLMENT

Annual Report

Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources

1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Hostel</th>
<th>Eskimo</th>
<th></th>
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<td><strong>Mackenzie Education District</strong></td>
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**KEY;**

A - Academic; VT - Vocational Training;
T - Total; RCRS - Roman Catholic Residential School.
## APPENDIX "C"

### BRITISH COLUMBIA PUBLIC SCHOOL DORMITIES

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*Only partial information currently obtainable.*