

Given the range of subjects contemplated by our terms of reference, it was not possible for the Royal Commission to perform these social and investigative functions to the extent necessary to do justice to those harmed by the effect of Canada's residential school system. We hope that this chapter of our report opens a door on a part of Canadian history that has remained firmly closed for too long. In our view, however, much more public scrutiny and investigation are needed. A public inquiry into Canada's residential school system would be an indispensable first step toward a new relationship of faith and mutual confidence.

Recommendations

The Commission recommends that

1.10.1

Under Part I of the Public Inquiries Act, the government of Canada establish a public inquiry instructed to

- (a) investigate and document the origins and effects of residential school policies and practices respecting all Aboriginal peoples, with particular attention to the nature and extent of effects on subsequent generations of individuals and families, and on communities and Aboriginal societies;
- (b) conduct public hearings across the country with sufficient funding to enable the testimony of affected persons to be heard;
- (c) commission research and analysis of the breadth of the effects of these policies and practices;
- (d) investigate the record of residential schools with a view to the identification of abuse and what action, if any, is considered appropriate; and
- (e) recommend remedial action by governments and the responsible churches deemed necessary by the inquiry to relieve conditions created by the residential school experience, including as appropriate,
 - apologies by those responsible;
 - compensation of communities to design and administer programs that help the healing process and rebuild their community life; and
 - funding for treatment of affected individuals and their families.

1.10.2

A majority of commissioners appointed to this public inquiry be Aboriginal.

1.10.3

The government of Canada fund establishment of a national repository of records and video collections related to residential schools, co-ordinated with planning of the recommended Aboriginal Peoples' International University (see Volume 3, Chapter 5) and its electronic clearinghouse, to

- facilitate access to documentation and electronic exchange of research on residential schools;
- provide financial assistance for the collection of testimony and continuing research;
- work with educators in the design of Aboriginal curriculum that explains the history and effects of residential schools; and
- conduct public education programs on the history and effects of residential schools and remedies applied to relieve their negative effects.

Notes

1. This chapter is based on extensive original research conducted for the Royal Commission by John Milloy of Trent University. Research on the school system was conducted in a number of archives: the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa, the Presbyterian, Anglican and United church archives in Toronto, and the Deschatelets Archives of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in Ottawa. These represent the most significant public documentary collections for the history of the school system. There are, however, other records in regional, provincial and diocesan archives throughout Canada.

Research was also conducted at the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development on approximately 6,000 residential school files that are still held by the department. The Royal Commission secured access to this documentation only after protracted and difficult negotiations; these were eventually successful, but they seriously delayed completion of the project. Only one member of the research team was allowed to review the material and then only after signing an agreement setting out a detailed research protocol and obtaining an 'enhanced reliability' security clearance.

Information that fell, in the department's determination, within the bounds of solicitor/client privilege or confidences of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada within the last 20 years was not made available. All other files, including those carrying access restrictions ('Confidential' or 'Protected', for example) were to be made available. Most critically, access to the departmental collection was granted under the provisions of the Privacy Act, which stipulates that no disclosure of personal information, in the meaning of the act, can be made in a form that could reasonably be expected to identify the individual to whom it relates. The foregoing text and footnotes and these notes were written to comply with that stipulation.

The following abbreviations are used in the notes:

INAC - files (stored at the headquarters of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in Hull, Quebec) that come under the Privacy Act restrictions
NAC - National Archives of Canada
MG - Manuscript Group
RG - Record Group
RG10 - Indian Affairs records (held by the National Archives)
RG85 - Northern Affairs records (held by the National Archives)
MR - Microfilm Reel

2. For a review of Canadian policy, see John L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy", in *As Long as the Sun Shines and Water Flows*, ed. Ian A.L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983); J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada*, revised edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989); and Olive P. Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1992).
3. Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended 31 March 1911 [cited hereafter as Annual Report], p. 273. For details of Scott's career, see E. Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986).
4. National Archives of Canada (NAC), Record Group 10 (RG10), volume 6039, file 160-1, MR C 8152, F. Oliver to Joint Church Delegation, 21 March 1908.
5. NAC RG10, volume 3674, file 11422, MR C 10118, To Sir John A. Macdonald from the Archbishop of Quebec, February 1883, and volume 3647, file 8128, MR C 10113, To the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from A. Sutherland, 30 July 1883.
6. NAC MG 26A, Sir John A. Macdonald Papers, volume 91, "Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds" [The Davin Report], 14 March 1879, pp. 35428-45. See C.B. Koester, Mr. Davin, M.P., *A Biography of Nicholas Flood Davin* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1980) for biographical information.

7. Annual Report 1890, p. xii.
8. NAC RG10, volume 6040, file 160-2, part 4, MR C8153, T. Ferrier, Report of the Alberta Indian Commission of the Methodist Church (1911).
9. INAC file 1/25-1, volume 15, To Sir John A. Macdonald from L. Vankoughnet, 26 August 1887.
10. N. Sheehan, "Education, Society and the Curriculum in Alberta 1905-1980: An Overview", and E. Brian Titley, "Indian Industrial Schools in Western Canada", in *Essays in Canadian Educational History*, ed. N. Sheehan, J.D. Wilson and D.C. Jones (Calgary: Detselig, 1986). Also R.M. Connelly, "Missionaries and Indian Education", in *The Education of Indian Children in Canada*, ed. L.G.P. Waller (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1965); and David A. Nock, "The Social Effects of Missionary Education: A Victorian Case Study", in *Reading, Writing and Riches: Education and the Socio-economic Order in North America*, ed. Randle W. Nelson and David A. Nock (Kitchener: Between the Lines, 1978).
11. Annual Report 1911, p. 273.
12. NAC RG10, volume 3947, file 123764, MR C10166, To the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from Inspector J.A. Macrae, 7 December 1900.
13. George Manuel and Michael Posluns, *The Fourth World* (Don Mills: Collier-Macmillan Canada Ltd., 1974), p. 63.
14. Relatively few schools were established in Quebec, however, for reasons that are not entirely clear. It may have been because the major portion of the Aboriginal population that concerned the Catholic church was served by a day school system that had emerged in the southern part of the province before Confederation. Or it could have been because the Catholic church's missionary focus and energy were concentrated, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, on the Canadian west and north-west, very much in competition with a similar advance of the Protestant churches into those regions. In those regions and in British Columbia, Catholic residential schools dominated.
15. From the outset the position taken on the education of Métis children in residential schools was rather ambiguous. The deputy superintendent general, J. Smart, noted in October 1899 (see NAC RG10, volume 3931, file 117377, MR C 10163, To the Secretary from D. Laird, 27 August 1900) that although he did not consider it appropriate "that the children of the Half-Breeds proper, of Manitoba and the Territories, should be admitted into Indian schools and be paid for by the Department...all children, even those of mixed blood, whether legitimate or not, who live upon an Indian Reserve and whose parents on either side live as Indians upon a Reserve, even if they are not annuitants, should be eligible for admission to the schools." There was, however, no hard and fast policy until the 1911 contract, clause 4(b) of which stated, "No Half-breed child shall be admitted to the said schools unless Indian children cannot be obtained to complete the number authorized [for any particular school]...in which event the Superintendent General may in his discretion permit the admission of any Half-breed child; but the Superintendent General will not pay any grant for any such Half-breed pupil...nor any part of the cost of its maintenance or education whatever." (Correspondence and Agreement relating to the Maintenance and Management of Indian Boarding Schools [Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1911].) This policy was maintained throughout the rest of the history of the system.

It is impossible to determine the number of Aboriginal children who attended the schools over the life of the system. Estimates have been given. In T. Lascelles, OMI, "Indian Residential Schools", *The Canadian Catholic Review* 10/5 (May 1992), it is suggested that fewer than one in six attended. In his study, "Attendance at Indian Residential Schools in British Columbia, 1890-1920", *B.C. Studies* 44 (Winter 1979-80), James Redford concluded that only 17.6 per cent of children aged 6 to 15 attended residential schools in British Columbia in 1901 and that the proportion rose to 22.3 per cent in 1920. In "Owen Glendower, Hotspur, and Canadian Indian Policy", *Ethnohistory* 37/4 (Fall 1990), J.R. Miller concluded that "the system never reached more than a minority of young Indians and Inuit." In fact, the extant school records for the system as a whole are not complete enough to allow useful calculations to be made. Given that fact, this text relies on annual enrolment lists found in NAC RG10 files, INAC files and the tabular statements in annual reports. These give only total enrolments per year, however, and cannot be used to determine the number of children who had a residential school experience. Any figures, including the minorities mentioned by Lascelles, Redford and Miller, are dangerously misleading unless they are fully contextualized. The impact of the system was felt not only by the children who attended schools but by the families and communities that were deprived of their children and had to deal subsequently with children who returned damaged from the schools. In that sense, communities, parents and, indeed, children later born to former students of the residential schools were all 'enroled'.

16. NAC RG10, volume 3818, file 57799, MR C 10143, Reed Report (1889).
17. NAC RG10, volume 6462, file 888-1 (2-3, 6), MR C 8781, C. Hives to R.A. Hoey, 21 June 1942, and R.A. Hoey to C. Hives, 29 June 1942.
18. NAC RG10, volume 3647, file 8128, MR C 10113, To Indian Commissioner, Regina, from J.A. Macrae, 18 December 1886.
19. Macrae to Indian Commissioner (cited in note 18).
20. Annual Report 1897, p. xxvi.
21. Annual Report 1888, pp. ix-x.
22. Macrae to Indian Commissioner (cited in note 18).
23. Davin Report (cited in note 6).
24. David A. Nock, *A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy: Cultural Synthesis versus Cultural Replacement* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988), p. 73. The school was at Sault Ste. Marie.
25. Annual Report 1889, p. xi.
26. NAC RG10, volume 6039, file 160-1, MR C 8152, To the Minister from the Archbishop of St. Boniface, 30 November 1912.
27. General Synod Archives, GS 75-103, Series 1-14, Box 15, MSCC Blake Correspondence, To S.H. Blake from F. Oliver, 28 January 1908.
28. Annual Report 1889, p. xi.
29. Annual Report 1890, p. xii.
30. Annual Report 1911, p. 273.
31. Davin Report (cited in note 6).
32. L. Vankoughnet to Sir John A. MacDonald (cited in note 9).
33. Annual Report 1895, p. xxii.
34. Annual Report 1891.
35. Annual Report 1896, pp. 398-399.
36. NAC RG10, volume 6040, file 160-3A, MR C 8153, Memorandum of the Convention of the Catholic Principals of Residential Schools held at Lebrett, Saskatchewan, 28 and 29 August 1924.

37. Annual Report 1891, p. xiii.
38. NAC RG10, volume 6040, file 160-7, part 1, MR C 8153, Report of the Following Institutions Under the Management of the Home Board of Missions for the United Church of Canada, 31 March 1927.
39. Manuel and Posluns, *The Fourth World* (cited in note 13), p. 67.
40. Nock, *A Victorian Missionary* (cited in note 24), p. 78 [emphasis in original].
41. Annual Report 1899, p. xxxi.
42. Annual Report 1895, pp. xxii-xxiii.
43. NAC RG10, volume 3674, file 11422-5, MR C 10118, To H. Reed from the Deputy Superintendent General, 24 August 1890.
44. Nock, *A Victorian Missionary* (cited in note 24), p. 78; and NAC RG10, volume 6443, file 881 (1-3), MR C 8767, To H. McGill from D. MacKay, 25 March 1937.
45. Macrae to Indian Commissioner (cited in note 18).
46. Annual Report 1887, p. lxxx.
47. NAC RG10, volume 4037, file 317021, MR C 10177, To the Secretary from Agent [unsigned], Birtle, Manitoba, 20 December 1907.
48. Annual Report 1896, p. xxxviii.
49. NAC RG10, volume 3927, file 116836-1A, MR C 10162, To the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from R. MacKay and J. Menzies, 11 March 1904.
50. NAC RG10, volume 3920, file 116751-1A, MR C 10161, To the Deputy Superintendent General from H. Reed, 12 July 1889.
51. Annual Report 1902, p. 189.
52. NAC RG10, volume 6039, file 160-1, MR C 8152, To the Secretary from Principal Heron, 14 April 1909.
53. NAC RG10, volume 4072, file 431636, MR C 10183, To the Assistant Deputy and Secretary from Reverend W. McWhinney, 26 February 1913.
54. See, for example, H. Reed to the Deputy Superintendent General (cited in note 50).
55. Annual Report 1898, p. xxvii.
56. NAC RG10, volume 6039, file 160-1, MR C 8152, Principal Heron to the Secretary.
57. Annual Report 1903, p. 89.
58. See, for example, Annual Report 1906.
59. Annual Report 1911, p. 296.
60. Olive P. Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1992) p. 320.
61. Annual Report 1911, p. 275; 1912, p. 302.
62. Annual Report 1914, p. 115.
63. NAC RG10, volume 6041, file 160-7, part 1, MR C 8153, Resolution passed by the Association of Indian Workers in Saskatchewan at their meeting held in May 1930.
64. Annual Report 1910, p. 275.
65. Principal Heron to the Secretary (cited in note 52).
66. Annual Report 1903, p. 89.
67. INAC file 501/25-1-019, volume 1, To A.B. Weselak, MP, from H.M. Jones, Director, 4 June 1954.

68. INAC file 601/25-2, volume 2, R.F. Davey, Residential Schools Past and Future, 8 March 1968. For further information on the failure of the system to reach educational standards comparable to those of non-Aboriginal schools, see J. Barman, Y. Hébert and D. McCaskill, "The Legacy of the Past: An Overview", in *Indian Education in Canada*, ed. J. Barman, Y. Hébert and D. McCaskill, Volume 1: The Legacy (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986).
69. INAC file 6-37-1, volume 2, Notes on Highlights of Indian Affairs Operations 1957 to Date, Memorandum for the Director, Education Division, 1952-1957.
70. Residential Schools Past and Future (cited in note 68).
71. INAC file 6-37-1, volume 2, Notes on Highlights of Indian Affairs Operations 1957 To Date.
72. INAC file D4700-1, volume 2, Economic and Social Development – Indian Education, Discussion Paper, 22 July 1981.
73. INAC file 1/25-1, volume 22, Memorandum on Education, R.F. Davey, 15 September 1969.
74. NAC RG10, volume 8448, file 06/23-5-019, MR C 13800, Fort Alexander Inspection Report, B. Warkentin, 1951.
75. NAC RG10, volume 8449, file 511/23-5-017, MR C 13800, Portage La Prairie Inspection Report, Eldon Simms, 9 November 1944.
76. INAC file 4745-1, volume 1, Indian Education Program, 1972.
77. INAC file 1/25-1, volume 22, Memorandum on Education, R.F. Davey, 15 September 1969.
78. NAC RG10, volume 8448, file 506/23-5-019, MR C 13800, Fort Alexander Inspection Report, B. Warkentin, 15 June 1942.
79. INAC file E4974-1, volume 3, Historical Trends in Indian Education, 1982.
80. INAC file 1/25-1, volume 35, Educational Services for Indians, 24 March 1969.
81. House of Commons, Special Committee on Reconstruction and Re-Establishment, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, No. 9, 24 May 1944, p. 306.
82. NAC RG10, volume 6205, file 468-1, MR C 7937, To Dr. Dorey from R.A. Hoey, 29 May 1944; To the Deputy Minister from R.A. Hoey, 7 June 1944.
83. INAC file 6-21-1, volume 3, Statement Presented by Mr. R.F. Davey on Behalf of Indian Affairs Branch to the Standing Committee of Ministers of Education, 25 September 1963.
84. NAC RG10, volume 6205, file 468-1, MR C 7937, To the Deputy Minister from R. A. Hoey, 7 June 1944.
85. INAC file 601/25-1, volume 6, To Chief D. Ahenakew from J. G. McGilp, 24 February 1970.
86. INAC file 501/25-1-019, volume 1, To A.B. Weselak, MP, from H.M. Jones, 4 June 1954.
87. INAC file 4745-1, volume 1, Indian Education Program, 1972.
88. INAC file 6-21-1, volume 2, To D. Watters, Treasury Board, from L. Fortier, 22 July 1958.
89. INAC file 1/25-1, volume 22, Memorandum on Education, R.F. Davey, 15 September 1969.
90. INAC file 4745-1, volume 1, Indian Education Program, 1972.
91. INAC file 1/25-1, volume 22, Memorandum on Education, R.F. Davey, 15 September 1969.
92. INAC file 601/25-2, volume 2, Admissions Policy for Indian Student Residences, Preface, June 1969.
93. INAC file 301/25-13, volume 4, To R.L. Boulanger from D. Kogawa, 25 January 1973.
94. INAC file 601/25-2, volume 2, R.F. Davey, Residential Schools Past and Future, 8 March 1968.
95. INAC file 1/25-1, volume 22, Memorandum on Education, R.F. Davey, 15 September 1969.
96. INAC file 601/25-2, volume 2, R.F. Davey, Residential Schools Past and Future, 8 March 1968.

97. INAC file 1/25-1, volume 35, Educational Services for Indians, 24 March 1969.
98. House of Commons, Special Committee on Reconstruction and Re-Establishment, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, No. 9, 24 May 1944 p. 306.
99. INAC file 601/25-1, volume 6, To Chief D. Ahenakew from J.D. McGilp, 24 February 1970.
100. INAC file 501/25-1-019, volume 1, To A.B. Weselak, MP, from H.M. Jones, 4 June 1954.
101. INAC file 601/25-2, volume 2, R.F. Davey, Residential Schools Past and Future, 8 March 1968.
102. INAC file 601/25-1, volume 6, To Chief D. Ahenakew from J.D. McGilp, 24 February 1970.
103. INAC file 671/25-2, volume 3, Reasons for Admission – Category 3 Student Residences, J. B. Freeman, 7 May 1974.
104. INAC file 40-2-185, volume 1, Relationships Between Church and State in Indian Education, 26 September 1966. See also file 671/25-2, volume 3, To W. Grant from F. Misiurski, 24 January 1974; and file 675/25-13, volume 2, To E.L. Davies from R. Martin, 16 June 1975, and to E.L. Davies from R. Martin 24 March 1975.
105. INAC file 671/25-2, volume 3, To W. Grant from F. Misiurski, 24 January 1974.
106. INAC file 601/25-1, volume 6, To Chief D. Ahenakew from J.G. McGilp, 24 February 1970.
107. INAC file 40-2-185, volume 1, Relationships Between Church and State in Indian Education, 26 September 1966.
108. INAC file 1/25-1 volume 35, Educational Services for Indians, 24 March 1969.
109. INAC file 40-2-185 volume 1, Relationships Between Church and State in Indian Education, 26 September 1966.
110. INAC file 1/25-1 volume 35, Educational Services For Indians, 24 March 1969.
111. Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission, "Residential Education for Indian Acculturation" (Ottawa: Oblate Fathers in Canada, 1958), p. 15.
112. INAC file 6-21-7, volume 1, To Mrs. L. Potts from L. Fortier, 22 December 1959.
113. INAC file 40-2-185, volume 1, Relationships Between Church and State in Indian Education, 26 September 1966.
114. INAC file 501/1, volume 2, To Assistant Deputy Minister from R.F. Davey, 18 August 1969.
115. See Norman Andrew Gull, "The 'Indian Policy' of the Anglican Church of Canada from 1945 to the 1970s", M.A. thesis, Trent University (1992), for a discussion of this event.
116. INAC file 853/25-13, volume 3, To Reverend J. P. Mulvihill from J. Chrétien, 8 January 1971.
117. INAC file 601/25-13, volume 3, A Proposal to Transfer the Control and Management of Student Residences to Indian People, January 1971.
118. INAC file 779/25-1-009, volume 1. This file contains a number of documents related to the dispute over the school and the final resolution. Blue Quills was located on the Blue Quills reserve, west of Saddle Lake, Alberta.
119. INAC file 853/25-13, volume 3, To Reverend J.P. Mulvihill from J. Chrétien, 8 January 1971.
120. INAC file 12-04-93, To P. Isaac from P. Bisson, 24 August 1984.
121. See INAC file 40-2-185, volume 1, To E.A. Côté, Deputy Minister, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, from G.R. Cameron, 26 May 1966; INAC file 600-1, volume 2, Education in Canada's Northland, 12 December 1954; and Kenneth Coates, "'Betwixt and Between': The Anglican Church and the Children of the Carcross (Chooulta) Residential School, 1911-1954", B.C. Studies 64 (Winter 1984-85).
122. See INAC file 600-1, volume 2, Education of Eskimos (1949-1957); and file 603-2, volume 1, Education of Eskimos, 5 March 1957.

123. INAC file 600-1, volume 2, Education in Canada's Northland. Shelagh D. Grant, *Sovereignty or Security? Government Policy in the Canadian North, 1936-1950* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988); Richard Finnie, *Canada Moves North* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943); Morris Zaslow, *The Northward Expansion of Canada 1914-1967* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988); and Norman J. Macpherson, *Dreams and Visions, Education in the Northwest Territories from Early Days to 1984* (Yellowknife: Department of Education, Government of the Northwest Territories, 1991).
124. INAC file 630-101-1, volume 4, Memorandum for the Minister, R.G. Robertson, Deputy Minister, 12 August 1957.
125. INAC file 40-2-185, volume 1, Memorandum For Cabinet – Education in the Northwest Territories, Jean Lesage, 4 March 1955.
126. INAC file 600-1, volume 2, Education in Canada's Northland, 12 December 1954.
127. INAC file 600-1, volume 2, "New Education Programme in the Northwest Territories", press release, 20 March 1955.
128. INAC file 1/25-13-2, volume 1, To R.F. Davey from F.A.G. Carter, 24 April 1968; file 250-9-20, volume 1, To J.A. Macdonald, Deputy Minister, from S. Hodgson, Commissioner of the N.W.T., 13 February 1969, and To S. Hodgson from J.A. Macdonald, 18 December 1968; and Norman J. Macpherson, *Dreams and Visions, Education in the Northwest Territories from Early Days to 1984* (Yellowknife: Department of Education, Government of the Northwest Territories, 1991), p. 20.
129. INAC file 600-1-6, volume 5, Memorandum for the Deputy Minister, 11 October 1963. Large Hostels: Fleming Hall (at Fort Macpherson), Bompas Hall (Fort Simpson), Lapointe Hall (Fort Simpson), Breynat Hall (Fort Smith), Grollier Hall (Inuvik), Stringer Hall (Inuvik), Akaitcho Hall (Yellowknife), Turquetil Hall (Chesterfield Inlet). Small Hostels: Cambridge Bay, Baker Lake, Belcher Islands, Broughton Island, Cape Dorset, Eskimo Point, Great Whale River, Igloodik, Pangnirtung, Payne Bay, Pond Inlet and Port Harrison (Inukjuak).
130. INAC file 600-1, volume 2, Education in Canada's Northland, 12 December 1954.
131. INAC file 603-2, volume 1, Education of Eskimos, 5 March 1957.
132. Right from the outset churches lobbied for funds. See, for example, NAC RG10, volume 3674, file 11422, MR C 10118, To Sir John A. Macdonald from the Archbishop of Quebec, February 1883, and To Superintendent General of Indian Affairs from J. McDougall, 28 October 1883.
133. NAC RG10, volume 7185, file 1/25-1-7-1, MR C 9696, Memorandum to the Honourable Charles Stewart, 31 October 1927.
134. NAC RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1 (1-3), MR C 8762, To the Deputy Superintendent General from M. Benson, 23 October 1907.
135. INAC file 600-1, volume 2, Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General in Council on 22nd October 1892.
136. To E. Dewdney from L. Vankoughnet, NAC RG10, volume 3927, file 116836-1A, MR C 10162, 2 June 1890; and volume 3926, file 116836-1, MR C 10162, 10 June 1890.
137. NAC RG10, volume 6039, file 160-1, MR C 8152, To the Deputy Superintendent General from the Auditor General, 7 December 1904. For a discussion of funding and management difficulties, see E. Brian Titley, *Narrow Vision, Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), pp. 80-82; and NAC RG10, volume 3927, file 116836-1A, MR C 10162, To the Deputy Superintendent General from M. Benson, 19 March 1904, and To Deputy Superintendent General from M. Benson, 25 April 1905.
138. NAC RG10, volume 6039, file 160-1, MR C 8152, To F. Pedley from Reverend A.E. Armstrong, 1 February 1907.
139. NAC RG10, volume 6730, file 160-2 (1-3), MR C 8092, To Dr. Roche from D.C. Scott, 27 June 1917.

140. NAC RG10, volume 6039, file 160-1, MR C 8152, Memorandum on Conference in F. Oliver's Office, 8 November 1910. For a discussion of the details of the contracts, see file 160-1, To the Superintendent General from F. Pedley, 17 November 1910.
141. NAC RG10, volume 6039, file 160-1, MR C 8152, Memorandum on Conference in F. Oliver's Office, 8 November 1910; School Classification and Per Capita Rates – 1910.
142. NAC RG10, volume 6039, file 160-1, MR C 8152, Memorandum on Conference in F. Oliver's Office, 8 November 1910, To the Superintendent General from F. Pedley, 17 November 1910.
143. NAC RG10, volume 6039, file 160-1, MR C 8152, Memorandum on Conference in F. Oliver's Office, 8 November 1910.
144. Correspondence and Agreement Relating to the Maintenance and Management of Indian Boarding Schools (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1911), p. 4.
145. NAC RG10, volume 7185, file 1/25-1-7-1, Memorandum, F.T. Ferrier, 5 April 1932; Circular from Deputy Superintendent General, 22 February 1933; Circular, 15 April 1935; Circular, 13 July 1935; Circular, 26 March 1936; Circular, 25 June 1936; and volume 6041, file 160-5, MR C 8153, To Reverend J. Scannell from H. McGill, 17 February 1936.
146. NAC RG10, volume 6041, file 160-5, MR C 8153, To J. Plourde from R.A. Hoey, 15 October 1940.
147. NAC RG10, volume 6730, file 160-2 (1-3), MR C 8092, To Reverend Dr. T. Westgate from R.A. Hoey, 11 January 1941.
148. NAC RG10, volume 6730, file 160-2 (1-3), MR C 8092, To D.C. Scott from Canon S. Gould, 23 September 1924. See also volume 6040, file 160-3A, MR C 8153, To the Minister from Canon S. Gould, 7 January 1921; and volume 6039, file 160-1, MR C 8152, Memo for File, R.T. Ferrier, 8 February 1926.
149. NAC RG10, volume 7185, file 1/25-1-7-1, Memorandum for H. McGill from R.A. Hoey, 4 November 1938.
150. NAC RG10, volume 6001, file 1-1-1(1), MR C 8134, Memorandum for A. Meighen from D.C. Scott, January 1918.
151. NAC RG10, volume 7185, file 1/25-1-7-1, To Honourable Charles Stewart from D.C. Scott, 31 October 1927.
152. NAC RG10, volume 6039, file 160-1, MR C 8152, To J. McLean from M. Benson, 15 July 1897.
153. NAC RG10, volume 3674, file 11422, MR C 10118, To Reverend A. Lacombe from E. Dewdney, 23 July 1883.
154. NAC RG10, volume 4041, file 334503, MR C 10178, Paget Report, 25 November 1908.
155. NAC RG10, volume 3917, file 116575-5, MR C 10161, To the Indian Commissioner from M.M. Seymour, MD, 17 September 1895. See also volume 3674, file 11422 5, MR C 110118, To the Deputy Superintendent General from H. Reed, 13 May 1891; volume 3922, file 116820-1A, MR C 10162, To the Deputy Superintendent General from J. Day, n.d.; volume 6027, file 117-1-1, MR C 8147, To the Assistant Commissioner, Regina, from A. Baird, 24 December 1894; volume 6039, file 160-1, MR C 8152, To J. McLean from M. Benson, 15 July 1897; and volume 6305, file 652-1, MR C 8682, To J. McLean from A. MacArthur, 27 December 1910.
156. NAC RG10, volume 6039, file 160-1, To J. McLean from M. Benson, 15 July 1897.
157. The department did attempt to force parents to send their children by threatening to cancel rations and other "privileges" and, in both the Indian affairs and northern affairs systems, by the suspension of family allowance payments. See, for example, NAC RG85, volume 1507, file 600-3, To R.A. Gibson from F. Fraser, 16 December 1948; INAC file 501/25-1, volume 1, Circular No. 42, School Attendance, R.D. Ragan, 6 October 1958; To R.D. Ragan from R.F. Davey, 24 July 1958; and file 773/25-2-004, Family Allowances, Unsatisfactory School Report, 1 March 1967.
158. NAC RG10, volume 6348, file 752-1, MR C 8705, To the Deputy Superintendent General from D.C. Scott, 23 April 1909.

159. NAC RG10, volume 4041, file 334503, MR C 10178, Paget Report. See also volume 3927, file 116836-1A, MR C 10162, To the Superintendent General from R. MacKay and J. Menzies, 11 March 1904.
160. NAC RG10, volume 3937, file 120048-1, MR C 10164, To A. Vowell from the Bishop of Caledonia, 11 November 1907.
161. NAC RG10, volume 4037, file 317021, MR C 10177, Montreal Star, 15 November 1907, and Saturday Night, 23 November 1907.
162. NAC RG10, volume 4037, file 317021, MR C 10177, Montreal Star, 15 November 1907, and Saturday Night, 23 November 1907; Report on the Indians of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories [Bryce report] (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1907).
163. NAC RG10, volume 1346-7, no file no., MR C 13916, To W. Robertson from Principal W. Lemmens, 31 March 1915.
164. NAC RG10, volume 1346-7, no file no., MR C 13916, To the Secretary from S. Swinford, 4 December 1907.
165. NAC RG10, volume 1346-7, no file no., MR C 13916. The Secretary of the Department solicited reactions to the Bryce report from local agents. They were generally in agreement with Bryce. See, for example, To the Secretary from D. Mann, 22 November 1907 and To the Secretary from T. Eastwood, 15 December 1907.
166. Duncan C. Scott, "Indian Affairs, 1867-1912", in *Canada and its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and their Institutions* by One Hundred Associates, ed. Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1914), volume 7, p. 615.
167. NAC RG10, volume 4037, file 317021, MR C 10177, Saturday Night, 23 November 1907.
168. Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, S.H. Blake File, G.S. 75-103, "To the Honourable Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior, 27 January 1907", quoted in *To the Members of the Board of Management of the Missionary Society of the Church of England*, 19 February 1907.
169. P.H. Bryce, *The Story of a National Crime, being an Appeal for Justice to the Indians of Canada* (Ottawa: James Hope & Sons, Limited, 1922).
170. NAC RG10, volume 6015, file 1-1-13, MR C 8141, To W. Graham from D.C. Scott, 16 February 1925. See also To D.C. Scott from W. Graham, 10 February 1925.
171. Bryce, *A National Crime* (cited in note 169), p. 14.
172. See NAC RG10, volume 6001, file 1-1-1 (1), MR C 8134, Memorandum for Arthur Meighen from D.C. Scott, January 1918; volume 6015, file 1-1-13, MR C 8141, To Dr. H. McGill from E.L. Stone, MD, 27 November 1903; and George J. Wherrett, *The Miracle of Empty Beds: A History of Tuberculosis in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), p. 107.
173. NAC RG10, volume 4092, file 546898, MR C 10187, To W. Graham from Dr. F.A. Corbett, 1922; and volume 3918, file 116659-1, MR C 10161, To J. Smith from the Assistant Deputy and Secretary, 29 March 1918.
174. NAC RG10, volume 6482, file 941-2, MR C 8796, To J. Plourde from H. McGill, 10 February 1940.
175. See, for example, NAC RG10, volume 4092, file 546898, MR C 10187, To D.C. Scott from W. Graham, 7 December 1920 and To W. Graham from H.N. Kennedy, MD, 7 January 1922; volume 8451, file 655/23-5, MR C 13801, To H. McGill from M. Christianson 25 January 1935; volume 6446, file 881-23, MR C 8770, To R.H. Moore from C. Pitts, MD, 22 October 1935; and Wherrett, *The Miracle of Empty Beds* (cited in note 172), p. 109.
176. Bryce, *A National Crime* (cited in note 169), p. 14.
177. NAC RG10, volume 6462, file 888-1, MR C 8781, To D.C. Scott from Reverend A. Lett, 6 March 1922.
178. NAC RG10, volume 8448, file 506/23-5-014, MR C 13800, Inspection Report on Birtle School, A. Hamilton, 4 December 1936.
179. NAC RG10, volume 6332, file 661-1 (1-2) MR C 9809, To W. Graham from L. Affleck, 15 November 1929.
180. NAC RG10, volume 3933, file 117657-1, MR C 10164, To D.C. Scott from W. Graham, 10 October 1914.

181. NAC RG10, volume 3918, file 116659-1, MR C 10161, To the Assistant Deputy and Secretary from J. Smith, 8 February 1918; and volume 6479, file 940-1 (1-2), MR C 8794, To the Deputy Superintendent General from E. Stockton, 29 November 1912.
182. NAC RG10, volume 6426, file 875-1-2-3-5, MR C 8754, Inspection Report, Alert Bay Boys School, British Columbia, R.H. Cairns, 27 April 1926.
183. NAC RG10, volume 6451, file 883-1 (1-2), MR C 8773, Inspection Report, Kitamaat School, Kitamaat, British Columbia, R.H. Cairns, 19 April 1926.
184. NAC RG10, volume 6309, file 654-1, MR C 8685, To W. Graham from J. Waddy, 15 October 1930.
185. NAC RG10, volume 3918, file 116659-1, MR C 10161, To the Assistant Deputy and Secretary from J. Smith, 29 March 1918; and To the Assistant Deputy and Secretary from F.V. Agnew, MD, 18 June 1918.
186. NAC RG10, volume 6332, file 661-1 (1-2), MR C 9809, To W. Graham from R. Murison, 29 June 1929.
187. NAC RG10, volume 3918, file 116659-1, MR C 10161, To D.C. Scott from J. Salles, 2 April 1917.
188. NAC RG10, volume 3933, file 117657-1, MR C 10164, To W. Graham from C. Stockdale, July 1914.
189. NAC RG10, volume 6262, file 578-1 (4-5), MR C 8653, Report of Dr. A.B. Simes on Elkhorn School, 19 October 1944.
190. NAC RG10, volume 6332, file 661-1 (1-2), MR C 9809, To W. Graham from L. Affleck, 15 November 1929.
191. NAC RG10, volume 6041, file 160-5, MR C 8153, To H. McGill from U. Langlois, 28 April 1928.
192. NAC RG10, volume 3918, file 116659-1, MR C 10161, To the Assistant Deputy and Secretary from J. Smith, 8 February 1918. For other examples, see volume 6039, file 160-1, MR C 8152, To Reverend C. Bouillet from J.T. Ross, 25 January 1919; file 160-2, part 4, To B. Neary from Canon Cook, 5 July 1950; and volume 6040, file 160-3A, MR C 8153, To D.C. Scott from T. Ferrier, 2 July 1917.
193. INAC file 951/23-5, volume 1, To the Secretary from a Principal, 15 April 1934.
194. INAC file 6-37-1, volume 1, Memorandum for Dr. H. McGill from R.A. Hoey, 13 February 1937.
195. NAC RG10, volume 6327, file 660-1 (1-3), MR C 9807, To Reverend C. Cahill from D.C. Scott, 1 March 1917. Qu'Appelle School was located outside Lebrett, Saskatchewan.
196. NAC RG10, volume 8448, file 506/23-5-019, MR C 13800, Inspection Report on Birtle School, A. Hamilton, 4 December 1936.
197. NAC RG10, volume 6327, file 660-1 (1-3), MR C 9807, To D.C. Scott from W. Graham, 18 October 1916.
198. INAC file 772/23-5-010, volume 1, Inspection Report, Morley School, located at the Morleyville Settlement on the Stony reserve, Saskatchewan, L.G.P. Waller, 31 October 1952.
199. NAC RG10, volume 6268, file 581-1 (1-2), MR C 8657, To D.C. Scott from J.R. Bunns, 24 September 1915; volume 6262, file 578-1 (4-5), MR C 8653, Report of Dr. A.B. Simes, Elkhorn School, 19 October 1944; volume 6426, file 875-1-2-3-5, MR C 8756, Inspection Report on Alert Bay Boys School, Inspector R.H. Cairns, 27 April 1926.
200. NAC RG10, volume 6452, file 884-1 (1-3), MR C 8773-8774, Memorandum, Assistant Commissioner Perry, 16 June 1930. See also volume 6479, file 940-1 (1-2), MR C 8794, To the Deputy Superintendent from E. Stockton, 29 November 1912.
201. NAC RG10, volume 6455, file 885-1 (1-2), MR C 8777, Inspection Report, Kuper Island School, R.H. Cairns, 9 November 1922.
202. NAC RG10, volume 6039, file 160-1, MR C 8152, To J. McLean from M. Benson, 15 July 1897.
203. See NAC RG10, volume 6268, file 581-1 (1-2), MR C 8657, To D.C. Scott from J.R. Bunns, 25 September 1915; volume 6309, file 654-1, MR C 8685, To W. Graham from J. Waddy, 15 October 1930; volume 6451, file 883-1 (1-2), MR C 8773, To the Secretary from I. Foughner, 15 June 1922; and volume 8754, file 651/25-1, MR C 9701, To the Director from R.S. Davis, 15 July 1942.

204. NAC RG10, file 150-44, MR C8149, Health Aspects in Relation to Food Service, Indian Residential Schools, November 1946.
205. INAC file 601/25-2, volume 2, R.F. Davey, Residential Schools Past and Future, 8 March 1968.
206. INAC file 116/25-13, Operation of Government-Owned Residential Schools on a Controlled Cost Basis, April 1958.
207. INAC file 1/18, volume 1, To the Secretary, Treasury Board, from L. Fortier, 25 November 1958.
208. INAC file 601/25-2, volume 2, R.F. Davey, Residential Schools Past and Future, 8 March 1968.
209. INAC file 6-21-1, volume 4, The National Association of Principals and Administrators of Indian Residences, Brief Presented to the Department of Indian Affairs, 1968.
210. INAC file E4974-1, volume 1, The Canadian Welfare Council, "Indian Residential Schools – A research study of child care programs of nine residential schools in Saskatchewan", p. 91.
211. INAC file 6-21-1, volume 4, The National Association of Principals and Administrators of Indian Residences, Brief Presented to the Department of Indian Affairs, 1968.
212. INAC file 6-21-1, volume 4, Memorandum on the Brief – National Association of Principals, R.F. Davey, 11 January 1968.
213. INAC file 6-21-1, volume 4, Memorandum on the Brief – National Association of Principals, R.F. Davey, 11 January 1968.
214. INAC file 6-21-1, volume 4, To Reverend J. Levaque from J.A. Macdonald, 28 May 1968.
215. INAC file 6-21-1, volume 4, The National Association of Principals and Administrators of Indian Residences, Brief Presented to the Department of Indian Affairs, 1968.
216. NAC RG85, volume 1224, file 630/110-3 (6), To R.G. Robertson from..., 19 November 1957. Correspondent not identified for reasons of confidentiality (see note 1).
217. NAC RG85, volume 1338, file 600-1-5, Report on Coppermine Tent Hostel, A Teacher, 1 August 1959.
218. INAC file 1/25-1, volume 22, To R.F. Davie [sic] from..., Consultant Psychologist, 10 April 1969.
219. INAC file 1/1-18, volume 1, To the Secretary, Treasury Board, from L. Fortier, 25 November 1958.
220. See, for example, INAC file 501/25-13-067 volume 3, Memorandum to File, Mr. Chapple, 11 May 1967; file 1/25-13, volume 12, To R.F. Davey from Canon T. Jones, 28 September 1966; and Treasury Board Submission, Food and Clothing Allowances, Indian Residential Schools, 25 July 1966; file 44/25-2, To Regional Supervisor North Bay from R.F. Hall, 10 July 1964; file 676/25-13-005, volume 2, Food Services Report, Beauval School, 20 September 1962.
221. INAC file 601/25-13, volume 2, To I. Robson from Reverend G. Gauthier, 17 November 1969.
222. For a similar situation, see INAC file 1/25-1-4-1, To J. Boys from R.F. Davey, 15 August 1969.
223. NAC RG10, volume 3922, file 116820-1A, MR C 10162, To Archdeacon J. Mackay from the Deputy Superintendent General, 1 March 1895.
224. See, for example, NAC RG10, volume 3674, file 11422-4, MR C 11422, To E. Dewdney from Reverend J. Hugonard, 5 May 1891; and file 16836, MR C 10162, To F. Pedley from J. McKenna, J. Menzies and R. MacKay, 11 March 1904.
225. See NAC RG10, volume 3920, file 116818, MR C 10161, To the Deputy Superintendent General from Martin Benson, 12 August 1903; and volume 3925, file 116823-1A, To the Deputy Superintendent General from M. Benson, 1 June 1903.
226. NAC RG10, volume 3927, file 16836-1A, MR C 10162, To the Deputy Superintendent General from M. Benson, 17 March 1904.
227. NAC RG10, volume 10411, Shannon Box 36, MR C 10068, Circular, R. Ferrier, 19 January 1922.
228. INAC file 1/25-1-4-1, volume 2, To H.M. Jones from L.B. Pett, MD, 7 January 1954.

229. INAC file 501/25-13-075, volume 2, To Reverend A. Masse from R.F. Davey, 6 November 1962.
230. INAC file 701/25-1-4-1, volume 1, To Reverend P. Hudon from R.F. Davey, 7 March 1966. For other examples, see file 779/25-13-012, volume 1, To Dr. P.E. Moore from H. Jones, 30 October 1961; file 772/25-1-002, volume 1, To N. Goater from R.F. Davey, 19 June 1961; file 775/25-1-006, volume 1, To Reverend G. Montmigny from P. Deziel, 13 July 1961.
231. NAC RG10, volume 7194, file 511/25-1-015, MR C 9700. The diet at Brandon school, which was condemned by nutritionists, was allowed to remain wholly inadequate for more than six years, from 1950 to 1957.
232. NAC RG10, volume 6264, file 578-1 (4-5), MR C 8653, To Indian Affairs Branch from A. Hamilton, 22 September 1944. Elkhorn School was erected just outside the town of Elkhorn, Manitoba.
233. NAC RG10, volume 6859, file 494/25-2-014, MR C 13727, To F. Foss from the Bishop of Keewatin, 31 October 1960.
234. Nock, A Victorian Missionary (cited in note 24), p. 5.
235. Davin Report (cited in note 6).
236. INAC file 501/29-4, volume 9, To Sir John A. Macdonald from L. Vankoughnet, 26 August 1887.
237. NAC RG10, volume 3647, file 8128, MR C 10113, To Indian Commissioner, Regina, from J.A. Macrae, 18 December 1886.
238. NAC RG10, volume 3674, file 11422-2, MR C 110118, To the Indian Commissioner from Reverend A. Lacombe, 2 June 1885. High River Industrial School, also called St. Joseph's, was located near Davisburg, Alberta.
239. NAC RG10, volume 3920, file 116818, MR C 10161, To the Indian Commissioner from C. Somerset, 1 November 1900. For an excellent description of school routine, see Jacqueline Gresko, "Creating Little Dominions Within the Dominion: Early Catholic Indian Schools in Saskatchewan and British Columbia", in *Indian Education in Canada*, ed. J. Barman, Y. Hébert and D. McCaskill (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), Volume 1: The Legacy, pp. 93-109.
240. NAC RG10, volume 6430, file 876-1, MR C 8759, Inspection Report on Alberni School, G. Barry, 25 April 1934.
241. NAC RG10, volume 6205, file 468-1, (1-3), MR C 7937, To A. Moore from A. McKenzie, 9 January 1934. Mount Elgin School was located at Muncey, Ontario.
242. NAC RG10, volume 3674, file 11422-4, MR C 110118, To E. Dewdney from Reverend E. Claude, 29 October 1887.
243. NAC RG10, volume 6452, file 888-1 (2-3, 67), MR C 8773-8774, To the Bishop of Westminster from L. Vankoughnet, 17 October 1889.
244. NAC RG10, volume 3920, file 116818, MR C 10161, To Assistant Commissioner from H. Reed, 28 June 1895.
245. NAC RG10, volume 3920, file 116818, MR C 10161, To Assistant Commissioner from H. Reed, 28 June 1895.
246. See, for example, NAC RG10, volume 6187, file 461-1 (1-2), MR C 7922, To J. Edmison from J. McLean, 4 August 1917; and volume 6251, file 575-1 (1,3), MR C 8645, To Reverend A. Grant from J. McLean, 12 December 1912.
247. NAC RG10, volume 3920, file 116818, MR C 10161, To the Indian Commissioner, Regina, from D. Clink, 4 June 1896. The school was near Red Deer, Alberta.
248. NAC RG10, volume 6268, file 581-1 (1-2), MR C 8657, To the Secretary from D. Laird, 11 September 1907. The school was located close to Norway House reserve on Little Playgreen Lake in Manitoba.
249. NAC RG10, volume 6268, file 581-1 (1-2), MR C 8657, To the Secretary from D. Laird, 11 September 1907.
250. NAC RG10, volume 6187, file 461-1 (1-2), MR C 7922, To J. Edmison from J. McLean, 4 August 1917.