

**THE EXPERIENCES OF SEVEN ALUMNI WHO ATTENDED
SHINGWAUK RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL AS CHILDREN
1929 - 1964**

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Abstract

This oral history report documents the recollected experiences of seven Native “students” who attended Shingwauk Residential School between 1929 and 1964. This study covers the period when the responsibility for educating Native children shifted from the Anglican Church to the Federal Government. The existing literature on Shingwauk was examined. The present study adds to the literature base a student perspective to Shingwauk’s final years.

The informants were identified purposively using maximum variation sampling procedures. A semi-structured interview guide was used to conduct oral interviews with the former students. From qualitative analyses of the transcripts three general themes emerged: first, the respondents’ JOURNEYS *to, through, and from* Shingwauk; second, the reported LOSSES incurred by the students; and, third, NEEDS. For each theme, the informants’ recollections are documented and compared with those found in the extant primary and secondary literature.

It was observed that more traumatic memories tended to be reported by those respondents who started their Shingwauk journeys at a very early age, confirming findings reported by other researchers.

Other findings include the following: the data confirm most aspects of residential school life reported in primary and secondary sources, such as the journeys to and from the school, deprivations of food and emotional support, the “vocational” training the children received, religious training delivered to the children, and the losses the children suffered.

Observed differences included perceptions of learning English, available health care, and sexual abuse. Although the loss of the informants’ mother tongues is documented by the respondents, the variety of Native languages brought to the school appear to have encouraged English to serve as the *lingua franca*, and the informants report learning English more for their

own convenience than because of administrative rulings enforced by staff. Also, concern for health care, although cited by other researchers as a frequent problem at other residential schools, was mentioned by few respondents in this study. No references to sexual abuse were reported.

Further research is recommended to document the recollections of a broader representation of students who attended this residential school, as well as those of principals and staff members.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction and Overview of the Study

This thesis is about Shingwauk Residential School, which was founded in 1873 and continued until its closure in 1971. In less than a century, it, and many others of similar nature, underwent many changes. Some of those changes, in hindsight, were poor and mis-thought, others were far-seeing and beneficial to the Native peoples of the country. This thesis explores these changes through the oral recollections of seven adults who experienced life at Shingwauk between 1929 and 1964.

Purpose of the study

Parts of the story of Shingwauk Residential School have been documented by previous writers. Geddes (1965) recounts the story of Shingwauk, though briefly, from its inception to its closure. Yet he tells it from an administrative perspective. J. D. Wilson (1973, 1974a) provides a more complete account. He focusses more on residential schools in general, with Shingwauk as an example, illustrating the impact of E. F. Wilson and his philosophy. Willis (1973) gives a first-person account. Her story, though compelling, is limited, both in terms of years and experiences. She lived at Shingwauk from 1953 to 1958 while attending high school in Sault Ste. Marie, when the residential system was in the process of being phased out. She stayed at Shingwauk only as a boarder. The experience of Shingwauk bears revisiting, not only in light of new revelations concerning Native education in general, and residential schools in particular, but because it needs now to be told more from the vantage point of the children who attended and were schooled there. Cutler (1983) writes that historians "must open the classroom door and examine schooling from the perspective of its principal participants..." (p. 96). Therefore, this thesis was designed to tell the

story from the viewpoint of children who were there. We will see the story through the eyes of actual participants. We will experience, as closely as is possible, the childhood memories of the respondents, those most important and enduring ones, through the responses that they shared in their interviews.

The transition of responsibility for Shingwauk School, and other residential schools like it, from Church to State, is significant, and cannot be overstressed. It forms a recurring theme throughout this study. It must be emphasized here, however, that it is not the purpose of this work to condemn the churches of Canada for their initiative or their zeal in setting up the residential schools system. Nor is it to laud and extol any improvements perhaps effected as the State took over.

It is the intent of this thesis to view through the eyes of the children who attended this residential school during the 1930s through the 1960s the changes that occurred as responsibility for Shingwauk shifted from Church to State. Thus, this study is framed by the following four main research questions:

1. What did the children, now adults, experience at Shingwauk and what memories do they recall now?
2. The aims and philosophy of the school modified as administration shifted from church to government in the 1930s and 1960s. How did the administration shift? How did the learners respond to these modifications?
3. What were the lasting effects of the Shingwauk experience for the learners in terms of advantages and disadvantages?

4. To what extent was the Shingwauk experience a success for the children?

A Blend of Research Approaches

Although primary sources include newspaper accounts, and first-person published works, the dominant primary sources for this thesis are the recollections of the children. To provide a backdrop for the relations and recollections of the children secondary sources were examined. Historical surveys available that are helpful as background include the following. The history of Canada's Native peoples and the relationship between them and Euro-Canadians is covered by O. P. Dickason (1992) and J. R. Miller (1989, 1991 and 1997), although the education issue is dealt with more by J. D. Wilson, R. M. Stamp, and L-P Audet (eds.) (1970). This survey touches most of the highlights of the story of neglected Federal responsibility. This is better understood in the context of the development of the reserve policy in Canada, ably covered by R. J. Surtees (1969). The history of the Church Missionary Society, the organization responsible for the initial founding of Shingwauk, is briefly surveyed by Jean Usher (1971).

Government policy and the philosophical background regarding the whole question of residential schools for Native children has been discussed by many authors. J. D. Wilson (1974b) deals with the question of the education of Canada's Native children in the early nineteenth century, and the beginnings of an "overweening paternalism" that later encouraged a vehement reaction. Harold Cardinal (1977) outlines the philosophical differences between the Native and Indian Affairs positions regarding education of Native peoples. He argues that the Indian Act must be "strengthened" to include what is implicit in the treaties: that all educational costs must be absorbed by the Federal Government, and only the National Indian Brotherhood has the right to describe and set any limits on any education. Jacqueline Gresko (1979; 1986) reminds us of the politicizing effects of the residential school system, and some of the reasons this occurred.

Marie Battiste (1986) considers the disruption of the "tribal family cohesion" and its replacement with "peer group allegiance". Beatrice Medicine (1986) discusses the destruction of "intergenerational ties" that might have helped ensure the "cultural continuity" of Native societies. Barbara Burnaby (1982) discusses the philosophy of the language issue as it was put to practical expression in the residential schools system. Alvin McKay and Bert McKay (1986) report that the suppression of Native languages may have been due to ignorance on the part of the residential schools administrations: it is now understood that a child can learn a second language without the destruction of the first. Lorna Williams and June Wyatt (1986) describe the individuals who attended residential schools when they were children as people "without a past, without a language, and without a culture".

Paulo Freire (1971) points out that "cultural invasion", that is, the clash that occurs when two unequal cultures meet for the first time, has predictable and disastrous results for the less-advanced culture. Geoffrey York (1990) describes the residential schools system as part of an over-riding scheme of cultural genocide. But, says York, the plan is now exposed and Euro-Canadian society, and the Ottawa government, are slowly but surely being forced to reconsider. These sources have been examined, and where appropriate, relevant arguments have been woven into my analyses of the childhood recollections of the informants.

Theoretical framework

But why use the interviewing method at all, if quite a library of information and thinking is already available? Why use a phenomenological approach? Interviews with individuals of mixed background, uneven verbal abilities, and inaccurate memories may not give us the facts we seek, and may, in fact, mislead us. Nevertheless, the arguments in favour of phenomenological interviewing are strong. And, in our case, compelling.

First, it is becoming increasingly obvious that history has a place for the recollections of ordinary people. Certainly, interviews are strong evidence for the events of the past, perhaps as strong as are primary sources. And there exists a strong theoretical basis for the inclusion of phenomenological interviewing in our study of history. Both Cutler (1983) and Patton (1990) provide support for such inclusion.

William Cutler writes,

Oral history can be used to preserve feelings and attitudes, shedding light on the emotional atmosphere in which decisions were made or actions taken. Talking to people, asking them about their lives, listening to what they have to say - these steps can expose the richness and fullness of human experience, challenging researchers to confront their biases and accept the diversity in society. (p.95)

Michael Quinn Patton (1990), in his discussion of the interview method, explains for us that phenomenological inquiry "focuses on ... the structure and essence of experience" (p.69). Such phenomena may be emotions, relationships, or a culture.

Max van Manen (1990) puts it more succinctly: "Phenomenological research is the study of lived experience" (p.9). This philosophical basis for inquiry assumes that it is important to know what people experience and how they interpret their worlds. This is the subject matter of the study.

The best method, says Patton, for collecting good data is by participant observation. In the present study, unfortunately, this was impossible, since the school was phased out in the 1960s. The alternative, which necessarily focuses more on the subjective recollections of the participants, is the collection of data by interview. The point of this kind of phenomenological research, says van Manen, is "to 'borrow' other people's experiences in order to better be able to come to an understanding of the deeper meaning or significance of an aspect of human experience, in the context of the whole of human experience" (p. 62).

The phenomenological inquiry assumes, says Patton, "*there is an essence or essences to shared experience* [italics in original]. These essences are the core meanings mutually understood

through a phenomenon commonly experienced” (p. 70). This is expressed in a slightly different way by van Manen: when analyzing a phenomenon, “we are trying to determine what the themes are, the experiential structures that make up that experience” (p. 79). Searching for and identifying, analyzing and comparing these essences (or themes) is the job of the phenomenological researcher. Certainly, then, there is a good basis for this kind of primary research.

Secondly, other forms of primary materials are not available to us. There are no letters for us to peruse. It seems that keeping journals or diaries was not encouraged among the children of Shingwauk. Newspaper accounts, as can be shown, have their biases as well. Although extant, and found in the archives with little trouble, they tend to be of the “community page” type of journalism. They tend to report the “party line” and the photos that accompany the copy show smiling faces of happy children. Seldom does the reporter of these accounts ask the children how they are feeling or interview a child to the same depth as they interview the principal, nor do they ask probing questions. In fact, in none of these articles from *The Sault Daily Star*, is such deep questioning attempted.

Interviewing the children, who are now adults with adult recollections and understanding, is, perhaps, the only way of opening a window onto the past, and to record this viewpoint before it is forever lost. Such data gathering allows the informants to explore any or all aspects of their individual experiences. This may allow us to observe less obvious aspects of that experience.

Sampling and design of the study

Patton (1990) discusses various means of sampling the subjects. Of a total of fifteen possible sampling methods, the best for interview studies appeared to be “maximum variation sampling”. With this method, subjects are chosen purposively for their differences, not for their similarities. This strategy “aims at capturing and describing the central themes or principal

outcomes that cut across a great deal of participant or program variation” (p. 72). This strategy turns the apparent weakness of a small sample, seven subjects in the present case, into a strength. If the same themes are noted among a majority of the cases, in spite of their divergence in terms of years attending Shingwauk, home reserve, natural ability and tribe, then those similar threads must be regarded as powerful indeed. “Any common patterns that emerge from great variation are of particular interest and value in capturing the core experiences and central, shared aspects or impacts of a program” (p. 72).

As stated, for the purposes of the present study, primary materials were produced using the interview approach. In-depth conversations with Shingwauk school alumni added important and essential rich data to the findings of earlier searches of primary, secondary, and other materials. This method of informant selection is described below.

First, mailing lists generated from various sources, including the Shingwauk reunion in 1981, were used to enable a survey sheet to be sent to groups of suitable candidates. One question on the survey asked if the respondent would agree to an interview with the researcher to further explore the topic of Shingwauk. This method helped find several interview subjects and work began. Letters, phone calls, and arrangements for a suitable time and place resulted in several taped interviews. The length of the interviews averaged an hour and a half. The shortest was about an hour and the longest stretched to almost three hours. These data were, and are, invaluable. “It is important to save knowledge about the interactions among students as well as the memories of their teachers, their schools, and their reasons for being there” (Cutler, p.96). These data, after all, are unlikely to be found anywhere else, and will be irretrievably lost, possibly cheating future generations of an important part of the story.

Following Paul Thompson's (1978) advice for locating interview subjects, clubs and organizations, such as the local Indian Friendship Centre, were contacted for help. Chance

encounters also proved fruitful. As the researcher talked to friends and acquaintances, the names of potential subjects came up in conversation. Three of the informants were located this way. As well as the survey method, outlined above, Professor Don Jackson, curator of the Shingwauk Project at Algoma University, provided the interviewer with excellent sources. He also helped to compose the survey letter that found individuals willing to participate. Eventually, three males and four females (making a total of seven former students) were found who provided the interview time and data that form the basis of this study.

Interviewing methods and information sources

In an effort to discover techniques and guidelines for collecting data via interviews with those who had personal experience with the period under question, I studied the work again of two pioneers in this field, Michael Q. Patton and Harry F. Wolcott. First, Patton writes, "the purpose of interviewing is to find out what is in and on someone else's mind" (p. 278). I was careful not to inject my own thoughts or opinions into my questions. My job was to help the subject bring me into his or her world. Patton outlines three basic approaches to collecting interview data. All three are open-ended, with varying degrees of control exerted by the interviewer.

For the purposes of this study, the general interview guide approach was used [see Appendix]. This ensured that basically the same information was obtained from a number of people. Free and open conversations ensued, but with the focus on the particular subject. An outline of questions and probes guided the interviewer in an attempt to make the data collection more systematic and inclusive. Where gaps were noticed, probes were used to seek additional information. These questions included a) experience and behaviour questions, b) opinion questions, c) feeling questions d) knowledge questions and e) background questions. Following Patton's recommendations, the interview began with questions that required simple, short and descriptive

answers. This was followed up, where appropriate, by feeling and opinion questions.

Questions were worded carefully, to reduce biasing answers. Patton maintains that "the truly open-ended question allows the person being interviewed to select from among that person's full repertoire of possible responses" (p. 296). Thus, questions that could be answered simply by "yes" or "no" were avoided. Questions were worded carefully to leave conclusion-forming to the interviewee, not the questioner. Furthermore, double-barrelled questions were avoided. Multiple questions, that is, asking a second or third question before the first is answered, serve only to confuse and upset the interviewee, and such questioning was not used. Finally, "why" questions, says Patton, have to be used carefully, as they imply that the answers given previously were not adequate or not understood. These guidelines were followed directly as I composed, then used the questions, in the interviews.

Prefatory statements such as "That was a good chunk of your life, a good part of your childhood...." and announcements, like "That was produced by the people at ... the last reunion," (Connie Walters, personal communication, June 16, 1995) helped smooth the transition from one topic to the next. They also prepared the informant and gave him or her time to think about an answer.

Probes were prepared in advance. These and follow-up questions were utilized "...to deepen the response to a question, to increase the richness of the data being obtained, and to give cues to the interviewee about the level of response that is desired" (Patton, p. 324). It is evident in the transcripts of the interviews that I used such probes and follow-up questions. For instance, when I interviewed one respondent, I asked for clarification when she reported that she was not allowed to see her little brother: "So, even though you had a sibling at the school, you weren't allowed to see him" (Lucy Major, personal communication, June 17, 1995). This resulted in a richer fund of data for the study.

In addition, I followed the advice of Harry F. Wolcott (1994), who describes a strategy that reduces the chance of the interviewer from biasing the results yet at the same time encouraging more data from the subject: "I never confront informants with contradictions, blatant disbelief, or shock, but I do not mind presenting myself as a bit dense, someone who does not catch on too quickly and has to have things repeated or explained..." (p. 348).

Objectivity

The interviewer, says Patton, must strive for not only proper questioning, but also a neutral stance. This has to be balanced on the part of the interviewer with an effort towards rapport. I found this "neutral stance" difficult to maintain. The reports of most of the respondents were powerful: their experiences at Shingwauk were extremely significant. Their subsequent lives were strongly affected by their apprehension of their childhood memories. Although affected deeply by what was reported to me, I strove to maintain the semblance, at least, of objectivity.

Wolcott is not as concerned about objectivity as Patton. He does not seem to be worried that he might bias the results if he takes a subjective stance. Yet he is careful not to change his informants' story because of Wolcott's involvement with the topic: "Objectivity is not my criterion as much as what might be termed *rigorous subjectivity* ...[italics in original]" (p. 354).

What does he mean by this? First, he explains that validity may be a chimera, unneeded and perhaps impossible to attain: "It is not that clear to me how any of us uses the term [validity]. Or why" (p. 370). Instead, he sees careful subjectivity as the route to follow in qualitative research: "I opt for subjectivity as a strength of qualitative approaches rather than attempt to establish a detached objectivity that I am not quite sure I want or need" (p. 351).

How does he make his "subjective" approach a "careful" one? The critical distinction he makes is at the point when his opinion threatens to interfere:

I try to draw a distinction between revealing my feelings and imposing my judgments, however.... There is simply no way one can get from a descriptive account of what is to a prescriptive account of what should be done about it. Those are value judgments. (p. 352)

I found in my work that a balance between the positions of Patton and Wolcott was feasible, and most desirable. I think a certain objectivity is desirable from an historian's point of view; however, to tell the story in an impersonal, matter-of-fact manner, denies one's humanity, and is less important than, and less than true to, the spirit of the work in question. A thorough discussion of this issue of bias and objectivity is available in Sutherland (1997). During the interview process, I kept my opinions to myself as much as possible, but total objectivity was impossible to maintain, as commentators on this topic have acknowledged.

Preparation of transcripts

Transcribing the tapes to disc and paper I found to be an arduous job. It involved stopping and starting the tape player repeatedly; the speaker on my small portable machine that I used when interviewing soon wore out, and a bigger machine had to be used for playback purposes. Efforts to find a machine that would playback slower to match more closely my keying speed proved fruitless. Ensuring that the words spoken by the respondents were exactly those of each transcript occupied enormous time, more than a year of evenings. Putting the spoken words into clear sentences, without destroying the sense of the reportage, was difficult.

Because people in an interview are unlikely to speak in complete sentences, nor use the best phrasing and grammar, rendering an interview into readable prose is challenging. How is this to be incorporated in the body of a scholarly work? When writing and using the words of an informant, Wolcott's working guideline

... is to strive for readability. I edit spoken words as necessary to help readers read and to put informants in the best light possible. I have no qualms about editing out extraneous material that may technically be part of the record but is of no consequence to the purpose

at hand. (p. 66)

Moreover, Wolcott asserts that the informant's exact words may not even be necessary, just the researchers summary of them: "I do not quarrel with the idea of making full transcripts available *somewhere*, but I do not feel that the place for them is in the body of the text, unless there is a compelling reason to capture *and report every phrase spoken*" (p. 67). I have not accepted this argument in the present work, possibly because in so many cases I have found the actual words of my informants to be more truthful and more eloquent than my own paraphrasing might be.

Once transcripts were available, I sent them back to the respondents in case they wanted to make revisions. Donna, for example, made extensive changes and revisions with zeal and enthusiasm. Her transcript went through three versions. The only differences between the original tape and the final -- third -- transcript are those authorized and initiated by her. I have made use only of the original words and the subsequent additions. I have not made use of those parts that were removed by her. Nor have I included her corrections. David and Lucy made a few changes and returned the transcripts to me. I used similar care with their transcripts as I had done with Donna's. Maynard, Connie, Sally and Walter did not make any changes at all, though they had the opportunity.

Data analysis

Wolcott reminds us that analyzing the data collected in this way is hard work: "Descriptive data need to be studied, not merely skimmed" (p. 65). Once complete transcripts of the informant interviews are completed, themes, says Wolcott, should become evident to the researcher, especially after numerous readings and close scrutiny. However, he adds his subjective influence to the process:

The idea persists that categories should (will?) emerge from the data. My experience is

that they cannot do it on their own. As author-researcher, you must go to their rescue or they will perish [I]n even the most rudimentary sorting some structure must be imposed. (p. 63)

He warns that "reality checks" will keep categories, or themes, in order and truthful. That is, when beginning to draft a report, the researcher needs to return repeatedly to the original data to reconcile "headnotes", that is, what he thinks is the picture striving to emerge, and fieldnotes. "In whatever form one's field data exists [audiotapes, videotapes, shorthand notes, etc.], they should always be reviewed again after an account has been drafted" (p. 65). Of course, Wolcott's problem of losing track of what his informants have said is compounded by his method of putting into his own words what he understands they have told him. So, I was reluctant to follow this plan. Using direct quotes from thoroughly prepared transcripts of interviews, the method I have used, has helped to ensure that I have not excessively added my own interpretation onto the events my informants describe.

The method of data analysis I preferred is the system I have used in the past and still felt most comfortable with. Once the transcripts were ready, I read them several times to gain familiarity with the content and to identify emergent themes. As a theme emerged, I highlighted it (van Manen, 1990) with different coloured highlighter pens. For example, orange was used for the theme "journeys" and yellow was for "losses".

Among Wolcott's strategies for making sense of qualitative data, he lists looking for paradoxes or contradictions. This he calls "contradictional analysis" (p. 207). This way of approaching a problem, among others, becomes useful "when the questions, as well as the answers, are problematic" (p. 161). For example, two of the seven respondents report generally favourable experiences at Shingwauk. This is relevant, and led me to the question, what was different about these two to make their attitudes different from the overall attitudes of the others? After considerable thought, and verification with the transcripts, two similarities emerged: 1) they both

were thirteen years old when they arrived at Shingwauk, and 2) they had both experienced close family support when much younger, and had had a part in the decision to go to Shingwauk. Thus perhaps was the paradox resolved, in this case as in others.

The themes that emerged from close scrutiny of the transcripts are listed in Figure 1, on page 15. Note that the themes divide themselves into three main topics of concern to the respondents: 1) journeys, 2) losses, and 3) needs. These major themes are further divided into sub-themes, as outlined on the figure. I have made use of these emerging themes in my collection of information, analysis, and conclusions, described in chapters two, three, and four.

Data Synthesis

Wolcott describes the writing process as a blend of three distinct styles: a final work on the topic, using the data collected by qualitative methods, may be descriptive, analytical or interpretive. An author of a study is bound to utilize all three styles. It will be unlikely that a study will be evenly balanced among the three. One of them will be stressed, leaving the others to take a back seat. Wolcott clarifies the results when each is given more importance:

When you emphasize description, you want your reader to see what you saw. When you emphasize analysis, you want your reader to know what you know. When you emphasize interpretation, you want your reader to understand what you think you yourself have understood. (p. 412)

It seems to me that the ideal study would be a balance of all three, and it is this balance. difficult and perhaps impossible to achieve, that I have aimed for in the present work.

The completed thesis is largely a descriptive narrative, although the concept of racism runs through each chapter as an essential theme. Separate chapters -- see page 15 -- deal with various aspects of cultural replacement, such as: the "Journeys" taken, both physical and spiritual, from the Native culture (Chapter Two) to the Euro-Canadian life; "Losses" (Chapter Three) suffered,

JOURNEYS To Shingwauk

Why they went
 Preparations
 The journey
 The arrival

Through Shingwauk

First day experiences
 Schooling
 Supervision
 Rules
 Punishment
 Vocational education
 Girls
 Boys
 Staff
 As helpers
 As hindrances
 Intercultural relationships

Leaving Shingwauk

Preparations
 Leaving imminent
 What they took
 Receptions

LOSSES**Culture**

Traditions
 Tradition
 Loss of traditions (racism)
 Language

Family

Parents and extended family
 Parents
 Grandparents
 Siblings
 Separation of siblings
 A substitute family

NEEDS**Physical**

Food
 Health services
 Exercise
 Sleep

**Emotional
 Spiritual**

Figure 1: Emergent Themes from the Data

such as the loss of culture, language, and family; and “Needs” (Chapter Four) met or not, such as physical, emotional and spiritual needs. Throughout the work can be seen threads of suppression: of both family ties and Native culture. Thus, a significant element of the thesis is a comparative study of several forms of suppression within the context of the residential schools.

I have found themes in the data that coincide with the published themes described at other residential schools. I have found data, however, that are not similar to those described at other locales. For instance, much has been written about the suppression of language at other residential schools and I asked each respondent to comment on this aspect of native education in their interview. They all spoke freely and honestly on this aspect of racism. This was unlike the reported experiences from other residential schools across the country; the theme of language suppression was not significant in the recollections from these former students from Shingwauk. Harry Wolcott agrees that a report of this nature should be primarily descriptive: he opines that description is “the cornerstone of qualitative inquiry, the foundation on which all else rests” (p. 103). I feel that the thesis presented here is, as much as is possible, a descriptive story told by the respondents. All in all, the experiences I had while researching and organizing the data were illuminating and exciting. I hope this contribution to the information available for this period of the history of education in Canada will be similarly illuminating and exciting to others who read this work.

The Contribution of Students' Perceptions

How do the students who went to Shingwauk see this century-long phenomenon? It is significant, and also useful, for the purposes of this study, that several reunions (1981, 1991, 1996) have been arranged by and for alumni of Shingwauk. This is somewhat unique among those who attended a residential school. We have heard much about the so-called “residential school syndrome” (Chrisjohn, Young and Maraun, 1997) and shall read more of it in the current study.

Yet, rather than be turned away from a building and grounds that must harbour strong memories, some of which, at least, must be negative, the former students of Shingwauk have returned repeatedly in good numbers to reunite and recall old times. Ten years after Shingwauk closed, the first reunion was held; the second took place in 1991, twenty years after Shingwauk closed its doors. A third was held in 1996, five years later, because it was feared that too many "children" were aging and might not make it to a reunion held in 2001.

The Assembly of First Nations (1994) maintained in their study entitled *Breaking the Silence*, that it is necessary to gather the memories of these people now. For the same reasons, we must act immediately if we are to present their story. The recollections still extant in the minds of these people must be collected, organized and given meaning. If it is not done now, here and elsewhere, then it will not be done at all.

Some work has been published concerning first-person accounts of residential school experiences, and is available in many different forms already (see, for instance, Willis, 1973, Haig-Brown, 1988, Johnston, 1988, Furniss, 1992, Assembly of First Nations, 1994, and Miller, 1996), but much more needs to be done. It is hoped that the present work will help future scholars understand this event with greater understanding, wisdom and compassion because of the voices calling from the perspective of first-hand experience.

The timeline (see Figure 2 on page 18) describes in graphic form the outline of the time period described in written form in this thesis. On the left-hand side are the decades in which the Shingwauk school existed. In the middle are shown the years each of the respondents attended, and on the right are significant events in the history of the Residential Schools, with the principals of Shingwauk also listed. It is hoped that this diagram will help the reader appreciate the scope of this thesis.

Year	Dates & Events	Informants	Administrators
1929 1930 1931		6 yrs. old	
1932 1933 1934 1935 1936 1937 1938 1939 1940 1941	1934 - Current building erected.	Lucy Major (10 yrs.) 1929-1939	Rector C.F. Hives 1926-1941
1942 1943 1944 1945 1946	From 1940 - 1950 the Fed. Gov't gradually takes control of Indian education from gov't sponsored Church groups. Teachers are required to be properly certified and provincial curricula are introduced. Fed. Gov't also begins negotiating with the provinces to turn over education responsibilities to them.	9 yrs. old Connie Walters (8 yrs.) 1938-1946 15 yrs. old Donna Campbell (6 yrs.) 1940-1946	Canon Arthur E. Minchin 1941-1948
1947 1948 1949 1950 1951	1948 - Joint Parliamentary Committee recommends sending children to provincial schools. 1951 - The Indian Act is revised to permit integration of Indian children into the provincial school systems.		Rev. Douglas C. Wickenden 1948-1954
1952 1953 1954 1955 1956	More money is spent by the Fed. Gov't, programs are modernized, trained educators are placed in administrative positions.	6 yrs. old David Woods (3 yrs.) 1954-1957 6 yrs. old Sally Bowman (10 yrs.) 1954-1964 12 yrs. old Maynard Cook (4 yrs.) 1952-1956	
1957 1958 1959 1960 1961	Children's classes at Shingwauk are phased out. 1960 - Fed. policy is to buy education from the provinces. Boarders at Shingwauk begin attending the city's public schools.	13 yrs. old Walter Brooks (2 yrs.) 1960-1962	Rev. Roy Phillips 1954-1966
1962 1963 1964 1965 1966	1964 - Fed.-Provincial Conference agrees that Indian education be transferred to the province. 1966 - "Shingwauk Residential School" becomes "Shingwauk Hall" as no more schooling takes place there. It becomes an institution for boarding out-of-town children.		

Figure 2: Thesis Time-Line

Informants

In this section, each of the seven informants is described. They are ordered according to their years at Shingwauk, that is, the ones there earliest are first, culminating with the ones who attended most recently.

A six-year gap in the history of Shingwauk, 1929 - 1964, as provided by the informants, is evident. This gap occurs from 1946, when Donna left, to 1952, when Maynard arrived. This could be significant, especially if noteworthy events occurred in that time. Yet, it should be noted, all the decades are well covered, and this thesis is not concerned so much with a discussion of the history of Shingwauk School, as it is a discussion of the children's perceptions of the school. The respondents split themselves by gender almost exactly: three males and four females. Four are Cree, two are Ojibwa, and one is Iroquois: not far removed from the real proportions during the history of Shingwauk. Two were from Southern Ontario; two were from the "near North", at a latitude near that of Shingwauk; and three were from the far North, from a latitude much further North than that of Sault Ste. Marie. The decades are covered as well: one attended Shingwauk in the 1920s; two in the 1930s; two in the 1940s; three in the 1950s; and two in the 1960s.

Respondent #1: Lucy. I went to visit respondent number one, *Lucy Majors*, at her home in North central Ontario. She now lives in a comfortable but small older house near the central part of the town. I was struck by the tidiness of the house and the extensive work that had been done in the front yard, where we sat and talked. It was a pleasant setting for both of us. I use the name Lucy Major for her, though that is not her real name: I have substituted a pseudonym for her remarks, though she did not wish for one.

She especially seemed upset with the way that the staff and the administration controlled her life and the lives of her schoolmates. She talks a great deal about censorship and sudden decisions made concerning her life and the lives of her siblings, with little or no explanation or

consultation. For instance, her two older brothers were sent to the residential school in Brandon, and Lucy has no idea to this day why they were sent there and not to Shingwauk. A younger sister attended Shingwauk, and Lucy helped make sure she was settled in properly. Why did the sister go to Shingwauk and not the brothers? One can only speculate.

Her classroom experiences were not extraordinary: "I passed. That's all I know." She did as she was told, accepting the rules, often watching with surprise when older children "sauced back" and found themselves in trouble. She seldom had a chance to speak Ojibwa -- or Chippewa, as she prefers -- during the years she attended. However, she made the effort to relearn what she had lost, using her mother's summer visits and tutelage to help. Lucy was brought up an Anglican, and therefore was used to the Christian climate at Shingwauk. She resumed church-going with her mother when she returned to the home of her parents at sixteen years of age. After a couple of months at home with her family at the Reserve, she found work as a domestic for about a year; then she applied at the Campbell Soup Company in Toronto. It is significant that she never has mentioned her education at Shingwauk to any prospective employer, though it is clear she worked at numerous jobs.

Respondent #2: Connie. *Connie Walters* lives in Northwestern Ontario: I found her home without much trouble, on an older side street. Although old and somewhat run-down, the home was kept tidy and clean. We sat in her kitchen to talk, and she did not worry when her grand-daughter stepped in and was introduced. Her original home was in a small community two days' travel from Shingwauk. She arrived in 1938, at the age of nine, and stayed until she was 17 years old, in 1946. She reached grade 8 by that time, although her education did not help her much. She was not a quick learner, and had a stutter, and claims she received far less help with her schoolwork than she should have. In fact, her time was used instead on chores, mostly cleaning. Once she had left school, "all my jobs were cleaning jobs; dishwasher, chambermaid, [and] janitor." She went to both

reunions, in 1981 and 1991, and proudly pointed to herself in the photo published in a commemorative book. It was clear to me that she felt a closer bond to the children she had known at Shingwauk, than to her own family of her generation, including her parents and grandparents. Her "folks" never explained why she could not go home during the summertimes like other children at the school did. In fact, she claims, her parents told her that they regularly sent money that would enable her to go home. But, she and her two sisters stayed at the school nevertheless. Quite obviously, someone was being deceitful. Perhaps such money was never sent; perhaps insufficient money was sent; perhaps the administration had no idea what the money was for, and put it into a general fund for contributions. For our purposes, the details are inconsequential. Suffice it to say, Connie is convinced that her parents wanted her and her sisters home, sent money for the purpose, but were ignored by the administration.

Like Lucy, she also found the total control of the school stifling and demeaning. The reluctance of staff to explain to Connie why she could not go home during the summer vacations was only one aspect of this disrespect for her mind and thoughts that characterized the Shingwauk experience as she saw it.

Her life after Shingwauk was soon burdened with alcoholism. She claims she nearly died, "trying to drown my feelings." She never told anyone, including her children, about her childhood experiences, except when she was drinking. When she was forty-two years old, a doctor put it to her: either quit drinking or die. Still, it was only after a bout in the hospital that she was convinced, and after good words of advice from her sister-in-law, who introduced her to a spirituality that Shingwauk Residential School had not provided for her, she became a member of the Pentecostal Church. She is proud to say that she and her husband, as well as all five of her children, are reformed alcoholics.

Respondent #3: Donna. *Donna Campbell's* story is more positive than those of the first

two respondents in this study. She, like Lucy and Connie, is retired, but, unlike the other two, had what she describes as a successful career in business, rising to the position of Managing Director.

There are several aspects of her story that may throw light on this difference, or at least give rise to some thoughts. First, she attended school in a southern Quebec Native community up to grade 7. She lived at home with her parents, and only left to attend residential school because the local school did not go farther. She only went to Shingwauk, and not a closer institution for Native children, because her older sisters had all attended there (her younger brother Morris attended later) and she had thus heard about it, and asked to go. So, not only had she had a good start in her schooling, she was part of the decision process, and was included in discussions with her family about her future. She was also a keen learner, and liked school, and looked forward to more years that would include high school.

Moreover, Donna does not appear Native. She has inherited the blond hair and slim, Caucasian face of her non-Native mother. It would be extremely cynical to assume that this fact alone paved the way for her success at Shingwauk, and in the greater world, yet the facts are inescapable: she was saved from the ignominy of the standard bath, delousing and haircut routine with which other children were introduced on their first day; also, it seems she was given summer and weekend paying jobs to earn spending money for herself. She worked, for example, for Archbishop Wright on the weekends, and for Mrs. Thomas Rahilly, at the family camp at Pointe de Chênes, during the summers. Moreover, she remembers several staff members who treated her with more than the usual respect and deference.

Donna did well at Sault Technical and Commercial High School, finishing grade XIII there while living at Shingwauk. She took several courses from McGill University, obtaining certificates which helped launch her in the business world as a secretary and clerk, and, eventually, Business Manager.

She recognizes that the existence of Shingwauk helped her in many ways. However, being separated from her parents from the age of 13 to the age of 19 was damaging to her psyche. She learned to hide the part of her that was Native, and to play down her Shingwauk years. Now, she sees the error in this attitude, and has attended both reunions, looking more and more proudly at the Native side of her heritage.

Respondent #4: Maynard. Respondent number four, *Maynard Cook*, attended Shingwauk during his early teen years, and was, by his own admission, difficult to handle. He has had a hard life since he left school, but has risen through sheer determination to hold an important administrative post at a tertiary educational institution in a Northern Ontario city, where I met him for the interview. As can be gleaned from the thesis, he has strong views on the Native situation in Canada, and is quite outspoken when asked to share his opinions about Shingwauk and the residential school system in general.

He arrived at Shingwauk in 1952 from the residential school in Moose Factory, already at the age of 12, perhaps jaded and with a cynical attitude. He completed grade 8, then went on to high school, living as a resident at Shingwauk. He left at 16, in 1956, without a secondary school diploma, although he had attended Sault Technical and Commercial High School for three years.

He was very much a strong boy and claims he did not mind the farm work, even though it forced him to rise very early in the morning. During his grade 8 year, he points out with some bitterness that he "only got half an education" and when he got to high school, his chores had to be done before the school bus came to take him there. Not only did he seem to enjoy the work with the animals and growing crops, he and his friends were obviously good athletes, and had many opportunities to show their prowess at sports of all kinds to the community at large. Like many young people in their teens, Maynard found it difficult to adhere to rules when he was unable to see the sense in them. Had more effort been made to explain to him why some rules were important, or,

even more effectively, how some rules might be adjusted or changed or bent, so that he could see the reasoning behind them; had he been treated more like an adult and less like a child, he may not have been such a difficult young person.

Maynard's youth was even more troubled than were his years at Shingwauk. He married when he was 17, because, he claims, he was looking for the mother he had never had. (He had only seen his real mother from time to time since he was three and a half years old.) This woman was much older than him and he had children by her. He points out that he and his children effectively grew up together. Shingwauk failed him in at least this regard, says Maynard: it failed to prepare him for adulthood.

I found Maynard to be very articulate and easy to listen to. Some of his opinions were based more on strong emotions than careful reasoning but it was hard not to be drawn in by the force of his arguments.

Respondent #5: David. Of all the seven respondents, *David Woods* was the most difficult to reach for a meeting. He was contacted with the assistance of a friend, who works at the Band Council Office of David's reserve, and appears to be his counsellor. Second, David lives in what can only be described as a shack, situated on the reserve far from Shingwauk. He lives with an older brother and has a sporadic work record: jobs are infrequent, and far afield. He has a cheerful disposition, however, and takes life as it comes. Never successful in school, he has accepted the fact that life is not going to be easy either. He has many social and health problems, not the least of which is a serious drinking problem. At the time of the interview, which was held in the friend's Band Office facilities, however, he was sober and eager to share what he could remember.

David was sent to Shingwauk when he was only 6 years old, and seems to have been there for little more than two years, when a school in a nearby town was ready to take him and his older brother. It appears from what David reported in his interview that his father sent him and several

others to Shingwauk, just as much perhaps for a home for the winter as for an education. The family was obviously poor and not in a good position to provide for David or his siblings and cousins. So David was taken, by his uncle and his father, in a car, for a long journey. According to his account, he had no idea where he was going, nor for how long. He was told to get in with his older brothers, Tom and Jim, and his sister Elena, and his uncle and father. Since the Trans-Canada Highway had not yet been completed, they were forced to travel by a much longer American route south of Lake Superior, eventually crossing to Sault Ste. Marie by ferry.

Although puzzled and confused at first, separated from his sister (because of gender) and separated from his brothers (because of age), he soon made friends with schoolmates not only his own age -- who became a substitute family -- but also with older children, who, according to David's account, discovered that he could be useful on account of his small stature and willingness to be a part of conspiracies. It seems he was constantly in trouble and a thorn in the side of the principal and staff there for the duration of at least two eventful years.

It is quite obvious from a serious reading of David's interview that he now looks with pride at his years at Shingwauk, not because he found reward in scholastic achievement, but because he found a niche there, not one sanctioned by the authorities, but a niche perhaps never again repeated.

Respondent #6: Sally. This contact was suggested by Professor Don Jackson, of Algoma University College. *Sally Bowman* seemed to both of us to be an ideal candidate for an interview, not only because she lived locally, but because she had much to tell me and was willing to share her reminiscences. A few phone calls sufficed to arrange a time and place suitable for both of us.

Like others I had spoken to, Sally remembered much of her experiences of Shingwauk with fondness, especially her "substitute family". The friends she made while there (ten years) took the place of her biological family; she has been to all the reunions and contacts her natural sisters and

brothers infrequently, if at all.

Of all the respondents interviewed for this study, Sally appears the most likely to have been "rescued" by the system from an existence that may have been far worse, had she not been sent to Shingwauk. It is hard to be certain about this, but Sally, speaking freely of her childhood, relates a story full of alcoholism, neglect, and a foster home. Probably as a result of this trauma and insecurity, Sally found the contrast of rules, regulations, and routines at Shingwauk just as traumatic.

In any case, the staff at Shingwauk were totally unprepared for Sally. They were not equipped as a "rescue station" any more than other educational institutions have been or are today, and Sally, in her own words, "went berserk" on the first day at the school. The rules and routines were neither conducive to cure, nor to undo the damage that had already been done. A standard haircut, for instance, was given to Sally with no kindness, no understanding, and no sympathy. Especially when it is recalled that she was six years old at the time, and had never had her hair cut in her life, the trauma that Sally describes becomes very real.

But, Sally has succeeded in the end. With little or no educational background available to her after ten years at Shingwauk, she dropped out, only attending Sault College of Applied Arts and Technology as a mature student after a number of difficult years with her biological family. A failed marriage and a few other wrong turns later, she now is a trained and working professional with the Corrections Ministry. She claims, with some bitterness, that she knows all about cages and bars, how the inmates feel, and the routines of eating and sleeping, because she spent many years at Shingwauk, an institution with some similar aims and very similar methods.

Respondent #7: Walter. *Walter Brooks*, also contacted with the help of Professor Don Jackson, proved to be a most amenable subject. He lived in town, so he and I arranged a time and place that was suitable for both of us, and, although we had to make some last-minute changes,

Walter had no trouble talking with the tape-recorder on.

In contrast to Sally's difficult background, Walter's seems much more caring and considerate. He already had been a student at the residential school at Moose Factory and was sent to Shingwauk because the school at Moose Factory only went to grade 6, and Walter was ready for grade 7. Also, by this time, the system had evolved. Walter went to Shingwauk to be a boarder. In a few years, the name would be changed from "Shingwauk Residential School" to "Shingwauk Hall" when the changeover was complete. Perhaps as a result, Walter's experiences seem to be more positive, although he remembers some basic differences and some extra challenges for which he was not prepared.

For instance, at Queen Elizabeth Public School, he found the education much more interactive than what he had been accustomed to at Moose Factory Residential School. He now was expected to answer questions in front of his new class. Naturally, he found it difficult to be thus singled out, and balked at first at this new experience. But, at the same time, he discovered that his teachers at Queen Elizabeth and the staff at Shingwauk were more than willing to help him with subjects he found difficult. Moreover, his classmates were helpful and did their best to make him feel welcome.

It is undoubtedly Walter's calm and positive attitude that has helped him to succeed in school and work. Whether this outlook derived from his home background, or from his experiences at Shingwauk and Queen Elizabeth (and later at high school), or is part of his genetic make-up, is a moot question. In any case, Walter is grateful for the start in life given him by the residential schools system.

Perhaps this is a result of Shingwauk becoming less of a school and more of a facilitator; perhaps the government was on the right track, removing some responsibility from the churches and giving it to the state schools system instead?

Historical Background to the Study

The following section provides a general historical framework for this study of some of the learners' experiences at Shingwauk. It is presented in broad strokes, and is drawn from previous research.

Indian education in Canada

The schooling of Indians was not a priority to most eighteenth century government policy makers in Upper Canada, and was left largely to missionaries. J. D. Wilson (1974b) outlines only sporadic attempts at education of this type, and part of this lack of concern was rooted in an unquestioned paternalism that later characterized educational policy for Native children (Wilson, 1974b, p. 305). In fact, Indians were considered useful and relevant only in times of war (Nock, 1978, p. 233 and Wilson, 1974b). How federal policy evolved from keeping the various tribes allied with the British armies to the introduction and establishment of the reserve system is ably traced by Surtees (1969).

The war of 1812-14 was the last war in which Indian power was a key issue. By the third decade of the nineteenth century, it was becoming clear that further war with the U.S. was highly unlikely and thus the Indians had lost their military usefulness (Surtees, 1969, p. 89). Moreover, the fur trade, hitherto an important pillar in the relationship between Indians and British, waned in importance. Thus the Indians also had lost their economic usefulness. Uneducated, savage and, considered heathen by the public opinion of the time, the Indians of Canada were fast becoming an embarrassment to the prim sensibilities of the pre-Victorian Age. In 1824, the Upper Canada Assembly passed the Common School Act, which, among other things, made available government grants for Indian education (Wilson et. al., 1970). Indeed, there had been some schooling for Native children before this date; missionaries, sponsored by Catholic, Methodist and Presbyterian

churches as well as by the Crown, had been busy for centuries at this task, with mixed success (Wilson, 1974b). But 1824 marks the beginning of government involvement and commitment. It also marks the beginning of a policy of assimilation and paternalism which characterized educational policy until recent times. In 1973, nearly a century and a half later, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development officially lent its support to a new policy espoused by the National Indian Brotherhood: Indian control of Indian education, based on parental responsibility and local control (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972, p. 3).

But during the years between those two significant events and before this dramatic change could take place, a large portion of Native culture and education was subjected to a policy known as the residential school system. What this was, and how it evolved, will be briefly outlined. Shingwauk school, the subject of this thesis, was set up as a residential school, under the auspices of the Anglican Church, and its philosophy was established under the auspices of the blanket policy of the residential school system.

The residential school system

In 1826, two years after the Common School Act had passed, Lt.-Gov. Sir Peregrine Maitland set up a village on the Credit River for the Mississauga Indians. With the encouragement of Bishop John Strachan, teachers were sent to help in the civilizing process. And, more significantly for our purposes, Bishop Strachan appealed to the Church Missionary Society of the Church of England (J. D. Wilson, 1974b) for assistance. It is most probable that the motives of the CMS (Church Missionary Society) were similar to those of Bishop Strachan and Sir Peregrine Maitland: first, pacify; second, Christianize; third, civilize. The purpose of this last aim was to assimilate a population of so-called "savages" into the mainstream of contemporary, Anglo-Canadian culture. Its corollary was the total destruction of Native culture, including its languages,

folklore, myths and religion. Freire (1971) calls this policy *cultural invasion*, in which "...the invaders penetrate the cultural context of another group, in disrespect of the latter's potentialities; they impose their view of the world upon those they invade and inhibit the creativity of the invaded by curbing their expression" (p. 150).

The CMS was one group of many based in England, whose aims were both global and uncompromising. It was the evangelical arm of the Church of England. Organized in 1799, it was formed originally as the "Society for Missions to Africa and the East" and became the "Church Missionary Society" in 1812. Its mandate was the evangelization of the heathen, and the CMS sent a large army of missionaries from England to New Zealand, India, North America, Africa, China and Palestine (Usher, 1971). For about a century, until 1920, it sent and supported legions of determined and well-trained young men to Canada and elsewhere, to introduce both the Gospel and civilization to the unblessed.

But what prompted the missionaries to enter into the field of education? The immediate answer was that the converts needed to read their Bibles; the long-term answer has much to do with the ideas and the influence of Henry Venn, a dominant leader of the CMS from 1843 to 1872 (Nock, 1973, p. 82). The only way, he felt, that the savages of the world could be evangelized was if they themselves helped in the process. The Native Church Policy (Usher, 1971) dictated that a missionary from the society would go among the heathen, evangelize, convert and establish a congregation of believers, led by one of their number. Then the missionary would move on, deeper into the wilderness. A native pastor would not necessarily reach a European standard of learning but would nevertheless be at least as effective, if not more so, because he would be closer to his flock than a European. But in the field, of course, this often became totally impractical. Missionaries, such as E. F. Wilson, the founder of Shingwauk (Geddes, 1965; Nock, 1988), became discouraged and despaired of ever finding suitable candidates to appoint as pastors before

moving on. The answer, to them, lay in educating the children, who would then become qualified to be effective ministers, as well as God-fearing parishioners.

The responsibility for Native education under the control of the churches and the missionaries appears to have received the approval of the new Dominion government, formed in 1867, when it passed the first Indian Act (April 12, 1876). It provided that money gained from the sales of Indian lands should be used to help set up schools for Native children. However, as Gue (1974) points out, the details concerning teachers and curriculum, and the day-to-day running of a school, are conspicuous by their absence. "Perhaps the silence can be interpreted as the tacit approval of the operation of Indian educational services by Christian churches" (p. 10). The Federal government, preoccupied with other concerns, was happy to relinquish its responsibility, as it had been set forth in the British North America Act of 1867, to the missionaries.

But also it is not unlikely that the Federal government thoroughly approved of the aims and objectives of the CMS. All human beings, it was felt, were of the same blood, and "each man represented in some part the Divine image" (Usher, 1971, p. 32). Conversion to Christianity was therefore possible. People were only different because of a different environment and ignorance of the Gospel. All that was needed, then, was contact with Western civilization and instruction in the Word of God. "If only the missionary could lay the knowledge of these ways before them they could enter the mainstream of civilized life" (Usher, 1971, p. 32).

Few would quarrel today with the recognition that all human beings are of the same blood, but the missionaries took this idea to a higher plane. Their most important values also included the technology and materialism that had helped to create the British Empire. Education, in their minds, not only motivated people to covet the material goods of the industrial age, but also gave them the skills to produce them (Usher, 1971). Finally, the missionaries preached the value of work, which was the only real way to acquire the benefits of civilization. Thus, the policy of making many of

the schools into half-day technical training schools was tied to the materialism of the era (Usher, 1971). The government could not help but approve of this policy since it meshed with its own aim of helping the children enter the mainstream Canadian workforce, ultimately converting the Native population from a possibly never-ending expense into a taxable asset. This policy also was reinforced by the depression of the 1870s. In an effort to economize, the Federal government cut grants to the residential schools; the cheap labour provided by the children helped so much to reduce costs that many schools, including Shingwauk, almost became self-sufficient.

E.F. Wilson, the founder of Shingwauk Residential School

Edward Francis Wilson, sent to London, Ontario, by the CMS in 1868, at first agreed with the ideas of Venn, that is, that a native pastor could be appointed to minister to a congregation of native converts. Bishop Cronyn of Huron Diocese, however, was of a different mind, and he wrote to Venn to that effect. In his response, Venn held to his opinion but allowed that since Bishop Cronyn was the man on the scene, his judgment should not be challenged.

Bishop Cronyn's arguments seem to imply that he is thus in favour of integration, but, writes Nock (1973), it probably smacks more of bigotry than tolerance: "Often such rhetoric thinly veiled a very low estimation of native abilities to succeed in their own structures" (p. 85). Yet it needs to be said that the opinions of Henry Venn also were tinged with prejudice, since he espoused segregation, implying that native congregations must be kept separate from those of non-Native Canadians. Indeed, it is hard to find any individual of this era in a position of authority totally free from blame. With regard to "the Indian problem" the only option never considered by those in charge was to stand back and do nothing.

Wilson, no less than any other concerned Victorian, was not prepared to stand back and do nothing. Because he had seen at close hand what conditions were, his opinions resembled those of

Cronyn more closely than those of Venn. Wherever he went, Wilson was convinced that the heathen customs and habits precluded them from reaching the high standards of comportment called for in a member of the church hierarchy. The Indians he saw were totally unsuited for positions of authority. "It was a cruel dialectic which Wilson thought he could solve only by preparing the Indians for self-government by a process of education into the standards of morality for the Victorian age" (Nock, p. 86). Thus it was that E. F. Wilson's solution to his philosophical problem could only be satisfied by a school, set up deep in the heart of the wilderness. It was a laboratory, a chance to prove or disprove what he felt might be the solution.

Two visits to Northern Ontario convinced him that the shores of the St. Mary's River would be a suitable locale for his school. Moreover, in addition to his own drive and ambition, help came from the local Ojibwa chief Augustine Shingwauk of the Garden River reserve and his brother, Bukhwujenene. Shingwauk had seen the writing on the wall and asked for help from Wilson. He and his brother saw, in fact, that the problems of the Ojibwa also could only be solved by means of education. But the problems of the Ojibwa were not the same as the philosophical problem that Wilson faced. The problems of the Ojibwa people were practical and real.

The Robinson Treaties surrendering traditional Ojibway lands to the Crown had been signed in 1850, with annuities and reserves promised in return. In view of the land hunger of settlers from the south, it was none too soon, for it is unlikely that the twelve hundred or so Ojibway in the northern Lake Superior area would have been able to withstand this pressure without laws to protect them and their properties. White settlement in Muskoka and areas further

north became significant by the 1860s. In 1868, the Free Grant and Homestead Act of the Ontario Legislature opened up twenty-six townships in Muskoka and Parry Sound, and five near Sault Ste. Marie. By the 1870s settlers were pouring into free grant areas and the Ojibway as a people were in danger of being irretrievably swamped.

Both Shingwauk and his brother were very impressed by the fast approaching British culture and saw their own way of life as doomed. In the chief's own words: "The time is passed for my people to live by hunting and fishing as our forefathers used to do; if we are to continue to exist at all we must learn to gain our living in the same way as the white people" (quoted by E. F. Wilson, 1886/1983, p. 12). The "solution", as far as Wilson, Chief Shingwauk, and his brother, were concerned, was just around the corner. But it was a cruel solution, and the residential school system in general, and Shingwauk School in particular, created more problems than it solved.

By 1871, all the pieces had fallen into place. Wilson's work in the Huron diocese was finished, and the Garden River post was suddenly vacant. The CMS sent him there on a one-year posting only, so Wilson did not waste time. Moreover, when the Society withdrew its support, he did not stop, but continued fund-raising, crossing the Atlantic with Bukhwujenene (Geddes, 1965).

Shingwauk Residential School

The first Shingwauk Industrial School, completed on September 22, 1873, was built on the reserve at a cost of £1,550. In equivalent modern Canadian dollars, this would amount to a fortune, easily equal to the salaries of 50 principals. Wilson's first pupils numbered fewer than twenty and, within a week of opening, the building burned to the ground. Undaunted, Wilson began again from scratch, solicited more funds from good Anglicans on both sides of the Atlantic, and a second

building was erected, this time ten miles from the reserve, near the village¹ of Sault Ste. Marie, which had a population of not more than 500 souls. Beginning in the fall of 1874, students were housed and taught in nearby homes until the building was finished and formally opened August 2, 1875. A second school, Wawanosh School for Girls, opened not far away in 1879.

The role of government

In 1880, Indian education was placed formally under the overall control of the Department of Indian Affairs, though the Dominion government was satisfied to leave the actual schooling to the various Churches as part of their missionary work. At this time, the aims and objectives of both agencies, the church and the state, were not dissimilar: "In most cases the approach of the churches reinforced the paternalism of the federal government during this period" (Wilson, 1970, p. 453).

It is interesting to note here that E. F. Wilson was one of the first to recognize that the policy of cultural replacement could never work. For many reasons, children left Shingwauk and other residential schools across the country as neither quite Canadian nor quite Indian. Wilson recorded far too few success stories in his meticulous record-keeping. Especially in 1885, as he watched the events of the Riel Rebellion unfolding, he saw that Indians should be allowed to govern themselves, receiving advice from white men only when solicited (Nock, 1973, p. 93). But it took the government in Ottawa another seventy-five years to come to the same conclusion. J. D. Wilson (1986) writes,

That Wilson finally turned his back on "amalgamation" as the solution of the Indian problem in Canada sets him apart from the mainstream of thinking on the subject in his day. Most missionaries, churchmen, politicians and Indian affairs officials continued past the turn of the century to sing the praises of assimilationist policies. (p. 82)

¹The village of Sault Ste. Marie was not incorporated into a town until 1887. See Francis M. Heath, *Sault Ste. Marie: City by the rapids: An illustrated history* (Burlington, ON: Windsor Publications [Canada] Ltd., 1988), 56.

Shingwauk school and the 20th century

In 1894, Wilson had gone, sent by the CMS to a new assignment in Manitoba, but the school continued as before, with new principals and staff. By now, both *homes* were Diocesan Institutions under the direct control of the Bishop of Algoma (Geddes, 1965). Funding came from children in Sunday Schools, faithful members of Women's Auxiliaries, church societies in England and Canada, general and private contributions, and from a \$60 per capita grant from the Dominion government (Geddes, 1965). Money, however, was always in short supply and conditions were never more than adequate.

And conditions hardly improved in the times that followed. The years preceding and during the Dirty Thirties proved especially challenging. But, Reverend C. F. Hives (Principal, 1926-41) achieved the impossible when he managed to get funding from the government in the midst of the Great Depression to erect a new building. The new three-story brick structure, built in 1934, is the one that still stands today.

By the 1940s, the Dominion government began to realize that perhaps they were shirking their responsibility as far as Indian education was concerned. Gradually, more and more control was taken from church groups sponsored by congregations and tax dollars and brought under the direct control of the government in Ottawa. Government policy now demanded that teachers were properly certificated in the province where the school was located, and soon the curriculum of the school was expected to be modelled on the curriculum provided by that province.

In 1946, the W.L.M. King government established a Joint Parliamentary Committee of the Senate and House of Commons (Wilson et. al., 1970) to inquire into the administration of Indian Affairs. Two years later, this committee recommended, among other things, that the responsibility for the education of Indian children be transferred from the Dominion government to the provinces and the provincial education systems (Wilson et. al., 1970). But this proposal was not acted upon

for some time.

In the 1950s, the Federal government found itself with more than adequate funds generated by the post-war boom and some of this cash found its way to Shingwauk. Contributions and gifts were no longer necessary and the need to be self-sufficient disappeared. Stables, shops, vegetable gardens, pig-pens and chicken coops were replaced with green lawns (Geddes, 1965). Programs were modernized, more highly-trained educators were placed in administrative positions and the building was repaired and refurbished. In keeping with deals finally made with the province of Ontario, grade 7 and 8 pupils from Shingwauk were integrated into the local city schools. This process began in 1961 and continued until 1966, when all the pupils of Shingwauk were integrated into five local schools. Shingwauk became more of a hostel than a school, though supplementary classes began to be held after regular school was over.

In the 1960s, the era of protest and social discontent manifested itself in the field of education, as well as in many other elements of society, and the residential schools came under close critical scrutiny. In 1964, the government responded with a Federal-Provincial Conference on Indian Affairs, which established as policy what the Joint Parliamentary Committee of 1948 had merely recommended, and what the Federal government had already begun (Wilson et. al., 1970). The provinces agreed to sell to the Federal government educational services for the Native children across the country. But the transfer of responsibility to the provinces was slow.

Meanwhile, Indian leaders were not pleased. They claimed that not only was cultural genocide embodied by the residential schools, but also the new policy was even worse. They began calling for Indian control of Indian education, since provincial control with its integration of the children into provincial schools was even more culturally threatening than the former federal control, which segregated Native children from white children. By 1972, this argument had been set out in a position paper issued by the National Indian Brotherhood (York, 1990). The

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development officially supported this demand in the following year (York, 1990, p. 45), and in May, the Minister of Indian Affairs and the president of the Brotherhood made a joint announcement, entitled "Indian Control of Indian Education" (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972, p. 3).

This dramatic policy change coincided with the closing of the church operated residential schools, and Shingwauk ceased to exist by 1971. The Reverend E. F. Wilson, the founder of Shingwauk, would not have been sorry to see the residential school system pass into history, as the dream of the Church Missionary Society -- to evangelize the heathen -- not only had been a questionable success, but had also been extremely costly. One might safely assert that Wilson probably would have approved the adoption of the new policy.

Thus the aims of both Church leaders and Ojibwa leaders, honourable and laudable though they may have been at the time, were not served or realized by the school that was the result. The efforts of nearly a century were expended by many people, and the lives of many children of Native ancestry were ruined and damaged, by the experiment that was the result.

Anonymity, ethics, definitions, and references

Each respondent was asked if her or his own name could be used or a pseudonym substituted. Most did not care one way or the other. Only one specifically asked that his name not be used. So, in order to make it easier on my work, and easier to read for those who study this work, I made use of a simple device. All seven of the respondents were identified with a pseudonym, according to a simple formula known only by myself.

Efforts have been made to protect their identities, as much as is possible. All respondents willingly signed a consent form, written in accordance to the outline required by the graduate school at Lakehead University (*Ethics Procedures and Guidelines for Research on Human*

Subjects).

Definitions of terms used in this work, follow, naturally enough, any standard dictionary. However, there is controversy evident in many of the sources, primary and secondary, concerning certain terms. "Indian", as is well known, is a misnomer, although it has hardened into a valid word, denoting Canada's indigenous peoples. Yet the updates, "Natives", "Aboriginals", and "First Nations Peoples", although not misnomers, have connotations and political implications that must not be totally ignored. The first, "Natives", with a small "n", also includes people of other backgrounds that were born here in Canada. The second, "Aboriginals", can be used to denote a people far more primitive, and of more limited culture, than the group that is meant. The third, "First Nations Peoples" (FNPs), can be seen as a statement to those of other backgrounds, implying that FNPs are perhaps a better people, solely because of primacy. This third term, in my opinion, however, is more prideful than hurtful.

Furniss (1992) has some help on this matter: in a footnote to chapter one, we read: "I use both 'First Nations' and 'Native' interchangeably. I use the term 'Indian' when I mean to evoke the viewpoint of non-Native government and church agents." Medicine (1986) suggests that the terms "Indian" and "Native" should be used interchangeably, "as is the customary usage by indigenous peoples themselves" (p. 15).

What should be the usage favoured in this work? Naturally, any quotes will follow the usage of the author writing, or the respondent communicating with the interviewer. When using a word to mean Canada's indigenous people, I have chosen to be consistent. For instance, capital letters begin each use of "Indian" or "Native" or "First Nations Peoples". So, I have elected to follow the guidelines from Furniss's work. That is, the term "Indian" is used to evoke the non-Native, and sometimes disrespectful, viewpoint; "Native" is used when a more respectful evocation is required.

Also, I have diverged from the accepted practice concerning references to quotes from the respondents. Regular quotes, of course, follow accepted and well-established practice, but the quotes from the respondents required special treatment. The first time a respondent is quoted in a chapter, a full reference is given, including tribe, place of origin [a pseudonym], and years at Shingwauk. In any following quotes, only the substitute name is mentioned, and the reader is invited to refer back to remind him or herself of more information. This will serve to make the flow of the text more amenable to all.

All personal communications quoted in this thesis are taken from these transcripts, as generated by the researcher from the audiotape interviews. The original tapes, together with 3 1/2" floppy discs, and a detailed transcript of each tape, including any subsequent revisions, are available through the Shingwauk Collection, at Algoma University College, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. As long as a researcher demonstrates that he or she contemplates a serious need to have access to such materials, they will be released by the librarian or curator in charge of the Shingwauk Collection.

Overview of the Thesis

Chapter One has provided a background of the study and outlined the methods used to help gather the data and make sense of it.

Chapter Two examines the theme of "Journeys", physical as well as philosophical. There were, for example, the obvious physical distances that kept many people apart from their families; however, there were philosophical journeys to be incorporated in the Shingwauk experience as well. The cultural differences made many of the respondents feel they had been transported to a different world, or plane of existence. The methods of educating children were not the same; the regimen demanded by Euro-Canadian culture, including clocks, timetables and routines, was

unknown to the Native people; the work, both in type and form, was not the same; the rules and punishment practices to encourage conformity to the society were not similar; and, with the presence of a large number of those of another race, relationships of some kind with members of the dominant Euro-Canadians had to be made.

In Chapter Three, the theme of "Losses" is the subject. This theme focusses on the loss of Culture. This includes family, language, and traditions. But is this all that is meant by the term "culture"? Many definitions for this term have been suggested, such as "the beliefs, ideas, language, institutions and procedures which characterize a specific community" (Collins et al, 1973, p.52), and "the way of life, manners and customs of a group..." (Barrow & Milburn, 1990, p. 81). For the purposes of this thesis, we can think of "culture" as the glue that holds a society together. Among many others, it has several components: traditions, family, and language. What few traditions the respondents recall were subject to racist comments by some staff, and examples of this were far more numerous in the data that were collected. It is the loss of any traditions, and it is the denigration of considerable culture, according to the respondents, that we have interpreted here as "racism". There were those staff at Shingwauk that saw these losses and strove to make up for them. Yet there were also those who exacerbated the problem.

Chapter Four deals with the theme of "Needs". Some of the needs of children clearly were addressed, such as the need for proper sleep, but other needs were lacking. From the perspective of the informants, the need for proper nutrition, for example, was reportedly not met. Others, such as the need for exercise, and proper health care, were inconsistently, and often inadequately, delivered. Many respondents reported that emotional needs were unlikely to be met, and the efforts to meet the spiritual needs of the children sometimes were misdirected, and ineffective. For instance, the effort to "church" the children often had the effect of turning individual children away from organized religion.

**Chapter Five provides a synthesis of my findings and the conclusions reached.
Recommendations for further research also are included.**

CHAPTER TWO

Journeys

Introduction

One of the major themes identified in the interviews of the respondents is that of *Journeys*. This theme not only includes the physical journeys of travelling *to* and *from* Shingwauk, but also is coupled with the journey *through* Shingwauk that these residents of the school experienced during their years in attendance. This section of the thesis is divided into several parts, each outlining one aspect of this experience of *Journeys*: First, there is the physical journey from the culture of their birth to the culture of Shingwauk, the “big” city of Sault Ste. Marie, and the ways of the “white man”. Secondly, the children’s journey *through* Shingwauk is described, and thirdly, the physical journeys the children took when they left the culture of Shingwauk, specifically and, often, Euro-Canadian society generally, are described from the viewpoint of the informant recollections. These journeys address several sub-themes.

Each of these three *journeys* will be dealt with in three parts: first, the informants’ journeys will be described, according to their testimony. Next, analyses, combined with what commentators have said about similar experiences will be examined to determine what is similar across the experiences and what is different. Finally, my conclusions based on what was told me and my analyses will be summarized.

To Shingwauk

Each of the respondents travelled by car or train to Shingwauk. What was this journey like for these children? What emotions did they feel? What new experiences awaited them on the trip? How did they feel when they arrived at Sault Ste. Marie and came to the Shingwauk *Home*? What

were their first impressions of Shingwauk? Each of the seven respondents tells a personal story: some bitter, some poignant, some frankly alarming. Some of their experiences reveal a system that worked reasonably well; others show staff not at their best. This section is about the first impressions that these children had of Shingwauk, and, for some, the residential school system as a whole. This theme is organized under four sub-headings: a) the reasons they came to Shingwauk, b) preparations made or not made, c) the journey itself, and d) arrival at Shingwauk.

The reasons they came to Shingwauk

First, what reasons did the respondents give when they were asked why they were sent to Shingwauk? Several respondents cited poverty. Lucy Major (Ojibwa, West Island, 1929-1939) reported “[W]e were sent there because we were poor” (personal communication, June 17, 1995). Donna Campbell (Iroquois, Kingsville, 1940-1946) put it this way: “They were so poor they couldn’t afford us. Things were very very hard” (personal communication, July 19, 1995). Poverty was also the underlying motive for David Wood’s (Cree, Princeton, 1954-1957) father. Lack of finances was complicated by the need for his children to be cared for while he worked on the trapline. “He [DW’s father] didn’t have nobody to look after us in the wintertime” (personal communication, January 4, 1996).

It is interesting to note Connie’s (Cree, Morrisville, 1938-1946) response: her father misunderstood. He agreed to send his children because of the name of the school: “He thought they were going to teach us all Native ways, eh?” (personal communication, June 16, 1995).

They used the name ‘Shingwauk’, an Indian name, eh? ... But there was nothing ever shown us there about Native ways So, the government was pretty smart, I think. Yeah. How ... they cheated all the parents.

Donna Campbell, unlike many others, arrived at Shingwauk eager and willing and excited, because she was going to high school. “[W]hen I finished my grade school in [my home

community], I wanted to go on to improve myself... I wanted to go to high school and so I said to my father, ... 'Why don't you send me to Shingwauk?' I went -- because I asked to go." How did she know about Shingwauk, far away from her family home? "My [siblings] all went, you know." Was there no local school she might have attended? Here a form of racism intrudes. The school system of the 1940s kept Native children separate from Euro-Canadian children. "They weren't accepting Native children into high schools off the reserve[s] anywhere and there weren't any on the reserve[s] so ... they had to send [us] away."

Maynard Cook (Cree, Mistassanie, 1952-1956) also saw racism as the underlying motive behind Shingwauk and other Residential Schools when he was asked why he was sent to Sault Ste. Marie: "The only reason why we were in those schools was because we were Indian" (personal communication, January 6, 1996).

Preparations made or not made

Respondents had a wide variety of stories to tell concerning the preparations made and not made when they left home to travel to Sault Ste. Marie. For some, it was a long journey. For some, it was exciting. For others, leaving home was a traumatic incident, full of confusion, misunderstanding, and tears.

Lucy Major was one of the latter. She was confused and totally misunderstood the import of the occasion:

I didn't even know I was going anyplace. Just one day ... the Indian Agent came over and I remember my mother running around, and cleaning us up, ... changing our clothes

Sally Bowman (Ojibwa, Watford, 1954-1964) had a troubled home life. At a young age she already had been taken from her natural parents and put into emergency foster care. It seems, once she was old enough, the decision was made to take her to Shingwauk. The move was done

briskly, perhaps with the thought that quick action would help her make the necessary adjustments.

As will be seen, the plan did not quite work. Action, in fact, was so quick that some very primary needs were forgotten:

Well, I remember them waking me up to get me gone. I didn't even eat at that foster home [and] I remember being hungry on the way up from [a northern city] And I didn't eat all that time when I came at the school, either, because I was in that corner [see below] And then when I went upstairs, well, my sisters gave me what ... we used to call dog biscuits. (personal communication, December 2, 1995)

It seems no-one in charge of this situation thought to see that she was fed.

In fact, miscommunication was the order of the day. Admittedly, Sally was 6 years old when she was taken from the foster home; Sally may have misunderstood and may not remember exactly what she was told. But, somewhere along the line, someone gave her the impression that leaving her mother was her (Sally's) idea.

[T]hey took me out of that foster home and we just seemed to be driving endlessly.... I kept saying, '... When am I going to see my mom?' And I guess apparently, what I learned later, ... they told my mother that I wanted to go to school, that that was my choice, and they brought me here to Shingwauk.

If miscommunication were not at the heart of this situation, which later evolved into painful trauma for Sally, then outright lies were. And some of those lies may have been from the lips of people in a position of authority.

The journey

If leaving home was a memorable experience for the children, the journey to Shingwauk was often noteworthy and reportable in interviews with researchers. Lucy Major found it good fun, largely because she had no idea of the import of the moment:

I was excited, because I'd never been in a car, and he had a big car. And there was a couple of other children in the car. And we were going someplace. But I didn't know I was going for good.... I thought I was just going for a ride.

Lucy had never been in cars before, and never on such an extended trip. "I enjoyed the ride, because... I'd never been in a car that long." The Trans-Canada Highway had not been completed, so their trip was through Michigan. The man in charge of these children, unlike the official in charge of delivering Sally Bowman, remembered to feed them along the way. "And we ate in a restaurant on the way to the school. I'd never been in a ... restaurant in my life."

Donna Campbell travelled by train from her home. "I was a bit excited about going ... I was never on a train before." Another student, Maynard Cook, also no longer a child, as he was 12 years old, and already had attended two residential schools in northern Ontario, similarly arrived by train. However, he was treated differently, it seems, than Donna. Maynard Cook would have felt better about Shingwauk and Sault Ste. Marie if he had been more informed.

I came by train.... Yeah, I remember that. That was quite an experience. They shipped me from [Mistassanie]. They never told me where I was going.... They put me on a train at Moose Factory, and told me I was going someplace.

Maynard got the distinct impression that he was a nuisance and a bother. His journey and experiences were different than those of Donna: "Yeah. He put me on the train and he told me where to change. Now, someone met me in North Bay, I forget the person's name, now. And they had a big sign."

David Woods' experience appears similar to Maynard's and Lucy's: he was totally unprepared for the trip and had no part in the decision. At 6 years old, he also had no idea where he was going. "No, I didn't know that I was going anywhere I just thought we were going on a holiday or something. That's what I thought."

The arrival

What were the children's first impressions when they arrived at Shingwauk? Again, experiences were mixed, but often the first impression was not a good one, and sometimes included

hardship and trauma that negatively affected the remainder of their lives. For Lucy, the first day was not frightening and she remembers very little: "We arrived at night and they put us to bed."

Donna was met and had positive feelings when she arrived: "And I remember them meeting me at the station... I knew what kind of school it was, (to a certain degree) ... All I could think of was the fact that I was going to school ... and that I would be educated, I would learn something. And that was important."

Maynard remembers feeling "strange" for awhile after he arrived: "You're 12 years old when you get in and you don't know where the hell you're going or how the hell you got there ...". We understand now that the phenomenon experienced by Maynard and others is "culture shock". Of course, this is a modern term and certainly would not have meant anything to Maynard or any of the children who recalled their feelings at the interviews. Sault Ste. Marie, not a large city by world standards, certainly seemed big to Maynard and others: "When I got ... to Sault Ste. Marie from Moose Factory [it] was like going to New York City." Not only was Sault Ste. Marie the largest town Maynard had ever seen, but the building which housed Shingwauk was also impressively big: " ... when I first seen Shingwauk, I thought it was a monastery or something like that ... because the school in Moose Factory was just a two-story ... wood building.... We had nothing like that up there."

One interesting factor about culture shock is that it is difficult to anticipate. Even if we understand the phenomenon, and even if we have experienced it before with a different culture, it is almost impossible to prepare ourselves for the changes we will experience. Maynard, of course, had seen pictures, perhaps even films, of farm animals and fields of crops. But it did not prepare him adequately for the surprise of seeing the real things.

And then ... the farm. I became very intrigued with the ... animals [and] I guess this was the first time I'd seen a stand of corn, how corn grew. And [many] of the things that we were eating from the garden I'd never seen before. I'd seen [them], but I'd never really seen

how [they were] grown and stuff like that.

Although Maynard was impressed and unsettled by the size of the city and Shingwauk Hall, he knew it for what it was. At the age of 6, Sally Bowman was not so sure:

We came up that way [by the church]. And I was looking and it was like ... you know how you read in the fairy tale? And I said, 'Oh, no! I'm going to the giant's castle!' Because ... to me it was so huge.

Walter Brooks (Cree, Wawanosh, 1960-1962), who was 13 when he arrived, still felt the "fish out of water" phenomenon that is typical of the victim of culture shock. He also spoke of his discomfort and his apprehensions, like the others. "When I first arrived here, I wasn't too happy though. I felt ... I don't belong in this area, maybe I should go back home" (personal communication, August 19, 1996).

Fortunately for him and his education, because he knew he could give up and go back to Washkagenish, there were about half a dozen others from his previous school on James Bay who were familiar to him. Walter had a positive outlook on life and overcame his feelings. As a result, he now has a well-paying job and an easy-going disposition. What kept him at Shingwauk? Perhaps guidance from his family, and especially the example provided by the lifestyle of his father:

Well, [when I] first arrived... I liked the city life.... My dad, ... I seen him trap, but [it was] a lot of hard work, really hard work. I don't know if I could ever live through that. I said. Think I'm going to try just going to school, try to get as much education as I could, you know.

Analysis of the experiences

Lucy, Donna and David all cited family poverty as the overriding factors for their attendance at Shingwauk. Connie seems to have gone to Shingwauk due to a misunderstanding. Maynard is convinced that racism was the motivating factor for his placement in the residential schools system. Donna chose to go to Shingwauk, but also seems to have been a victim of racism.

Attending Shingwauk was the only way she could attend high school.

Preparations seem to have been minimal for most of the respondents. Lucy remembers her mother rushing to prepare her but had no idea she was going away. David also was not properly informed, if at all. Sally is a special case, in the hands of authorities, but was also rushed away with little or no preparation when she was taken from her foster home in Sudbury at a very early age.

Miller (1996) blames Ottawa for the oftentimes over-enthusiastic recruitment efforts of Indian agents and school principals. By 1892, the new industrial schools were costing the taxpayers far too much money. A new financing formula was called for. Against cries of protest from administrators already operating on shoestring budgets, a new per capita system came into effect in July 1893. This meant that enrollment as close to capacity as possible was vital. Although many costs, such as foodstuffs and clothing, varied according to the number of children resident at the school, other costs were fixed, such as heating and insurance. "Any principal who permitted a school to fall significantly below its pupillage for any length of time found the institution accumulating a deficit and attracting disapproving attention from head office" (p. 128). This had the effect of principals using their influence to gain more pupils, and at any age. Also the principals were not encouraged to graduate more pupils than absolutely necessary. Financing became more important than schooling.

Donna was older and fully cognizant of all the circumstances, and took a suitcase of personal effects and clothes she had bought, as well as some money she had earned. Walter similarly understood all that was happening, as did Maynard. All three already were students in "The System".

Lucy, Donna and David enjoyed the trip, were excited about the car or the train, and had positive memories to relate. Their doubts and apprehensions came later. Maynard felt a sense of

helplessness and saw himself as a bother to all concerned.

When they arrived at Shingwauk, some of the respondents commented on the "culture shock" they experienced. Maynard and Walter saw this as the most important first impression they experienced. Maynard and Sally both remarked on the size and power of the building, though Sally saw it through the eyes of a young girl and she describes it in terms of Euro-Canadian culture. Lucy has limited memories, as she arrived at night.

The awe, shock, and surprise that many respondents felt concerning their first views of the city and Shingwauk Hall was not a unique experience among newcomers to residential schools. Miller (1996) writes: "It was common for first-time students to be apprehensive and uncertain upon their arrival at an imposing and alien structure" (p. 262).

Walter had the sense to note that the strong economy of the city, the luxuries and conveniences available in the urban environment, were not there for him at his home, just as such amenities were not there for his father in Wawanosh. At a young age, he made the decision, to "stick it out" and persevere. This was later reinforced by some of his peers and also by staff who listened to his concerns and made suggestions for him to continue his education.

Conclusions

The initial experiences of the children who were interviewed for this project varied considerably. Although many felt they were sent to Shingwauk simply because they were poor or Indian, not all the respondents felt that way. Some were unceremoniously pulled from their homes, without explanation; others were informed and participated in the decision process.

Some of the respondents had an exciting travel experience; others saw the journey as worrying and traumatic. Their impressions of the city and the school building varied. Younger children were impressed by the size, older children did not report this. Some of the smaller children,

who had not yet experienced a formal education system, found the beginnings of their life at Shingwauk difficult and challenging.

Through Shingwauk

In this section, questions about the respondents' journeys through Shingwauk will be addressed. How quickly did the children fit in when they first arrived? What memories of their schooling remain for them? How were the children supervised? What rules did they remember and how did these change over the decades? What punishments were there for rules that were broken? How do the informants recall the vocational education they received and chores they had to do? Were these regarded positively or negatively in their recollections? How were they treated by staff and by other children already there? Were staff helpful or not as they journeyed through Shingwauk? Were their relationships with the Euro-Canadian culture and representatives from it positive or negative?

First day experiences

In the day that followed her arrival, loneliness for Lucy was a dominant theme and is a significant memory: "I didn't know anybody." Sally Bowman's traumatic first day was due partly to her difficult background.

I don't remember too much about going in.... All I remember was ... I was in a corner because ... whoever took me in, she said to me, 'You wait right here.' And she went in this door. And I was standing in the corner, and I put my face in the corner and I started to cry. I was so petrified.... I had my head like this [covering her eyes with her hands] in the corner and my eyes covered and I was just crying away. And all of a sudden I heard all this chit-chat 'Who's that? who's that?' And I turned around and I seen oh, tons of faces. Like, if you're raised with say, [a family with] only two, and you only see your own family, every once in a while, ... there's not a lot of people.... And all [these] strangers and they're all looking at you, and they all have these, what I call little German helmets haircuts.

The hairstyle that all the young girls received, with straight bangs and a straight cut all

around the head, gave them the appearance, according to Sally, of miniature WWII German soldiers. The terror of this initial experience was compounded by the number of unfamiliar faces of the children and their strange haircuts.

So ... then that really set me off because ... they all looked alike and they all looked at me and I couldn't differentiate ... and I just started to go berserk. I started to really cry. So then I heard someone come down [and] they say, 'Who is that?' And I guess the older girls, [who] had their dorm upstairs, ... had come down and I remember that they were trying to pull me out of the corner.... I heard someone say ... 'That's my sister!'

Finally, someone in authority decided that bending the rules might be appropriate under these circumstances.

So they allowed me to go ... upstairs with the older girls, [which] was not usually allowed. Because if you were senior or intermediate, you were separated from the juniors.... And if you were sisters ... they separated you, like. So I went up and my older sisters were there and I had cousins there too. And they calmed me down [and I] got used to it. And then they ... told me what would happen.

And they said you're going to go downstairs and meet all the little girls I could go play with But they didn't tell me some of the things that I was going to go through. They didn't think, I guess, at that time it was important. So I settled in a little bit and they took me downstairs after...

I remember ... the lady coming to talk to me, and she was talking away and she said 'I want you to sit here'. And there's this stool. It must have been ... really high. It looked like I needed a ladder to get up on to that stool, and she said 'I want you to sit here'. And I sat there and she said, 'We have to cut your hair.' I had long hair ...

In fact, Sally had long hair because it never had been cut in her life. It can be argued that cutting the hair, and the concomitant use of a delousing wash, were procedures designed to safeguard the health of all the children. Some of them had come from poor families, after all, and it was widely believed that lice and other parasites were prevalent in the homes of families of low socio-economic background. However, racism again rears its head in a different form when we consider the testimony of Donna Campbell, who had arrived 12 years earlier, at the age of 13.

And I had longer hair. My hair was quite neat. [But] when I arrived, they didn't cut my hair. And every other kid that arrived there would have to go and ... have their hair cut, and have to be sent to the showers ...

Why was she exempted? Could it be that it was because Donna does not look native? She has blonde hair, light skin and Caucasian features. As it turned out, Donna's schoolmates noted the special treatment she received from the staff, and turned against her because of it. "So right away, I was not a very popular kid, believe me."

Let us continue with Sally's narrative:

She was just brushing my hair, and I thought she was just going to braid it, or something, because that's ... why you sit quietly.... And when she took them scissors, you could just hear them, snip! snip! And that was it. And there was like shock when you see her holding your hair. And then she came and she said hold still and then she started cutting the bangs. And I got that German helmet haircut. That's what you used to call it And she said to me now ... we have to put some stuff in, I don't know what it was, Koalla? [Coal oil?] The stuff for bugs?

Sally's experience of the loss of her hair was standard procedure at Shingwauk at this time, as it was at all residential schools, but for Sally it was unexpected. She continues "Then I went bad. Then I really went crazy. But I couldn't jump off the [stool]; it was too high." The process worked. She saw the writing on the wall, and although she could not read it, she instinctively understood its meaning. An institution is not a home, no matter what its name. The result? "And then ... I just observed whatever everybody else was doing. Then I started doing everything ..." She buried her feelings, accepted her lot in life, and learned not to complain.

Some of the other respondents also found that their first experiences with Shingwauk staff were not the most friendly. Maynard arrived at Shingwauk during the time that Reverend Douglas Wickenden (1948-1954) was the principal. Perhaps the Reverend was having a bad day. In any case, Maynard did not have a good impression of this principal, from the moment they met at the station.

And Wickenden wouldn't speak very much, he ... sat in the car, he wouldn't answer any questions and he took me there. And then when I got up there, ... he took me in the dormitory and it was all [English].... No-one spoke my language.

Running through several of the interviews from these children is the theme of

institutionalization. Maynard's experience is the first of these moments. He and others felt strongly, especially after later they had a closer, more immediate experience of jail, that Shingwauk was more of an institution than a home during this era. Actually, says Maynard, it was

... not a welcome but an orientation, like being admitted to jail: ... Wickenden, he explained the rules of the institution.... It ... was like a ... you know, I've been thrown in jail once or twice when I was younger, like for hell-raising and stuff like that: gettin' thrown in jail overnight. And it was basically the same type of orientation. You know, 'I'm in charge here and these are the rules' [And] you got a number.

Schooling

Very few of the respondents had memories of their schooling. Connie Walters is the only respondent of the seven that had significant memories to share, even though a specific question concerning their schooling experiences was used early in the interview. This may be because for many of them, attendance in class was only for half a day. The other half day involved "vocational training" through doing chores.

Connie was perhaps an excellent worker in the laundry; however, she did not shine in the classroom. Did the teachers take the time to help her with her struggle? She feels they neglected her, for whatever reason:

Some of [my classmates] were smart.... But I was one of the slow ones. And ... I used to always want some help ... but they never had time for me.... They used [to] help just the ones that, that was smart ... [and] faster than I was.

She received more support from her peers than from anyone else. Today, much effort and expertise is expended in our schools to meet the special needs of children with problems. It was not always this way. Connie's experience was possibly not unlike that of many children in the Euro-Canadian schools of the time:

Spelling ... and reading, I didn't do very good ... because I used to stutter a lot at that time. I ... really, really stuttered bad. And I really [didn't] understand these things, because [my stuttering] was so bad.... It used to take me a half-hour to say one word sometimes.

Connie's unaddressed special need, her stuttering, made her learning in the classroom difficult, if not impossible. But the topics of study, especially in History, were not especially relevant anyway.

The curriculum, of course, at this time, was much the same as that used in other schools across Canada. It included themes that had as its central aim the glorification of the British Empire. For Euro-Canadian children this was becoming more and more irrelevant. But for Native children it was doubly so: Connie reminds us:

We never took very much of Canadian history, eh? ... I know a [lot] more about ... British history than Canadian history. [And] we had to remember all the dates [in] British history, [and] all the kings and queens, oh!, we learned them all... But hardly [anything about] our history....

Supervision

And what about supervision and control? Close supervision, not only of the girls themselves, but also of what they saw and heard, was the order of the day. Lucy reports that "we had to stay with the matron, maybe an hour or so we'd take these walks up the road." For instance, in the 1930s, Lucy's life and habits were strictly controlled. She feels today that she was far too sheltered as a young girl:

We weren't able to do anything bad, we, we never smoked.... These magazines ... I think [the pages that had been torn out] were liquor ads maybe or cigarette ads.... I didn't know anything about beer or whiskey and cigarettes. We didn't see anybody smoking. And ... I never seen a glass of beer or a bottle of wine...

And Lucy was more than adequately protected from her Native "lasciviousness". (The belief that Native females were more than usually sexually active was widespread at this time.) There was not much in the way of suggestive movies produced in the 1930s, compared to what is common fare in the 1990s, but Lucy is sure that their entertainment was carefully censored: "Once in a while we went to the ... show. But ... I think the principal must have went the night before, because it was only a Shirley Temple and Seven Dwarfs. We never seen any of the other types of

movies.” Another entertainment medium available to Lucy in the depression years was radio, but strictly limited by the staff: “Just that we didn't hear the radio. Except these programs on Sunday night [Charlie McCarthy and Jack Benny].” And newspapers? “And we didn't get the newspaper. If we did, we'd only get what they wanted us to see.”

Even going into town and shopping was strictly controlled, as if the staff did not want to risk the possibility that some outside influence might ruin their work. “Sometimes your parents would send you money, but if they sent us money, the matrons would go and they'd ask you, ‘What do you want?’ They'd buy it for you. We didn't go and spend it ourselves.”

Connie Walters speaks angrily when she talks about the control that the staff had over her young life: “... their way, their way, all the time.... It was always their way, their way, their way all the time.”

Lucy's experiences, and Connie's anger, contrast considerably with those of another respondent, who attended much later. David gives evidence that perhaps the close overseeing of the children that Lucy experienced and that Connie disliked so intensely, was not a bad idea. David says that although their lives were tightly controlled most of the time, it was not the case on the weekends, so that discipline and order were left to the children, and some rules were ignored. “We only had one supervisor on the weekend. There was nobody else looking after all the guys.... Everybody went haywire on the weekend! Yeah.” There may have been strict rules regarding the separation of girls and boys and close supervision of activities. But, for whatever reason, David says, “... on the weekend we used to go over and visit all the girls.”

Rules

Discipline never strayed far, in general, from the norms evident in Euro-Canadian educational systems. But perhaps there was an undue emphasis on control and conformity at

Shingwauk. In any case, let us use the words of the respondents to trace the development of the policy on rules at Shingwauk through the decades covered by this project. In addition, we will note what changes we can find concerning the resistance exhibited by the children to the rules under which the children were raised and schooled.

Connie Walters remembers that there were many rules to keep in mind from day to day: "There was lots of them, I think." Protests by the children against too many rules and the punishments that went with them were limited; but many did what they could. Connie was one of those who joined in to remind staff that some rules were unwelcome among the children:

I remember when that ... song first came out ... I think it was Roy Rogers made that song, *Don't Fence Me In?* Oh! ... I never forgot that song. We used to go around and around in circles, singing that song. We made sure ... the matrons heard us, eh? Singing, don't fence me in! We used to reach a certain spot and just shout it, *Don't Fence Me In!*

Donna Campbell also remembers the rules: "Well, the rules were ... very strict. We... got up very early in the morning and we had to go to bed at certain times. I remember even the senior girls ... were in bed by nine o'clock."

Maynard Cook had plenty to report about the rules he had to live by. For one, there were many rules that he felt were made without much consideration for the children. "Well, the rules in themselves, I mean, they were very arbitrary." There were some regulations, for instance, that restricted communication between boys and girls. But, how could the staff expect the seniors, who were attending high school, to maintain silence between boys and girls, when they were perfectly free to talk once they had gone to school? "Rules were made that ... were silly. I mean ... boys that were going to high school [and were] residents there, that were 16, 17, 18 years old some of them and [they had] to be in bed at nine o'clock at night, or nine-thirty."

When children, especially those of teenage years, see the sense in a rule, they comply more readily; conversely, if they cannot see the reason for it, a regulation becomes arbitrary and

vindictive. Maynard reports:

You had ... the high school boys at this end and the high school girls at the far end of the dining room.... They say, 'You [can't] talk if you meet in the hall and stuff.' Yet ... you have a classroom designated for homework. There each night you'd sit there, [and] you could communicate in there. They put you on a bus and they sent you up to the high school ... every day. You could communicate there but when you got back to the school, these artificial barriers ... were there. And you weren't supposed to communicate with the girls.

Certainly, as Maynard points out, the staff were unprepared, in more ways than one, to deal with teenagers who were attending school elsewhere in the city. And they were slow to make the adjustment and change the rules. When it came time to update, they had difficulty being flexible.

One very distressing example of the inflexibility of staff, and the controlling aspect of the rules policy, concerned the scheduling of hockey practices. Maynard and his friends shone in athletics. They tried out for the Soo Major Hockey Association and were accepted. This might have been an opportunity for Maynard and other adolescents to excel, build self-esteem, and therein find reason to cooperate more with the staff and administration at Shingwauk. But the rigidity of the rules, and the over-riding importance of religion at the school at this time, precluded anything else, including hockey. The staff had an opportunity to help Maynard and his friends and they let this chance slip through their fingers: "Because of the regulations, and [the fact that] the hockey teams practised on a Sunday ... they wouldn't let us go."

It is not surprising that Maynard and his friends, being young teens and attending the local high school, became more and more troublesome at Shingwauk. "We started breaking the rules. We just about drove Phillips crazy the last year we were there." Maynard showed his dislike of the rules by ignoring them, and causing trouble for the administration. But David Woods and his friends used a variety of means developed to skirt the rules and he enjoyed relating them. For instance, Reverend Phillips tried to maintain some control over the boys' slingshots. But he made

the mistake of developing a routine that the boys soon exploited: "Everything was done on a Sunday. He'd [Reverend Phillips] break all the slingshots; we'd all have to cooperate; I give him my scrappiest slingshot; I'd have all the good ones, [and] leave them hidden outside. Yeah."

Another rule David disliked was one concerning the food he was served at mealtimes. Staff obviously had trouble getting David to finish eating what was on his plate. Their method of solving this problem was to wait him out. But he anticipated them:

But you had to sit there and eat it. But I was smart, I used to spit it out, [and] pile it inside the cups, you had to pile up the cups, send them all down the other end. That's what I used to do to get out or I'd be sitting there forever.

Another ploy, familiar to ersatz Huck Finns everywhere, was to pretend illness. "Some guys would play sick, because they got tired of that routine. They'd play sick sometimes, sometimes twice a month."

David was involved in other activities as well. At Shingwauk, as at other venues, note-passing was common practice. David describes how it was done when he was there:

[The girls] used to work in the kitchen. We used to pass notes, through the kitchen. [The] older boys ... used to send ... some smaller guys We'd pretend we were playing alleys over there by the kitchen, eh? But we're not, we were handing notes through ... to the girls, eh?

In fact, it seems, David was used by older boys and girls for some highly unauthorized covert operations because of his small stature. These undercover operations involved cooperation and communication between the girls in the kitchen and the boys on the farm. The farm, it will be recalled, was still in operation at this time, and poultry was raised. In order to supplement their meals, it seems some of the children raided the hen house. The school, as David reports, "had a chicken coop. We used to go out, I was the smallest guy that used to go out through that hole for the chickens on the weekend." The fresh chicken would be dressed and seasoned somewhere in the considerable expanse of bush behind the property. "We'd go back away from the houses and cook

it! We'd get all the stuff from ... the girls, from the kitchen. We'd just tell them what we needed.

They took it out somehow."

What else can we discover concerning this theme of rules from the respondents? Sally

Bowman remembers the Shingwauk rules clearly. She remembers especially their negative nature:

"Lot of don'ts, eh?" As well, she remembers some rules more specifically:

Well, ... there was don't (what do you say?) fraternize with your sisters. No fighting, that type of thing. I think for general rules we had: Do your chores. Make sure you do your chores or you'll be punished, type of thing.... Be on time. No crying. No talking.... We couldn't leave the yard. We couldn't talk to the boys. We couldn't go on that side. You couldn't talk to one another.

The rules that separated siblings were ones that often were skirted or circumvented by the children.

Sally reports how her sister was able to help her, even though she was not supposed to have

contact. "I'm thankful I had my sister there because she intervened.... She would tell one girl ... 'if you bother my sister', she goes, 'Well, I'll have to do something.' "

Sally remembers, with amusement, a time that some schoolmates misbehaved; it seems that quite a network of older and younger children were involved:

The senior girls would come down [and] they were making hooch.... They would steal oranges and other stuff.... I don't know how they communicated with the boys but I remember you could smell the smell. [They'd say], 'What's that?' And the girls got caught! ... And it was in our cubby-hole! ... How in the heck did we ever get in there? Three of us, all stuck in there. Little girls used to go in there underneath that landing and make that stuff, eh? ... I think my sister was one of them, I think that was in the hooch gang!

One can only guess how the children were discovered and punished! But, a real and tangible change in all the aspects of this theme can be noted by the time that policy was directed more by the state and less by the church. Walter Brooks remembers a fairly rigorous regimen of rules and regulations:

Well, we had to be in proper time ... for supper, for lunch, or breakfast. You know, we had to get up at certain hours in the morning ... seven o'clock we would get up, then wash. Around eight o'clock we would have breakfast, you know, about half an hour, you're done. Say a little prayers before you eat, and up to when you went to school. And then you got to

be back ... with, if you were riding, you got to come back on the bus, or if you walked.

It will be recalled that Walter attended grades 7 and 8 not at Shingwauk, but at a nearby public school. His education was purchased by the federal government from the province. He boarded at Shingwauk, and was helped in his homework by staff at Shingwauk, but was enrolled at Queen Elizabeth Public School. Walter speaks positively about his experiences regarding discipline and supervision:

So, we ... had a lot of free time after school. Like we could go take a walk, go to Bellevue Park, you know, but if we wanted to go to, like, downtown, go to the show, you have to tell your supervisor [that] you'll be out for supper.... You could do that too.

Walter noticed that he and his friends basked in an atmosphere of trust that they had not noticed before.

They weren't really strict.... [There was] more ... freedom, you could go to the store ... as long as you tell your supervisor where you were going, you know. And the rules, you got to follow the rules. You got to be ... in a certain time. Tell your, your supervisor that you're going to be out so long, a couple of hours, three hours, or if you wanted to go and shovel the snow on somebody's driveway or rake the leaves.... That was good, you know, I did that, I used to save my money.

They were given general guidelines concerning behaviour, not hard and fast strictures designed to curb the spirit and promote rebellion. "The rules, they were not really strict.... And if you eat, you sit around one table there and then not to make too much noise or hassle around." Note that Walter reports that he was told "... not to make too much noise or hassle around" the dinner table. There is room here for understanding, compassion and openness. There is room for discussion, the children can be persuaded that the rule is sensible, or the children have the opportunity to persuade the authorities to consider changing the rule.

The theme of discipline by trust, until that trust is betrayed, figures strongly in Walter's account: "I says, well, the time I was there [in the early 1960s] everything seemed to be not that much hard on us. And the supervisor always trusted us, seemed like he trusted us where we were

going.” Contrast this with the total lack of trust that Lucy experienced years earlier.

Punishment

Lucy Major mentions a typical punishment for small offences in her day:

Oh, sometimes [we got a] slap on the hands [with] a stick, you know the pointer they used in the classroom. And that hurt. Sometimes, just waving [it] at us, waving the stick at us was punishment enough. To scare you.

Connie confirms this: when children misbehaved, “they’d get spanked.”

Connie also remembers how physical and frequent the punishment was and is convinced that she has a lasting physical impairment because of the violence she was subjected to. “[You] didn’t see when they hit you here [on the side of the head]. That’s why ... my ears are bad.... What they used to call boxing ears.”

When Donna talks about punishment, for her it was not as common and physical as it was with Connie and Lucy. Instead, it often took more of the form of humiliation: “There was usual punishment for that, like getting your hair shaved off...” Even this form of punishment by humiliation was mitigated somewhat, as Donna recalls. Before Canon Minchin arrived in 1941, “... they stopped the shaving and replaced this punishment with the short haircut.”

Maynard Cook agrees with Donna that the physical approach to punishment, at least, had gone by the 1940s and 1950s. “The violent part, they [the children] never experienced much of that in Shingwauk.” If persuasion and threats did not work, and humiliation did not suffice, physical punishment could still be used as a last resort: “... and also you could get the strap.” But, says Donna, “There wasn’t ... any real cruelty by the time I got there.” If physical punishment was no longer common, what measures did the staff resort to in order to maintain discipline? Maynard tells us staff resorted to various forms of “time out” and extra jobs. “They’d just confine you [so] you’d be locked [in] ... We called it ‘C.B.’ eh? - Confined to Barracks.... Or you’d end up scrubbing.” As

Maynard says, they would do whatever they could to humiliate the miscreant: "They were very demeaning, eh? This was all very demeaning.... They wanted to humiliate you."

But, according to David Woods, the era of physical punishment in his day was not quite over. He claims that he witnessed physical and regular punishments meted out by staff. "My chums, they were younger than me ... they always wetted their beds and they used to get beaten every morning. Just 'cause they wet their beds."

Were there other forms of punishment that David saw or suffered? What Maynard refers to as "C.B." was used on David and his friends as well: "If you did something there you'd go to bed without eating [and] I remember some couldn't go outside for two friggin' weeks, sometimes a month. And we used to have work to do."

But this is not to say that the forces of change, in the 1950s and 60s, obvious outside of the Shingwauk property were not felt by the staff and administration at the school. Maynard noticed that things were beginning to loosen up as soon as he arrived, at least for children in his age category and even more when his term there came to an end. "When I came to Shingwauk, changes were happening there. [When] I left in '57, there was quite a [change] coming through and there was more liberal [discipline]."

What were the consequences for Sally if she forgot or ignored a rule? "Course you get used to it [the no-talking rule]. ... You get boinked on the head enough, you know." Sally affirms that physical punishment, arbitrary and frequent, was the norm during her time:

And there was no warning or nothing; if you weren't doing it right, you slopped too much water, or something, it was a bonk on the head.... Or you were grabbed up ... by the scruff of the neck, and 'Do it right!' [And] that was it. You had to [do it].

And, Sally remembers the controlling aspect of the discipline that others mentioned. If abuses occurred, there was no recourse:

If you saw something over there, you didn't have nobody to tell. You couldn't tell [that] I

saw that supervisor grab her on the head or slap her face ... or take this big broomstick and wack the kids across the back. Who are you to tell? You couldn't tell the principal.... [He'd say], get back into your place there, [go and] lay down in the corner and be quiet.... That's why you never spoke. You always felt like your hands were tied.

Aside from arbitrary and casual physical punishment, Sally relates that the time-out method was used: "Talking out of turn. Not bowing your head, you would stand in the corner, kneel in the corner.... I used to hate kneeling in the corner."

Was there any physical punishment meted out during the years Walter attended? "They didn't give them any strapping.... in Shingwauk. But in Moose Factory Residential School, they were different there. They used to give us the strap...." Was it so different at Shingwauk than it had been at Moose Factory, where Walter had been educated up to grade 6? Apparently so:

When I left Moose Factory [my life] changed a lot.... Over here you got ... more freedom.... You could go anywhere, as long as you tell your supervisor where you are going. [And] I liked [going] to the show....

Certainly, according to Walter, physical punishment had been largely replaced by more liberal methods of disciplining:

They just get punishment ... [but] nothing really harsh 'Well you're grounded, you're going downtown at all. You can't even go over here to Bellevue Park.' ... If something serious happens, [they would send them home] 'Cause they got nothing to do with them. Only they was more trouble....

What if there were children who took advantage of the liberal attitude of the staff at that time? What was the result for the individual concerned if a calm and considered request for compliance went ignored? "[T]hey just sent them home, eh." Could he relate some examples?

Older students, like, say, 18 or 19 year -olds. But they were still in Shingwauk, but they went to high school. So they got in trouble with chasing the girls around, or they went to the girls' dormitory. That's why they were sent home. ... They got caught there. Somehow, during the night, they were doing it. They went over there.

Vocational education

The half-day system impacted negatively on many of the children resident at the schools.

Instead of supplementing their education, often it reduced their opportunity to learn in the classroom. Moreover, for many children it was yet one more way to reduce their self-esteem.

Maynard Cook was a victim of the half-day system. "I've always questioned, I've always felt ... short-changed in that area. I only got half an education."

How did this policy change over the decades covered by this study? What did the respondents report from their memories concerning the theme of "labour and learning"?

Boys. What was Maynard's work day like? Naturally, in keeping with the gender-role straightjacket of the time, Maynard worked outdoors.

But I worked outside, most of my time ... in the barn or ... keeping the roads clear. We had a little tractor. [And] we butchered pigs, we butchered three or four pigs every Saturday morning. We had chickens there...

How extensive was the farm at Shingwauk in the 1950s? Apparently it was quite an operation:

They had ... laying hens [and] pigs We sacked potatoes and ... did all the ploughing and the harrowing and the discing and all that.... We had a tractor and we had horses also. And there was [a] pasture for the cows. And [it was] a self-sufficient farm, all run by the boys with Old Fred Moore.... The cows produced milk [for] the school.

How did Maynard feel about working on the farm? For a young, teenage boy, just feeling his strength, it is possible he enjoyed the contact with the animals and the rough, healthy work: "Well, I didn't mind."

But his attitude at the time does not detract from the fact that his education was sadly neglected as far as schooling was concerned. "When you go back and look at it now, like you take that whole ... concept. It was like a forced labour camp, in a sense." Had he been paid for his labour, even in a token manner, considering his age, the argument could be made that the use of his strong back was to strengthen his mind and to mould his attitude.

But even given that the purpose of the labour on the farm might have been to curb or

channel the natural rebelliousness that often coincides with the onset of puberty, the staff and the policy failed. Maynard describes his ideas on this topic. He suggests that the staff at Shingwauk were simply unprepared for the changes in their clientele that the prosperous 1950s left on their doorstep and they were caught in a paradigm that was out of date:

Well, I was one of the ones that rebelled. I just rebelled and we all started rebelling against [them].... But in the 1950s, there was an influx of a lot of the older students that went on to high school.

[P]rior to that, ... when you got to the level of grade eight, you were sixteen years of age ... [and] they just sent you back home [and] that's all they were concerned about. But in my era [because] a lot of us [were] taken at a very young age, in the 1940s, and put in the residential schools ... a lot of us were really only 12 or 13, 14 years of age with, with a grade eight [education]....

So what happened in the end was they ended up with a larger group and an older group of students than they normally had.

When David Woods attended Shingwauk, it may be that the policy of unpaid labour was beginning to change. He was small and only 9 years old when he left, and he had opportunities to earn some spending money. He also mentions that older boys were given the chance to work outside the farm: "You know how all the rest of us used to get our money too, we used to go ... well the bigger guys used to go working, shovelling snow and that...."

So, to be fair, it seems that chances for paid work were available for some children. By the time Walter Brooks arrived, it seems the era of the "forced labour camp" was truly over. Walter had chores to do at the school, but he remembers the ample opportunity he and his friends had to earn pocket money in the neighbourhood.

And other times if you were looking for work [you] tell the supervisor you're looking for work in people's homes. [You can] rake leaves, or shovel the snow. I remember, I used to shovel the snow at this, this lady's place ... she give me a couple of bucks, and a couple of bucks ... that's a lot that time.

Girls. Lucy Major tells us what chores she helped with. "We mended the boys' socks, sewed buttons on that were missing, patching." Lucy continues: "And you graduated.... When you

were young you learned to peel potatoes, great big pail of potatoes, and when you got older, you helped in the kitchen.” The separation of girls and boys was extended to all areas of the day, and all parts of the property: the gender bias in the world of work at that time fitted neatly with the policy that separated the sexes. Lucy continued to acquire domestic skills that had far more to do with cutting costs at the school than with training her to be a housemaid.

We learned to iron.... They might let you iron something flat till you learned to use it. And then when you were real good, then you did all the uniforms, and the white shirts that they wore.

Connie Walters echoes what Maynard comments: she still only received half an education: “We each went to school only half a day. That’s all we went to school.” The other half of her day was child labour: “And the rest of it was work. I remember ... they used to put me on laundry. I used to get up about five-thirty in the morning.”

It would be hard to convince anyone today that Connie was awakened at an early hour in order to improve her education and to give her practice at a useful skill. And what of Connie’s work day? The staff made sure she got her housework done properly, even if her schoolwork was not: “Some of us had to scrub floors, do laundry, cleaning [and] sweep.... Every week, like that.... The place was kept clean, all right.”

Remember, Connie says she was awakened at five-thirty in the morning in order to start her labours not long after. How did this affect her ability to learn? “By the time I ... went to the school there to do some of my schoolwork, oh my goodness I was tired.” Did the staff sympathize with her when she complained she was exhausted?

By the time I got to go [to school] in the afternoon ... we pretty nearly fall asleep, some of us. [The teacher would say] ‘Ah, wake up there! You, you didn’t work that hard [so] just go to bed earlier, that’s all you need!’

Donna Campbell found things in this regard much the same as did Lucy and Connie. She remembers her first day “on the job”:

We only went to school half a day.... In the mornings we had work.... So at six o'clock in the morning I go down to this [laundry room] with all the other girls. And [it was] down in the basement and it was a noisy, noisy room with great big washing machines that were going around and around and around. And there was a spin dryer and they had all the ironing boards.

[The] laundry matron [had] a job for me. She started sort of screaming at me the minute I got in. [She] said I would have to wash ... the boys' socks.... I think the boys used to have to wear their socks about three or four days, or maybe a week since they were limited to one bath a week. And there were these [two] tubs: great big deep tubs ... with all these socks that had been soaking. And [they] all had to be hand-washed, before they got into the laundry, because they were so dirty. [There] was a scrub-board, and she put me to work on these awful socks. That was my job.

What other jobs did she have to do? As Connie says, "the place was kept clean all right":

And they had cement floors so we used to have to scrub ... on our hands and knees. And ... the girls playroom ... had to be scrubbed once a week, the toilets and all that had to be cleaned.... We did everything. I remember having to wash that hallway. [It] had a brown linoleum on it and we used to have to wax it [on our knees].

Once we got into high school ... we didn't have all that harder work to do in the school but we had other chores [that] we did before we left for school, before breakfast. Like we cleaned the auditorium, [the] hallways, ... the staff living room, the principal's office, all that.

In fact, cleaning and scrubbing and waxing form a large part of Donna's memories of Shingwauk, far outweighing her recollections of her classroom work! But, it must be recalled that only some of the labours the children performed were unpaid. Donna spent time on the weekends and summers working as an *au pair*.

The high school girls, they were [in] demand, [and had the] opportunity ... to work outside the school; for example, I worked for the Bishop [during] the whole school year. I worked on weekends. [And] a couple of summers I worked for the Rahilly's out at their camp in Pointe de Chênes..... I cleaned the house, I helped her with the cooking, and they were very nice to me....

I had these influences [which had a] beneficial effect on me, [helping me as I was] growing up. [I was] learning about the outside world, which I would never have learnt at home.

Sally Bowman remembers her workday with some memories that are more light-hearted. Is this an indication that the prosperity of the 1950s was beginning to filter down to Shingwauk and

the children resident there? Rather than mention the overwhelming labours she was forced to endure, she recalls an amusing incident in the kitchen:

They had this big machine that you put potatoes in. You didn't have to peel them by hand. We'd put them in the peeler and by the time we got them out, they were marble-sized! Oh! We had to take them out of there fast and get another bag out because we would have been in deep, deep trouble! But we just wanted to see how - what d'you call it - they were [if you kept them in long]. We kept looking in, this and that, you know, to see how small [they were getting].

So anyways we stuck them out and we asked, 'Are they going to mash these potatoes?' ... So then we put them in the bottom of the pot and put the bigger ones that we did in the next bag. [One of the women staff there] said, 'How many bags did you do?' 'We only did one.' 'Well, how come that bag's over there?' 'Well, that was there [already]!' we said. We didn't want to get into trouble! Omigod ...

Note that a machine is available now, and supervision is casual enough that the girls got away with the heinous crime of wasting an entire bag of potatoes.

By the time children from Shingwauk began attending local schools full-time, the half-day system collapsed. Walter and Donna were pleased to have opportunities to earn money outside of the school.

Staff

Lucy makes a good point when she suggests that many abuses continued at the school because the children had no contact with the outside world. "I don't think they [the federal authorities] knew what was really going on, because we didn't say anything, the pupils didn't say anything. We didn't know that we could." This was just one aspect of the control that was exerted over the children. As we will see, the separation of the children from their families by various means, including the censorship of mail, made it very difficult, if not impossible, to get help to combat any abuse.

An article from *The Sault Daily Star* focusses on the contributions of those who have

chosen a career in the classroom.

What a far-reaching influence has gone out from these good teachers who taught wise lessons within the grey walls of the historic old Shingwauk Home. When the walls of the old building have crumbled and are no more, the fruits of their labours will stand strong and beautiful even as the walls of the new home which they hope to have at a not too distant date. (Peycott, 1934)

Time has told, of course, the truth of this statement. There is no doubt that the influence of all the staff at Shingwauk has gone out and is well-remembered. Whether all the staff could be described as “good teachers who taught wise lessons” is the topic of discussion in this section. Whether the “fruits of their labours” (the students?) still stand “strong and beautiful” is a matter for debate, and opinions vary from alumnus to alumnus. What do the informants recall about the teaching staff?

As helpers. To be fair, it must be agreed that people are people. Some staff, whether they are teachers or nurses, office workers or machinists, mechanics or waitresses, are good at their work and exemplary in their conduct, others are not. Since it is not the purpose of this study to embarrass former staff or their families, pseudonyms, identified with square brackets, will be used for teaching and support staff whenever names are mentioned.

We shall start with the experiences of Lucy Major, a student in the 1930s. She only recalled staff members with fondness. “[Mrs. Innes] was one of the nice matrons. You could ... talk to her. And [later] she said she actually got attached to a lot of the children but she was told she wasn’t to do that.” On this visit, when Lucy was an adult, [Mrs. Innes] told her that once, after she had brought back some gifts from town, she was called into the office for ignoring the “hands-off” directive. Lucy remembers an example of [Mrs. Innes’] refusal to respect the rules:

I know she gave me a ... wee plaque that you put on the wall. I don’t even remember what it said. But, coming from her [and] it was at Christmas. She gave little gifts that maybe cost ten cents each or something.

Another staff member Lucy remembers, gave to her the gift of caring:

One woman [I remember], she even let us sit down. Saw how we were ironing standing up

... and I guess she'd look at us, and notice that we were tired, after ironing, you know, standing up for three or four hours. 'You'd better sit down.' We never had anybody say that to us till she came.

In the 1940s, Donna Campbell attended Shingwauk. She has mostly positive memories of her time there. It will be recalled that Donna was, perhaps, the object of reverse racism. She does not appear native. This fact may have been behind the decision to leave her hair uncut and untreated for lice; it was probably behind the difficult relationship she endured with her schoolmates in the first months after her arrival in 1940. When she relates how she continued to be treated with unusual respect by the staff, the gnawing doubt arises: was she given some privileges because of her appearance? For instance, she was offered job opportunities in the summers for experience and learning. "One summer I worked for the Board of Education in the Soo. I also worked for [Bishop Wright], took care of [his] children ... and I worked there for Mrs. Wright, the Bishop's wife."

Although it has been suggested by some commentators that using native children -- who were unable to travel or unwanted at their homes during the summer months -- as cheap labour, either on farms or in local homes as domestic help, was yet another aspect of the child labour so prevalent in the residential schools themselves, Donna does not see things quite that way. She regards the opportunities she had as positive experiences. "[I worked] during the whole school year, [on] weekends, and a couple of summers. [I] cleaned the house. I helped ... with the cooking, and [I] would never have learnt [that] at home."

It is doubtful that the staff threw such opportunities in her way to take advantage of the chance to get rid of her; nor did those who made use of her look forward to the cheap labour she provided. Certainly Donna does not feel that she was exploited. Quite the contrary: she sees these times and these jobs as growth opportunities, and values them still in that way.

But was she the object of reverse discrimination? Possibly, in fact, likely. But, when she

was sent to Sault Collegiate, the academically oriented high school in Sault Ste. Marie at the time, she does not claim to be the only student from Shingwauk who was sent there instead of to Sault Technical and Commercial High School, the usual destination for grade 8 graduates of Shingwauk. She asserts that this was a change in policy initiated by the Reverend Mr. Minchin (principal, 1941 - 1948):

It was only when Mr Minchin, Reverend Arthur Minchin, came, that the children were encouraged to [attend] the Collegiate, which was the regular high school, where you learnt more academic subjects. And they had a few kids that they started in there.

She remembers the teachers who worked with her in her final year at Shingwauk with fondness. "We had a couple of nice teachers. They treated us well. They were ladies who were really interested in teaching us at that time."

But, when it came to that half of the day devoted to chores, her memories are not so generous. Did they make the work less of a load for the children by helping with some of the scrubbing and cleaning? "No, the staff's responsibilities were to supervise and maintain discipline."

Was she ever treated harshly or mistreated by staff? Not as long as the Reverend Mr. Minchin was in charge: "I was never abused in any way at all. As a matter of fact, ... Reverend Minchin was one of the, I think, best principals that school ever had."

What staff especially did she remember? Several staff she recalled not so much because they were excellent teachers, or because they were efficient, but because they took the time to show that they cared for the girls:

We always had a supervisor that put us to bed. And I recall that some of them took the trouble to maybe read us a story. ... [Mrs. Hill] was really great.... She was the kitchen matron. [She was] quite popular with the girls because she used to ... sit with us and talk to us and maybe tell us stories or read something.... The Girls' Supervisor, who was [Miss Smith] at the time, she was ... also very nice. When we got a little older, in the seniors' dorm, she would let us listen to the radio, Hockey Night in Canada on Saturday Nights, which we all used to look forward to....

Note that the references in this quote use the plural "we" or "us". The following quote is

worthy of special attention as it singles Donna out: "And actually the supervisors were good to me. [They] treated me pretty well." Because of her appearance? Maybe. Or note this part of the interview:

The head matron was very very nice to me.... On Sunday nights she used to invite me to her room. And ... it was sort of quiet time and ... we'd just talk, or she'd talk about some books So, I was a bit of her pet, I think. Which was nice.... Motherly, you know, because we ... didn't have that.

Such special treatment, for whatever reason the head matron had, went a long way towards providing Donna with a positive attitude towards school, work and people. This attitude has since helped her succeed in her chosen field of work.

Some staff went out of their way to help teen girls cope with the expected needs of modern life. Donna reports that Reverend Mr. Minchin's wife, was "very nice."

In our latter years ... she sort of tried to prepare us for how to take care of ourselves, as ladies, when we went out into ... the world ... in public and ... how we were to act ... when we came in contact with the opposite sex, with men, and, and how to take care of ourselves, our personal toilet needs, how to clean ourselves, hygiene....

Maynard attended Shingwauk in the 1950s and recalled some on staff that to him, at least, were qualified to do the job:

We had a little ... Englishman, or a Scotsman, whose name was [Miller]. He was a small man and ... he [had been] in the British Army. And he basically run the [dorm] on a military basis. I remember getting there, and he'd come in the morning and you'd make your bed, and he'd go by it and he'd stand by your bed, and he'd come through like a sergeant on inspections.

Maynard seems to have responded well to the tough, no-nonsense approach that this man represented:

He had that army type of training but he was also very [fair] But he was ... very military [because] he spent four or five years in the British Army, and he was a sergeant. [I] always got along well with him.

David Woods had good memories of one particular staff member: "We had one used to take us out all the time. Out, like down to the water, and down to the waterfront." He and his

friends showed their affection for this person, as children often do, by behaving well. "We were good to him all the time. We didn't do nothing."

Sally Bowman is typical of most of the respondents who were interviewed for this project:

"And the supervisors ... some of them, you know, some of them were awful, yet you had others who were really good." She remembers one in particular with fondness:

I had a German teacher and she was really good to us. [She] would speak to us.... She had an apartment over here ... outside of her room at the school. And she ... was allowed to take a couple of us ... out for Saturday afternoon for a couple of hours.

And she'd take us to her apartment. And she made all her little cookies and she gave us tea, things that ... we didn't get over at the school.... And she used to play piano and do all those things there and ... she'd sing, sing to us in her native tongue.

And she used to like us to brush her hair, eh? And she used to be angry because we all had to get our hair cut and everything. And we used to like brushing her hair and she'd get us to braid her hair.... And we liked the colour of it because it was silver and gray, and she always put it up in a bun.

I used to remember her, [Mrs. Kincaid? Kincaid], I think her name was. Very nice lady. ... She was ... good to me. Everybody ... in the class loved her.

Some of the staff cared for the children and their conditions to the extent that they took sides with the children against the administration:

I remember the first year we had a negro lady. She was hired and ... she was really upset because of the food we were served and the food the staff was served. And [because] we were servants, we had to ... lay the table out, and it had to be just so. And they had choice of foods and things like that. And she just thought our food should [have] a little bit more choice ... in fruits, and stuff like that....

Sally tells of another teacher who helped her in her personal development:

And [Miss Brown]? She taught us Music. And I didn't like singing, or croaking along.... I wasn't meant for singing or learning music. But she was ... pleasant enough. [She] played piano, and that was kind of soothing. I always loved the piano, you know, to hear a song. So that made it tolerable when I went to her class, 'cause I loved the sound of music. I didn't like singing and stuff we had to get all ready for them ... pageants. .

In spite of the fact that Sally was not musical, and disliked the pageants the children presented, this woman made it seem like fun. She speaks well, also, of some of the non-teaching

staff:

The women that worked in the laundry, a couple of them that worked in the kitchen, [they] loved us. You know, they wanted to do things for us. They snuck in little gifts.... You were one of their favourites [although] they tried to have no favourites.... A little something for that one this week, and [something for that one next week], and if they could, they'd have candies, that type of thing for everyone. You knew they cared about you.

And that, as any childcare worker, or teacher, knows, says it all. Sally knew they cared about her.

Walter Brooks was housed at Shingwauk, but was taught at Queen Elizabeth Public School. Yet staff were still ready to assist in his education when he returned "home".

We'd be going to home study after school, ... They used to have a teacher there or a counsellor who'd help us out there ... if you've got problems with mathematics, they'd help you with that, or anything, or arithmetic.... They got like a home study area, [and] if you wanted to study, you could go there. So, that was good.

Most people remember their early teachers vaguely, if at all; when they do remember them, often they remember those ones that had the deepest impact on them. We should not be surprised to hear of staff that left a favourable impression on our respondents. Nor should we be surprised to hear of staff that impressed their young charges in a negative way.

As hindrances. Teachers generate within the children in their care powerful and often immutable memories. If they (the teachers) suffer from exhaustion, frustration, privation or poor training, or any combination of the foregoing, and they are too weak of character or intelligence to rise above those difficulties, then what they say and do in the presence of their charges, especially if such occasions are frequent or continual, will be remembered and related to others for decades to come.

The opposite, of course, is also true. If more teachers kept in mind the long, long memories of the children and young people in their care, they would no doubt be more cautious in their actions and their speech. As most teachers and other child caregivers are unlikely to have the time

and energy to remember this fact, it speaks well of those staff members at Shingwauk, who, in spite of a workload and responsibilities far beyond what should be expected for less than adequate pay scales, are remembered with fondness by the respondents.

The purpose of this section is not to cast blame or censure on any staff member who is remembered by a respondent in a less than fond manner. The purpose of this discussion is to add detail to the stories told by them, to help complete the picture which is the purpose of this project. What was it like for the children at Shingwauk? Was there a marked change in the 1950s when some government coffers opened more than a crack, and the influence of the Anglican Church lessened?

Connie Walters remembers staff only with rancor. She mentions the principal at the time, Reverend C. F. Hives: "He was really ... a mean type." She also questions the moral behaviour of some of the staff, although no other sources have mentioned this. Does she speak from personal experience or from hearsay?

Of course, the staff [at Shingwauk] done lots of wrong things too.... They used to steal each other's ... partners, sleep with each other. Yeah. They thought we were ... sleeping [but] the matrons had their room in the boys' dormitory, eh? Yeah. Then some of the boys would see this guy, sneaking up there....

In contrast to Donna's generally positive outlook regarding the staff who worked at Shingwauk during the 1940s, Maynard Cook has balanced memories. A somewhat rebellious teenager, whose traumatic post-Shingwauk years were more or less an extrapolation of his difficult four years at the school itself, he remembers some staff with respectful fondness, others with disgust. Looking back, he realizes one of the prime reasons for some of the difficulties that were experienced there. "A lot of the people working in the institution had no children, they had no knowledge of raising children or working with children ..."

Sally remembers at least one teacher who made the days seem longer than they really were.

I remember the Spelling teacher. Oh, she was miserable. And after that, I don't remember too much about her.... All I remember is she was tall and her face was like this [she makes a face]. Screwed up, you know, and always looking angry. And she always carried a ruler. I don't even know what she taught.

It is significant, and should be noted by all those in the teaching field, that the negative impact this teacher gave to Sally has remained with our respondent all her life. And she does not even remember what she taught.

Intercultural relationships

How did such relationships between the races manifest themselves at Shingwauk over the years? Were there changes that occurred over the decades? Were there changes that were unique to the environment at Shingwauk and Sault Ste. Marie that were not evident elsewhere in the country? To what extent did the community get involved with the children and staff at the school? Was there a noticeable change in the transition years from Church to State control? What do the respondents have to say concerning their relationship with Euro-Canadians and their culture?

Lucy Major attended during the years of widespread economic depression. Nothing of her culture was readily available to her or her classmates. In fact, the only culture that she remembers was Euro-American: she listened to Charlie McCarthy and Jack Benny on the radio, and saw Shirley Temple movies downtown. Also, from the testimony of the respondents, it seems the development of trust, of the Euro-Canadian staff and administration for the Native children and their culture, was uneven at best. Through the decades, the attitude of the staff and administration, coupled and in synchronicity with the attitudes prevalent at the times in question, evolved and modified.

How did this affect Lucy? Was her experience at Shingwauk changed because of the smothering protection she was receiving from society's evils? How did this affect her after she had

left Shingwauk? She avers that she was shocked and disappointed at what she saw in the outside world:

When I went back home and we drove by these places, small towns, [there were] beer and all these big ads were [there when we went] through Michigan. Oh, I thought what is this world coming to? Great big signs flashing 'Beer' and 'Wines'.... I felt scared. I think ... if they had exposed us a little bit, maybe taken us here and there and seen it, I think [we wouldn't think] everything was good.

There is some evidence, however, that the lives of these children were not as tightly controlled by the Euro-Canadian staff in this era as some have reported. A 1934 article from *The Sault Daily Star* reported on some innocent affairs developing among the children:

One thinks of an institution school as a quiet, somber course, and who would think there would ever be romance. There is. These children, living soberly, are some of them little volcanoes of feeling. They express themselves in little notes, being reticent as to speech. They write poetry, they phrase their letters with feeling words.... The post office was found to be one of the radiators in the class room and it is to be feared that several romances may have been nipped in the bud [sic!] by the executive of the home. But it shows that the Indian children have the same impulses as their white sisters and brothers. (Peycott, 1934)

How would the staff of the 1930s have reacted to David's testimony and his reports of the trysts and lax supervision he saw in the 1950s? In fact, David Woods also has a lot to say about his relationships with the wider Euro-Canadian community. Instead of the seclusion and isolation that Lucy felt, David's experience seems to be full of instances of contact with members of the community of Sault Ste. Marie.

Some of those relationships, according to David, who attended in the 1950s, were of a negative nature. He reports that he and his "gangs" would fight with the local children, if they dared trespass on Shingwauk property:

We used to have a fight with the white kids, lots of times ... because they ... crossed through our land.... We had trails we made through there. Oh, yeah, if they crossed through there, they got attacked! We used to have fights with them. They should know they weren't supposed to come across there.

It will be recalled that David had a lot to tell about the lack of supervision at Shingwauk -

especially on the weekends. He has more to tell about children poorly supervised.

Boys at his age, labelled by some child psychologists as the “gang age”, make friends easily with their peers and can get into mischief more easily with the support, tacit or otherwise, of his peers. David and his chums were no different, and found sources in the neighbourhood for lumber and nails:

We had our own forts ... some of [us had] little shacks built out in the bush. See, we got all our lumber from around there.... And we didn't bother about the nails cause we used to get nails from the houses, when they built houses. They were all in wooden kegs. And we used them for lumber at the same time! [He chuckles]

Not only did they have the time and freedom to steal from neighbourhood housing construction projects, and to visit the girls on the weekends, but, in spite of Reverend Phillips' best efforts to confiscate them, “Everybody had slingshots and jackknives.... Not one boy in that school [didn't] have a knife or two knives.... One you kept outside, one you kept on you all the time.”

Stealing from housing projects was one thing, but David's prowess as a thief was honed by his experiences in town. If everyone had jackknives, and few had money, where did David and the others get them? By stealing them from a store, of course:

Yeah, either Kresge's, or one of those stores we used to go [to].... Somebody would take us downtown, that's on the weekend they used to take us to the show. So some guys would want to go and there's a store, maybe because they had money from their parents, eh? ... Well, they can't watch forty guys [all at once]. So everybody's breaking out all over the store, eh? ... But about 80% of them, they'd go and steal them [jack-knives]!

David's experiences took place during the days before video cameras and convex mirrors: “You can't watch everybody. You don't know what they're up to! Some guys would be paying, some guys won't be paying....”

Along with such learning, it is gratifying to note that David developed some more positive relationships with children and adults of the wider community while he attended Shingwauk. Tradespeople, for instance, came to deliver goods. David used to be allowed to help: “But I

remember we used to help that fella, like, bring in the bread -- I think the toastmaster, that's what we used to call him." No doubt on a busy schedule, this speaks well for the deliveryman. Helping the coal man was also a source of pride for young David: "'Cause I remember the coal truck used to come in there. We used to help, oh, yeah. We'd have to get in and help him out shovel in the coal."

Also a part of David's memories are the festivities of Christmas. "It was great at Christmas and New Year's. The only reason why is because the other people came." We can safely assume that "the other people" were making a good impression on the young boy. The time spent by entertainers and civic-minded people to brighten the lives of the young children at Shingwauk was much appreciated. "Good things was at Christmas time," observed David. Sally Bowman appears to have had ambivalent feelings towards the community. But from her account, it appears that when she felt uncomfortable it was only because of the way she was exposed to those on the outside:

They used to bring us from the Shingwauk ... to the shows or to the Gardens [and we all had to line up in pairs]. I never did like that [because] it kind of set you out. Everybody was standing there, you know, gawking at you and everything. It was kind of embarrassing.... And you all had to face the same way.... It was awful.

But, like David -- her schoolmate at the time, and the same age -- she remembers the celebrations at Christmas with fondness:

I remember ... Don Ramsay, George Czeneskew, Bill Haight and the Northernaires. They came every year, every year. [We always] looked forward to ... Christmas time and whatever [and the] show that they put on [was] the big thing that stuck out in my mind for entertainment.

Mrs Stella Hives, retiring in 1965, just a year after Sally had left at the age of 16, from her position as girls supervisor after 30 years, spoke about the contribution of the community to the successes at Shingwauk: "The people of Sault Ste. Marie have taken these young people to their hearts and into their homes. I don't think anyone would disagree that the Indian children are better

accepted here than anywhere in Canada” (Corbett, 1965). Certainly, from the testimony of David and Sally, it would appear that this was so.

Sally continues:

John Rhodes was always our Santa Claus! ... We knew who old Santa was. And we used to say [what] was the point of [Santa] asking us what we want? We know what we're going to get! We always [got] the same thing: socks, or whatever. You know. No big deal. But it was, you know, just a little gesture, that was him.

And then, that's when we got our fruits, our candy and fruit. At Christmas. And socks, we had to hang them on the bed. And I guess the supervisor would put [the gifts] out when everybody was asleep. She'd go around and have the boxes and whatever and fill them up.... Dog biscuits. You know them hard rock candy? Christmas candy? Orange and an apple. All at once! Could you believe that? All at once! We were so tickled! You know. And we'd be doing our trade-offs. Some kids didn't like oranges, some didn't like apples. 'Well, I'll give you a dog biscuit for ...' you know. Some of them didn't like candy, so that was OK.

Although Sally was excited and is today gratified that the community contributed to her enjoyment of Christmas, she was not so keen on her first introduction to the community at large. In 1961, she began attending Anna McCrea and Queen Elizabeth Public Schools. The state had taken over the bulk of the responsibility for her education and “Shingwauk Residential School” was changed to “Shingwauk Hall”.

And oh, that was awful. I hated it. I hated school, the Shingwauk school. But going to school there with all the kids and no privacy.... I hated going across the field and then, you know, having to put up with all the racial slurs and the ... all that other gunk.

If we can infer from this that the Church-run institution protected her from the racism that lurked all around her in the Euro-Canadian community, and that the takeover by the state exposed her to it too soon and unnecessarily, then we need to look at the testimony of a contemporary of Sally's to get a balanced view.

Walter Brooks did not attend, or rather, board, at Shingwauk for long. But he got an entirely different impression of the children who became his classmates at the provincial school: “Now, the kids were friendly.... They were good to us. I was amazed [because] I figured [they'd]

reject us or something like that, but they didn't." Walter was a year older than Sally and had spent his early years' education at the Residential School in Moose Factory. Sally had spent her earliest years in a family home that was less than ideal, and her childhood years at Shingwauk Residential School. At least in Walter's case, perhaps the staff at Moose Factory did a better job of preparing him for the abrupt changes that took place at this time? Or perhaps the testimony of many more children from the years of paradigm shift is needed?

It is interesting to note how the children who were Walter's classmates did what they could to help in this major adjustment.

They helped us a lot, you know. [As an example,] I got in trouble at school one time there, and the teacher said, well, you're staying in [and] I was, you know, mad at myself, mad at the teacher, [because] I didn't do that homework.... Then one boy says, 'I'll, I'll give you a ride ... to Shingwauk, if you want to, you know.' So he did, eh? He just waited outside. Waited, and away we went, and I just jumped on the back of his bike. And that was good. And it was raining too I think.... I found [the kids] were friendly, tried to help you.

It should not be inferred from this that all was easy for Walter when he began in the public school system: quite the opposite. But it is to his credit that he took it all in stride, and successfully made the transition from Church schooling to State schooling, although not all of the children did. Walter especially noticed a distinct difference in ways of learning and ways of teaching when he began grade seven at Queen Elizabeth Public School.

Over here it was a little harder, because over there in Moose Factory ... they were doing things the simple way.... [At Queen Elizabeth] the teacher would ... point at you. 'Well, what's the answer?' ... Everybody raised their hand up. Up there [at Moose Factory] we never did that.... [It was] more like ... you sit there, you just listen to the teacher, that was it.... Nobody went like this, raise up their hands, we didn't do that up there.

It is interesting to note here that traditional Aboriginal education matched more the teaching style that Walter experienced in Moose Factory: he was used to learning by watching and listening. At Queen Elizabeth School, the children were accustomed to being challenged by the teacher. Miller (1996) summarizes the traditional Aboriginal approach as a teaching method that “

... relied on looking, listening and learning - 'the three L's' " (p. 16). This, of course, leaves us with a chicken-and-egg puzzle. Did the teachers at Moose Factory instinctively understand that the Euro-Canadian methods of Socratic questioning and challenging would not work with children who came from an Aboriginal background? Or was it the less-than-encouraging response from their pupils that soon led teachers to abandon such an approach?

As has been noted, this, in fact, was an aspect of the Native culture that was ignored. It was even opposed and overturned. Walter does remember feeling acutely the differences between Native and non-Native children in the class at his new school. The differences must have been obvious to the Euro-Canadians as well, as Walter describes how they looked at him, when he was asked to respond to a question:

When we were at school at Moose Factory, we all of us were Native people, there [were] no white students around. Then, over there [at Queen Elizabeth School] as soon they ask you a question, they all look, you know they all turn around and look at you. That's the thing I didn't like. [They wanted to] see how you come up with an answer.

Walter knew for sure he was being "centred out" when the same thing did not happen to his non-Native classmates:

[When] the white students there answered the questions, they don't look at them.... I guess they all know each other, they grew up with each other from grade 6, from kindergarten to grade 6.... And they'd be looking at you every time, you know, you were told a question, eh.

Although he understands now, and maybe understood at the time, their reaction to him and the Native children in his class, especially after a few weeks had passed, it still was a difficult adjustment for him to make. "I didn't feel comfortable at all." Why did Walter feel uncomfortable? Did the non-Native children in his class also feel uneasy? Probably not. After all, they were not the ones being integrated!

Analyses

First day experiences. Lucy, who arrived in the night-time, in the fall of 1929, does not recall much, except loneliness. This is more than Connie, who was a student in the 1930s, remembers, however. Much later, Sally Bowman's first day was traumatic, whether because of her confused and loveless background, or because of the staff. She was ill-equipped emotionally to handle the strangeness of her new environment. The staff, similarly ill-equipped, had no idea how to handle her. The institutional nature of her experience was memorable. That is, the regimentation, the forced cutting of the hair, the neglect of basic needs bespeak a staff concerned more with handling a large group than with individuals and their needs. She had had little or no family support system in the first six years of her life. She had been taken away from her mother without so much as a good-bye and was placed in a foster home in Sudbury far from where she had been born.

Suddenly one day, she was taken from that home to a building far away that looked to her like 'a giant's castle', where all manner of evil might befall her. Her premonitions were right, for the staff at Shingwauk, for whatever reasons, were hardly equipped to help her, and in fact, made her first day so traumatic that the scars are still evident on her psyche today.

Even though the experiences she describes of the hair-cutting, and other first-day events, are familiar to most who found themselves part of the residential schools system at this time, Sally found the experience memorable. If the reader is a teacher, or works in another capacity with small children, or is a parent, staff incompetence, even given the fact that these are the memories of a person who was 6 years old at the time, is obvious. Why was this child left alone? When she began to cry, was there no adult who might have comforted her? Did the staff know that she had sisters already enrolled? If they did not know, why did they not know? If they knew she had sisters at

Shingwauk, why were they kept separated? One answer is that such experiences reflected policy.

Miller (1996) writes: "As generations of residents learned, hair and costume were primary targets for adults intent on socializing the younger generation to their customs" (p. 194). It also was an assault on the children's personalities. It had the effect of de-individualizing the children, to help reduce them to a lowest common denominator and thus help the staff to control their behaviour, their learning and their assimilation. Such institutionalization also cuts costs: it is cheaper to clothe and feed children and armies and inmates at a sanatorium or penal institute, if standard uniforms and uniform meals are provided.

Maynard reflects another aspect of the institutionalization of a large group, when he felt he was treated like a piece of baggage. He used the word "shipped" in his interview, a word that is more appropriate to a thing than to a person. Once he was in "The System", and subjected to its structure, he felt much like a prison inmate.

Donna, in contrast, was saved from the rigours of the first-day regimentation. She remembers being saved from the hair-cutting and de-lousing procedures. She recalls also, however, that the special treatment set her apart from the others and made her unpopular with her peers, perhaps a worse experience.

Schooling. The Earl of Dufferin, Governor-General of Canada, was at the newly rebuilt Shingwauk Industrial School on the 31st of July, 1874. His Lordship addressed a crowd:

... We are bound to remember that we are under the very gravest obligations toward them [our Indian fellow-subjects], and that the white race is entering their country and requiring them to change their aboriginal mode of life, incurs the duty of providing for their future welfare and of taking care that in no respect whatsoever are their circumstances deteriorated by changes which are thus superinduced. (quoted by E. F. Wilson, 1886/1983, p. 146)

The official opening of the new school took place August 2, 1875. The Bishops of Huron and Algoma were there. The Bishop of Algoma, in his remarks, declared "... that the object was to

train young Indians to a Christian and civilized life, and to offer them all the advantages which their white brethren enjoyed" (quoted by E. F. Wilson, 1886/1983, p.161). Both speakers celebrated the opportunity represented by Shingwauk and other residential schools to make amends to the Native peoples of Canada for the inevitable harm that would come as Euro-Canadian society overwhelmed that of the Indians. The Natives would be saved by armouring the children with education.

A theme of this chapter on Journeys is the schooling the children received in the classrooms at Shingwauk. Longboat (1987) points out the futility of a teacher's efforts to impart learning of any kind if the child has a low opinion of him or herself. "Skill development becomes a mechanical acquisition once self-esteem, identity, and confidence have been formed" (p. 40). Good teachers and good parents know this instinctively, and work to include strong doses of praise and encouragement with their instruction and guidance. But many of the respondents in this study, as well as respondents for other projects, have reported that they consistently were made to feel less than worthwhile in their residential school experience. Possible moments for learning and skills development might well have been destroyed by the all-too-common blanket of racism and belittlement prevalent at Shingwauk and elsewhere.

It is significant that only two out of the seven respondents for this study shared detailed memories of their days in the schoolroom. Connie recalls that her speech defect was neglected by the teachers. In fact, she remembers getting more help in her studies from her friends than from her teachers. Walter, two decades later, avers the same. The assistance and encouragement he received from his classmates was memorable. To be fair, the help with his schoolwork he received from the staff at Shingwauk and Queen Elizabeth was not described in a negative way. But, notes Walter, the methods used at Moose Factory were different from the methods used at Queen Elizabeth. This was an aspect of the Native culture that was ignored, and in fact, opposed and overturned.

Geoffrey York (1990) elaborates on this point:

The philosophy according to which the residential schools operated was diametrically opposed to the traditional Indian philosophy of education. Before the arrival of the missionaries, Indian children learned by watching their parents and elders. Their family and their community were intimately involved in their education. (p. 32)

And, because Native methods of educating children differed from methods used by Euro-Canadian parents, policy-makers for the residential school system identified this attitude and worked to change it.

Supervision. The control and supervision that were part of the experiences of Lucy and Connie, in the early days, to David's in the later years bespeaks an unusually complete reversal of administrative control, in just a few decades. Did Reverend Roy Phillips (1954 - 1966) relax the grip that Rector C. F. Hives (1926 - 1941) had maintained, or did the relaxing of rules begin with Canon Minchin (1941 - 1948) or Reverend Wickenden (1948 - 1954)? Or was it no-one's fault that staff needed weekends to recuperate, and so left Shingwauk inadequately supervised? Or is David exaggerating, not having a depth of understanding at such a young age?

In many ways during David's time, the children were on their own. They were separated from their parents and the possibly loving care and supervision that would help them grow and develop into caring citizens and loving parents themselves.

This is in marked contrast to the attitudes of administration and staff when Lucy attended. Then, the belief was widespread that, without extremely close supervision and curtailment of all personal liberties, children would grow up wild and uncontrollable, lost to civilization.

Those in a supervisory capacity must accept the fact that a lack of proper supervision perhaps allowed and encouraged the normal sexual curiosity of adolescents to be left uncurtailed. Miller (1996) finds this to be a widespread phenomenon among the residential schools: "Also distressingly common was sexual exploitation of pupils by other, usually older and bigger,

students.” (p. 335)

Randy Fred, in his “Foreword” to Celia Haig-Brown's work, *Resistance and renewal* (1988), has referred to the naturally growing interest of adolescent boys and girls in the other sex. This interest, of course, is not hampered or controlled by the residential school environment. Instead, without guidance or proper supervision, learning about this aspect of human experience can be twisted and abused: “Learning about sexuality in an institutional environment creates confusion and aberration” (p. 17). “But I remember,” says David, “Well, guys had girl-friends, naturally. And if I was 14, 15, I'd be going after the girls myself. You know.”

Miller's (1996) statement is significant. Concern for the morals of Native children contained a hint of racism. “Native girls required even more supervision [than Euro-Canadian girls] because an assumed lasciviousness made them more likely candidates for sexual activity” (p. 249). The female respondents in this study who were students in the earlier decades of this century, such as Lucy and Connie, were perhaps subject to this attitude.

Could the staff and administration not have found more of a middle road?

Rules. When changes took place in the way children were controlled in non-Native schools, it was not long before the residential schools followed suit, at least in the majority of cases. Furniss (1992) writes: “The educational philosophy of the residential schools emerged from a cultural tradition in which corporal punishment and strict obedience to the authority of adults were standard features of child rearing” (p. 2). Such, of course, was not the case in Native methods of raising offspring.

Furniss (1992) is of help in describing the implications of this difficult issue. He notes, for instance, the reaction among staff and policy-makers when children and their parents tried to resist the assimilative efforts against Native culture:

Yet when Native peoples have resisted the attempt of the church and the government to

direct their lives, their resistance typically has been interpreted by the church and government officials only as confirmation of Native peoples' presumed inability to know what is best for them. In turn, this has served as evidence for the need for continued intervention. (p. 4)

This paternalistic attitude was perniciously difficult to argue against. Simply stated, the children, in the opinion of the Euro-Canadian authorities, have been mis-parented, thus they need to be taken and disciplined properly. Furniss (1992) goes on to say,

For this reason direct resistance to the residential school system tended to have the opposite effect: it reinforced the racist belief that Native people were inherently 'wild' and resistant to discipline, and the conviction that the residential school system was a necessary and important component of the civilizing program. The church and government maintained their control over Native people not only through legal and bureaucratic power, but by being able to control the meaning of events and protests. (p. 4)

We are reminded of Miller's (1996) statement to the effect that concern for the moral behaviour of Native children largely reflected that of Euro-Canadian parents for their children -- with the added taint of racism -- since Native girls were even more likely than Euro-Canadian girls to be sexually active because of an "assumed lasciviousness" (p. 249).

But the rules encompassed another aspect of life at a residential school: the control and the absorption of the students into the lifestyle of the typical, and usually successful, Euro-Canadian. Basil Johnston, an alumnus of Garnier Residential School in Spanish, Ontario, wrote about his experiences (1988). As at Shingwauk, control was enforced by rules, bells and the clock. These, he asserts, all combined to ensure conformity and order.

Bells and whistles, gongs and clappers represent everything connected with sound management -- order, authority, discipline, efficiency, system, organization, schedule, regimentation, conformity -- and may in themselves be necessary and desirable. But they also symbolize conditions, harmony and states that must be established in order to have efficient management: obedience, conformity, dependence, subservience, uniformity, docility, surrender. In the end it is the individual who must be made to conform, who must be made to bend to the will of another. (p. 43)

Rules were similar to those imposed on children in the Euro-Canadian society, with the added racist taint that Native children were even less trustworthy, and thus needed even stricter

rules and regulations to keep them in line. Connie, for instance, remembers "lots" of rules. Donna recalls that the rules were "very strict". Maynard is sure that some of the rules, at least, were more for control and vindictiveness than for the smooth running of a school. Does not the arbitrary nature of some rules bespeak an act of control, rather than an act of discipline? The rule is there, it can be argued, not to encourage growth and development, but to exert control and power. Staff seemed afraid, says Maynard, to be flexible with regards to rules, when conditions changed. Sally remembers the negative nature of the rules, admonishing children "don't" do this and "don't" do that. Like Maynard and others who were interviewed, she rebelled against rules she disliked, and sometimes with some good humour.

As Miller (1996) writes, "... their position usually led them to indirect forms of protest and complaint" (p. 359). At Shingwauk, children found ways to express themselves. In fact, most of the respondents remembered various means of ignoring and skirting the rules, though David, a young student in the 1950s, seemed to enjoy the most his memories of fooling the authorities. Miller (1996) found that among students in the residential school system, resistance to harsh rules took many forms. He writes, "... disgruntled students were most likely to indicate their unhappiness with ridicule and a lack of cooperation" (p. 360). He also found that note-passing was widespread. David reported in his interview that such often took place at Shingwauk. The strict segregation of the boys from the girls often led to clandestine meetings, often at night but often during the day as well. Walter, attending a decade later, found the rules had liberalized somewhat, and a climate of trust had been created by the staff.

Either the administration was forced to become more liberal in their treatment of those children who were being phased in to the local schools, or they realized it would make more sense to do what they could to match the discipline style prevalent in the public system, or they were directed to do so by the federal authorities. In any case, it was no longer necessary to be in an

adversarial position with the administration. Those who betrayed the trust were simply sent home. This was not the case at his old school.

It is easy to speculate on the possible reasons for the difference that Walter notes at Shingwauk from Moose Factory Residential School. Was the discipline less liberal at Moose Factory because there was no provincial educational system there, and thus no other system with which to mesh? Or was it more liberal at Shingwauk because of the staff there at the time? Was Reverend Phillips learning to be flexible by this time or was he receiving directives from his superiors regarding discipline methods, concerning both old methods to avoid and new methods to adopt?

Punishment. Miller (1996) avers that discipline was always at least as strict as, if not more strict than, at other Canadian schools of the time. "Prior to the 1960s the use of corporal punishment was common in schools of all kinds, representing a background level of violence towards children that was endemic to the larger society" (p. 322). Corporal punishment, of all kinds, was common and widespread in the early decades of the century. It was also common in the residential schools. Miller (1996) comments that this kind of behaviour on the part of teacher/caregivers was usual in the System. "The arbitrary and unpredictable use of physical violence in the guise of discipline and correction was disturbingly common in the residential schools" (p. 324).

It comes as no surprise, then, that Lucy and Connie were subjected to physical punishment. Donna, attending in the 1940s, also saw the physical side of punishment, though it did not figure strongly in her remarks. Maynard also remarks that he was subjected more to humiliation than violent punishment.

David and Sally, however, contradict both of them when they point out that physical punishment was still used in their days. How do we reconcile this seeming discrepancy? Maynard

(1952 - 1956) suggested that a climate of liberalism was taking over at Shingwauk in the years that he attended. Yet David (1954 - 1957) and Sally (1954 - 1964) report widespread and casual use of physical punishment during the years they were there. This apparent contradiction may be reconciled by the fact that David and Sally were very young (both 6 years old when they first arrived in 1954). Maynard, on the other hand, was 12 when he arrived, perhaps too big to punish in a physical way. Although he suggests "... the violent part, they never experienced that at Shingwauk", it may be that he did not see what was happening to children much younger than he.

Instead, a policy of punishment by ridicule seemed to take over. Maynard agrees with Donna, citing "time outs" and extra duties, as well as the humiliation already mentioned. Humiliation can be described as a form of power, not designed to promote growth in an individual. Miller (1996) comments: "To violence and arbitrariness must be added staff's widespread use of humiliation of the students" (p. 325). What form might this take? It will be recalled that some of Donna's schoolmates were humiliated by having their hair shaved off, or at least, cut short. Maynard gives another good example: "If you really were on the shit-list, that's what you got, scrubbing. On your hands and knees, scrubbing ... the playroom."

By the time Walter had arrived, in 1960 at the age of 13, not only was he too big to punish in a physical way, corporal punishment was fast leaving the schools as a means of discipline. Instead, "grounding" or sending them home was the method of choice.

The new principal of Shingwauk, Dave Lawson, spoke to a reporter for the *The Sault Daily Star* in 1966: "I don't believe in a lot of rules and I don't have bells ringing all over the place. There are some rules but they get broken sometimes. I'd be annoyed if they didn't break them at some time" (Rockburne, 1966). What a difference from the philosophies of Rector C. F. Hives (1926 - 1941), Canon Arthur E. Minchin (1941 - 1948), Reverend Douglas C. Wickenden (1948 - 1954), and Reverend Roy Phillips (1954 - 1966)!

Vocational education. Miller (1996) suggests that the half-day system was the prime cause of the poor academic performance of many children in the residential system. "Until the half-day system was eliminated in the more prosperous 1950s, both it, and abuses of it represented major impediments to the schools' efforts to teach the children" (p. 173).

Whence came the system of half-learning and half-labour so common in the residential schools up to the 1950s? It arose as educators realized that Christianizing, civilizing and literacy were not enough: their charges must also learn trades and skills to help them make their way in Euro-Canadian life. And, adds Wilson (1974b): "Prompting this concern was a realization that the Indians' traditional mode of livelihood had been disrupted by the material advance of white society and the decline of the fur trade" (p. 303). Thus some twinges of guilt helped fuel the notion that adjusting to the encroaching tide of settlement should include skills and work.

In this way the earliest aim of the CMS and other missionary societies, that is, to Christianize and civilize, was expanded to include assimilation into Euro-Canadian society through the world of work. As Wilson (1974b) writes: "The 'civilizing' mission of church and state was succeeded by the schools-of-industry concept with its aim of making Indians both useful and reasonably self-sufficient" (p. 305).

Wilson (1986) points out that "The routinized nature of life at Shingwauk not only contributed to the smooth operation of the school but also helped the students prepare for their eventual integration into White society" (p. 77). And this policy of acclimatizing the children to schedules, timetables and clocks fitted hand-in-glove with the policy of working the children for a half-day. Part of the preparation for the industrial world was the training to respond positively to routine.

The idea of combining education with labour seems to have been made fact by Egerton Ryerson. As early as 1847, Ryerson had established the concept as policy. Miller (1996) describes

the motives behind the adoption of this policy.

The new schools would combine basic learning suitable for the common person, training in agriculture or trades, and large doses of religion. [Ryerson and others planned] the half-day system: students theoretically spent half the day in classroom study and the other half in instructive work that would impart skills they would need later to earn a living in the Euro-Canadian economy. At the same time, of course, their labour would help to maintain, to feed, and to heat the school. (p. 83)

Using the children to help with chores may have been a measure originally designed to help train them for life in Euro-Canadian society, but after 1893, administrators' motives became perhaps more financial than educational. For it was in that year that the federal government changed the funding formula for all residential schools. Previously, industrial schools had been fully financed by the federal government, and Ottawa paid for salaries, equipment, supplies and transportation. Department bureaucrats, finding it difficult to curb spending by the principals, watched as costs rose. The solution, implemented in July, 1893, limited spending by initiating a per capita system. Although strongly criticized by the churches, this system remained in place until the 1950s.

As Miller (1996) writes, "Until greater prosperity led to increased government funding and the abolition of the half-day system in the 1950s, so-called industrial training was often simply a facade for operating the establishment" (p. 181). For the per capita system turned principal-educators into principal cost-cutters as they fought to keep expenses down. The children, already growing and harvesting food, baking bread and serving meals, now became more servants and labourers, than growers and learners. Miller (1996) writes, "Even a casual visitor to a residential school would have been struck by the vast amount of work that the students performed" (p. 257). Their work became not only part of their education, but a necessary component of the school's financial survival. Miller (1996) writes, "... it was not possible to hire more staff to perform the extra work involved. More labour was expected of students, while simultaneously the school

sought to limit the food they were receiving” (p. 128). The testimony of the children interviewed for this study seems to match the historical record.

Lucy, who attended during the Depression years, and Connie, who attended during the tight money years of the Second World War, were clearly exploited for their labour. Connie's schooling, at least, was secondary in importance to the work she did; her special needs as a learner were not met. And, she had to be awakened at five-thirty in the morning to work in the laundry so expenses at Shingwauk could be kept to a minimum. Donna, who also attended during the war years, found the situation much the same, although she was academically much more successful. She, however, mentions that she favoured the policy of providing employment opportunities for the high school girls. These weekend and summer jobs were less exploitive, she feels, because they gave her valuable experience and spending money as well. Her schooling experience was mostly at the local high school, though it was Sault Technical and Commercial High School, not the academic Sault Collegiate High School, which may have represented a facet of a racist attitude prevalent among the administration. But it was positive, and she points proudly to the fact that her grade eight results were exemplary: she claims she was one of the top students in Ontario who wrote that examination.

When Maynard attended in the mid-1950s, the farm was still in full operation, perhaps unnecessarily considering the increased funding from, and involvement by the federal government. He remembers his chores, not with fondness but with resignation: “I didn't mind”. His schooling, it would appear, was overridden by the battle with staff, and especially with the principal, Reverend Roy Phillips: “We just about drove Phillips crazy the last year we were there.” He explains his troubles with authority as stemming from an unrealistic regimen of rules, enforced by an administration and staff unprepared to deal with a large percentage of teenaged students.

It would seem that Sally Bowman's work experience was still part of her day, yet not as

onerous as the labour exacted from her predecessors. Similarly, David Woods mentions the opportunities he and his schoolmates had to earn money, though he does not remember much about his classes. This may be because he was at Shingwauk only for the primary grades, and then went to a school near his home community for the remainder of his education.

By the 1960s, if not before, Walter Brooks' experience included full day education -- the purchase of education from the province spelled the end of the half-day system, already in disarray -- at Queen Elizabeth Public School. He also enjoyed many opportunities to earn spending money. His self-esteem and pride were boosted in both spheres. He felt positively about the work experience he received and any problems he encountered in his schoolwork were addressed, not only by staff at Queen Elizabeth Public School, but also by staff at Shingwauk.

Haig-Brown (1988) points out a further aspect of this issue. She writes: "The training in agriculture for the males and household skills for the females was expected to create white people with brown skins: people who would meld into the larger European dominated society" (p. 64). The gender bias of the chores, a reflection of the greater Canadian society of the time, was to be expected; but Haig-Brown also reminds us of the racist element, the aim to make "white people with brown skins" in this policy.

Miller (1996) does not see the efforts to find summer work for students of Shingwauk and other residential schools as beneficial, or educational:

Making male students available during the summer to work on farms owned by non-Natives, or putting a young woman out at service with a family in town, resembled a method of furnishing cheap, semi-skilled labour to Euro-Canadian homes more than it did a system of advanced training. (p. 253)

But the testimony of those who were "exploited" in this way only serves to emphasize the good feelings they experienced and the positive effect it had on their self-esteem. The money they thus earned, though perhaps not at the higher rates that the work of an adult labourer would earn,

was theirs and honestly got. As Walter remembers: "That's one thing that I liked about it here, at Shingwauk. At Moose Factory, no, there was no way you could earn [money]."

Staff. Miller (1996) has discovered that many staff members in the residential schools were caring individuals who did far more than was expected of them. "Staff at residential schools often were exceptional people who genuinely cared for and took a serious interest in the children" (p. 309).

Maynard reminds us of a truth acknowledged in the literature (see, for example, York, 1990 and Miller, 1996.) The staff were chosen to be missionaries first, teachers and child caregivers (perhaps) second. "They had a strong Anglican conviction [says Maynard] - that was their only qualifications. They walk in and say that they'd had some spiritual enlightenment that we were going to become a missionary and away they went."

Willis (1973), who attended Shingwauk from 1955 to 1958, wrote a book about her experiences at Shingwauk, as well as at two other schools, in *Geneish: An Indian girlhood* (1973). Maynard Cook may well remember the same supervisor as Willis, who wrote: "I knew immediately she was one of the crusaders, one of those who had a call from above to go out and save us poor unfortunate savages" (p. 138). By the 1960s, if not before, this aspect of the staff that Maynard Cook and Willis describe was well recognized. Even Indian Affairs (1965) some years later heard such complaints and considered them worthy of comment: "Church organizations often appear to consider church affiliation more important than the professional qualifications of the instructors they accept, with the result that today some teachers in such schools do not have professional certification" (p. 21). Miller (1996) also agrees: "Missionary organizations tended to assume that the proper 'missionary spirit' was more important in a potential teacher than normal school or university training in teaching methods" (p. 174). Ottawa did little to alleviate this problem: "The official policy of the government was that the churches should hire professionally trained

instructors as teachers, but Ottawa recognized that the pittance it provided for Indian schools made it difficult for the missionaries to do so" (Miller, 1996, p. 175).

Most of the respondents for this thesis had strong memories of staff, but fairly mentioned those who left a good impression as well as those who did not. Lucy remembers a staff member who bucked the authorities' rules to do a little more for individuals than the administration wanted or expected. This is in contrast to Connie's testimony from the 1940s. She remembers only in a negative way staff members with whom she came in regular contact. Donna, also from the 1940s, remembers several staff members positively. Maynard, attending in the 1950s, remembers some staff with admiration and others with disappointment. Sally, also from the 1950s, has memories which are mostly negative; the benefits she derived from them she declares with some sarcasm: she claims she understands institutions very well, instinctively recognizes racism when she encounters it, and learned also how to serve! Walter remembers being helped with his studies by the staff at Shingwauk, and reported no memories of a negative nature.

Perhaps it is important at this point to place the obvious staffing problems at Shingwauk, as well as at residential schools in general, into the context of Federal-Provincial relations. When Confederation was achieved in 1867, the British North America Act separated the powers allocated to each level of government. The newly created Federal administration found themselves responsible for the Native peoples of Canada, and concurrently, the schooling of Native children. As Miller (1996) points out, Ottawa had no background, no personnel and no bureaucratic infrastructure in place to facilitate the delivery of educational services.

But the churches and missionary societies were already in place, practiced and eager. "Inexperience was a major part of the reason that the federal government after the last western treaty was made in 1877 turned automatically to the missionary organizations to carry out their pedagogical program" (Miller, 1996, p. 152). The significance of this should be strongly noted:

missionaries are motivated -- and should be, if they have responded appropriately to their calling -- by their sense of "mission". Thus their primary aim was to proselytize. A secondary aim for the teachers and staff at Shingwauk and other residential schools was to teach and care for their charges. The prime aim in a state-run school today has become the converse: teach and care for the children first; then, if need be, instill any morals and lessons in civic responsibility that are not being taught at home.

An Indian Affairs study of 1897 made these observations about the teaching staffs at Native boarding and industrial schools of that time:

The teachers appointed by the various religious bodies engaged in the work of Indian education, are not as a rule well fitted for the work of teaching, not so much from want of scholarship as from the lack of ability to adapt their instruction to the children's needs, owing to their not having received the proper training. (quoted by Miller, 1996, p. 135)

It must be admitted, the poor funding provided to the schools must have been reflected in poor compensation extended to the staff. After all, staff were expected to be motivated more by their eagerness to do good for Native children, and less by their desire for financial reward. Doubtless, and the testimony of the respondents in the present study attests to this, many were dedicated *and* skilled. But the prerequisite skills were never as important to administrators as the prerequisite dedication. The 1897 study continues, "many of the present teachers have their missionary duties to perform, which take up their time and attention" (quoted by Miller, 1996, p. 135). For many of the staff during the years that the Anglican Church was the primary policy-maker, missionary duties came first.

Principals everywhere are most often hired or transferred to a new location without knowing what staff they will be required to work with. Over the years of a principal's tenure at a particular school, opportunities often present themselves for staff improvement -- such as resignations, retirements, and other forms of attrition -- and the chance arises to develop a staff

complement more reflective of the principal's personal style of administration. So it was at Shingwauk and other residential schools. But, unfortunately, this sort of opportunity at church-run schools for Native children often became an overwhelming challenge instead. For finding qualified staff was difficult at the best of times and impossible at the worst. Most residential schools were in isolated locales, often attracting young, adventure-seeking but inexperienced teachers, who could very well do a creditable job just the same. Unfortunately, however, also attracted were those individuals who were unable to find work in more lucrative and comfortable positions.

Intercultural relationships. Reports of intercultural relationships varied from the very negative to the very positive. Lucy Major, in the 1930s, was totally removed from her Native culture and treated as if she were Euro-Canadian. So, she listened to Charley McCarthy and Jack Benny on the radio. But, in keeping with the policy of over-protection, in her opinion, she was not allowed to see the "negative" aspects of Euro-Canadian society.

Instead of the seclusion and isolation that Lucy felt, David, in the 1950s, remembers many of his contacts with Euro-Canadians, from gang fights with local children, to helping tradesmen who brought bread and coal to Shingwauk. He stole from construction projects, as well as local stores, enjoyed Christmas celebrations and entertainment sponsored by local volunteers, and did not feel, admittedly at his early age, that he was the object of racism by other non-Native children.

Sally also remembers with fondness the efforts of the local community to make Christmas and other Euro-Canadian events memorable. The influence of the restrictive rules with which she had to comply perhaps gave her few opportunities to learn to make decisions for herself. She had difficulties blending in when she left Shingwauk, starting with her attendance at local schools.

Walter, who attended local schools after the purchase of educational services from the province by the Federal Government in 1961, recalls a much more positive impression of his relations with non-Native students. The Euro-Canadian students did what they could to reduce the

impact of different teaching and learning styles within the two cultures.

The fact is, Walter and his Native classmates were part of a policy of integration that had been developing since 1951. But the integration being envisioned was absorption, the "melting pot" motif rather than the "mosaic" motif, the image of a stew, rather than a salad. This was the final act in the original policy of a century earlier to take the Indian and turn him into a White Man.

The policy paper presented by the National Indian Brotherhood to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (1972) clarifies this for us. "Integration viewed as a one-way process is not integration, and will fail. In the past, it has been the Indian student who was asked to integrate: to give up his identity, to adopt new values and a new way of life" (p. 25). Why is there, or has there been, no move to send non-Native children to Native schools on northern reserves?

But certainly members of the local community seldom considered such issues, and few had the power or influence to make changes even if they thought such changes necessary. They did what they could.

According to principal Robert Martin, an Open House in 1965 was "well attended" ("Shingwauk has crowd", 1965). In another article published in *The Sault Daily Star*, from February of 1967, the local Red Cross was reported to be conducting Home Nursing classes for the girls in grades 7 and 8. The class was comprised of twenty-one girls, aged 13 or 14. "For some of the Indian girls whose home may be remote from quick medical assistance, the course could be of immense future value" (MacIntyre, 1967).

Two issues of *The Sault Daily Star*, from December of 1967, reported on a Boxing Day party for the residents of Shingwauk. The local community participated: the CRA (Canadian Restaurant Association) and the Sault Trailblazers Snowmobile Club helped to make the day a success for the children. This was a special occasion: eighty of the approximately one hundred children enrolled that year could not go home for Christmas, about sixty because home was too far

away. The other twenty or so could not because they were quarantined against the possible spread of measles from one of their number, who had recently been diagnosed. ("Boxing Day fun", and "Boxing Day", 1967.)

Certainly, residents of Sault Ste. Marie did what they could to help the children schooled and boarded at Shingwauk, whether it was by reporting human-interest stories in *The Sault Daily Star*, tolerating the misbehaviour of some of the children (as in David's experiences), providing entertainment on as many special occasions as possible (especially at Christmas), or by accepting them into their classrooms at Queen Elizabeth, Anna McCrea and Sir James Dunn Schools.

It seemed that the policy of integration was working – as long as the Native individuals acted just like non-Natives.

Conclusions

First day experiences. For some, the experiences of their First Day at Shingwauk show clearly that the system was unresponsive. Staff were inadequately trained or prepared for the children. The children were therefore not welcomed as people to be helped, but only as numbers to swell inadequately supplied coffers; for others, the memories of the children show an uncaring attitude.

Supervision, rules and punishment. Generally speaking, the respondents reported events and memories that very nearly match the prevalent attitudes of Euro-Canadian society of the time. Little that was unusual or overly severe in this area was found in the analysis of the transcripts.

Vocational education. The half-day system seems to have been a good idea when first implemented, but motives for the child labour appear to have changed over the decades illuminated by this thesis. Those children who were unpaid for their efforts are resentful and angry at the "half" education they received. Conversely, those who were paid, even very little, counted their

experiences as worthwhile and helpful in their maturation and growth.

Staff. It is impossible to draw conclusions concerning the staff generally at Shingwauk, except perhaps one. Some of the individuals who worked at Shingwauk, who applied for positions as teachers or caregivers, were effective, efficient and dedicated. Others were clearly incompetent or misguided or poorly motivated. Some interacted with the children with love and respect, others with callousness or disdain.

The range of teaching skills evident at Shingwauk, according to the accounts of the respondents, may have been due to the difficulties principals had of finding willing staff.

Miller (1996) writes:

... professionally trained teaching staff were often unavailable for the simple reason that Native schools were not considered desirable posts for teachers. [A] teaching assignment in a residential school was often the resort of someone unable to secure a post in a more attractive, more conveniently located, non-Native school. (p. 176)

So, it should be kept in mind that this fact renders those teachers and staff members recalled with fondness by the respondents as doubly noteworthy. There may have been a change once state control and influence became more pronounced than that of the Anglican Church, but the evidence of the respondents does not testify to this conclusively. More study and more interviews with other alumni could perhaps establish this and might form the focus of further research.

Intercultural relationships. It is important to emphasize that, in more ways than one, racism was a prime motivator that coloured many aspects of the residential school experience, at Shingwauk as well as elsewhere. In their introduction, the editors of *Indian Education in Canada* (1986) point out that the "... formal education being offered young Indians [at the residential schools] was not only separate from but unequal to that provided their non-Indian contemporaries (Barman, J., Hébert, Y., & McCaskill, D., 1986, p. 9)."

Miller (1996) underlines the racism theme and points out some of the background to this strong aspect of the residential schools story. There was much difference of opinion, in the early years of the residential schools, concerning the natural abilities of Native peoples. The social sciences of the nineteenth century were confused and easily influenced by the proponents of what today would be termed "junk science". Perhaps it was natural that Caucasian scientists, administrators, government leaders, church leaders and intellectuals would find it easier to discredit the innate abilities of those of other races. But the attitude was by no means universal. Enough people of influence were convinced, not only that Native Canadians were educable, but that they had just as much potential for intellectual achievement as did anyone else. As Miller points out, "Had 'scientific' proofs of the intellectual inferiority of non-Caucasian peoples been subscribed to generally by government and church officials, no experiment in Indian schooling ... would have been attempted. What would have been the point?" (Miller, p. 153). Yet, the fact remains that many teachers entrusted with the care and education of children of Native ancestry were unconvinced that their efforts would ever bear fruit. And the staff at Shingwauk included many of that ilk, who regarded their relationship with the Native children in this negative light. In the present study, respondents talked about their relationships with non-Native staff but also about their relationships with Euro-Canadians living in the wider community of Sault Ste. Marie as well as the Euro-Canadian and -American cultures of the continent.

David's experiences in the 1960s were very different from Lucy's in the 1930s. Was this a consequence of the differing leadership styles of Rector C. F. Hives (1926 - 1941) and Reverend Phillips (1954 - 1966)? Or was it a consequence of Ottawa's increasing role in the education of these children, and the consequent diminishment of the role of the Anglican church? By 1951 the Indian Act had been changed to permit integration of Native children into the provincial school

systems. Principals of residential schools, if not kept informed of such impending policy changes officially, surely saw that such changes would soon come about. Moreover, by 1956, as noted already, more money was spent by the Ottawa government to modernize programs and place suitably qualified educators in administrative positions. Although the policy of purchasing education from the provinces was not established until 1960 and full integration of Shingwauk children did not begin until 1961, the recommendation that such would be a good idea for consideration was promulgated by a Joint Parliamentary Committee as early as 1948. We can happily conclude that the isolation of the children from Euro-Canadian society by the 1950s was becoming a stale idea; and increased integration of the children with the local community was just around the corner.

Leaving Shingwauk

Preparations

The final journey of the children in their travels through Shingwauk was away from Shingwauk. This section deals with this episode of the story of the informants. It is comprised of two parts: how the informants, as children, reacted when they learned that their stay at Shingwauk was nearing its end and what they took with them when they left.

Leaving imminent. Of the seven informants, all had strong memories of their last days. Only one, Donna, was sorry to be leaving the school and the staff. David and Walter were sorry to leave because they might miss their friends. The other four left with a strong sense of relief.

How did the children of the early era (1929 - 1946) feel about leaving Shingwauk, the *Home* they had known for so many years? Lucy reports that on the day she was leaving, she didn't

“feel anything”. “I was raised that way, and I had no choice. I only wish I had been home [because] I missed a lot....” Note a significant point Lucy makes here. She points out “I don't feel anything. I was raised that way”, which reminds us of the effect on the emotions that years in an institution can have. Donna Campbell left with sad feelings because she was leaving the world of learning; David Woods, like Walter Brooks, left with some sadness because he was leaving his friends and his “family”:

I was kind of ... sad.... I was just, just starting to get to know about the guys.... I used to wonder what they were doing, wonder if he's OK, [and go] see those other guys that went back, see I used to look after them. So I'd wonder, Oh, how's he doing today? Oh, he must be all right.

The others left with a variety of feelings. Maynard left on bad terms because he had argued vehemently with Phillips, the principal; Connie felt at a loss when she discovered “there was no place to go really”; Sally felt “relief. I was so happy.”

What they took. Lucy again remarks:

I was happy to go [and] I just left everything.... They gave me a little cardboard suitcase with stuff they put ... in. I didn't want anything. I just wanted to go. [The things she left behind] ... didn't mean nothing when I knew I was going. They were a couple of things didn't seem like they had any value to me where I was going. [I was] going home.

Donna Campbell has better memories of her last day, and the trip home. At least she remembers the standard gift given to all school leavers in her time: “Everyone who graduated received a Bible and a Prayer Book. That was usual I think.”

On the other hand, Sally Bowman, from a decade later, mentions nothing of the sort: “[I felt] relief. I was so happy. I was so happy to get out of there.... I liked ... the open spaces, the freedom. I didn't like to be like everybody else...”

None of the other four respondents recalled taking anything upon leaving

Receptions

Lucy Major did not mention her Shingwauk education when she looked for work: "I never said anything about Shingwauk when I applied for work. I never have. You know, didn't have to because I didn't have any skills. I knew how to pray, that's about all. Ha!"

Connie Walters found the same was the case for her. I sent her the first copy of her transcript. She wrote back that her schooling, "more hindered [than helped her in her life]. I received no help with schooling, even if I asked. I did more chores/cleaning than school work. After school, around 16/17, all my jobs were cleaning jobs: dishwasher, chambermaid, janitor."

Connie expressed her confusion and her aimlessness on the trip home; she did not know her brother when she met him:

When I left, there was no place to go really. I'll never forget that trip. I got on the train - the ACR [Algoma Central Railway]- that morning when I left there. I got into Franz about eight o'clock that night. My brother was there to meet me. I didn't even recognize him. He was asking everyone what their names were. I looked at him hard, he looked at me.

I asked 'Are we going to stay overnight in Franz?' He said, 'No, there's another train we have to catch.' So we got [home] at about ten o'clock. And there to meet me was my two cousins. Then after that I went to my grandparents home where I stayed for awhile. (from notes taken after the tape was finished)

Donna Campbell's jumbled and confused feelings of the last day was a reflection of the relatively positive experiences she had had there. "I was excited and I was sad in a way, because I was leaving school. I really would have liked to have gone on to university or something. It was a bit sad."

Maynard Cook left with bad feelings:

And I always looked forward to going back [to Shingwauk] and them being there when I came back in the fall. But when I left that [last] time [there] was quite a row with Phillips, and ... he was writing a letter to get me thrown out of the system and all that other crap. So it was kind of a relief when I left.

Walter, unlike Lucy and Connie, made good use of the education that he received through

the supervision of the administrators at Shingwauk, then more secular than religious:

It was very easy to find a job after I had my diploma.... I applied for a job in the mines, that was in Manitowadge, and next day they hired me. 'You can start tomorrow,' they said. I got there, [and it was the] same here at the [Steel] plant. When I applied at the plant, I just put my application in. 'We'll call you.' And in a week's time, they called me.

Unlike Walter, Sally had trouble adjusting to a life beyond her schooling. Not only did she have difficulty being a parent, like Maynard, she had very little confidence in herself and entered the world with trepidation: "Yeah, I was naive and fearful, you know. What would look good, you know. [I knew] nothing, really, about money."

Sally went to live with her sister and brother-in-law, who lived not far from the school. But her lack of confidence and her fear of the outside world became obvious to them:

They tried to make me ... [more self-confident]; it was so hard for them to get me to go downtown by myself.... They couldn't get me out of the house! ... And my friend would come and she'd ask me to go, and I'd ... look at my sister like I had to have permission. Like I couldn't function very well out there.

It is not clear, of course, if Sally's early life made her unprepared for the mainstream culture of Euro-Canadian society, or the experiences and attitudes of her teachers encouraged her lack of confidence. Were the staff expected to do more?

Analyses

David Nock (1978) points out one of many failures of E. F. Wilson's original plan of 1873, when Shingwauk was first founded.

The result of this process of directed culture change, then, was not so much the shift from one culture and mode of production to another as hoped for by missionaries such as Wilson. Instead, the result was more like a process of marginalization with the Indian not quite fitting in his aboriginal culture and mode of production, nor quite into industrial capitalist society. (p. 248)

Unfortunately, this was all too common a fate for the typical alumnus of Shingwauk. Upon leaving the school, alumni often found themselves between cultures, no longer a part of the

community that they had left many years before, and not yet accepted as part of the Euro-Canadian culture.

To further emphasize this point, Nock (1978) describes the plight of the children of Shingwauk:

From a Marxist perspective, missionaries and government agents expected Indians to 'jump' from the first mode of production to the fourth mode of production. Given this 'gap' which the natives were expected to 'leap', perhaps one can understand better the difficulties on both sides. (p. 241)

Nock underscores the difficult position in which these children were placed. While the respondents themselves knew little or nothing about Marxist ideology or government policy, they all knew they had trouble "going home", and trouble "making their way" in the world of the white man. Indeed, the "gap" these young people were expected "to leap" was great. Most of the children put their residential school experiences behind them, as much as was possible, and tried to move on.

Many found the return to a biological family and the milieu from which they came, difficult, if not impossible. A few remained in the Euro-Canadian society, and avoided their biological roots; three respondents made the move fairly rapidly and successfully from Shingwauk to "the white man's world".

At least two others had few or no feelings when they left. Donna reports she felt sad that she was leaving the world of learning, at least for awhile. David also felt sad because he was leaving his friends.

Few people took anything with them when they left. Lucy was encouraged, even expected, to fill a suitcase with personal effects, but the few things she had meant nothing to her and were of no value, so she left them. Donna took a Bible and a Prayer Book, that appear to have been handed out to all school-leavers of that era. Sally, and others, made no mention of taking anything, even as

they spoke of their final day.

In the early years, Lucy and Connie both mention that jobs after their time at Shingwauk were unrelated to the schoolwork they had done, but Walter, in the early 1960s, was glad of his educational background and found getting a good job was easy.

Connie did not know her brother when he met her at the train station in Franz; Maynard left with bad feelings but Donna was excited, as well as a bit sad. Sally joined her sister and brother-in-law in town, and found that Shingwauk had not prepared her for life in the outside world. She was nervous and seldom left the house.

Randy Fred's "Foreword" to Celia Haig-Brown's work (1988) points out the crippling effect of the Residential School System on the emotions and self-confidence of its alumni: "Without parental love and without parental role models students were not adequately equipped to fit into the mainstream society" (p. 16). It is no surprise that more respondents suffered after their experience at Shingwauk than did well.

Conclusions

Few of the respondents felt sadness upon leaving Shingwauk; the possessions they took were few. There are changes noticeable in the post-Shingwauk fortunes of some of those who were taught in the State-run system after 1961, such as Walter. These changes suggest that the policies and staffs of the Church-run Shingwauk were less conducive to the growth of individuals in their care than they hoped.

This study was guided by four main research questions, and it is these questions that will be used to help draw conclusions concerning the *journeys* of the children. First, the structure of the experience of the children resident at Shingwauk Hall was that of an Institution, not that of a loving family. Second, the education that the children received under government control seems to have

been more successful, on the whole, than that which the church could provide. Third, most of the respondents suffered some form of what has been loosely termed "Residential School Syndrome", as described by several commentators (see, for example, York, 1990). Some experienced advantages in their post-Shingwauk lives, such as Donna and Walter, but most of the respondents reported periods of alcoholism, unemployment, confusion and disorientedness. Fourth, the Shingwauk experience, as far as the respondents were concerned, was not a success for all. While some found it useful, there were others who found it a failure. The experiences of the respondents vary from individual to individual.

CHAPTER THREE

Cultural Losses

Introduction

This chapter deals with the theme of "Losses". Most of the respondents reported losses of several forms: losses of culture, including traditions and language, and the losses of family, including parents, siblings and grandparents. The loss of "traditions" is necessarily limited, as Native traditions had already been overwhelmed by dominant European customs by the time covered by this thesis. So the theme of "traditions" is treated here by a theme overwhelmingly favoured by the respondents, and, in a sense, coupled with the loss of culture and traditions -- racism.

Racism is a dominant theme of this chapter. It forms a component of each loss outlined here. What constitutes racism for the purposes of this thesis? The fact that many in the Euro-Canadian society of the periods under review here disdained or lacked much respect for the traditions, families or languages of the Native Peoples quoted here is defined as a racist attitude. And almost all the respondents speaking for this report felt or were victims of this overt attitude.

Sometimes subtle, sometimes more obvious to us than to the individual players in Ottawa and at Shingwauk, racism will nevertheless colour every aspect of the experience of the children at the school. In fact, racism of some kind has injured most of the respondents for this story. Paulo Freire writes, "Whether urbane or harsh, cultural invasion is thus always an act of violence against the persons of the invaded culture, who lose their originality or face the threat of losing it" (Freire, 1971, p. 150).

Loss of Culture

For the purposes of this section, it is assumed that the “loss of culture” caused by outside agents is, in fact, “racism” in a polite form. For what is meant by the term “culture”? It is the glue that holds a society together. It has several components: they include traditions (as defined by data gathered from the informants), family and language.

Traditions

Very little in the way of Native traditions was reported by the respondents for this project to form their early lives. If the respondents spoke at all of these traditions, it was to speak proudly of the particular role their parents played in the local church (Connie and Lucy) or how Father was a trapper (Walter). Both of these traditions are not as Native as might be supposed, but over the years have become increasingly imposed by the dominant Euro-Canadian culture (see, for example, McMillan, 1996, p. 118). But such racism, the un-glueing of a society, was not over yet. The respondents for this thesis, when they were children at Shingwauk, saw and heard much that they felt was consciously designed to destroy any vestige of self-esteem and pride in being Native.

How did the children of Shingwauk note the subtle and not-so-subtle racist remarks from staff in their interviews about their experiences? Were they aware of the deeper meanings of some of the actions and words of staff? Was any acknowledgement made of the traditions of First Nations People?

Tradition. What have the children at Shingwauk said about the loss of their Native culture and the efforts by staff to strip them of it? For Connie Walters (Cree, Morrisville, 1938-1946), the policy was clear: “Everything Native was taken away, our Native way and that, you know” (personal communication, June 16, 1995). Donna Campbell (Iroquois, Kingsville, 1940-1946) mentioned the bias in her studies, most notably in History class. The situation was no different at

Shingwauk, as Donna Campbell says:

[We were never encouraged to talk] about what part the Natives played in our history. Even in our history books there was never anything mentioned. There was never anything mentioned about maybe having a little pride in who we were.

There is some evidence that this problem was on the way to being corrected by the 1960s.

In 1965, principal Robert Martin spoke directly about this bias in texts:

We have much work to do in the area of education and my most fervent hope for the future is a change in the social study course in the public schools. Indian children have a rich heritage. Too often the early Indian is given the wrong image in our textbooks, depicted as an undesirable character. ("Shingwauk has crowd", 1965)

Loss of traditions (racism). Lucy Major (Ojibwa, West Island, 1929-1939) remembers a phrase that to her became almost a mantra for some of the staff: "And then another one was, 'You're only an Indian.' [But] I don't know what they meant by that. I heard that a lot, a lot. 'You're only an Indian' " (personal communication, June 17, 1995).

By the time Donna Campbell was attending Shingwauk, the racism was not quite so overt, but a subtle understanding was nevertheless present:

[T]hey never thought that Native children were smart enough to go to the Collegiate; they wanted us to go to the Sault Technical and Commercial High School ... where you learnt domestic things ... or you learned how to type and that. (personal communication, July 19, 1995)

So she went to the Sault Technical and Commercial High School instead of Sault Collegiate High School, which was designed more for the academic streams. Maynard Cook (Cree, Moose Factory, 1952-1956) had the same experience:

[E]ven if I wanted to go into high school, ... they funneled us all into the technical area. Because [they thought] 'well, you're not really qualified to go into an Arts type of... high school. We're going to funnel you into the technical area because of your educational standards'. (personal communication, January 6, 1996)

Interestingly enough, Donna's story shows racism in a strangely reversed way. It will be recalled that she, being of mixed parentage, does not appear Native. This fact perhaps saved her

from the first day trauma of having her hair cut. The experience of Donna's sister Ada, in many ways similar to her own, emphasizes this point:

[T]here were a few selected students who went to the Collegiate and graduated during the Hives administration. Ada was lucky to be one of those students. She was given privileges that other students didn't get. [Probably] this was because she was white.

Unwittingly, the staff put children who did not appear Native, like Ada and Donna, into difficult positions by treating them with privileges that the others did not get. Donna spoke of her first day:

I had a hard time [when I arrived at Shingwauk] because when I arrived [I was] fairly nicely dressed. (Because I had worked that summer before in [my home town], and had a little bit of money, [I had] bought a few clothes).

And, she was treated differently from the first day. "So right away, I was not a very popular kid, believe me." Donna was young at the time -- only 13 years old -- and did not immediately grasp why the other girls shunned her and even attacked her:

I don't know why they treated me badly. But, but some of the girls were very jealous [and] they always wanted to pick fights with me in the playroom, this sort of thing. I had a hard time when I first went [because] it was very lonely.

This of course, was not to say that Donna did not feel the racism that permeated the school. Although the staff seems to have attempted to exclude her from their bigoted remarks and policies, she knew her origins and felt strongly about who she was. When others were the butt of racist put-downs or general remarks were made concerning Native culture, she felt the sting along with her schoolmates. She recalls one incident especially:

I remember the minister in Church [said] something about, 'Isn't it wonderful [and] isn't it great to be British and to be English? [And] to have this opportunity of celebrating who we are?' He had just come from an Indian reservation and [he said] something about being appalled at what the conditions were. [He hoped] that they would be able to teach us the better way to live and be better people.

This was a subtle form of racism, and the minister obviously had no idea that perhaps he was using the pulpit in a way strangely un-Christian. More overt was the bigotry voiced by another

staff member recollected in Donna's interview:

We also had a supervisor who quite often [would] rant and rave at us about how worthless we were, and that if we didn't learn to behave we would grow up like the rest of the Indians. She talked about how superior the English were.

Did staff recognize what damage they were doing to young hearts and minds? Were their frustrations so keen that they took their anger out on innocent children? Was their racism part of some mission they felt that had as its motive the salvation of these children from hellfire? For Maynard, as for other alumni of Shingwauk, these questions are moot. What they do not doubt is the sweeping, all-encompassing cloud of bigotry and racism that cloaked Shingwauk: policy, motivation, and methods were all racist. "I mean, like, their whole attitude [was] racist, OK? The whole attitude was [that] we were mentally impaired [so] we had to be taught how to [wash and everything]."

Language

And what of language, perhaps the most important facet of culture?

Let us start with Lucy Major: "... We couldn't speak our language. Sometimes when we [were] playing outside we'd get excited, and there's things you can say in your language [that] you just can't say in English."

Connie Walters, from the same era as Lucy, fills us in on one typical punishment:

We weren't allowed [to talk] our language at all. No. [Often] the meal I had was bread and water. Because I was caught ... talking my language.... 'Get up there, you're only getting bread and water for your supper.'

How did this affect the lives of those whose language was suppressed? What kind of instructional methods were used to teach Native children to speak English? What was the result when they went back home to their families? We will listen first to Lucy Major and Connie Walters, who left Shingwauk before the post-war era: Lucy points out, "We lost our language.

When I went back home, I couldn't speak it." This was a shock, not just to Lucy, but to her family: "And my grandmother [spoke] very very little English. And she couldn't understand how anybody could lose their language." It is to Lucy's credit, and to her grandmother's, that they still maintained a caring relationship: "I got along very well with my grandmother. She spoke very little English so we never had any long talks. But she was always around, which was nice." But the fact remains, she felt separated from her family as a result of her loss. "I didn't know [the language] at all and ... it was hard, going, going back."

Connie Walters fills us in on the methods of instruction used to assist small children arriving at Shingwauk with not a word of English:

[W]hen I first ... went there, all I was able to speak was Cree [and] nothing else. [I knew] no English. So we had to learn ourselves, really, by listening to the other children, eh? They didn't really take us in the classroom and say how was it done. You had more or less to teach yourself....

And what was the result of this "Teach Yourself English" method of instruction? Connie describes the reaction of her father to her speech, when they became re-acquainted after eight years.

When I came out of school there ... I helped my dad for awhile. 'Boy', he said, 'you've got a dirty mouth, you know.' He told me one day. 'Well, I don't know,' I say, 'What do you mean?' 'You swear too much,' he said. 'I don't understand your language.' But he knew it was all the slang, eh? ... 'Is that what they taught you?' he says, you know. I didn't say anything ... to him. I just went like that.... [shrugs]

Maynard Cook found that the language issue also became a point of division with his family:

I remember in 1955 my Granny refusing to talk to me because I was a 'White Man'. She couldn't talk to me. This was when I went home for the summer. I was starting to lose my language. It had been two or three years since I had talked my language.

By the war and post-war era, things obviously had changed. For one thing, the policy on language, although still a part of the big picture for the children in the residential schools system as a whole, had undergone a notable alteration. It appears, from the testimony of the respondents for

this project, that Native languages were still not encouraged or allowed. David Woods (Cree, Princeton, 1954-1957) reminds us of the rule during his years: "Some of the guys, they'd forget. You couldn't speak at suppertime. Any of the mealtimes, not just suppertime" (personal communication, January 4, 1996). Donna Campbell's experience in the early 1940s was similar, but with an interesting twist:

Well, by the time I went [I] had nobody to talk to and [the language issue] was just never brought up.... By that time there wasn't anyone talking ... Ojibwa or ... any other Native language....

In this excerpt from Donna's interview, we touch upon a factor in this issue that may have been unique at Shingwauk. Many Native tongues were represented at this particular school. This may have made implementing the "English only" policy much easier for the administration. English became the language of necessity for many of the children. Donna spoke some Mohawk when she arrived at Shingwauk in 1940, but had no opportunity to practice it further because there was no one else there who spoke that language. "And consequently ... I forgot my Mohawk that I had. When I go back and I hear it again, a lot of the words come back to me, but that's about all."

Sally Bowman (Ojibwa, Watford, 1954-1964) confirms that maintaining her own language was made more difficult because of the "Tower of Babel" she found at Shingwauk. "I learned more Cree than I did Ojibwa. Because ... a lot of my friends ... went into the Cree circle. So we learned all the bad words to say, and they'd say, 'What's that?' 'Oh, You look lovely!' " This would give Sally and her friends opportunities to tease each other. "But it wasn't what she was saying at all, like! You know, 'Are you sure?' ... 'Well, I'm just saying, giving you a compliment!' " (personal communication, December 2, 1995).

Sally, then, found it doubly hard to maintain her own language and identity because she found more friends among Cree children than among Ojibwa children. Maynard Cook, according to his recollections, encountered the opposite problem: for him, there were no Cree children to

Speak with.

But when I got down [to Shingwauk], there was no Cree there And then because there were 'Indians and Indians and Indians', they stuck me with Cree from Moose Factory, they stuck me with Ojibwa.

Note that when Maynard says, "... there were Indians and Indians and Indians..." he touches on another aspect of the racism inherent in this policy. The administration had no appreciation, nor perhaps comprehension, of the linguistic distinctions among the Native tribes of Canada, and among the students. "Well, they said, well, he's an Indian," says Maynard, but they did not understand the subtleties of each Native community.

So Maynard was placed with Native boys, not of his tribal group or language, but close to him only in age. But the "language loneliness" that Maynard experienced only lasted a year or so.

And then the next group that came down were the Oji-Crees from up around this area here [Northwestern Ontario].... I could understand some of their language from there because there were some similarities, with the mix. It was a blend of the Ojibwa and Cree. And there was a jump in the Crees then in the following year. [During] my second year I was there ... the Crees started coming in from James Bay.

What was the result for Maynard and his language? He spoke English with everyone. For at least a year, "I could speak English with everyone else, but no one spoke Cree."

It seems obvious, from the interviews conducted with alumni, that part of the language "problem" for staff was resolved by the multitude of languages represented at Shingwauk: it simply made more sense to the children to communicate using English. Consequently, the regulations concerning language became more evident in the breach than the observance. Maynard points out:

The language rules at that time [1952 - 1956] were starting to relax [so] when I got down to Shingwauk, the language [rule] in itself was: we couldn't speak our language in front of a staff member. But again, because of the expanse of Shingwauk and the bush and everything else, it was pretty hard for them to enforce it.

And, it was very hard to enforce even in the building. David Woods reports: "No. No.

They spoke it outside. Or at night ... they'd just crawl out of bed, slide out of bed, go talk to a chum."

By the following decade, Walter Brooks (Cree, Wawanosh, 1960-1962) spoke in his Native language to his friends with very little fear of punishment: "[My Cree friends and I] always stick together, you know [and] always talked Cree. We talked to each other in Cree, forget about the English" (personal communication, August 19, 1996). If a teacher was nearby, nothing was likely to happen:

I felt ... like I could talk anytime when I wanted [to] the other students.... I was talking to a Cree [once], trying to say something, and the teacher was there, she heard us, she just looked at us, didn't say too much. Just sort of 'OK, if you want to say something to each other, it's fine with me.'

This was different for Walter than the situation at Moose Factory Residential School. Perhaps the reason for this was the universality of the Native language at Moose Factory. Since Cree was virtually the only Native language around James Bay, the staff may well have decided to enforce the language rules with severe consequences; at Shingwauk, the problem was not overwhelming, since the need for a common language was evident even to the children. "Well we talked [with each other] in Cree, they didn't say too much. But when I went to Moose Factory, [it was different] we couldn't talk in Cree at all. They just told us to shut up in Moose Factory."

Walter's story is interesting from yet another point of view. When he arrived at Shingwauk in 1960, its function as a school was winding down. By this time, the federal government had adopted the policy of purchasing schooling that Native children required from the province. Although Walter lived at Shingwauk, he attended grade 7 and 8 at Queen Elizabeth Public School a few blocks away. How did he relate to the Euro-Canadian children in his classes? How did they react when he spoke Cree among his friends?

The kids didn't say anything about it. Some of them [said], 'What'd you say? What'd you say?' They wanted to know what you were saying, what kind of language we were

talking, eh. They didn't tease us or ... anything like that. [We] tried to tell them, explain what we were trying to say to them. They would try to say some words; we'd help them.

The language gap was often a serious problem for the children; only occasionally did it become a problem for staff and administrators, except for teachers of the early grades when children came to Shingwauk only knowing their Native tongue. But it did make itself felt from time to time. Maynard Cook recounts an anecdote that occurred at Shingwauk. A very young boy was being tested for his eyesight.

And they took this little guy in and they were testing his eyes and I guess when they were done, they were ready to give this little kid glasses like the bottom of a coke bottle. But the only problem is, the little fellow didn't know the symbols, he couldn't speak English.

Maynard found out about this and was able to bridge the gap between languages:

Well they didn't see it until he come back and [I] heard him talking [Cree], saying that they put these big things in front of his eyes and he couldn't see anything and he was getting headaches and all this other stuff. They were asking me [about it] when I was up there and he said, 'All I seen was a bunch of lines that looked like writing in an English book', he said.

So I [said to the supervisor] 'This little guy here'. I said, 'you were checking his eyes or something? There's nothing wrong with this kid's eyes.' So when they went back [and used symbols], the guy had eyes on him like an eagle!

Loss of Family

An important aspect of the Loss of Culture is the separation of the young from their families. It is an extremely effective means for crushing a culture for it is the family that passes on the traditions to the young. The moral standards, the yearly celebrations, the songs, the dances, the stories, the crafts, and the manners of a society are passed from one generation to the next through the actions, words, and beliefs of the family. The Native residential schools in general, and Shingwauk in particular, were a part of this policy, and the destruction of the family unit was a strong component of the continued destruction of Native society that had begun many generations before.

Parents and extended family

Many families were misinformed or inadequately informed about residential schools education. In this section we deal with how the children responded to their enforced separation from their parents, their grandparents, and other family members.

Parents. Lucy Major was one of those who was physically separated from her family for much longer than she ever dreamed: "But I thought we would be, you know, eventually I'd go back home. I never did for ten years." What does this do to a small girl who, for some reason, is no longer with her family?

What was it like for Lucy when her schooling was done and she went home? Was she able to re-establish a relationship with parents, siblings and extended family members? No. Her return home did not last long and she soon packed her bags.

When I left the reserve, I never went back. I go and I visit, but I, I never lived there. [It's true that] my aunts and uncles were [there but] I didn't know them too well any more. I was never close to my mother and my stepfather. I knew they were my parents, but I didn't have that closeness.

Connie Walters was exiled from her family for eight years: "I didn't go ... anywhere else. I didn't even go home for ... the holidays." Connie feels that she was kept against the will of her parents, who claim to have provided money to send her home on the holidays:

My dad used to send the money all right, but they always used to send it back. This we never found out why [they never sent us home] just for the holiday.... That's all my dad wanted us out [for] but they never did.

Connie was puzzled and confused also when very few letters arrived for her, and she blames the administration at Shingwauk.

I didn't understand it really [why they didn't allow] contact [with our family] We had no contact with them, didn't write to them ... no contact whatsoever. Just a couple of letters I remember that I got from my brother, that's all.

What mail she did receive and letters she prepared for mailing were carefully censored: "I

don't know if they sent it out, and there was lots of things that were scratched out that we wrote on them.”

It became obvious to Connie that seeking help from her family, when help was needed, was a waste of time:

And I knew then [even] before we got our letters, they used to open and read it, eh. Something they did not like there what my folks or my brother or whatever who wrote the letter to me, usually they scratched something ... out, out, [it was] all a dark line.

Connie, unlike Lucy before her, was able to restore some kind of relationship with her father, after her years at Shingwauk. At least, she thought enough of him to save him the pain of learning how she had been treated at the school: “I never told him what really took place, eh? Because ... I didn't want to hurt my dad really.... 'Cause, he was a kind man, and that.... And he would blame himself.”

Donna Campbell was one of those many Shingwauk children who never saw their parents for years: “The whole, sad part was ... we never saw our parents again. Once we arrived in the school, I never saw my parents from the day I left to go there until I left school and came home when I was 19.” The reader may recall that Donna attended Shingwauk for six years.

And, as might be expected, Donna experienced the same difficulty that Lucy had when she returned to her home reserve. “I went home when I was 19. And I don't think they knew how to treat me.”

Maynard also, but much later, felt a loss, like Connie. He too felt the loss of family support: “When we were [at Moose Factory or Chapleau Residential Schools], at least I had some kind of family, some kind of identity. When I was there [at Shingwauk] I was all alone.”

Maynard was a rebellious adolescent when he arrived, and Reverend Wickenden did not make a good impression on him. It was not long before he and his younger brother found their chance to run away. But a shock awaited them when they made it to their mother's home.

And that's the first time we seen our mother ... and her family ... for seven years, there. In fact when we got home ... she didn't know who we were, my brother and I. [We] were walking back of the house, and the sun ... was behind us at the time, and she asked us who we were and we told her. And she said 'Oh'.

After the initial surprise of their meeting with their mother, Maynard and his brother renewed acquaintances, and discovered that their mother had no idea they were both now at Shingwauk:

She didn't know that they'd moved us. She only knew that one of us was in Moose Factory and the other one was in Hamilton Your parents were never consulted. They would consult your parents when they were sending you there but they could move you around [once you were in the residential school system] and they never told you.

This policy speaks volumes: "Your child is no longer your child. Only if we consider it necessary, will we keep you informed."

David Woods is convinced, like Connie, that his family tried to send him money, but it was intercepted: "My dad used to send money, eh? Like, they used to send money but we never used to get it." Of course, it is unlikely that administrators would blatantly abscond funds meant for a child, but the fact remains that the situation was not explained thoroughly to the children whose parents ostensibly sent money, nor does it seem that the parents were apprised of whatever policy was in place. Perhaps in the interests of equality and, considering the leveling effect of an institution, money and other gifts were placed in a kitty and thereupon utilized in a general way for the whole school. Other explanations could be considered, but the purpose of this section is to establish how the children were separated from their families, and, in this case especially, perceived reality is truth.

Sally has strong memories of separation from family that took on both physical and symbolic forms. She encountered the latter form when, as a very small girl, she tried to make her bed the way her mother had taught her.

I stripped my bed down. And I made my bed and the supervisor got angry with me [and] I couldn't understand: why would she get angry with me when I made my bed? And I don't know where my mom learned but we learned to do that hospital ... corners, and the whole

works. But [my mom] always said, you go to make your bed, you strip it every morning, that airs it out, while you're fixing the sheets [and] then, you ... put it on. And to me, like I'm small, but I already knew how to do that.

And I got in trouble because I knew. That woman said to me 'Where did you learn that?' And I said, 'My mother.' And she said, 'You did not.' Well, I didn't say anything after that, because ... I don't know why she said my mom didn't teach me to do that, when that's [where] I got that, eh?

Did the supervisor behave as Sally reports because she knew about Sally's background? If so, it should not have led her to abuse a small girl's faith in her natural mother.

It will be recalled that, according to her account, Sally was removed from an abusive home at a very young age, and sent to Shingwauk without warning. Years later, her mother arrived to see her. It seems this was unexpected and Sally was hurriedly removed from sight. What followed is told best by Sally herself:

My mother came. My mom came when I [had been] three years [at the school]. You get lonesome, you cry at night. And it's quiet and everything. I always wondered ... how come I couldn't see Mom? [My sisters] would go home in the summer.... And then just you get used to [being left].

But I do remember ... I looked out the window [and] they took me from the playroom. I remember that supervisor said, '[Sally], you're to come upstairs.' And they took me up into the dormitory, and they told me I wasn't to leave there. [After a while at Shingwauk], you don't ask questions ... because you're told, you know, be quiet.

So I went in there and well, I'm sitting on my bed, and twiddling my thumbs, you know, looking out the window here. And I happened to go to the front of the building ... and I was looking out. And I thought I saw my brother. You know and I looked and I seen him talking to this woman. And she looked like she was crying. And that was the year my mom came to get my brother because she needed him to be at home to help her.

And I was looking out and I kept looking at her and looking at her and I knew I knew her but I didn't know her.... I remember ... (I'm gonna cry)... the supervisor came in, and I said to her 'Is that my mom?' And she said, 'Be quiet' ... And I never said nothing. I looked at her and I can remember the ... principal. He came out and he was waving his arms around and he was screaming at her....

And then a car came and my brother got in and she got in. And she looked like she'd been crying. And ... I went downstairs [after] they allowed me out of that dormitory and ... I snuck downstairs in the playroom and [my friends] said the principal told mom [I] didn't want to see her. And they asked me if that was right and I said, 'No'. I said, 'I didn't know

she was there, I didn't know she'd come.'

I went back upstairs and I shoved all that down, [and] I didn't recall till we had that healing service ... last reunion. At last, some of these things started to come up that I had squashed down.... And one of them was rejection, I couldn't take it, because that's what I had thought my mom did ... Like, you know, I didn't understand the whole thing of it, I just thought she didn't want me. And that's why I was there.

It seems clear that the staff were not trained to handle this very delicate situation properly. Not enough was done to help Sally get over this event.

The reality of her separation hit hard when she first made the attempt at renewing her relationship:

And I'd go home and 'You know [that] Auntie so-and-so died.' 'Oh, when was that?' 'I wrote it to you.' 'I never heard it.' You never heard about babies, you know, new babies. We'd come home. 'New baby, come here.' 'Whose baby is that?' 'I told you.' or ... We didn't know if somebody was in jail ...

It must have been at that point that Sally realized the situation was hopeless. Still today, the rift between her and her biological family is there and very real: "[My family] don't know me. I don't know them."

Sally Bowman endured many aspects of this issue, and she still suffers from the trauma of her experiences today. Like others before her, she had letters from family that were censored: "We got letters [and] I got letters from my mom, I guess, but a lot of it had big black marks on it.... For a long time our letters and everything were censored." Sally was taken from her family and never knew her mother.

But Maynard, later, describes his feelings for his mother with more heart: "My mother was a person someone said was my mother. I never had a mother."

Alan Wheatley, the new principal in 1967, interviewed by *The Sault Daily Star*, stated: "If a child can stay at home and get an education, that is best. A lot of Indian parents are nomadic and the child either comes into an institution or doesn't get an education" (Rockburne, 1967). What he

meant, of course, was “schooling” in the Euro-Canadian sense of the word, not “education”. The children of Shingwauk were clearly “schooled”; whether they were successfully educated or not, so they could become healthy and happily functioning members of a modern society is a subject for debate.

Grandparents. To restore a cultural and familial thread, especially with the grandparents, will take hard work. Maynard, still very much involved in education today, and still haunted by the ghosts of his childhood and youth, has thought extensively about the ramifications of this issue. He was not, after all, separated just from his parents, but also from his grandparents. This break in the generations had the effect of destroying the continuity inherent in such contact. A thread extending back in time for centuries is threatened. He points out: “By [my attending] a residential school, they cut off ... direct contact with [my grandmother] that could take me back to 1860.”

Maynard reminds us that the thread goes back even further. Had he had the chance to talk more with his grandparents, they could have told him of reminiscences that their grandparents told to them.

In 1860, my granny had contact with people that went back to 1760, direct contact. [Therefore] I'm looking at nearly two, two centuries here ... of contact, direct contact with my people, that I was denied by not having access to my Granny. [And in an oral society] we dismantled that [and] there's a big void left. A big void. [And] what happens now is a lot of people are floundering around, floating around, not aware.

Another aspect of this issue is addressed by Maynard. What of the joy, he says, that grandparents feel when they get a chance to help mould the small children their sons and daughters bring into the world? The residential school authorities, the Pied Pipers of the modern era, have victimized many more individuals than simply the children. Not only have the parents lost their offspring, says Maynard, uncles and aunts have lost their nephews and nieces and grandparents have lost their grandchildren. In fact, whole communities have lost large percentages of the next generation. In Maynard's words:

When you went into these communities and you pulled all of these children out of here, what happened to those communities...? What happens, what would happen to your community [if] you lived in Bruce Mines, or Echo Bay [small towns near Sault Ste. Marie], or some[where] like that, and they came and they pulled twenty-five of your children out of there. Well, how would that community function into the winter, and everything else without those children? What, what sort of role is the grandparents left? All these, these were all defined roles. And all of a sudden those roles are diminished. And that goes on for ... a hundred years. But now all of a sudden you go back, you've got young people, OK, they're supposed to sit down and talk to their elders.... 'What the hell's an Elder?'

Siblings

We need to remind ourselves that separation from the families of the children was total. This includes parents, grandparents, and other family members still at home, but it also included siblings, often attending the same school. The rules usually included one that enforced the separation of boys and girls. This rule, at Shingwauk and other residential schools, included the separation of brothers and sisters. Another circumstance, perhaps a result less of a particular rule than of the exigencies of a strict timetable, was the separation of older children and younger ones. Perhaps an older brother would have little contact with a younger brother, or an older girl would be cut off from contact with her younger sister. In this section we deal with the children's memories of their loss of siblings.

Separation of siblings. The rule separating male and female students was adhered to firmly at Shingwauk. This may not have been a bad thing in itself, certainly it was not uncommon even in Euro-Canadian schools, but at Shingwauk, as at other residential schools and institutions, it had the effect of splitting siblings and cousins. This served to emphasize, even to the smallest children, that they had no support system beyond their teachers and supervisors. Lucy attests that even looking at a boy was closely monitored: "There was a [hallway] in between, there were pillars. We just stood up, said the grace, sat down and we weren't to look over on that side..."

How did Lucy react to this restriction? Since the staff was able to work with her from a

very early age, she soon got used to it: "... I started when I was little. So I had no interest in talking to them when I couldn't talk to them. And ... I didn't seem to miss it."

The separation of families was part and parcel of Lucy's daily life:

Oh, yes. But we never mingled with the boys.... They sat on one side of the dining room and we sat on the other side. Same with prayer time [when] we went in the auditorium and they, they had their own section. We didn't really know the boys. Even my own brother. You know, I couldn't mingle with him.

Did this rule extend to all aspects of their daily life? It appears so; even the use of the skating rink was closely controlled: "So they'd clear the boys away when the girls were coming to have a skate." And, of course, when the children had the opportunity to swim: "Yeah, we went swimming. We went right down to St. Mary's river. The girls had their own spot and the boys, I don't know, they had someplace else."

Connie also suffered from the separation from her younger sister:

After that, I never seen them for awhile, [because] they separated us, eh.... They put us in different groups, eh? So I don't know what kind of life she really had after when they took her away from me, that was my younger sister.

But Connie noticed a change with this policy when Rector Hives left in 1941, to be replaced by Canon Minchin. According to her, coed activities were unheard of before that time.

After the change in command, however, the rules were loosened:

There was nothing like that [with Mr. Hives. But] it got a little better for us after when Mr. Minchin come in [and] when he came in, well things changed a little bit, for the boys too [as] the boys were able to play hockey ... and played baseball against the girls....

During that time, a subtle change was instituted with the siblings-apart policy: according to Donna's testimony, siblings were now allowed one half-hour of contact every week. This may have come about as a policy directive from higher authorities, or it may have been a new liberalizing initiative introduced by Canon Minchin.

I'll always remember the day [my brother Morris] arrived, I was so excited. He arrived in the afternoon, but I couldn't see him until the next day and then it was after supper. We

cried the whole time. Except for the time we'd been separated, we had at least grown up together. [My brothers and sisters and I never] had an opportunity to connect. We all grew up strangers.

And, only if other considerations allow us to, will we maintain the policy of separating boys from girls. Maynard found it mildly ironic that rules were waived when staff found it expedient to do so:

They had a little infirmary [in the building]. I got sick once up there [and] I ended up for three or four days in the infirmary. There was only about three or four beds in there. [But] they didn't have a boys' segment or a girls' segment, it was just like a hospital wing, just four or five beds that were in there.

Presumably, if there were both girls and boys sick in the infirmary, the rule would be ignored.

Was David separated from his siblings also attending? It seems so: "Well, they separated us. They separated my sister Elena [and me]."

The rules regarding the separation of boys and girls did not change immediately with the arrival of Reverend Phillips in 1954. Sally reports:

[Did I see] my brother and my cousins? Across like, across the dining room was one place, when we went in for meals. But no direct contact. If we played outside I never saw them, you know. But then my brother was older too.

In fact, the occasions when she did have contact were so unusual that she remembers two instances clearly:

The only time I saw my brother on our side was [when] the girls got me climbing a tree. [And] I went up [so] high I couldn't come down. And I wouldn't let anybody bring me down. I was yelling and screaming and my older sisters wouldn't go up there so they went and got my brother. And he came because he was the one who taught me to go up the trees but he always helped me down so that's why they went and got him, I guess. And that was the only time that he ever came over on the girls' side that I ever saw.

And then Sally remembers another time, this one sanctioned by the staff, not simply overlooked:

Most of the time [the boys] all stayed on the other side [But there were] picnics. We used to hold big picnics down at the lake, but I think that was only in the summer, ... we had picnics and that down ... at the lake.

Were the rules bent in the summer because there were fewer children to monitor and key

administrative staff was away? Does this reflect a change in attitude among the staff?

Especially does this rule seem to have undergone a revolutionary shift once the federal government had made the decision to purchase education from the province. Sally remembers this as "when we started going out to the schools". It is a matter of record that this process at Shingwauk began in 1961, when Sally was 13 years old.

For a young teenage girl, this change in policy opened up new vistas for exploration, first in the schoolyard, then in the building itself:

And the supervisor was up in the window watching. You know. Nobody could go off by themselves; ... they had to be in plain view, that type of thing. But they couldn't come into the school on our side, on the outside.

How did things change in the school itself? "Inside, the only place you could come together like that was ... in the auditorium for homework or [special occasions]. But on special occasions you weren't allowed to mingle."

How did Sally react to this? For her, it was the best part of the day:

It was fun when once [we were in] classes, ... when we went out to the schools. When we came back ... they didn't have any place for us to do our homework, so they put us in the auditorium. First opportunity to have a look at the opposite sex! ... 'I don't like anybody, but hey! each to their own.' 'Oh did you see so and so?' 'Oh, yeah. He's ugly.' 'Oh no, she's ugly!' ... It was interesting because we were able to see our cousins ... and you were even allowed to walk over, if you were in the same grade ... you could mill around. That was... That was the best time that I ever remember... [to see] family all right there.

A substitute family. With the loss of family, including parents and grandparents at home, coupled with the loss of siblings at the Shingwauk itself, an interesting phenomenon becomes evident. Many of the respondents mentioned that they felt closer to the children they saw often at Shingwauk, in preference to those in their own families. A "substitute" family, then, arose, to take the place of those they had lost.

Who does Maynard regard as his family today? What were the results for him when he was finally released from the residential school system at the age of 16? Was he able to build a

relationship with his immediate family? The response is typical of many of the children who were schooled in the residential system, and of many of the children of Shingwauk.

I spent twelve and a half years in the residential schools and it's the only family [I] know. [I have a] biological mother and father, [and] my brothers and sisters are with me. And the only family that I have, that I developed, was with those children in residential schools with me.

Maynard's testimony supports the findings of others. The peer group became a substitute family. "I went there [when I was] three and a half years old and I left when I was 16. It's the only family I've known."

Did David feel, as did Maynard, that the Shingwauk was more of a home than the home of his biological family? Again, it would appear that that was the case: "You know, after the second year, I used to want to go back, because I had a lot of friends, eh?"

David was very young and he soon sublimated his yearning for family to a natural entry into what is loosely referred to as "the gang age". The peer "family" for David had replaced his natural one.

If Sally effectively was separated from her natural family for at least the ten years she attended Shingwauk, did she, and has she experienced the bonding with her schoolmates that other respondents mention? It would seem from her words that she has: "Oh, I made tons of friends. A lot of them I still associate with today. Because they're ... family, like they're sisters, they were close...." The Shingwauk family is a substitute for her own, biological family:

But today, when I look back ... my attitude is I'm very glad that I had a lot of people there that shared the same thing that I did. They're like my family, my brothers and sisters. Like, 'cause today I have a lot of ... [people with whom] I still keep in touch.... And even though they didn't give me, say, the family bonding and that type of thing, regardless of what went on, I still bonded with other children, and they were still my [substitute] brothers and sisters.

How did this bonding reveal itself at Shingwauk? For one, it was used to combat the common enemies, the staff and the rules: "You don't want to embarrass your 'brothers and

sisters' So you'd always try to protect one another.... Even bullies would, you know, pitch in there. They still hated you, ... but they would help."

And what are the results for Sally today? How does she relate to members of her own family? The effects of the years at Shingwauk are unfortunately long-lasting: "I couldn't talk to my brother. [Even today], I don't talk much to my brother or my sisters." If it ever comes to a contest between her Shingwauk family and her biological family, the winner is clear. "I had my substitute family.... I think sometimes I don't know my own family as well as I knew the kids that I grew up with. [So] I found that is a benefit from ... the school."

Analyses

Having looked at the theme of Losses of Culture as described by the respondents, we must now look at what this means. Can we find patterns in the testimonies of the respondents? Does what they report match what is already said in the literature? What differences can we find? Was there a shift when the responsibility for the school became less that of the Anglican Church and more the purview of the Federal Government?

Loss of traditions (racism)

The editors (Barman et. al., 1986) of *Indian education in Canada* have written in the first chapter, "The key to the future of any society lies in the transmission of its culture and worldview to succeeding generations" (p. 1). It follows then, that to destroy a culture would not be difficult: simply prevent that culture from being transmitted to the next generation. In the Canadian context, the aim of the policymakers of the late nineteenth century was just that: destroy the Native culture and replace it with that of the Euro-Canadian, and do it by splitting one generation from the next. Their prime instrument of destruction was the residential schools system.

Randy Fred, in his "Foreword" to Celia Haig-Brown's *Resistance and renewal: Surviving the Indian residential school* (1988), sees the schools policy as an aspect of colonization:

"Colonization works the same way everywhere, its policy geared toward displacement and elimination of indigenous culture: genocide. The residential school, wherever it has appeared, has been a part of that policy" (p. 11). Miller (1996) agrees. The whole point of the residential system was to solve the Indian "problem": "The peaceful elimination of Indians' sense of identity as Aboriginal people and their integration into the general citizenry would eventually end any need for Indian agents, farm instructors, financial assistance, residential schools, and other programs" (p. 184/185).

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, saving the language and culture of Canada's Native people was not considered a positive policy. In fact it was felt that saving Native people was only possible if they could somehow be transformed. When the Earl of Dufferin, Governor-General of Canada, visited the new Shingwauk school on the 31st of July, 1874, he addressed a crowd of local citizens, students and staff:

It is very evident that so great a change as that from the wild life of the hunter to the occupation of the cultivator could scarcely be effected at all, unless those who are thus invited to alter all their habits of thought and life are educated with that intent. For this purpose it is obviously the best method to lay hold of the younger generation, by instructing them in the arts and habits of civilized life, and to put them in a position to join with us on equal terms in our endeavour to build up this great country, so that the various races may be united by common interests and in a common cause. (quoted by E. F. Wilson, 1886/1983, p. 147)

It was E. F. Wilson's aim, in keeping with the national goal of assimilation, to fundamentally change the children in his care:

... this is just what we want to do with our Indian boys: to make Canadians of them. When they leave our Institution, instead of returning to their Indian Reserves, to go back to their old way of living, we want them to become apprenticed out to white people, and to become, in fact, Canadians. (E. F. Wilson, 1886, p. 171)

The implication is that the Native Canadian culture should be allowed to expire, slowly,

perhaps, but inexorably. Be it understood that when E. F. Wilson writes that he wants "to make Canadians" of his Indian boys, he means "Euro-Canadians". This sort of racist lapse was common currency in his time.

The Governor-General was not voicing an opinion unique in his time. He was not a radical, although his attitude and his blatant racism seem extraordinary to us as we near the end of the twentieth century. No, he spoke for millions who felt just as he did. And such racism was the official policy of the national government of the time. This policy was considered reasonable and fair even fifty years later. D. C. Scott was the deputy superintendent of Indian Affairs 1913-1932. He was blunt when he spoke, in March of 1920, of his goals concerning the Indian "question":

Our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic, and there is no Indian question, and no Indian Department, and that is the whole object of this Bill. (quoted by Titley, 1986, p. 50)

The "bill" he was referring to was a series of amendments to the Indian Act that made school attendance mandatory and encouraged some Indians to relinquish their treaty status. It was passed in 1920.

E. F. Wilson, the Governor-General, and D. C. Scott had no idea their policy was one of violence and destruction, except in the sense that they hoped to destroy what to them was a hopelessly backward and miserable culture that could never be salvaged. Their attitude -- not strange at the time -- is described by Freire as a necessary corollary to this rule of "cultural invasion". "For cultural invasion to succeed, it is essential that those invaded become convinced of their intrinsic inferiority. Since everything has its opposite, if those who are invaded consider themselves inferior, they must necessarily recognize the superiority of the invaders" (Freire, 1971, p. 151).

Indian Affairs Education Division (1965) recognized the dynamics surrounding the collision of cultures embodied in the residential school system.

When two cultures meet, a process of blending is initiated. The culture with the more advanced technology, the superior body of knowledge, and the facility for adapting to the accruing exigencies is invariably the one that dominates. The culture with the less advanced technology tends to become assimilated by the dominant culture, but the assimilation is seldom complete where existing conditions permit some degree of insularity. This, to some extent, is the story of the Indian. He has given and he has received and now, in large measure, he drifts in a sea of cultural transition. (p. 49)

In the mid-sixties, the official tone has certainly been changed from the overt racism of 1874 and 1913. Instead of total destruction of Native culture, the official policy seems to be more give-and-take. But, writes Geoffrey York (1990), this innocent aim was really a smoke screen for a more sinister goal. "There is little doubt that the federal government regarded the Indian residential schools as a key weapon in a long-term plan to destroy all vestiges of the Indian culture" (p. 32). Furniss (1992) agrees: "The explicit goal of the [residential] schools was to strip the children of their culture and identity and to transform the children into productive working-class members of Euro-Canadian society" (p. 2). York (1990) echoes this opinion: "The schools were the chief weapon of the missionaries and the federal bureaucrats in their systematic campaign to destroy Indian culture" (p. 27). The Native traditions destroyed or ignored included Native History.

The curriculum in the residential schools was part of this policy and was inappropriate for Native children. History books described "massacres" perpetrated by Indians and "victories" won by Euro-Canadians. As Miller (1996) writes, "... in no province was the curriculum attuned, or even sensitive, to the social and cultural environment from which the Native children came" (p. 178).

The destruction of Native culture had, as its corollary, the destruction of Native self-esteem. Jane Willis, an alumnus of Shingwauk, as well as of other schools, writes (1973): "For twelve years I was taught to love my neighbour -- especially if he was white -- but to hate myself. I was made to feel untrustworthy, inferior, incapable, and immoral. The barbarian in me, I was told, had to be destroyed if I was to be saved" (p. 199).

Lucy remembers comments that today would be classed as racist, and in the 1930s would at least be considered insulting. Donna described racist put-downs and general remarks that she recalled in her interview. Both Donna and Maynard, looking back, felt that it was understood that few, if any, Native peoples were capable of attending Sault Collegiate High School, the academic school.

Racism, as experienced by the respondents, demonstrated itself in several ways. Not only did the children suffer the overt and obvious put-downs that were evident in their day-to-day experiences, but the policy of the government regarding Native culture reflected a racism that was official.

Tradition. Connie mentioned with some vehemence that all Native tradition was taken away. Donna found the same, especially in the classroom. No mention was ever made, as she reports in her interview, about the part Native peoples had played in the history of Canada. No encouragement was ever given to the children that might give them some pride in being Native.

Language. At some schools, respondents report horrific means designed to curb and, in fact, eliminate native tongues being spoken. Such a policy was by no means universal, and seems to have changed over the decades, until speaking Ojibwa or Cree or any other native language was no longer a punishable event. In the current study, the use of a Native language was an offence during the early years, as testified by Lucy and Connie.

For these respondents who were children at Shingwauk in the 1930s, the language policy was firm. The rule was inflexible, and punishment was meted out if an infraction occurred. Even as late as the 1950s, David was subjected to the English-only rule, though he doesn't mention a punishment. As a result, the children lost the ability to speak their Native tongue, and relations with their natural families back home became strained as a result.

But the language rules gradually but steadily became irrelevant in the 1960s. Why did this

change? Alvin McKay and Bert McKay (1987) give us a clue:

We now know that a child is capable of learning two or more languages simultaneously. It was lack of awareness which led in part to the destruction of Native languages in the residential schools, where children were forbidden to use their languages year after year. The teachers and DIA [Department of Indian Affairs] officials believed that in order to teach Native children to speak English, they had to wipe out the children's own language. (p. 79)

This has implications for the present work. First, many respondents discovered that it was hard going back to one's own people when the language has been lost. Second, language "submersion", that is, the theory that preventing students from speaking their Native language -- in the expectation that the target language will thereby be learned more quickly and effectively -- has multiple results, some of which are unwanted.

The effects of language submersion in education are usually that the children do learn the second language fairly well, but the psychological cost is high in the stress put on the children and their sense of being in terms of their own language and culture. To us at the end of the twentieth century, this seems like a poor excuse for what was clearly a component of the racist attitude prevalent at the time the residential schools were functioning. To be fair, however, it must be pointed out that it was imperative that these children learn one of the two official languages of the country. If students at residential schools did not learn to speak and write English or French with reasonable ease, they could hardly be said to be ready to function in modern Canadian society. Indian Affairs Education Division (1965) recognized that this was an important policy motivator for the curriculum of the residential schools: "Lack of English was and still is at the root of much of the school retardation of Indian pupils" (p. 76).

We can forgive the authorities for the policy in the light of the fact that they were under the mistaken impression that a child could not learn a new language without the suppression of the mother tongue, but we cannot forgive the policy for its place in the more insidious policy involving

the destruction of a culture. York (1990) does not see the language suppression policy as a policy born of ignorance of how children learn. Instead, he sees the attack on language as the logical result of the federal government's attack on Native culture. "A culture cannot survive without its language.... When the language is lost, the culture is crippled. And so it was the language that was the first target of the residential schools" (p. 36). This may be harsh judgment, and evidence against this view can be found in the Shingwauk example. Perhaps as more information became available, and more understanding filtered down to the administration and the staff, less and less language suppression was the result.

Miller (1996) describes how the language problem faced by the teachers, especially those teachers who taught the youngest and newest arrivals, delayed and hampered their efforts.

For many Indian and Inuit children, the language barrier they faced when they went off to residential school meant that weeks, months, perhaps in some cases even years of academic instruction were wasted. In the era when modern residential schools existed, there was little understanding among authorities and teachers of the difficulties of teaching English as a second language, and probably there would have been little sympathy even if such knowledge had existed. But staff recognized that teachers who had the responsibility for the earliest grades faced a major pedagogical challenge. (p. 173)

But the language difficulties were not as severe at Shingwauk as at other residential schools. Miller (1996) points out that the multiplicity of languages present at many schools perhaps was the easiest way for some locations to succeed at their language goals. "Schools that accommodated students from a number of ethnic and linguistic backgrounds usually found students turned easily to English (or, in a few instances, to French) as a common tongue" (p. 203). Certainly this seems to have been the case at Shingwauk, and language suppression was implemented indirectly for the staff.

Jane Willis, who attended Shingwauk from 1955 to 1958, underlines this aspect of the language rules in this era. She writes (1973) that since there were many Native languages represented at the school, it was not difficult to encourage the use of English in and around the

school, as it was often the *lingua franca* that enabled any communication at all to take place (Willis, p. 139). The *lingua franca* syndrome, for instance, applies to Maynard's experience.

So when I got down there, I spoke Cree, but I had no-one to speak with anyway, because they all were speaking Ojibwa and I had no way to speak their language. [So] the first year I was there, I had no-one really to speak my language with.

The loss of language for Maynard resulted as well in difficult relations with his family.

But the loss of language in Maynard's experience was not as a direct result of rules and punishment. He was forced to learn English because he was isolated from others who spoke Cree. This was becoming more and more the case, and the language problem became more and more of a dead issue. Donna, for instance, in the 1940s, suggests that the issue never came up in her experience. Sally Bowman, who attended in the 1950s, maintained her own language with great difficulty, and learned more Cree from her friends than she taught Ojibwa to them.

The 1960s, at Shingwauk, seem to have been a decade characterized by recognizable shifts in attitude, at least on the issues of language and culture. We have seen how language became a non-issue, starting with Donna Campbell in the 1940s, continuing with Maynard Cook, Sally Bowman and David Woods, who were reminded of language rules but seldom suffered because of them, in the 1950s, and finally leading to Walter Brooks, whose use of Cree words in the 1960s was virtually ignored. A similar shift in attitude was evident in the policy concerning culture.

In an effort to combat the destruction of Native society by the residential schools, it seems some efforts were made, especially at Shingwauk, to introduce some Native culture. An Indian game, called "puttsia" was played, for instance (Baker, 1962) and children, asked by a reporter for their comments about their schooling, suggest that something had been accomplished by this time to repair some of the damage. Jacqueline, for instance, said, "We are all really proud of being Indians and being able to speak two or three languages." Also, Margaret, in the same article, referred to what was perhaps a renewed effort on the part of her parents to revive some of the

Native culture. "Our parents tell us the Indian legends and stories from a long time ago. They're lots of fun." Compare these reports to the recollections of the respondents Lucy Major and Connie Walters, who attended Shingwauk in the 1920s and 1930s. The shift in approach is obvious.

The National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) published a policy paper in 1972 and presented it to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. In it, they outlined the values, philosophies and direction for Native education that the NIB espoused. Concerning language, the words of the paper were clear:

Language is the outward expression of an accumulation of learning and experience shared by a group of people over centuries of development. It is not simply a vocal symbol; it is a dynamic force which shapes the way a man looks at the world, his thinking about the world and his philosophy of life. Knowing his maternal language helps a man to know himself; being proud of his language helps a man to be proud of himself. (p. 15)

Can the loss ever be recovered? A Task Force on the Educational Needs of Native Peoples held an open meeting at Garden River Reserve in 1975. A representative from the floor spoke up. He said, "It was the Federal schools who took the language and the culture from the Indians, and I think it should be their responsibility to bring it back" (Government of Ontario, 1976, Volume 1, Appendix B, p. 16). Perhaps he is right, but while waiting for the Federal government to take action, it would be foolish for the Native community to sit back and do nothing.

The destruction of Native culture, a component of colonization, included the destruction of Native language. Randy Fred continues, in his "Foreword" to Celia Haig-Brown's work (1988), pointing to language as a specific and necessary component of culture: "The elimination of language has always been a primary stage in a process of cultural genocide" (p. 11).

Loss of family

The distances that children had to travel to get to Shingwauk, it should be argued, forestalled the frequent attendance problems experienced at some residential schools. As many

truant officers will attest, attendance is an element of a child's education that is largely the responsibility of the parents. If parents are negligent in this regard, and fail to get the child to school regularly, a boarding situation is one effective way of overcoming the reluctance of parents to school their children.

Ken Coates (1986) argues in his discussion of Indian day schools in the Yukon Territory that this was one of the more compelling arguments in favour of boarding schools. Poor attendance habits of children at day schools, even if those schools were on the reserve, especially in remote areas of the country, were the rule rather than the exception. Not only was the school experience often regarded as irrelevant by Native parents; sometimes a nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle made it impractical. Teaching under these conditions would be admittedly difficult and learning would be haphazard, at best.

This purpose of the boarding school system, to improve attendance, became moot, however, with the introduction of Family Allowance cheques, popularly named the "Baby Bonus". The post World War II prosperity initiated many social programs, including increased funding for education, and, most significantly for our purposes, the Family Allowance Act of 1944. Now, day schools for Native children and others whose parents did little to encourage attendance, became much more viable. For there were strings attached to the gift from the government: the child had to be regularly attending school in order for the parents to receive the cheque. "The programme forced difficult choices between Native mobility and the sedentary lifestyle necessary to collect the sizable monthly payments" (Coates, 1986, p. 145).

Parents

So far we have discussed the practical motives for the residential system of education delivery. There was also a racist motive that must be addressed in this section, as in others in this

study. Gathorne-Hardy (1977) comments on the necessity of removing children from their families if cultural change is the aim:

The most painful and agonizing of the initiation rites [into the new culture], the sine qua non of the most violent, the one most usual when there is no violence, discovered and used in various forms by dozens of cultures, is the most simple -- *it is to remove the children from their families* [italics in original]. This alone is pain enough, this on its own has the violence necessary to drive home for ever the importance of what is being taught, to bring about the necessary change. (p. 433)

The residential school system, of which Shingwauk was an important element, was partly designed to effect that change. And separation from families, driving a wedge between the generations, helped force that cultural change.

Randy Fred, an alumnus of the Alberni Indian Residential School on Vancouver Island, in his "Foreword" for Celia Haig-Brown's (1988) *Resistance and renewal: Surviving the Indian residential school*, writes "My great hatred of the residential school springs from this: it took away the opportunity for me to grow up with my father. I never did get close to him until only a few years before he passed away" (p. 16).

Gathorne-Hardy's study (1977) deals with boarding schools as they are found in England. But some aspects of those schools and the Native residential schools in this country are remarkably alike. And, what Gathorne-Hardy has to say regarding the separation of children from their parents is significant for our purposes as well:

Public school boys were [separated from their families] at the age of eight. Odd things happen when you do this to children. Studies of kibbutz life show clearly that, separated from their families, children become dependent on each other; a good deal of love and loyalty they would feel for their fathers and mothers attaches itself to the peer group. (p. 131)

Gathorne-Hardy (1977) talks about how a child might react to being willingly sent away by his parents. He is writing of the situation he sees explicit in British boarding schools, but his remarks are significant and worthy of our consideration.

To a small child, the only convincing reason, at a subconscious level, for being sent away like this was because they were not loved; and they were not loved because they had done wrong. I think it probable that the deep sense of guilt about their class which afflicted so many of them was compounded by this -- this guilt, really, about themselves. (p. 224)

Although the class Gathorne-Hardy refers to is the British upper class, it is not too much to see that this statement can be applied to the Native Canadian situation. It may not be a "deep sense of guilt" that afflicts alumni of the residential schools system, but often are they not plagued with a sense of inferiority? And might that collective sense of inferiority not have something to do with a feeling of rejection?

Gathorne-Hardy (1977) comments on the chasms between parents and children, chasms created by forced and lengthy separations. "It is hardly surprising that, confused by these strong guilt [that they were sent away because they were bad] and corresponding resentments about their parents, family relationships were often hopeless" (p. 224). Medicine (1987) puts this argument into its historical context when she writes "The removal of children into federal and residential schools in Canada and the United States broke intergenerational ties which guaranteed the cultural continuity of indigenous societies in the precontact period, when Indian cultures flourished in North America" (p. 144).

At the official opening of the school, August 2nd, 1875, the Bishop of Huron spoke to the gathering. He was persuaded, he said, "that the true way to do any permanent good to the poor aborigines of this country, was to take their young, and train them" (quoted by E. F. Wilson, 1886/1983, p. 161). Of course, he was not the only individual in a position of authority to think this way: his words are simply documentary evidence of the attitude of the age.

The directive "to take their young" was followed with vigour, and in several ways. First, children were physically separated from their parents, usually by distances that were overwhelming. Even in the modern era, in which we are blessed with paved highways, high-speed

trains, and airports at the most remote communities, such time was required to return home that most children could see the hopelessness of trying to get home. Also, it was not unusual for children at Shingwauk to stay at the school over the summer holidays, so that years might go by before a child saw his or her parents again. A newspaper article in the early 1960s reported on a busload of young people departing Shingwauk, headed in the direction of James Bay: "Students will spend as many as three days travelling time" (Corbett, 1963).

Children also were separated from their parents and families by the censorship of their mail. Although it can be argued that uneducated parents would make, at best, limited use of this means to keep in touch, the black marks on letters received and sent would be psychologically discouraging and isolating. The fact that this was common practice in boarding schools in England hints at the source of this practice, but does not detract from its symbolic meaning. It had the effect on the residents to write only letters that were all "sweetness and light", avoiding negative topics such as over-harsh discipline, poor food and overwhelming loneliness.

Miller (1996) theorizes that the censorship of the mail was part of the concerted effort to further separate children from their families: "A deterrent to frequent correspondence was the knowledge that students' letters were always read by staff" (p. 311). Yet, it must be fair, sometimes there were good reasons why the children were separated from their families.

More and more as the decades passed, children from homes that were unable to provide suitable environments were sent to Shingwauk and other Residential institutions. Miller (1996) writes: "Increasingly, the Department of Indian Affairs used the residential schools as a refuge for orphaned or neglected children" (p. 313). As more and more children arrived over the decades with serious emotional problems, staff tried to cope with the crises and emergencies that arose as a result.

Miller (1996) writes: "Definitely the growing emphasis in the twentieth century on the use

of residential schools for orphans, children of broken or troubled homes, and youngsters whose behaviour could not be handled in day schools was significant" (p. 313). How were policies designed to accommodate this increasing purpose? Not well. The staff at Shingwauk, as reported by the respondents, were caught as inadequately prepared as staff at other residential schools to support the emotional needs, and the special emotional needs of an increasing number of children sent to them for schooling and care.

Siblings

Miller (1996) writes: "One of the most marked features of Canada's residential schools was their fanatical segregation of female and male students" (p. 219). This meant that children were kept apart from their siblings who also attended the school, if they were of opposite gender. This was common practice at many schools of the early twentieth century, and may have had its origins again in England, where doors to the outside were routinely designated "for boys only" and "for girls only". And the separation of children of different ages, into different grades and different dormitories, more perhaps a consequence of their institutionalization than of anything else, had a similar effect: children at Shingwauk found occasions when they spoke or otherwise related to siblings also attending the school to be unusual and memorable.

The substitute family

Maynard, David, and Sally all included reports of the development of a "substitute family" for each of them during the years they spent at Shingwauk. The others in this study did not emphasize such a development.

Haig-Brown (1988) sees the peer-group-as-family phenomenon in a racist light. "The camaraderie which developed within the groups provided a welcome respite from the cultural

attacks" (p. 66).

Battiste (1986) recognizes the sentiments of Haig-Brown but links the development of this "substitute family" with the very real loss of the natural families of the children: "Perhaps the most traumatic effect of the residential school was not its language restriction but its destruction of the tribal family cohesion and its replacement with peer group allegiance" (p. 36).

Conclusions

By the time the story of Shingwauk was reaching its final stages, the mistakes made at the school, and at other residential schools across the country, were being acknowledged, and attempts were being made to correct them. In the areas of cultural genocide and language suppression, the truth was becoming clear, both to the federal bureaucrats and to the principals and other officials on the front lines. David Lawson became the new "administrator" when the Shingwauk Residential School was changed to the Shingwauk Hall September 23, 1966. This change of name became necessary because no schooling took place in the building any more. The process that began in 1961, that is the integration of the children into local schools, had been completed by September of 1966. He and his wife were featured in the local paper. Lawson spoke about the language issue: "While, when I am around I expect them to speak English, I don't want to take their language away from them. It's a good thing for them to know two languages" (Rockburne, 1966). This represents a total about-face for the language policy at residential schools in general, and at Shingwauk in particular.

It is noteworthy to point out that today, at local schools in Sault Ste. Marie, where numbers warrant, Ojibwa is being taught to Native children on a daily basis. This is not unique in the country; but it represents a whole new understanding of the language and culture issue. This, and other programs like it, will go a long way towards correcting the mistake concerning language

and language suppression as experienced in the residential schools and to a lesser extent, at Shingwauk.

Lawson also spoke to the press regarding the new federal policy regarding Native education: "I don't think assimilation is the word but rather integration. The Indians can fit into our way of life but still cling to the things he holds dear" (Rockburne, 1966). He was quite clear on his attitude toward assimilation. It was no longer the policy of the Federal government to destroy the Native culture: Native Canadians "... should be proud of what they are and keep their traditions, culture and language. It is important for them to be proud of their race. If they keep their pride I think most things will work out for them" (Rockburne, 1966).

By the following year, Lawson was replaced by a new principal, Alan Wheatley. Wheatley was presumably voicing the new federal policy and spoke to the press in a way that is light-years removed from what was pronounced by the Governor-General in 1885 and by D. C. Scott, deputy superintendent of Indian Affairs, 1913 - 1932. "We are breaking down a society and that seems unavoidable" (Rockburne, 1967). The official word from a half-century earlier was, if we may paraphrase, "We are breaking down a society and that's precisely what we want."

CHAPTER FOUR

Needs Addressed/not Addressed

Introduction

The needs of the children, as reported by the respondents, are discussed in this chapter. These are primarily needs that are practical, such as physical needs. Also discussed are other needs, such as emotional growth and spiritual development, which are not as practical, but needs nonetheless.

To educate a child, a good educator, especially of young children, not only is concerned with the intellectual growth of the charges for whom he or she is responsible, but is also involved in the growth of the children physically, socially, emotionally, and spiritually. In current day parlance, educators are concerned with the "whole child". This was not always the case, except among those staff who instinctively saw a need. When educators are responsible for the well-being of the child during twenty-four hours of the day, as is the case in a boarding school situation, this responsibility is infinitely increased. There is no escape! For many of the children at residential schools, who never went home for holidays or weekends, their characters and personalities were almost wholly formed by the staff and policies of the school. This chapter deals with physical needs, including food, health services, exercise and sleep; emotional needs; and spiritual needs of the children.

Physical needs

As primary caregivers for the children schooled at Shingwauk, the staff and administration had a responsibility to ensure that each child's physical needs were met adequately. The respondents interviewed for this project spoke about their physical needs at Shingwauk. They

spoke of the food they were served, the health services that were provided, the exercise they received and the amount of sleep they could expect.

Food. High on the list of complaints, mentioned by most respondents, was the food they were served. Lucy Major (Ojibwa, West Island, 1929-1939) , who attended during the Depression years. spoke simply. but eloquently: “We were hungry. Always hungry” (personal communication, June 17, 1995).

Lucy complained that there never were snacks handed out between meals, as often children want and expect.

Well, we never ate between. We had our breakfast, and never had anything in between. And then we'd have our lunch. And ... when we were really active. we'd like an apple or an orange or something. Never got anything like that.

As in most institutions, the food was served in very plain fashion. Lucy says,

[The meals] were served ... army style. So much on the plate, and it was put in front of you: they didn't put it out where you could help yourself. And they'd give you bread, just a few slices of bread.

Serving food in an institutional way ensures that consistent amounts are cooked and consumed, reducing waste to a minimum. But a consequence of this style of presentation is that some children would almost certainly be hungry long before the next meal. Some children found novel ways of coping with this: Connie (Cree, Morrisville, 1938-1946) was one that found at least one food substitute:

We didn't usually used to eat until about seven-thirty, eh? We had to work first.... We used to eat this cornstarch to [make our] stomach full a little bit. [Then] we wouldn't have to be so hungry, eh? It was rolled cornstarch.... At that time cornstarch used to look like popcorn. (personal communication, June 16, 1995)

It needs to be pointed out that the years she attended were the war years, years of rationing and privation. Besides eating laundry starch, Connie also confesses to another tactic: “Well, we stole lots of food, I'll tell you that, we stole a lot.” Were she and her friends thieves? Did they pinch

money and other valuables as well? "No, we always only took food [when] the pantry was open [and] there was no-one there to look, we'd grab an orange or grab an apple or whatever."

Connie reports that during her time at Shingwauk, meals were controlled closely, that is, served in institutional fashion: "... And our meal was very small portions, my goodness, really small portions." She mentions also that the food she was served was limited in kind: "And I never seen cornflakes [in] all the time I was there, like, or butter or anything like that. All I seen was porridge."

Variety in meals probably not only ensures better nutrition, but also goes a long way towards student satisfaction. The children at Shingwauk, according to Connie, were served a depressingly similar menu each week: "Stew, same thing. The menu wasn't changed at all." But stew sounds like a meal with potential, in any case -- nutritious and interesting. Not to Connie:

And the stew ... was just like water, it wasn't really thick. [When] old people make stew, it's nice and thick, eh? ... We used to call it soup, we never called it stew. Yeah. Yeah, a little bit of meat and that.

Although the farm was operating -- supplying the school with much in the way of simple but wholesome foodstuffs -- fresh butter never reached the student dining room: "... we never seen butter or anything at all like that when we had a meal, eh, you know. [Instead we were served what] we used to call it Crisco, or grease"

The situation does not seem to have improved by the 1940s, when Donna Campbell (Iroquois, Kingsville, 1940-1946) attended.

The meals were bad. The meals weren't good. We never received any fresh vegetables [or] fresh fruit. In the morning we had porridge, with milk, and a couple of pieces of bread with Crisco. For lunch, we'd probably have some kind of sloppy stew, with hardly any vegetables in it. Some bread pudding, and ... that's it. For ... supper we had things like some kind of macaroni or ... (supper was meant to be, I guess, a light meal) ... we always got our two pieces of bread again with Crisco ... [and] more of the stew or some kind of macaroni or maybe some kind of soup.... The Sunday evening meal was stewed fruit, and then we'd get some kind of a hunk of cake, which was not great; not cake cake, it was like a bready kind of cake. Plus our two pieces of bread. And ... they gave us skim milk, we

never got whole milk.... And that night (Sunday) we'd get some watery tea, some kind of lightened up tea. For [lunch], we got what they called roast beef, but it was just a hunk of meat which was very well done. We got a couple of slices of the meat, and then we'd get some mashed potatoes ... and some watery carrots But that was the best meal we had of the whole week. (personal communication, July 19, 1995)

One of the most astonishing things that Donna related was the fact that she lost weight in her first year. She was 13 years old, still a growing girl:

I lost weight my first year there.... Yes, I lost weight. My waist was about this big [she gestures with her hands]. I remember that, because I had a hard time eating the food. But I ... We were always hungry.

Maynard Cook (Cree, Mistassanie, 1952-1956) describes similar privations in the 1950s and the solution that he and some schoolmates discovered:

You always had that knot in your stomach. Like, we'd go and buy bread [with our own] money. We used to go into town and cut grass and shovel snow, and stuff like that. And instead of buying candy [we'd] buy a cake or a loaf of bread or something because you got more out of it for the same amount of money. (personal communication, January 6, 1996)

Reverend R. Phillips took over as principal in 1954, the same year that Sally Bowman arrived (Ojibwa, Watford, 1954-1964). It was during this era also that the federal government began to place more money into the residential schools system. Sally's testimony reveals some improvement:

By the time I got there in '54 [conditions] had already started to change. [They] were just getting rid of the animals that were there [and] we never got eggs or stuff like that when we were there.... And we had more of ... Spanish rice, I remember that, very clearly. I remember porridge all the time, in the mornings.... We never got toast. We got bread, I guess. ... I remember having milk the odd time, I think that was on Sundays, because I didn't like milk. And I remember getting my knuckles rapped because I wouldn't eat. I think there was fish -- and Oh, God -- what an awful ... I remember these pans, big pans [they] had with fish in them. I don't know what they had, like a white sauce on it, or something, that was in the oven. Gross! I ... was never much for fish. [For lunch] I think we had a sandwich. Porridge? ... that's what we used to have for a snack, when we were [older] intermediates, or seniors. When we were juniors we had the hard-tack dog biscuits, we called them and ... half an orange. That's what we had. That's when we got our fruit, anyway. ... And chicken. Because they used to [cook] big chickens or something ... And you know, you knew what was going to be next week ... 'I think I won't be eating next week 'cause I don't like that.' You know, [we'd say] that type of thing. (personal communication, December 2, 1995)

Note that the farm operations were winding down; also, snacks were provided, including fruit on a regular basis. The dissatisfaction with the meals provided is different from the dissatisfaction that Lucy, Connie, Donna and Maynard express: Sally has the luxury of refusing to eat something placed in front of her because it does not suit her. She does not complain of hunger. David Woods (Cree, Princeton, 1954-1957) describes stealing chickens from the chicken coop: "We used to go out, I was the smallest guy [he was 6 years old when he arrived] that used to go out through that hole for the chickens on the weekend" (personal communication, January 4, 1996). The girls in the kitchen, who seem to be part of the conspiracy, would supply whatever was needed to go with fresh chicken, cooked on an open fire: "We'd go back away from the houses and cook it! We'd get all the stuff from ... the girls, from the kitchen. We'd just tell them what we needed. They took it out somehow." What about the fare in the dining room? "It was all right. The only thing I never used to like was boiled, boiled turnips, boiled cabbage." Obviously David was presented with enough food and food choices that he could be a choosy eater, devising schemes to avoid what he didn't like:

But you had to sit there and eat it. But I was smart, I used to spit it out and pile it inside the cups (you had to pile up the cups, send them all down the other end). That's what I used to do to get out or I'd be sitting there forever.

Walter Brooks (Cree, Wawanosh, 1960-1962) pointed out that, since he and his friends had ample opportunity to earn extra money from chores done in the neighbourhood, and the freedom to do as they wished as long as they kept their supervisor informed, they sometimes went to a restaurant downtown!

[We] had a lot of free time after school. Like we could go take a walk, go to Bellevue Park, you know, but if we wanted to go to, like, downtown [and then] you'll be out for supper, to come in. You could do that too. (personal communication, August 19, 1996)

Although Walter mentions meals in the context of other questions, it doesn't occur to him to mention any personal and overriding dissatisfaction he or his friends remembered concerning

them. Instead, he remembers the freedoms he was granted: freedom to earn his own spending money and the consequent freedom to spend it as he wished. Certainly a vast shift from the stories that Lucy and Connie relate!

Health services. In the early years, there was little doubt that children at Shingwauk experienced serious illness and even watched some schoolmates die. Lucy remembers a girl who took sick in the classroom. She complained of stomach pains. According to Lucy, she was ignored by the staff and forced to work anyway. Finally, though, someone realized this girl was in genuine discomfort: "And eventually they took her, they took her to the hospital.... Her appendix had burst [and] she died." We can be thankful that Lucy's personal reminiscence is unique among the seven respondents who were interviewed for this project. Although many stories relating to illness were told, no other respondent remembered a story with the same tragic ending.

According to the respondents who were interviewed for this study, generally good health was the case at Shingwauk. Sally mentions a scarlet fever epidemic that swept through the entire school. She and another girl were the last to get sick and had to look after everyone else while they recovered. Finally Sally and the other girl also succumbed and found themselves sick and all alone in the infirmary.

This infirmary, also mentioned by Maynard, seems to have been populated more by children pretending to be ill in order to avoid attending church services on Sunday, than by a lot of children genuinely in poor health.

In fact, there were obvious efforts in place to try to maintain the generally good health of the children at Shingwauk. Sally mentions, with a combination of fondness and revulsion, the cod-liver oil and milk of magnesia supplements that all the children attending during the 1950s had to endure.

Towards winter-time, we all had to line up and they gave us that cod-liver oil. Or milk of

magnesia. It was like having [a dose of] chalk put down your throat [and] if you didn't swallow it, they make you stay until you [did]. Oh, I used to hate that.... I didn't mind the cod-liver oil so much, because my mom used to give us some of that anyway.... And we had those little black pills too. I used to love them. We used to squeeze them and that orange stuff that come out of them.... I think they took the place of the cod-liver oil, or something.[Although] everybody else said ooo- ugh, [I] used to say, oh, yeah... I just loved them....

Exercise. Another factor in the maintenance of good health, is healthy exercise, preferably in fresh air. Were there proper, organized programs of healthful, active sports or games or exercises at Shingwauk during the years of this study? The results of the interviewees' responses are mixed. It seems to have depended a lot on the efforts of the principals, supported by staff members, who were in charge. Lucy Major remembers team and individual sports activities:

We played baseball. The girls played baseball. The boys, they played too. We had an ice rink. Nobody owned a pair of skates. Just if a pair fit me [and] they fit you, you took a turn and they didn't, you had an hour skating.

The comment Lucy makes concerning the sharing of equipment brings to light a theme that may have played a strong part in the physical activities available to the children -- money. In the hungry thirties, exercise that was cheap was more likely the activity of choice, not just for staff and students at Shingwauk, but for the population in general. Lucy mentions another form of exercise: "...when it was nice and warm, lots of times we went outside and run around the school with the teacher or one of the matrons. And we went out for walks in the bush."

Donna Campbell, who attended during the war years until 1946, confirms that organized sports and games activities at Shingwauk were limited:

They used to take us for walks. And it didn't matter what kind of weather, I guess [if] it was a really bad snowstorm out we wouldn't go, but mostly nearly every day they got us out. And we would [walk around the] country there on ... what is Queen Street now.... We'd take that road or we'd go to Bellevue Park and walk around there. Two-by-two, in a big long row, everywhere. And we had to stay in that row But we always had to go for a walk every day. But ... we didn't play games, or anything.

This is a bit discouraging, and reflects badly on Reverend Minchin's administration

(principal, 1941 - 1948). Was there no one on staff who might have organized the children in some high-activity, low-equipment games, such as soccer or rugby? In the winter-time, what about a game of snowshoe-baseball, with snowshoes acquired from the local community? Donna remembers this gap in her teen experience: "We didn't have sports. No sports, whatsoever. Which was too bad, you know. 'Cause ... we weren't encouraged to ... improve our skills in running, or anything like that." Instead, she relates, in the absence of a gym or any sports equipment, the children spent their time in the play-ground walking:

There were no facilities for gymnasium activities at Shingwauk. No, no. We had no gym [and] no kind of organized play or teaching kids how to give and take.... We didn't have any games. We had our playroom [and] play yard. And what we used to do, we used to choose partners and go walking round and round and round the playground, just walking.

But things obviously changed in the post-war years. This also may have been as a result of a change in command. Reverend Douglas Wickenden took over the reins in 1948. Happily, by this time, federal purse strings had loosened somewhat, and programs he wished to implement had a better chance of being funded properly. Maynard especially notes the change from the war years austerity of Reverend Minchin:

We always had a good hockey team, and a good ball team there. And then when we got into high school, ... we made some friends with some of the... the athlet[es].... We were always good athletes, anything to do with athletics, we always did well, so a lot of us played hockey. Well, we went uptown to play hockey ... in the Soo Major Hockey Association. And ... we all made the team -- the guy wanted us....

Maynard's obvious pride as he relates this to us reminds us how important it is to help young people develop feelings of self-esteem. He was 12 when he arrived and sixteen when he left. One of the easiest and most effective ways to encourage this aspect of a young person's growth is a solid team sports program. It seems Reverend Wickenden, and his successor in 1954, Reverend Phillips, took advantage of increased funding to help in this area. But there may have been other motives at the heart of such an interest in team sports.

Certainly, for whatever reasons, some facilities at Shingwauk were under-utilized.

Maynard remembers with a twinge of disgust, the room at the basement floor that was called the "playroom":

Four walls and a floor. There was a ... set of monkey bars hanging up on one side [and that was] the playroom. That's where they sent you down to wait and you said you were going to the playroom. What the hell would you get [to do] in the playroom? Or you'd go from the playroom inside to the back and they'd give you hell for running in and out. You know, 'If you're going to stay inside, stay inside; if you go outside, stay outside!' But there was nothing to do inside, just an empty room, and they called it a playroom.

Maynard mentioned his hockey team with pride. David Woods (1954 - 1957) was too young to be on the team, but he obviously made use of the rink, and he mentions it with fondness: "We had a hockey rink ... We had a hockey rink." He was 6 years old when he arrived and 9 when he left, and the hockey rink is one of the strongest memories of those years.

Walter Brooks, a teen student in the early 1960s, mentions the full panoply of programs that were available to him. "Oh, we did ... a lot of playing, a lot of running around, a lot of exercise, they'd play ball, hockey, all this, that was good." It has to be kept in mind, also, that by this time the children were being phased in at the local elementary schools, so gym classes and more opportunities for extra-curricular sports would have been available to them. So when he speaks of exercise, the programs and equipment provided by Shingwauk School and staff and the programs and equipment provided by Queen Elizabeth Public School and staff are not obviously distinguished.

Sleep. There seems no doubt that children at Shingwauk, almost throughout their lives and throughout the years that the school cared for them, were subject to regular bed-times. Donna mentions this aspect of their routine when she attended in the 1940s: "Yeah, we had dormitories and we had ... very regular bed-time. We went to bed at regular hours..." Walter Brooks, attending in the 1960s, mentions this too:

Sleeping was good. You know, you'd go to bed around nine o'clock depending on the age of the child. Junior boys would be having more sleep than the senior boys. Senior boys would be going to bed late, say around ten or eleven. Then you'd get up about seven o'clock.

Certainly not tolerated was the teenage habit we see these days of sleeping in past noon, and staying up well past midnight. On the other hand, the familiar dormitory problems of getting children to settle down and go to sleep, keeping them in their beds and controlling nocturnal wanderings seems to have been well-handled by the staff. Some interviewees attest that this was not a problem area. Other respondents do not mention it. However, we note with interest David Woods' story of weekend shenanigans, when everyone, in his words, went "haywire", and Connie's complaint of tiredness in the schoolroom and the teacher's heartless reaction.

Emotional needs

Many of the respondents spoke with feeling when emotional needs became the subject of the interview. Who was, in fact, to blame for their lack of development in this area? Were the parents remiss in the first place, as has been suggested? Did they have far too many personal problems? Was the opportunity to extricate themselves from responsibility for their children too good to pass up? Were the children already emotionally crippled when they first arrived? Was this the case with all the respondents to this project? The interviews used in this study did not provide a definite data base for answers. For one, the children were reluctant to blame their parents for any subsequent trauma they experienced at Shingwauk. However, an astute reading of some of the interviews reveals pre-Shingwauk examples of physical abuse, alcoholism, abandonment, inadequate guidance, and other negative parenting practices. Suffice it to say that some of the children interviewed arrived at Shingwauk with considerable emotional damage that cannot and should not be ignored.

How did the Shingwauk staff deal with this? Did they have the requisite skills to alleviate any of the abuse some of the children already had suffered? Or did they ignore what they saw and perhaps even exacerbate the problems that arrived on their doorstep? Also, do the stories related by the children reflect a change from the early years -- when the Church was in more or less full control of policy -- to the late years -- when the federal government had substantially taken over? We will deal with this topic decade by decade, and see for ourselves if answers to these questions reveal themselves or not.

Thus we will start with Lucy Major: "... they read our letters, so you, you know we couldn't, when we were lonesome we couldn't say." When Lucy felt unhappy there was no one to turn to for sympathy. Nor could she expect a kind word even when she was physically ill:

Oh, that's another thing I missed. When I was not feeling well, they made you feel like it's your fault you're ill. There was no love at all, it was strictly ... I don't know, like the military. A few times, I was not feeling good.... If just one of them, just put their arm around me, [and said] 'It's gonna be OK.' Like that.

Certainly Lucy felt a lack of caring, though perhaps coldness from the staff was never expressed in words: "No, no, they didn't care. They didn't have any sympathy or ... I don't think they really cared about us. It was a job." In fact, Lucy remembers a specific incident. A classmate made a foolish statement one day and became the butt of staff sarcasm and ridicule: "The teacher there [and] the matron was making fun of him." Any child care-giver recognizes that this is not the way to foster the emotional growth of a young child.

Good parents do not ignore occasions that children especially find important. But none of the respondents mentioned any celebration of children's birthdays at Shingwauk. And Lucy remembers one particular aspect of Christmas during the years she attended.

But boy, ... those [small gifts] are the things we missed. If somebody would just, you know, give us something little, especially at Christmastime. Because we didn't get anything.... Just to ... let you know that somebody was thinking about you, you know, when they went uptown.

Often mentioned in the context of emotional privation is the feeling that Shingwauk was an institution, not only in fact, but in spirit as well. The uniform that the children wore in the early years underlined both this fact and this spirit. Lucy wore a uniform in the 1930s: "We wore the middie and a skirt [and] we wore a hat."

Most of the respondents reflected that needed emotional support, if any at all was forthcoming, came from their schoolmates and siblings. Connie Walters recalls when she and her sister arrived at Shingwauk.

So I'll never forget that first night we went there. My 2-year-old sister woke up during the night [so] I gets up right away and I was rocking her in the dark like that [she gestures rocking a small child]. This supervisor comes in, turns on the light. 'What are you doing?' she said, you know. I said, 'I'm rock my sister, I rock my sister.' You know. She says, 'What for?' I says, 'Well ... cause ...' At that time, I didn't really speak [good] English [and] it was half... Cree ... 'Oh, my sister, *meme, meme, mimis, mimis, meme, meme.*' ... In other words, ... I'm trying to put her back to sleep. 'Well get rid of her,' she says. 'When I was home, we were two different families, you know.' 'Well,' she says, 'you're not at home now,' she says. 'You're here now,' she says. 'You're ... going to follow ... our rules,' she says. 'Not your rules'.

Connie was afflicted with a stuttering problem. She was not successful in her schoolwork. These two factors combined to make her extremely unsure of herself and lower her self-esteem. The staff were unable to help Connie; instead, according to her recollections, they exacerbated her already low self-concept:

With me it was mostly, emotionally.... That's the way I was treated. [The staff] used to always tell me, 'Oh, you're not going to be nobody, the way you're acting.' ... Because I didn't talk [properly]; because I was scared -- I stuttered. I was ashamed of it.... [They would say] 'You're not going to be nobody.'

Like Lucy, Connie avers that emotional support, when it came at all, was most likely to come from friends and siblings at Shingwauk: "Nobody really [helped]. We just helped each other out. There was no [counsellors or psychologists], not what they have nowadays, nothing like that, not even the staff."

Donna Campbell remembered the institutional aspect at Shingwauk. Uniforms were still

part of the routine during her time (1940 - 1946) there. "They told me I couldn't bring clothes. I just had the clothes I wore." The discouragement of individuality, as typified by the policy on uniforms, was a subtle but effective tool of control. And control with limited emotional support is a subtle but grinding form of emotional abuse.

Donna remembers the lack of emotional support, much as do Lucy and Connie. She adds, however, the results, as she recalls, on her behaviour later in life, as a mother:

There was no love, no love anywhere. That had an effect on, on my adult life too, because when I had children of my own, I didn't know how to nurture them. I was a real strict disciplinarian and ... I didn't express my love for them as I should have. [When they were] growing up, you know, I was so strict with them.... Looking back, there was a lot of things I could have done better. But it was because of my own ... insecurity.... We weren't loved as children, ... we weren't encouraged.

The children did not grow emotionally at Shingwauk, so in turn, they did not foster the emotional growth of their own children. Some reached a point at which they were unable to react with emotion when they should. Their emotions became suppressed. Maynard Cook spoke for many when he reported:

You learned very [early to suppress feelings].... When I was 12 years old ... I showed very little emotion. This is ... what I'd learned to do, like, I was three and a half years old when ... I'd already suppressed [my emotions]. Like I'd already been into a, a survival mode. And most of the students that were coming here at that time ... they already knew that, they showed very little emotion. You very seldom heard a kid crying. You know, you might hear a small, little guy crying once in a while, but once he learned the ropes, you'd never hear the kid crying again.... You learned all these things. You became very mechanical when it came to emotions. You learned to shut off. And then you became ... an a-emotional person. (personal communication, January 6, 1996)

During the 1950s, too, the emotional support, when it came at all, often came from one's peers. David Woods remembered that other children at Shingwauk took the blame for his misbehaviour: "... I almost burned down the barn with another guy, Samuel.... But I didn't say anything so ... the other guys took the blame. Yeah, they took the blame." It is this kind of support that was provided by the children themselves that should have been provided by the teachers and

other staff.

David, although he recalls the support he received from his friends, does not by any means claim that such support was adequate to the emotional needs of a growing boy. What kind of emotional support system was in place that was provided by the staff? "I don't remember them having any kind of counsellors or counselling there." Who did help when help was needed? "I had all my friends to talk to, especially the older boys." And what was the result? He echoes the remark made by Maynard Cook: "I just kept everything inside of me. Even today I don't cry when I go to funerals. I hate going to funerals."

Sally Bowman had a traumatic first day at Shingwauk. What did she learn from her experience? She reports that she became de-emotionalized:

They took me back upstairs and they showed me where I was going to sleep and everything, and that was it. And I ... just sat on my bed 'cause, you know, I wasn't ... used to [strangers]. I'm used to my cousins and my own family [not] all these strange kids. Of course, then, I guess being raised [hearing] 'big girls don't cry,' [I decided] I'd had my big episode and then I'm embarrassed and I'm ... full of shame because ... I'd cried, eh? So then after that it was just like - zip! - it was closed off. And that was it. And that was the rest of my life. One day, that was all....

She spent the rest of her ten years in a closed state, an "a-emotional person" as Maynard says. As David says, she "kept everything inside":

... And then there's just kinda like you go into a ... a zombie state. And you just lived, you just existed. I guess that's what you'd call it. But I didn't know at that time.... You had to do the best you could with your grades, hoping that what you did good, you'd get some credit, or you know ... approval.

How did this affect Sally's daily life? She asserts strongly that the staff were not interested when she showed her feelings:

Everything was kind of suppressed. There was no helping you at all or somebody to listen to you.... You could never go and [say] 'Well c'mon, let's talk.' [At Shingwauk, there was] nothing like that.... You didn't even know you had emotions, you didn't even know you had feelings, you didn't know nothing. But [instead, they'd say] 'Oh, don't be silly!' if you got hurt or started to cry. [They'd say] 'Get up!' You know. 'You're a big girl now!'

Sally speculates that since few married couples worked at Shingwauk, the children seldom saw what an adult, caring relationship looked like: "You know that the people that raised us, they were all single.... We never knew anything about a happy family, type of thing, husband and wife, type of thing."

The trauma of puberty was not dealt with adequately by any of the staff, at least not in Sally's experience: "When they told me about ... the things of life, what happened to a young girl, they had no clue. They didn't have any lessons, they didn't tell me." When the day of her first period arrived, her desperate cries for information were ridiculed. "It [the onset of menses] just happened and then I was going berserk because I thought I was dying. [But they said] 'Oh, don't be silly!' ... It's like, 'you should know about this.' "

The approach the staff exhibited to Sally and others did not provide support for Sally. This institutional approach is echoed by Lucy and Donna also. "I couldn't be an individual. I had to be ... a thing." Although Sally does not mention a uniform, like Lucy and Donna, she describes with feeling the haircut she received on her first day at Shingwauk. It can be argued that the uniforms worn by the students and the uniformity of the hairstyles both contributed to the institutionalization, the de-individualization of the children.

When discussing the institutional setting of Shingwauk, Sally compares much of what she now knows about jails, since she has spent many years as a correctional officer, to what she remembers about Shingwauk: "When I heard the clanging of the door, it was like hearing them keys, and ... the doors closing.... 'Don't say that! Quiet! Bow your heads! ... Lift your head! Walk tall!' You know, that type [of comment]." She can still visualize the line-ups, the locks on the doors, the regimentation, the orders and the demands for silence that characterize a federal penitentiary. "That's why I can understand what a prisoner feels like, you know. He had to be quiet in his cage, type of thing."

Walter Brooks remembers many elements of institutionalization, but not to the same extent and not with the same anger as the others. This could mean that things had improved by the time he arrived. It could also mean that his needs were less. He arrived when he was already 13 years old, with six good years of elementary schooling in his experience. He was motivated to continue his education because he did not want to be a trapper like his father. Also, he did not attend classes at Shingwauk. He was enrolled in the grade 7 class at Queen Elizabeth Public School, and finished grade 8 at the same school the following year. The Shingwauk staff took care of his physical needs and did what they could to help with his learning by providing tutoring help after school hours, and a study hall for completing homework. According to Walter, how did the staff deal with his needs and the needs of his schoolmates when guidance or comfort was lacking?

They didn't do too much [because maybe it was] too much bother. I know there were students that were homesick [because] they were thinking about their family.... The other students would try to help them, but they wouldn't get the supervisor to help. They would just talk about it, you know. They would try to, make them a little cheerful, say something ... joke around.

Note that the primary source for emotional comfort for Walter was, as with many other respondents, his friends from his peer group. If the staff were trained or experienced in dealing with the emotional needs of children, they made no effort to encourage the children to come to them: "There were a few of them, there were, but we never went to the supervisors, the supervisors were not trained for that, I guess, they didn't know too much about it."

The prime emotional need for Walter and his schoolmates was, as with so many children in similar circumstances, homesickness. And the peer group was ready to help:

So, it was [liable] to be the students doing it, [to] help each other.... You know, first when they come to school, it's hard. [They] feel it, you know.... You're away from your family [and then] thinking about it, [you feel] not too happy, or, you feel lonesome, sometimes you think about your parents. You'd like to be with them. It's hard, especially when you're young, very young, it's hard. But when you get older, it changes.

Did Walter feel homesick like his friends? Yes, he reports, but he persevered and stayed.

He was successful at school and could see that his time away from home was limited:

I felt it and I says, well, I'm not coming back here for more of this but I did. I said, I'm going to quit, but I kept coming.... By the time I got about seventeen or eighteen, I got used to this. 'Well, might as well, you know, go through with it, that's it.' When you get a little older, it's not as hard.

In fact, helping his peers overcome their emotional problems had a beneficial result for Walter: he developed his own skills in counselling. He found he had a talent for helping others who felt homesickness just as strongly as he did but had not found the inner strength to prevail to achieve a goal:

So all we do is just talk to them, talk to them as much as we could about ... their parents, her parents, or what they were doing. Think about what they are doing right now, what are they doing winter time, whether they go trapping, this and that, eh? But they remember that when they were kids, eh? They travel with their parents, when they go trapping, and they get a little, you know, feeling good after awhile, yeah. So that's it.

Perhaps child psychologists could take note of Walter's techniques when dealing with the trauma of homesickness!

You just talk to them about who you miss most, ... how you like to have fun? Smoke fish, eat [some] moose meat, and all that. That'll bring them along, something to make them a little happier. Talk about their ... parents, or people that live that way. They will get more cheerful after.

It seems astonishing to reflect that a boy of 13 or 14 was able to develop instinctively a method of alleviating the suffering of others that was simple and effective. Certainly it represented a better approach than the staff member's remark, "Oh, don't be silly!" that Sally remembers.

What about Walter himself? He recounts his experiences honestly: "Well, I felt happy sometimes, sometimes I didn't feel too happy, you know, because you were thinking of home, right? Your parents ... not all the times, just maybe sometimes, just think about it...." His symptoms were somewhat lessened when his younger brothers arrived. "My brothers started coming in, my younger brother, he's two years younger, then another younger [brother by] two years, so I felt more comfortable when they were there, you know."

But what seems to have significantly helped him, as much or more than did his own efforts of sticking it out to achieve his goal of getting an education, or listening to the comforting words of his friends, or waiting until his brothers arrived, were the efforts of certain staff members.

Alone among the respondents for this study, Walter mentions some help and counselling he found supplied by Shingwauk staff.

But there's a, like a counsellor will try to help you, if you were under 16, he'll try to help you and keep you in school. As much as possible, they'll talk to you out of it [quitting at 16 and going back home].... 'It will be better, you know, as long as you get the school, you can go back home. You could become a teacher, or a doctor or a nurse, whatever, you know. You could always do that,' they said.

Suddenly, unlike in previous decades, professional help was available, not just at Shingwauk, but at Queen Elizabeth Public School as well: "Maybe just go and see [the] teacher or counsellor or principal or vice-principal, they were there too [to help.] "

Walter's experience, in fact, was obviously such a positive one, at least in the area of emotional support and guidance, that he carried on his self-appointed role as counsellor even after graduating and joining the work force:

I remember I was just starting work in the plant a couple of years and they still had Shingwauk going and this student told me ... he says, 'I want to go home', he says, 'I'm just getting fed up here.... I don't like it anymore going to school', he says, you know. He left, he was in grade 11. I said, 'Try and stay, you know, get as much education as you can get, you know. It's a better chance for you, you know, for employment, you know.'

It is quite clear, from the respondents interviewed, that the emotional needs of the children at Shingwauk were handled in an institutional manner during the years when the Anglican Church directed policy and hired staff. From Walter's story, it is equally obvious that his needs were far more adequately met. When schooling was offered by the government it appears, from Walter's testimony at least, that some emotional support was available.

Spiritual needs

The respondents for this study had little of the blind respect for organized religion that their parents or other caregivers might have had. They are blunt without losing grip of a sense of fairness. Especially when asked about the ways in which the staff at Shingwauk met their spiritual needs, do they show this combination of honesty and balance.

Lucy Major, alone among the respondents for this study, avers that the work of the staff at Shingwauk had the effect of maintaining a strong faith that her family had already developed in her; "So coming back from the [school] ... she [her mother] still went to Church. She always went to church, so I went too."

Lucy describes to what extent Anglican faith was instilled in her, in a simple statement, "Oh, we prayed all the time." This simple summary is repeated by other respondents.

The religious training that Lucy received at home, and, subsequently, at Shingwauk, stuck firmly with her. She reports an amusing recollection that sticks in her memory that illustrates how strong were her convictions:

I remember the first Good Friday [after she had gone home] I was ... in Detroit and I was sitting. I was working and I went in to have a cup of coffee. And of course, in Detroit you can have beer anyplace, you know. And this man was sitting next to me at the ... counter, yes. I was having my coffee and donut and he was drinking beer and he ordered bacon and eggs. And I was going to tell him it was Good Friday.... I thought everybody stayed away from meat that was on Good Friday. I really was going to tell him. Like being, not being sarcastic, but just to tell him ...

Connie Walters remembers the hours devoted to religious devotions. "Pray all the time. And ... we didn't get nothing out of that, us. Any of us really." The religious instruction, as far as Connie was concerned, was lacking in method:

They used to read the Bible to us, we didn't think nothing of it, you know. And ... we weren't interested. They all they did was read, read, read to us. That's all. They didn't explain to us the meaning of them verses or scriptures. They ... used to read to us and that, and we had to figure that out ourselves.

Did Connie and her schoolmates take the trouble to ask questions about certain Bible verses? Not at all. "We didn't bother at all ... to figure out the meaning of those scriptures...."

Thus, the work of the staff had a negative effect, at least on Connie. Their methods failed to convert many young minds to a life of devotion and sacrifice in the name of God. In fact, for many of the children, their poor pedagogy had the opposite effect. "They drilled verses into you and read from the Bible, but didn't explain anything to you."

In fact, as far as Connie was concerned, the Shingwauk methods converted a youthful and growing Roman Catholic faith that she had already developed at home to Anglicanism:

Before I went to Shingwauk, my grandfather was a ... what they call a layman, eh, and he used to read [from] the book, there, at church, eh? [In Cree.] He be like a preacher. Him and his brother, you know, used to take turns.... But I had to learn that again. ... the Anglican way, like, you know. Anyway, Anglicans ... and RC's are pretty close together, anyway, I think.

Donna Campbell reports that religious expression and training took up a large part of the timetable:

We went to church a lot. Like we had prayers a lot. We had prayers in the morning, prayers at night. Sundays we had morning church, sometimes afternoon church, and then we had an evening prayer meeting as well, so Sundays was almost like all day church.

How often did the children pray? What proportion of the day and the week was relegated to matters of religion and religious training? Maynard Cook, convinced that all aspects of the Anglican faith were "forced", goes on to describe the most religious day of the week, Sunday:

Like a typical day on Sunday, [was]: you get up in the morning [by] seven or seven-thirty and the first thing you do is you get down on your hands and knees on the cold floor as soon as you get out of bed. And you get on your hands and knees and you say a prayer for ten minutes or so thanking God for giving you a good, a great sleep or whatever else.

So you got dressed, you washed up, you made your bed, you did chores and whatnot, and you went down for breakfast. Before you had breakfast, you said grace. OK? And you've had your breakfast, you've finished your breakfast, and after you've finished your breakfast, you said thank you and you said grace for eating that breakfast. (This was on a Sunday, now.)

So you went, you left breakfast, you went up and you did your chores and whatever else you had to do and then at ten-thirty, quarter to [eleven], you got dressed again and went to Church.

You were in church at eleven o'clock, you left there a little after twelve. After an hour of praying, you went back, changed your clothes, put on ... your regular clothes, you took your church clothes off, you went down and had dinner, or lunch.

And you said grace again. You finished having lunch, you say thank you and you say grace again. Then you had a break from about ... from twelve-thirty, quarter to one till two [o'clock]. OK? Then you went back, you, you didn't have to change for that, but then you went into Sunday School. So you spent another hour, an hour and a half from two to three [o'clock], in Sunday Schools from an hour praying. OK?

Then you left that, you had a little break again and then you went back in at five and you went in for dinner, supper, and ... before supper you'd say grace again and after supper you'd say grace again for a thank you. Then you had another break and then ...

At seven o'clock you went to evening prayer and you spent another hour praying and you left at eight o'clock, you got back to the school at eight-thirty, nine o'clock and you went to bed and then you had to set down on your hands and knees again and pray before you went to bed.

Cynic that he is, Maynard believes he understands precisely what motivated the Anglican church, the administration and the staff at Shingwauk: "I think they firmly believed, that they may not have been able to turn us into civilized human beings, but they would save our souls. You know."

Moreover, Maynard points out that, in his opinion, staff were hypocritical, speaking out of two sides of their mouths, spouting beatific platitudes at the same time as they were threatening a misbehaving child with hellfire, or worse.

Church was a fallacy. I mean, I see them in there, kids are in Church, small kids. Like, we'd sing in the choir and ... we'd have a good view from the front and you'd see the supervisor there, you know, sitting down and praying and you'd see some kid talking, or something like that and he'd be pointing at him [as if to say] 'Just wait till I get you outside!' And he'd get them outside and he'd slap the shit out of a kid after praying for an hour and a half...

The impression of the Anglican faith that Sally Bowman received was similar to

Maynard's. She also saw day-to-day evidence that led her to believe that the religious convictions of the staff were hypocritical.

We had this supervisor and she used to preach at us all the time ... about the coming of God and all these different things and she wanted us to listen to -- I think it was Billy Graham -- and you had to be quiet and listen to it.... And she was a musical old bat. But she used to play the organ at the church and everything and she'd be preaching about love and everything and then she'd turn around and beat the heck out of us.

Sally, like many children, found going to church unrewarding. "We couldn't fidget, we couldn't ... you know, we had to be still ... part of the furniture, yeah." As with others who are forced to participate in functions against their will, she developed a stronger and stronger conviction against the teachings she was hearing. In other words, the more effort that was expended to help her to learn the way of God, the more stubborn she became in resisting the message. The "stick" approach, which seems to have been the policy at Shingwauk, was far less effective than the "carrot" approach may have been. The efforts of staff to convert her to Anglicanism were counter-productive:

We'd all have to go to church. We could not miss church. And when I found out that it was ... [not understandable], like you'd go to church and ... you'd have to listen to all this stuff and 'we have to live like this' and soon as you'd get out of there 'we don't live like that: You live like that, we don't.' So, you know, we just don't want to be bothered and I used to get sick on Sundays so I didn't have to go there.... I used to hate, hate it, oh. Because you'd sit there and sit there and sit there and.... It didn't help my religious side very very much at that time, I'll tell you.

And, it must be pointed out that Sally was already versed in the Anglican faith when she was sent to Shingwauk.

They didn't do a thing for me. Maybe because ... when I was at home, I remember going from [one to the other] ... my mom was Anglican, so we'd go to the ... Anglican church. My dad was Catholic, so, you know, they used to fight about it all the time. So then they said, well, OK, instead of fighting, one week she'll go here, next week she'll go there. So that was my experience with all this religious stuff.

Did the staff at Shingwauk actually take a child who had a child's understanding and faith at the age of 6 and then proceed to destroy it? Possibly; but what is also possible is that she arrived

on the doorstep of Shingwauk already imbued with a negative attitude towards churches and religion. Nevertheless, the Shingwauk staff failed to develop a faith, or restore a faith, or initiate a faith in this child.

Has she since found a faith that meets her needs? Sally remembers with fondness a revival meeting she attended before she was sent to Shingwauk: "And then in those days I think when I was younger I remember going to, you know the big tents? They used to have a big tent.... And I remember those. Those were ... more interesting than what I heard in the church." The more formalized, established churches have less appeal for her: "But it [Christianity] always ... came to mind on a negative note; I was always looking, I was searching [for a spiritual path that was positive]." Her search continues.

Other respondents aren't quite so vehement as Maynard and Sally. David Woods reports that Shingwauk was effective for him in at least this regard: "They learned me about God, anyway. There's a God in heaven and all that."

Walter Brooks noticed a distinct difference in the practices when he left the school at Moose Factory and arrived at Shingwauk.

On Sundays, yeah. Yeah, there's a lot of difference between, like, Moose Factory Residential School and Shingwauk. In Moose Factory we used to go to church in the morning, then in the evening, the older boys would be going in the evening too, twice. Then the afternoon Sundays, we would be going to Sunday School. Over here, in Shingwauk was different. We'd just be going like, to church in the morning, that was it, eh? Then, oh, yeah, we did go to chapel in the morning too, like, say a little prayers, half an hour prayers in Moose Factory, eh. Over here, I think we just, they did it right in the dining room area. Say a little grace then, the principal there, he was a preacher. And then he would open the Bible and read the scriptures. Every day, eh ... say the prayers, about fifteen, twenty minutes after breakfast.

It is interesting to speculate: Was this change in policy because Walter moved from Moose Factory to Shingwauk? Was this a policy initiated by local or Federal administrators? Or was it simply part of the difference in style of the two schools? In any case, the situation at Shingwauk

had certainly eased by the time Walter arrived.

How did Walter react to the regimen of religion at Shingwauk? Obviously, to him, it was not onerous enough to be of concern: "I thought it was OK. You know, you learn a lot, what's happening. I didn't mind at all." Was this a result of Walter's natural good nature? Or had the staff been instructed to lighten up? Or did they see the writing on the wall when their children started attending provincial schools and Shingwauk was downgraded to "Shingwauk Hall"?

Analyses

Physical needs

Food. Miller (1996) writes, "In the residential school the food was inadequate, frequently unappetizing, and all too often consumed in inhospitable and intimidating surroundings" (p. 290). Most of the respondents, especially those that attended Shingwauk in the earlier decades of the twentieth century, had negative comments to make about the food. Lucy, attending in the 1930s, and Connie in the 1940s, suggested that the food supplied was inadequate. And serving the food in an institutional manner ensured that no one got more. Connie even resorted to stealing food, as well as eating laundry starch. Food was limited in variety as well as quality.

In the 1940s, Donna confirms with her testimony that food was limited in quality and quantity, pointing out with force that she lost weight when attending. Maynard, attending during the postwar years, notes that the food situation had not changed. However, he and his friends were able to earn money to buy foodstuffs for themselves to supplement what was provided in the dining hall. Miller (1996) echoes the sentiments of all the respondents for this study: "Little wonder that former students usually refer to meals when asked what they most remember about residential school life" (p. 290).

For the inadequacy of the food is an almost universal complaint registered, not just by

alumni of Shingwauk, but by alumni of all residential schools in Canada. The per capita system of funding, introduced in 1893, contributed to the poor meals provided to the children. The food problem was the bane of all principals entrusted with the care of as many children as their institution could house. Miller (1996) writes, "Reduced funding drove principals both to economize on major expenditures such as food and to extract more revenue from the shops and farms in order to replace purchased supplies with ones made or grown on the premises" (p. 128).

By the time that new principal Reverend R. Phillips took the reins in 1954, the federal government had begun to invest more into the residential schools system. The farm system was winding down, snacks were provided, and fruit was included in the diet of the children. Sally could afford to refuse to eat something put in front of her. This would imply that hunger was no longer a problem. In fact, a whole bag of potatoes was wasted with no repercussions for Sally and her friends. David, also attending during the 1950s, during Phillips' tenure, devised schemes for avoiding food served that he did not like, and was involved in stealing food from the kitchen for an illicit barbecue in the forest. The staff did not notice that a lot of food was missing. This is not the testimony of a respondent who, as a child, was constantly hungry, as were Lucy, Connie, Donna and Maynard.

Walter, attending in the 1960s, had the freedom, and the financial resources, to go downtown with his friends and eat at a restaurant. Although this speaks very little for the food supplied at the Shingwauk, it certainly denotes a change from the constant hunger that Lucy mentions!

Health care. Only scant mention is made of this topic by the respondents from the early years. Although Lucy remembers a girl whose appendix burst and the required attention was given to her only when it was too late, other respondents are largely reticent. Although Miller (1996) writes, "Inadequate clothing and substandard food undoubtedly contributed to the poor health that

prevailed in the residential schools throughout their long existence” (p. 301), it may be that generally good health was enjoyed by, at least, the respondents interviewed for this thesis. Indeed, the scarlet fever epidemic that Sally mentions, and the infirmary that is mentioned both by her and Maynard, and the health supplements discussed by Sally indicate that the staff took measures, at least during the 1950s, to ensure that the staff took care of the health of the children.

Exercise. Miller (1996) writes, “Prior to the 1950s the stringency of the per capita grants meant that schools usually found it impossible to free money from regular funds to purchase [sports] equipment” (p. 273). The testimony from Lucy confirms this. There were organized activities, such as baseball and skating, sometimes involving the sharing of equipment.

Miller (1996) reflects on this theme of sports equipment and money. Before the affluent 1950s, principals were forced to be either very innovative in their efforts to provide sports and recreation equipment for their schools, or abandon the effort. Although Indian Affairs’ purse strings had loosened, as we have noted, by the time Maynard arrived in the 1950s, it was still difficult for administrators to provide growing boys and girls such things as skates, hockey sticks, sweaters and so on. “Bureaucratic rigidities, bull-headedness, and downright stupidity on the part of Indian Affairs frequently frustrated administrators who tried to provide their school’s children with amenities” (Miller, 1996, p. 275).

Was it, as Miller suggests, “bullheadedness, and downright stupidity” on the part of Indian Affairs that contravened and nullified any efforts on the part of Wickenden or Phillips to equip the playroom? Donna reports that the sum total of her experiences with exercise was long walks. Her time at Shingwauk was during the administration of Reverend Minchin, during and after the war years. In the affluent 1950s, with Reverend Wickenden in charge, Maynard was proud of his ability in hockey, and David remembers the hockey rink with fondness. Yet Maynard’s testimony regarding hockey, a well-equipped activity, contrasts sharply with what he has to say regarding an

astonishing dearth of equipment in the "playroom".

Finally, Walter Brooks, a student at Queen Elizabeth School, mentions sports, exercise and equipment that was available not necessarily at Shingwauk, but at the local Public School system.

Sleep. Most of the respondents who were children before and during World War Two, that is, Lucy, Connie and Donna, reported early and strict bed-times. Walter Brooks, who attended Shingwauk in the 1960s, also mentioned good sleep habits. It is during the unsettled 1950s and 1960s, when David, Maynard and Sally were enrolled, that sleep patterns were not as well attended by the staff. Was this a consequence of directives from the Ottawa authorities or of discipline meted by the principals and staffs on the spot at the time? In any case, according to the testimony from Walter, his experience of boarding at Shingwauk, once educational services had been purchased from the provinces were good, including a responsible bed-time.

Emotional needs

Miller (1996) reports that it was emotional abuse that "... probably did the most harm because it was the most pervasive and enduring damage done to students" (p. 337). Certainly among students of Shingwauk, this abuse, among all the rest, was the most remembered.

Gathorne-Hardy (1977) noted some of the same elements in the lives of children in boarding schools in England.

Homesickness was a vital element; that terrible piercing loneliness of small children cast out from their homes. It is without question the most important single aspect of public school education; yet because it was the most painful it is the memory most usually repressed. (p. 181)

The institutionalization of the children was an aspect of emotional abuse because children need to know that they are more than the sum of their parts, that they have heart and soul as well

as legs and arms, that they are human beings. Lucy, for instance, remarks on several experiences she remembers that showed her that the staff cared little for her as an individual. "It was a job," she says.

The institutional nature of Shingwauk made it difficult for staff to feel otherwise. Letters were censored, which made the children feel even more alone. Celebrations, such as birthdays and Christmas, were ignored or minimized, perhaps as a result of the institutional nature of the school. Donna reports that her clothes that she might have brought with her were not allowed: she had to wear a uniform. Miller (1996) agrees that institutionalization was at the core of the problem of the heartless nature of the residential schools: "The root of the difficulty was that missionaries were trying to rear and teach children in an institutional setting, a framework in which the emotional needs of children were rarely a high priority" (p. 339).

Connie confirms what Lucy reported. Her stuttering problem only exacerbated her difficulties in the schoolroom. She found she and her stuttering problem were both neglected.

Many of the respondents reported a difficulty in their later lives that they attribute directly to an emotional deprivation when they were children at Shingwauk. David, for instance, doesn't cry at funerals; Donna, Sally, and Maynard all reported difficulty relating to their children; and Maynard and Sally both reported marriage difficulties, attributing those difficulties to their experiences at Shingwauk. Walter, attending in the 1960s, when his schooling was purchased by Ottawa from the province of Ontario, notes that counselling was suddenly available, not only at Shingwauk but at Queen Elizabeth Public School as well. He also reports that he felt homesickness, like other respondents, yet mentions another aspect of this issue: the respondents remembered the emotional support they derived from their friends more often than from the staff.

Connie Walters, for instance, does what she can to help her younger sister when she first arrived. David recalls friends that took the blame for him, and Walter becomes adept at helping

others overcome, or at least reduce, their feelings of homesickness.

Miller (1996) writes, "In the memory of many residential school students, the worst aspect of the care they received was the absence of emotional support and nurturing by staff" (p. 290). This aspect, however, needs a closer look as these children came from a wide variety of backgrounds. Some of them were not happy, well-adjusted children from happy homes when they arrived.

Lewis Bishop, named in September 1968 as child-care coordinator at Shingwauk, spoke to a reporter shortly after his appointment. He said that the school was "... becoming a social institution rather than educational. An increasing number [of the children] are mildly disturbed" (Johnson, November 8, 1968). This aspect of the residential schools issue must be kept in mind as we discuss the emotional needs of the children enrolled at Shingwauk school throughout the period covered by this study. Bishop did not clarify his point. Were an increasing number of the children at Shingwauk "mildly disturbed" because of institutionalization? Was this state of affairs the result of the policies of the government, Anglican Church, and/or the staff? Were the children afflicted with emotional stresses that they brought with them from whatever environment they experienced before they arrived at Shingwauk?

Another article from *The Sault Daily Star*, also dated 1968, comments on this question and suggests the problems that made child care a challenge: "Children in the lower grades who come here for schooling are here because their home situations are not conducive to learning" (Johnson, December 18, 1968). Sometimes the decision to send the child away to Shingwauk was initiated, or at least encouraged, by the parents. "Indian Affairs gets permission from the parents to place the child somewhere else. In most cases, parents are happy to have Indian Affairs find another place for the child" (Johnson, December 18, 1968).

Spiritual needs

Randy Fred, in his "Foreword" to Celia Haig-Brown's work, *Resistance and renewal* (1988) has pointed out that Native criticism of the residential schools has been muted simply because Native peoples have a natural respect for spiritual institutions:

I believe the reason so little attention has been paid to Indian residential schools in North America is that the churches were connected to so many of them. Native people, being a spiritual race, have always been reluctant to criticize any kind of church. (p. 18)

The respondents to this study distinguished between "organized religion" and "spirituality". Lucy Major, of the seven respondents for this study was alone in her praise of the work of the staff. For her, and for her alone, the staff at Shingwauk were able to maintain a strong faith in her, and a respect for organized Anglicanism. The other respondents, although fair to the staff and their motives, all agreed that whatever religious training they may have received at Shingwauk had little positive or detrimental effect on their growth as spiritual beings.

Connie, for instance, claims that the work of the staff served only to destroy what faith she had, and she complains that simply reading from the Bible was not enough, she and her friends needed the verses explained to them, too. Donna reports that she and her peers prayed a lot at Shingwauk. Maynard, who attended in the 1950s, describes the aspect of praying "all the time" as he recounts a typical Sunday. He also points out that the souls of the children were far more important to the staff at Shingwauk than their development in any other area. Jane Willis (1973), it will be recalled, attended Shingwauk school from 1955 to 1958. It is her opinion that one aspect of schools that are run by religious orders is that curriculum is sacrificed in favour of saving souls: "Our school, being run by the church, placed more emphasis on the fourth 'R' -- religion -- than on the other three" (p. 33). Maynard would heartily agree.

Maynard also reported, from what he witnessed when he attended Shingwauk, that the Church was "a fallacy" and that the staff were hypocritical. Sally's view of the staff was similar.

David, young at the time of his schooling at Shingwauk, and young still when he left, was not so forthright in his discussion concerning the work of the staff. But Walter, attending Shingwauk in the 1960s, but being schooled at Queen Elizabeth, saw a marked difference at Shingwauk from his experiences earlier at Moose Factory Residential School.

Conclusions

All in all, it seems that conditions for the children at Shingwauk changed over the decades. Privation, at least insofar as physical needs were concerned, is the theme of the earlier years, up to the post-war era. A marked improvement is noted in the 1950s. It is hard to ignore the fact that it was at this time that the federal government, flush with a strong economy and embarrassed by growing criticisms of the manner in which the schools were being run by various religious orders, began to take control of the system. Shingwauk was part of that trend.

Emotional needs were seldom addressed. This was perhaps more due to the institutional nature of the school, which precluded the closeness so necessary for the emotional growth of children, rather than to the heartlessness of any staff. An interesting finding was the obvious dependence upon their peers for emotional support. Emotional support from staff became evident only when schools run by the province became part of the picture.

Spiritual needs were never addressed properly, even though one of the clear aims at Shingwauk, in the days when it was administered by the Anglican Church, was to further the religious training of the children. According to the respondents, most found that the efforts of staff in fact reduced their faith in organized religion. Praying all the time, as many of the respondents reported, and hypocrisy among the religious, as Maynard and Sally depicted, did more to turn many children away from Anglicanism, than to attract them to it.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Introduction

This chapter will provide the reader with a summary of the study, including the purpose, the informants who participated in the data collection, the methods used to ensure that the conclusions reached are useable, and my findings concerning oral history and its collection of data. It also provides the reader with what conclusions I was able to reach after analyzing the data gathered from the informants, as well as from the secondary sources, and my comparisons of both sources. The conclusions reached are listed under headings that echo the four research questions which guided this thesis. Third, my conclusions concerning oral history are outlined, under the headings of advantages and disadvantages. The thesis was developed and new data were collected using the methods of oral history, and a great deal of my learning during the writing of this thesis was in this area. Finally, an overview of my recommendations, not only concerning the collection of data by the methods of oral history but also recommendations for further research, is given.

Summary of study

Purpose

This thesis examines the changes reported by a few of the “children” who attended Shingwauk Residential School -- later Shingwauk Hall -- during the years from 1929 to 1964. It tells the story of Shingwauk from the point of view of some of the children who were there.

Informants

The informants are a unique source of data for this thesis. Perhaps to get the full story of

Shingwauk all the children, now adults, who attended during the years covered should have been interviewed. This was not only impractical, since some individuals have passed away, cannot be found, or might refuse, but it was also unnecessary, as a purposive sample of children adequately rounded out a picture for us. A general interview guide was chosen and developed, mailing lists helped find individuals who were ready to cooperate and lived within a reasonable distance, and data-gathering was begun. A drive to Northern Ontario garnered two interviews. Another to a town north of Lake Superior and a Northern Ontario city produced two more. A visit to Toronto enabled me to listen to Donna and record her reminiscences, and two more respondents were found locally, not from the questionnaires, but with the help of a friend at Algoma University College, who is in charge of the Shingwauk Collection. These last two informants were contacted, interviews were arranged, and data collected. All respondents were willing and eager to discuss their experiences.

Methods

Data gathering. Gathering oral data from informants was itself a learning experience. I found that this form of research can be time-consuming. Long trips to communities in Northern and Northwestern Ontario, for four interviews from respondents, had to be arranged with many people, not simply with the interviewees, but with my family. Equipment had to be checked to make sure the tape recorder, spare tapes, and spare batteries were ready to function properly. Just in case, paper and pens were also ready. Overnight accommodations had to be arranged, on both northern trips. The subsequent work of transcribing the tapes was arduous and time-consuming.

I found also that gathering data in this way can be costly. The expenses I incurred included those related to phone calls, the wear on my vehicle, gasoline, motels, and mailing. I managed to reduce these expenses by finding respondents who were accessible by road, and purchasing a reliable vehicle.

I discovered that gathering data by means of written artifacts was a search for nuggets of information, a search for gold mines of wisdom from colleagues with a similar desire for knowledge about Shingwauk. Using interview data was a newer tool for information gathering, albeit with flaws, but a new and valid tool nonetheless.

Data analyses. I learned from the compilation of this thesis that analysis of the data is an important component of the historian's work. It has many parts that include transcribing, checking for bias, sorting, compiling, and interpreting.

Other researchers will find that transcribing from a cassette tape and a small machine will be time-consuming and possibly ruinous to the machine. Only from much stopping and starting will they ensure for themselves that they have an accurate record of the interview.

Once an accurate rendering of what was said is available to the researcher, a careful check for possible bias is the step that follows. This can only be done by close scrutiny of the transcripts -- and perhaps listening again to the tapes -- and noting those parts that could be construed as biased by the researcher's questions.

Third, once the transcripts are prepared, the physical act of cutting with a pair of scissors is undertaken. I took the intermediate step of moving those parts of the interviews to a new space at the bottom of the transcript, with important information concerning the respondent in parentheses after. Then, when faced with papers with useful quotes, I at least knew from where they came.

Finally, topics of concern were found that predominated from the interviews, the clippings were sorted -- on the living room floor, as it happened -- into the piles that made up the topics for the subsequent chapters. At the same time, documented material from various authors was found, and also sorted into the appropriate piles.

Then, the act of writing began. Each topic was studied, including the material gathered not only from the secondary and other primary sources but also data collected from the interviews, and

composing was started.

Findings

I understand now much concerning this form of data gathering that I did not know before I undertook this study. First, I feel this thesis validates children who attend Shingwauk. They are not merely products of the teachings of the staff, like manufactured items produced at a factory. They are people, albeit generally smaller and definitely younger than the adult staff, but people nonetheless that need to be treated and helped.

Second, I feel I have learned also from the data presented to me by the seven respondents, and by the limited secondary literature I found, that much of what occurred at Shingwauk, according to the respondents, matches what I discovered in the secondary literature produced by historians and other commentators of the past. A few parts of what the respondents reported to me, however, fail to match what has been written about residential schools generally.

For instance, Chapter Two, entitled "Journeys", matches well with the data I found among the secondary sources. Chapter Three, "Cultural Losses", similarly matches the data I found in the secondary sources, with the exception of the related topic of "Language". The language issue, perhaps alone at Shingwauk, did not present a problem, in the eyes of the staff, because the learning of English became an obvious solution, even to the respondents for this thesis, for the Tower of Babel that they, as children, found there. It can be surmised that to talk with others, especially with those from other linguistic groups, the learning of English made a lot of sense to the children. Finally, Chapter Four, "Needs", also matches what I found in the secondary literature. The sole topic from this subject that appears, by the data supplied by the respondents for this thesis, to conflict with the reports found in the secondary literature, is that of "Healthcare". Only two of the seven respondents mentioned that healthcare at Shingwauk was less than adequate. The

other five reported it was not a major topic of concern in their memories.

Thus, it was that an important aim of oral research was reached: the findings garnered from oral historical research do match many of the findings from other methods available. However, this research also adds insight into some differences found in reported Shingwauk experiences.

Conclusions

This study was guided by four questions. In this section, I attempt to answer these questions, as stated in Chapter One, in light of the findings generated by my analyses of the transcripts of my interviews with the informants.

The informants, who helped me find some answers to these questions, were identified by pseudonyms: Lucy Majors, Connie Walters, Donna Campbell, Maynard Cook, David Woods, Sally Bowman, and Walter Brooks. They gave their time freely and shared with me without caveat or condition.

They left me with the strong impression that they wanted above all else to be fair when they assessed their experiences. I never felt that they found this to be an opportunity to lie or prevaricate, although such actions would be hard to detect.

Question one

The first question that guided this study asked "What did the children, now adults, experience at Shingwauk and what memories do they recall now?"

It is clear from the recollections of the respondents that all of them suffered in ways that were not necessary. Few reported that their childhood recollections were happy and fulfilling. Deprivations discussed by the respondents included much that has also been discussed by other

commentators: that is, the unspoken and seldom remarked policy of the destruction of Native society, by the breakup of families, by the language policy, and by the racist comments -- which only reflected the feelings of the Euro-Canadian society as a whole -- that were common and frequent from the staff. Deprivations also included those that were caused by the exigencies of the funding formula under which administrators had to work. Poor food, work and chores demanded of the children, and the lack -- much depending on staff -- of physical education equipment. Other deprivations were often a consequence of a combination of factors, such as lack of good staff, or were a consequence of the institutional nature of Shingwauk, such as the emotional deprivations testified to by most of the respondents, or were a consequence of the sponsorship by a religious institution, such as the spiritual deprivations testified to by most of the respondents.

But it is also clear that many of the respondents would not have received any schooling at all were it not for the Anglican Church and Shingwauk School. Moreover, there were no reported cases, among the seven respondents for this thesis, of poor healthcare practices at Shingwauk. Also, none of the respondents reported direct experience of sexual abuse.

Question two

The second question related to the shift in administration that modified the aims and philosophy of the school, as it progressed through the decades.

From the early years, when the Anglican church was much more in charge of policy and procedures, to the later years, when the Federal government took greater charge of Shingwauk, and other residential schools, finally buying schooling from the Provinces, there were clearly changes evident to all. Indeed, the children, now adults, who were interviewed for this thesis, saw and reported such changes as well. Mostly the changes could be attributable to the increased funding available when the Anglican Church loosened its grip on the Residential Schools System and the

Federal government, acknowledging fiscal responsibility to Native peoples and their children, slowly took over. But, the initial work of the Anglican Church should be recognized.

It was the Anglican Church, it should be remembered, that was sure that schooling of some form could and should be delivered to Native children. It was the Anglican Church who initially funded and staffed Shingwauk Residential School. under the dedicated leadership of E. F. Wilson, Augustine Shingwauk, his brother Bukhwujenene, and others.

Moreover, it was the single-minded dedication of members of the Anglican Church, who taught children from disadvantaged homes and communities, often under difficult conditions with limited rewards, in an era when many compatriots felt that their time was wasted, that children from Native communities were frankly unteachable.

Question three

The third question asked, "What were the lasting effects of the Shingwauk experience for the learners in terms of advantages and disadvantages?" Lucy, who attended Shingwauk in the 1930s, did not mention her schooling when she got her first job in Southern Ontario. Connie, who attended in the 1930s and 1940s, similarly did not find that mentioning where she was schooled was of much importance to prospective employers. Donna Campbell found that her paid work experience, in addition to her exemplary education, helped her reach success in the business world. Much of her education and growth in her early years, she attributes directly to the opportunities she found at Shingwauk. Maynard Cook, for all his cynicism and negative remarks concerning the schooling he received under the auspices of the residential schools system, has overcome great odds to reach a responsible position in the education system of this province. Some of the success he has derived has to be attributable to Shingwauk, who taught and boarded him for a total of four years. David Woods, only a student at Shingwauk for a short while, nevertheless speaks with pride of that

time, not because of the education he may have received there, but because of the many friends he made there. Sally Bowman, like Maynard, cynically looks back on her years at Shingwauk, yet has succeeded in the end. She now works as a Correctional Officer, nurtures a close relationship, and has otherwise entered successfully "the white man's world". Walter Brooks, more than any of the respondents for this thesis, seems to have gained an easy entrance into mainstream Canadian society. He found work quickly and easily, now working for a steel plant. For Walter's education was not provided by staff at Shingwauk -- he only boarded there while attending Queen Elizabeth Public School and high school. It is interesting -- and perhaps significant -- that Walter was the only respondent of the seven, whose schooling was provided by the province for roughly half his formative years. He attended residential school only in Moose Factory.

Question four

The fourth question asked, "To what extent, as far as the children were concerned, was the Shingwauk experience a success?"

This is a difficult question to answer. For some, the schooling they received at Shingwauk was clearly beneficial. Yet the disadvantages they suffered at the same time, such as the loss of their language and culture, family ties, and traditions for many of the respondents clearly outweighed any educational benefits that they may have derived from their experiences at Shingwauk.

In the early years, for instance, Lucy and Connie derived mixed benefits from their times at Shingwauk. Lucy's devotion to the Anglican Church, for instance, was maintained and perhaps strengthened during her years at the school. Connie's schooling was inadequate, though it is not too rash to suggest that a Euro-Canadian child with similar problems to Connie's would be similarly treated in an inadequate fashion.

Later, Donna clearly derived great benefit from her years of schooling at Shingwauk. Her experiences there, including her paid work experience, clearly prepared her for the courses she took at McGill University, and prepared her for work in the world of business. But Maynard, also successful in the Euro-Canadian world, would assert that he became successful *in spite of* his years at Shingwauk. David was only at Shingwauk a short time, so the difficult life he suffered after he became an adult may or may not be related to his years at the school. Sally came from a difficult background. The Shingwauk staff were not trained nor did they expect children with difficulties like Sally's. It is disheartening to listen to her reminiscences, but the question must be raised: Were all her bad experiences only the fault of the staff at Shingwauk, or were they simply unable to give her the help she needed?

Finally, Walter clearly derived considerable benefit from his experiences at Shingwauk. He "stuck it out", stayed to complete high school, learned to help others get over their loneliness, and won a place in the world of industry very soon after leaving the school.

But, let it be perfectly understood: all of the respondents for this thesis complained about various losses that they suffered at the hands of the residential schools system. Euro-Canadian children, taught in a typical provincially-run public or secondary school, seldom complain that they suffered alienation from their families, including siblings, parents, grandparents, uncles, and aunts. Nor do they often charge that they suffered racist slurs almost daily. Third, they seldom suggest that members of their racial group were consistently castigated and blamed within the curriculum delivered by the teachers. Finally, they seldom complain that their language and traditions were systematically purged from their consciousness.

The Case for Oral History

Oral history is a tool of the historian that should not be ignored. Of course, this method includes flaws and drawbacks of which an experienced historian will be aware. But when sources of information from other sources are limited or unreliable, oral history may be a necessary and viable option. Also, oral history is a means of collecting data otherwise lost. In our case, for instance, the respondents were not asked for journals, letters, or other records to show how they felt at the time they attended Shingwauk. Their recollections alone were recorded and used.

Strengths

The strengths of the oral history method are many. It should be considered by all historians as a valid form of research. First, oral history adds details to a story that might otherwise be lost. It shows a side of a story that often is not told in official accounts. It tells the story that eyewitnesses can tell, and it includes feelings and emotions that are often lacking in other sources. And many concerns with this form of research can be addressed.

One such concern with this method is that of validity, but an analysis of the interview transcripts enables the researcher to check for this. Properly chosen, interview subjects can add to the truthfulness of each other's accounts by confirming what another said. This makes the final step, the writing of the history, that much easier.

The writing of the accounts in an organized fashion enables the historian to sift through a lot of data, find those facts that confirm what another has also said, and make a cohesive story from a point of view that might otherwise be lost. It encourages the historian also to feel the events much more strongly, and to relate more closely to the experiences told by the respondents. For me, writing the history recounted in these pages was a fulfilling experience.

Limitations

Yet there are short-comings of oral history interviewing, and cautions the reader must keep in mind. First, the need for validity is paramount, not just for historians and other scholars. In the current climate of the late 20th century, it is even more important. For, the schooling of Native children in this century is an issue that is vital to a great many people now taking time to look back.

How can we assure ourselves that the conclusions reached concerning Shingwauk are true? As with other forms of historical inquiry, truth is a chimera, a "will of the wisp", but we are assured of the truth inherent in oral history methods because of certain checks that a responsible historian will use. "Maximum variation sampling" as described by Patton (1990, p. 72), ensures that a sample of individuals approaches ideal validity. Thus, respondents from extremely different backgrounds, birthplaces, and natural abilities are found. If they present much the same data, that data can be relied upon with increased confidence. Also, the respondents have little reason to lie, and nothing to gain by being untruthful, or otherwise obscuring the facts.

Second, the memories of the respondents may be mistaken. But, since different respondents who say much the same thing are unlikely to make a similar error, a close reading of the transcripts is a useful check for faulty recollections.

Third, the respondent may be biased in his or her responses. Such bias may be the result of other influences or may be a direct result of the words and comments of the interviewer.

Discussions with others, newspaper accounts, books read, and television programs watched, are impossible to control. Nor should an interviewer be unaware that important issues, such as the Native residential schools controversy, have not had an influence on the interviewee. A close reading of the transcript will eliminate, or at least reduce, such possible bias. Hearsay evidence, for instance, should not be used in the historian's final writing. If the researcher is careful to use only

those responses that are genuine memories, and only those events that actually happened to the individual respondent, such a source of bias is unlikely to "dirty" the account.

Another source of bias may be the interviewer's unwitting remarks, uttered in the course of the interview. It is useful to keep in mind the advice of Wolcott (1994, p. 348). He asks his respondents questions that have answers that are obvious to all, yet he asks them in order to supplement his data and reduce bias. This, says Wolcott, is a better strategy than contradicting the respondents. There is less chance of the respondents giving biased or unreliable responses when they are regarded with awe rather than skepticism.

Recommendations

From the vantage point of hindsight, which is clear and unclouded, I would suggest that freedom from time constraints is a necessary component of a study of this kind. This is an important story, and needs to be told. But adequate time to do the research is essential.

It has been my good fortune to have been granted a professional leave from my position with the Algoma District Board of Education to pursue this work. Had this not occurred, years more would have passed before completion of this thesis was in sight.

More material on this topic is annually becoming available. Trying to keep up with reading and study is arduous. Often such work shows a shameless bias, but needs to be perused anyway, then evaluated. This is fast becoming a topic of interest to a great many people, including scholars. I have found keeping up with the current research a challenge.

Research Recommendations

It is quite clear to me, and probably to the reader as well, that the story of Shingwauk is not complete. Clearly this is a multi-faceted historical event. The story is told only through the eyes

of the children, and only seven of them, now adults, have shared their recollections. These people have contributed a different perspective on this story, and if they have raised important points, does this not merit further research? This thesis is a point of view only, incomplete at best, and misleading at worst.

Further research might focus more on other adults who were children at Shingwauk. They could have a story as well, that might lead to different conclusions than those outlined above.

Another focus of research could see the story from the administration's point of view. Documentation, as well as testimony from former staff, could lead a researcher to different conclusions than have been reached here.

It will be difficult and challenging to record the full story of Shingwauk, and perhaps it will prove to be impossible. But the political implications of this and the stories of other residential schools, make it imperative that more be done to cast further light on this topic.

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Appendix: Interview Guide

Appendix

Interview questions used for the present study

Warm-up:

When were you at Shingwauk?

What friends did you make?

When you first arrived, what people were there that you already knew?

Tell me what you can remember about the subjects you studied.

Tell me about the routines you followed.

Details about the school:

Who was the principal of the school when you were there?

Tell me something about the rules you can remember.

What was the effect of the rules on language at Shingwauk in your experience?

How did the rules affect you personally?

How did you or your schoolmates respond to these rules?

How were the children's physical needs taken care of?

How were the children's spiritual needs taken care of?

What religious instruction did you receive?

How were the children's emotional needs taken care of?

What contact did you have with the members of your family?

To what extent were you able to relate to the things you studied as presented to you and your classmates?

Personal feelings concerning your experiences there:

How do you feel about your time at Shingwauk?

What were your feelings when you first arrived?

What were your feelings when you left?

In what ways was your life changed by the Shingwauk experience?

What was the effect of your experience in your involvement in Native issues?

Suggested probe questions or prompts to facilitate data gathering:

Please give me two or three examples.

Tell me more about ...

How do you think your schoolmates thought about this?

Give me some reasons for these feelings you have told me about.

I'm beginning to get the picture. Please tell me more.

I'm trying to understand. What else should I know about this?

(After rephrasing a response) Is that what you mean?