boundaries. American Indians too, had to put up with the ministrations of so-called friends, who wished to retrieve natives from the ranges or forests, and to put them into worker's garb.

What articles like those of Nock and Ahern reveal is that even "humanitarianism" must be understood within the limitations and requirements of specific economic modes of production. It is clear that many natives were satisfied with their traditional or semi-traditional mode of production; however, the humanitarianism of the western interlopers did not express itself by inculcation in natives of more refined hunting and trapping skills. Instead, their humanitarianism expressed itself in moulding the natives into acceptance of industrial-capitalism.

Sandra Steinhause's article is both a completion to this section and a preliminary for the next. Her description of an alternative to the missionary-government style of education meted out to Indians emphasizes the attractive features of an educational system which is adaptive and not directed or enforced. Currently, it is Indians in Atlantic Canada who are making use of this adaptive programme, but the skills they acquire should not become the exclusive property of racial and ethnic minorities. For Steinhause shows how the kind of reflection and action (praxis) encouraged by the Indian Band Staff Training Programme could be beneficial to any group of adults interested in learning how to develop alternatives to the oppressiveness of the status quo. While her paper is probably more descriptive than any other in this volume, there is enough analysis to suggest that such learning, rather than training people to survive by fitting into "the system", might instead constitute a kind of survival which contains the possibility of lessening dominant class control of the system.

The Social Effects of Missionary Education: A Victorian Case Study

DAVID A. NOCK

North American Indians have played several roles in the history of their interaction with Europeans. In areas which were thinly settled by Europeans, Indians served as labourers who toiled to trap furs for traders such as Astor. The Astors became multimillionaires; Indian trappers did not. In another role, Indians served as military allies to Europeans who found themselves in conflict with other European nations.

For example, in the War of 1812, Indians were allies of the British and Canadians in warding off American attack. But with the long peace established by 1815 in Europe and America, and with surplus multitudes pouring into Canada from 1815 until about 1920, the Indian began to lose his role as fur trapping labourer or military ally.

R.J. Surtees sums up succinctly: "The threat of hostilities with the United States had receded greatly by 1830 and the entire purpose of cultivating the Indians as 'prospective allies on the battlefield' was being questioned. It seemed that there were simply no more wars for them to fight."[1]

The fur trade, too, an enterprise which engaged the activity of both European and Indian, was noticeably on the decline after 1815. The fur trade and the military role had encouraged Indians to retain traditional or semi-traditional practises, and a semi-traditional lifestyle. Although the impact of the fur trade and the military role did have an effect on the Indian, and while this effect must not be underemphasized,[2] many Indians did tend to continue a semi-nomadic hunting, fishing, and gathering existence. Also, such change as did occur was frequently the result of non-directed or adaptive influence, rather than from directed or enforced culture change brought by Europeans.

But the impact of widespread European settlement, the introduction of agriculture and industry, meant that Indians were now seen as pests who got in the way of progress and profit. Surtees says, "As the settler moved into the wilderness he did not look upon the Indian as a potential ally, nor did he require Indian support. More often he considered the Indians as a retarding influence and a nuisance for they seldom used their land — often good arable land — for agriculture, but continued to live by hunting and fishing."[3]

Quickly a new policy was worked out in Central Canada around the year 1830 which involved reeducation of the Indians. Previously, as fur trapper or military ally, the Indian could be seen as a noble savage. The new policy, however, which Surtees calls the ''paternal reserve policy which developed in the years 1828 to 1830'', redefined the Indian ''as a lost savage to be saved and civilized''[4] through education. Surtees describes this programme of directed or enforced culture change as follows: ''Their final end, as the scheme developed, saw the Indian transformed from a migrant or semi-migrant savage to a settled, civilized, Christian, equipped with all the moral and mechanical skills necessary to compete in the European world of Upper Canada.''[5] Enter the missionary!

Of course, missionaries had long been in contact with native peoples, trying to convert them to the soothing message of the Gospel. Now however, the missionary entered the scene as the bearer of an entire civilization and as the ambassador of a new economic mode of production. This new missionary function was supported and funded by the State, and incorporated into the educational system. In other words, the missionary became not just an apostle of Christ, but a government-supported civil servant who directed or enforced the ignoble savage into accepting Anglo-Canadian civilization, and the industrial-capitalist mode of production. The fate or role of the Indian henceforth was to become a Christian, British-oriented, proletarian who would work for other people either as a tradesman, unskilled worker, farmhand, or as a domestic servant.

* * *

Perhaps we can grasp the nature of this important process of directed social change if we look at the career of one representative missionary-educator[6] who was supported by the government. Let us look at the educational system implanted by E.F. Wilson in the Ojibway children of Northern Ontario.

E.F. Wilson was the offspring of a well-known Evangelical family. The Evangelicals composed the ''enthusiastic'' ''born again'' section of the Church of England. Wilson's grandfather had been Bishop of Calcutta, India, and his father was also a prominent Evangelical cleric in England. His father founded the Islington Annual Meetings for Evangelical clergy which are still held to this day.

Having first arrived in Canada in 1868 under auspices of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.), Wilson left that organization in 1872. Although the C.M.S. was concerned to ''civilize'' the Indians, it retained a primary focus on conversion.

E.F. Wilson had been led to the mission field more by a sense of Evangelical fervor than by any exact prior knowledge of the spiritual conditions of the Ojibway Indians of the Great Lakes. He found, much to his chagrin, that most Indians in the Lake Huron and Superior regions had

already been converted to Christianity by Methodists, Roman Catholics, and occasionally by other Anglicans. There was a paucity of pagans around the Great Lakes!

In one missionary tour to Lake Superior, Wilson had to complain, '' . . . I was a little disappointed that there was not a large number of pagan Indians among whom I might look forward to establish missions in the future.''[7] Given that Wilson was an Evangelical, he also added that he ''was disappointed to discover that they were all Roman Catholics.''[8] The C.M.S. was dismayed at the mere handful of heathen who remained. They wrote to Wilson that they had ''had no idea of the pre-occupation of the field by other Missionary Agencies to the extent which you say and statistics exhibit.''[9]

After visiting the Sault Ste. Marie region, Wilson got the idea of establishing residential schools for Indians. Earlier, Wilson had been stationed at Sarnia. After he visited Sault Ste. Marie, Wilson felt the Indians near the Sault ''were not nearly so far advanced in civilization as those of Sarnia . . . . there was something very attractive and fascinating about this first visit to the wilds of Algoma.''[10] At this time ''there first entered into my mind the idea of an institution for training the young.''[11]

Having come to realize the small numbers of pagans in the Great Lakes region, Wilson increased his emphasis on education and industrial training of the Ojibway. Abandoned by the C.M.S., Wilson was able to collect funds on the basis of his Evangelical and upper middle class connections in England.

In September 1873, the first Shingwauk School was opened. Six days later the structure burned to the ground. With a fortitude sustained by his Evangelical faith in God's Word, he collected funds for a second school which opened officially in 1875, although some pupils had been admitted in 1874. Later on a separate school, the Wawanosh, was built for girls. In the later 1880s, Wilson also had a school built for Indian children at Elkhorn, Manitoba.

* * *

As indicated in Section I, a missionary-educator such as E.F. Wilson did not enter a situation which was void. By the 1870s, the government had been supporting education, Westernization, Christianization, and proletarianization of the Indians for some half-century. Reserve and residential schools were funded partly by missionaries or missionary societies, but also partly by the government. The government allowed a set sum per Indian child in attendance at school. It also contributed building allowances. Increasingly a standard curriculum from the Department of Education was imposed on the missionary schools.

For example, some missionary schools had been in the practise of having their pupils spend two-thirds of the day in classroom instruction. The Com-

missioner of Indian Affairs, Hayter Reed, objected: "He thought that should not be done — 'unless it be intended to train children to earn their bread by brainwork rather than by manual labour, at least half of their day should be devoted to acquiring skill in the latter' ".[12] Thus missionary schools came to adopt the half-day system — the Shingwauk included.

This directive from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs also shows the process of proletarianization which was intended to result. Proletarianization is the movement of a social group *en masse* into the lower orders of industrial society. When proletarianization occurs, it usually means that direction of industry is left in the hands of a dominant majority group which is able to benefit from the toil of a subordinate minority group. For example, E.F. Wilson received many testimonial letters from tradesmen who owned their own shops and businesses, complimenting the native boys on their steadiness and diligence.

It may be objected that the aim of missionaries and of government was not to proletarianize the natives at all. Ahern has made this point, that the "humanitarian" reformers "did not intend that their educational programme would assure an inferior position for Indian children . . . ."[13] Wilson certainly did not think of his mission as intended to keep the natives in subjection. Quite the opposite. He stated: "Our object in undertaking this voluntary work, is to raise the Indians from their present low degraded position, and to place them on an equal footing with their white neighbours."[14] A number of Shingwauk graduates were successful enough to obtain middle class status as clergymen, teachers, clerks, or as civil servants. But the number was small, and the effect if not the intent of the schools was to produce a breed of sub-proletarians who were fully at home neither on the reserve or in urban industrial society. Harold Cardinal, modern Indian leader, speaks of a present which echoes the past: "He [the Indian pupil] was turned toward a life that was foreign to him and one that he could not be part of. But he was a stranger to his people on his return. The child went to school an Indian. The young man emerged as nothing."[15]

* * *

At this point, let us look in closer depth at the educational system used at the Shingwauk. It should be remembered, however, that the system used here was quite similar to, and representative of, that utilized in other schools.

Sociology as a discipline recognizes clearly that we are all end-products of a lengthy process of cultural indoctrination called socialization. Socialization begins when as a baby, our parents begin to shape our behaviour by a system of carrot and stick. Socialization continues, this time with government supervision and approval, when we go to school. Our methods of work, our concept of time, our habits and games, our ethics and mores, the holidays we

observe, the music we like, all these are a product of our socialization.

Wilson realized that the school must socialize into Indian children many things which were normally left to the parent. *The Canadian Indian*, a journal he edited, editorialized:

> The Indian child must be taught many things which came to the white child without the schoolmaster's aid. From the days of its birth, the child of civilized parents is constantly in contact with civilized modes of life, of action, thought, speech, dress; and is surrounded by a thousand beneficient influences . . . . He [the Indian child] must be led out from the conditions of his birth, in his early years, into the environments of civilized domestic life; and he must be thus led by his teachers.[16]

At least Wilson and his fellow missionaries did believe the Indian capable of resocialization into Anglo-Canadian capitalist society. Many people came to an unfavourable judgment of the capabilities of Indian or non-white peoples. Wilson *assumed* that the general Anglo-Canadian populace was willing to accept assimilation, or as he put it, "amalgamation" of the native peoples. These attitudes of Wilson — and of many missionaries — are expressed in the following letter:

> I believe that there is through Canada a *kindly feeling* towards the Indian race, that it is only their dirty habits, their undisciplined behaviour, and their speaking another language, that prevents their intermingling with the white people. I believe also that there is in the Indian a perfect capability of adapting himself to the customs of the white people . . . but he wants the advantages given him while young, and he requires to be drilled into the use of those advantages.[17]

Not everyone in the white settler communities or in Britain agreed that the natives were so capable. For example, one British observer opined: "We cannot expect African cannibals to rise at one bound from the worship of lizards to an intelligent comprehension of the Athanasian creed."[18] A biassed attitude that Indians were unimprovable is not infrequently seen in letters sent to Wilson. For example, he had to reply to a Mr. McMorine, "I am not surprised that people at the Landing [St. Joseph's Island] should speak hard of the Indians — I am used to that — but I believe that with patience and persistent effort much may be made of them."[19]

H.A.C. Cairns has commented on such missionary enthusiasm as exemplified by Wilson:

> The comparative missionary optimism as to the eventual success of his task was perhaps less a reflection of a generous assessment of [Native] capacities than a requirement of the faith — a belief in the special efficacy of the gospel as an instrument of social and religious change among even the least advanced members of the human family.[20]

At any rate, Wilson cannot be faulted for lacking in "persistent effort" to resocialize the Shingwauk and Wawanosh children into dominant Anglo-Canadian industrial-capitalist society.

* * *

In this combined missionary-government programme of cultural replacement, it was crucial that the children gain fluency in English, and if possible, lose fluency in Ojibway. In her study of the Blackfeet, Kozak says about the government's policy:

> Increased demands for fluency in English were intended to spell the death of the Indian language. The native tongue was forbidden in all schools "because if the ideas and sentiments of white people are to be acquired it must be done by such contact as required a thorough understanding of their language."[21]

If the Indians were to be "amalgamated" into Canadian society, a good knowledge of English would be essential while native tongues would lose their importance. Since graduates of the schools were intended to integrate into the general industrial-capitalist work force, potential employers could not be expected to appreciate workers who failed to understand the language of command. *The Fourth Annual Report* of the Shingwauk said:

> We make a great point of insisting on the boys talking English as, for their advancement in civilization, this is, of all things, the most necessary. Twice a week we have English class. The more advanced boys sit with their slates and write out definitions of English words; the rest of the boys form line in two classes and are taught *vive voce*, besides being put through certain manual exercises such as shutting the door, putting a slate on the bench, pulling down the blind, etc.; the object being to teach them to understand, and obey promptly, directions given in English.[22]

Some scope for speaking Ojibway was allowed in religious exercises and at tea time between six and seven p.m. But at other times, to speak Ojibway constituted infringement of the rules. Wilson sponsored a contest to encourage the speaking of English between the boys. Each Saturday buttons were distributed with new boys getting a greater number of buttons. If a boy was caught speaking "Indian", his companion was supposed to demand a button from the culprit. At the end of the week, an accounting was made with the boys who had returned the most buttons receiving a prize of nuts. Wilson considered this scheme "a goodhumoured way to keep a check on one another about talking Indian".[23] This plan or variants of it are quite common in situations where a dominant language is imposed on speakers of a minority language.

Later on during Wilson's stay at Sault Ste. Marie, he became stricter — the stick as well as the carrot was brought into use. "We bring this [proficiency in English] about principally by great strictness — sometimes punishing heavily any old pupil who presumes to break the rules."[24] This combination of positive and negative pressures resulted in Wilson boasting to the government: "Not a word of Indian is heard from our Indian boys after six months in the institution. All their talk among themselves while at play, is in English."[25] Any boy guilty of speaking "Indian", had at the very least, to

face Wilson during the punishment period at seven p.m.:

> One perhaps has broken a window, another was late getting up in the morning, another has broken the rules by talking Indian . . . each boy is admonished or punished as may seem best.[26]

The programme of cultural replacement which Wilson had planned for his pupils, extended down to the most elementary components of culture. Besides speaking English, the children were encouraged to learn European and British customs at all levels of significance. Once again Wilson was encouraged in this direction by government policy. As Kozak has pointed out:

> The educative process revealed the department's intention of burying all that was Indian, including traditional games, dances, and native crafts. The government approved as principals reported that the children were being taught to forget their Indian games as well as habits and customs.[27]

The only Indian game that was tolerated at the Shingwauk was lacrosse, and this was at least one area in which the European had been influenced by the Indian.

With this exception the games played were European games, the boys engaging in cricket, baseball, soccer, and marbles. In the available accounts of the children at play, they are praised most when playing with and looking like white children. The basis of evaluation never has grounding in the culture in which the Indian children were originally socialized.

Examples of these standard comparisons to white children include an 1877 tour across Canada taken by Wilson and two of the Indian boys with the purpose of raising funds. Wilson wrote that he found it a "great pleasure and satisfaction to me, to see those two boys chatting freely and playing ball and cricket with their white companions . . . ."[28]

In a column intended for white Sunday school children, the writer "Barbara Birchbark" (probably a pseudonym for Wilson or his wife), was asked, "George W____ wants to know if the boys ever play games like white boys do, and what games they like best. Well, last summer base ball was all the rage." Barbara commented that in their new baseball suits the Indian boys "really looked exceedingly nice, 'quite like English boys' as some one remarked."[29] Other games included a swing, climbing pole, horizontal bars, and a covered skittle alley.

With similar motives, the boys were taught the music forms of Europe and Anglo-Canada. They were taught nothing of their own traditional Ojibway musical culture, but instead learned British patriotic, religious, popular, and folk songs. Wilson regarded the teaching of music as very important and always required that a prospective schoolmaster be able to sing or play the harmonium.

A brass band organized in the 1880s, was very popular. Both the band and the various sporting teams were aimed at encouraging interaction be-

tween the children and white residents of Sault Ste. Marie. The baseball team played against white teams from the community, and the band played for events in the village. "The band boys are going to play twice a week at Sault Ste. Marie, in the rink."[30] Among Indian residential schools, brass bands were quite popular, perhaps because of the discipline needed by the boys, and because white auditors would be impressed by the military precision of the boys.

Once again, the highest praise for the Indian children resulted from comparisons to white children of similar age. A visitor to Shingwauk wrote the following report of the choir organized by Wilson:

> At four o'clock Mr. Wilson, his family, Mr. Wotton the organist, and about forty Indian boys were assembled for choir practise. It was indeed an interesting sight to see those children, many of them, no doubt gathered from homes where paganism, ignorance, and filth combined to make life wretched; and now there they stand, well dressed, clean, and wholesome looking, and unitedly lifting up their voices in the House of the Lord, in songs of praise to the Great Jehovah. The boys all seem to have some musical talent. As we listened to the practise, we could almost imagine we heard the strains of some surpliced choir in England.[31]

As might be expected, British and Canadian civil and religious holidays were celebrated at the Shingwauk. These included Christmas, Easter, Dominion Day, Guy Fawkes, New Year's, and Victoria Day. Emphasis was placed on teaching the children a proper respect for the Queen. It is evident that the custom of Santa Claus was unknown to Ojibway children. As Barbara Birchbark reported, "Many of them were new boys and had not the faintest idea what was going to happen."[32] The celebrations at Christmas included festooning with evergreens, a tree, distribution of candles, candies, and gifts, stockings, special games, exchange of cards and gifts, and Christmas dinner.

* * *

So far we have discussed socialization of the Indian children into the cultural and religious practises which were part of the Anglo-Canadian heritage. In dialectical or Marxist terminology, these cultural components are part of the "superstructure". The "base" or "substructure" is composed of the economic factors in society such as the type of mode of production, the class structure, class relations, and the work ethic peculiar to a specific mode of production. In Marxist analysis, one can trace the origin of the elements from the superstructure to the base. To do so is often a rather complicated and circuitous procedure since fields such as law, religion, ethics, morality, *do* have considerable autonomy to develop their own subsystems. Nevertheless, it can be claimed that some link, often a rather clear one,[33] binds the elements of base and superstructure. More acutely, retaining the notion of base and superstructure means that one can analyze a society as having some "coher-

ence" or as composing a "totality". In other words, the evolution and composition of a society is not a random or chance event, nor is it produced by such a plethora of "little causes" that one cannot make any sense. A society can be explained by understanding specific processes, and key to this understanding is gained primarily from knowing the economic or substructural factors. Now let us turn to those elements which were to shape and resocialize the attitudes of the Indians into the thought patterns of Anglo-Canadian industrial-capitalist society.

Most importantly, Wilson and other missionaries were preparing their pupils to change participation in modes of production. Marx and Engels believed that societies had evolved through a series of stages (each called a mode of production). Each stage was characterized by a difference in class relations. The earliest stage was the "tribal". It was relatively egalitarian and lacked any clear means by which one class could exploit another class. This was true since many of these societies were so close to subsistence that little economic surplus was accumulated. Ancient or slave society followed, and in such societies, the ruling class appropriated the economic surplus produced by slave labour.

Feudal society followed and economic surpluses were garnered by the ruling class in the exploitation of serf labour. By the time of E.F. Wilson, the societal stage was one of capitalism. Capitalism is a system comprised of capitalists who own the means of production such as factories, land, etc., and workers who do not own any means of production and who therefore must sell their labour to others.

The Indians of Northern Ontario still lived a lifestyle that was essentially "tribal" — based as it was on hunting, fishing, and gathering. Governments and missionaries, however, thought little of such a mode of production. They underemphasized the skill needed to survive under such a mode of production. Thus, whites often portrayed Indians as being a people without "culture", or "civilization", or "technology". They also rejected hunting and fishing for being wasteful in that large tracts of land could only support a small number of people.

If the missionaries were to bring the Indians into industrial-capitalist society, the natives had to acquire a new set of economic values and norms. Wilson was preparing his pupils for entry into the general Canadian workforce. Therefore they had to learn those values and attitudes that would be of immediate importance on the job. 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.

* * *

Traits which might be thought to have been fostered because of their agreement with moral or Christian considerations, were actually taught because of their positive impact in ''getting on'' in the world of work. Missionaries such as Wilson, however, would probably have seen no discrepancy. John Maggrah, a model Shingwauk pupil, explained that honesty was literally the best policy to succeed in the world of work: ''Hundreds of men and boys have got into high offices for their honesty. When a man looks out for a boy to work for him, he does not choose a strong and active boy, but an honest boy.''[34]

Another value emphasized for its contributions to worldly success was politeness. ''Politeness,'' said John, ''often gives people a good situation.'' John also recounted the following style which emphasizes the material advantages of good manners:

> Once a man wanted to choose out a boy among a crowd of boys to work for him. He got them to come into his office one by one. Some came in without shutting the door, and did not seem to care how they spoke. The last boy came; before opening the door he cleaned his feet, knocked the door, shut it quietly, and took off his hat. The man at once noticed how the boy acted, and for this reason he choosed [sic] him. The boy was polite.[35]

Wilson made sure his pupils learned such values as punctuality and cleanliness, so important to an employer. One boy wrote, ''And anything we want to do we ought to do it at once and not to be late, and we ought not to be late in the roll call, and we must not get late in school.''[36] Another boy emphasized the virtues of tidiness: ''Now, when children are sent to school, they are taught to keep themselves tidy, and be like gentlemen and ladies after they leave school.''[37]

The children at Wilson's schools had come from an environment in which their activity was largely unstructured. What structure there was, existed largely because the difference in seasons led to reliance on different food resources. But the general Anglo-Canadian society whose culture and economy the children were being trained to accept, was quite structured and formalized, and this structure and formalization was on a day to day basis. White people living in the industrial-capitalist mode of production live by the clock and a steady regular routine. The daily pattern at the Shingwauk was also a routine, one that encouraged the pupils to realize that time was not their own — that they had to react to clocks and bells, and to accomplish specific tasks within specific times.

The boys were awakened at six a.m. by a large bell set off by the captain; as soon as all were washed and dressed, the monitor in each dormitory called for silence for prayer, then ''the stair gates are unlocked''.[38] The roll call was taken by the teacher in the classroom; breakfast was eaten at seven a.m., the boys proceeding at the sound of another bell, ''in an orderly manner'' to their places.

After the meal the boys were dismissed ''in the same orderly manner''. Half of the school went to work and the other half to class, with some doing chores. At eight a.m. prayers were said except by those who had parted for work. After prayers was bed-making. ''The boys file up in order to their dormitories, take their places at the head of his (sic) bed, and at word from the monitor, rapidly and neatly make their beds.''

After this a half-hour play period for the morning scholars followed. At nine a.m. another bell rang out for the beginning of class, which ended at noon. At a few minutes past twelve, dinner was eaten. Then there was play for the morning workers until two, and the morning scholars till one. The two halves of the school traded places for the afternoon. Preparation under a monitor went on for half an hour until the arrival of the master at 2:30 p.m. Tea was at six, and evening prayers at seven. After prayers came singing or school preparation, with justice being dispatched by E.F. Wilson, ''None are allowed to report each others' misconduct, only their own.''[39] The boys went to bed gradually from 7:15 p.m. to 9:15 p.m., depending on the degree of seniority involved. Although the daily schedule held some differentiation of tasks and play, still there was a large amount of marching, bells and prayer.

Much of this emphasis on routine was to correct what was considered the Indian incapacity for regularity of conduct. If they were to amalgamate with whites, the Ojibway would have to be able to work the long tedious hours typical of the nineteenth-century working classes — 60 hours a week. Wilson admitted that even he was doubtful about this at first. But having seen the results himself, he was able to give a positive assertion: ''Our apprentice boys work ten hours a day, six days a week, and very rarely ask for a holiday. Having once become accustomed to regular work, they like it, and will stick to it as well as any white man.''[40]

Perhaps a final aspect that should be mentioned was the emphasis placed on competition. A four-tiered classification of the pupils was employed: victor, aspirant, below mark, and lag. ''The result of the six examinations alluded to is that out of 85 boys — 10 were always victors, 28 victor or aspirant, 29 generally below mark or lags.''[41]

The prize night was an important event at the school, with eminent whites and Indians attending. The children were encouraged to work towards individual distinction and there was a strong competitive element: ''The pupils are thus obliged to keep constantly and steadily at work through the whole year in order to gain prizes.''[42]

Wilson, as was a rather common attitude of the time, saw Anglo-Saxons as particularly blessed with a desire for accumulation and competition. At one time he thought of filling up the school with white orphans. Besides thus providing charity to the boys and aiding the Indian children in their English, the idea was advanced ''with the view of imbuing the Indian boys with a little

more of that spirit and perseverence which generally characterizes the Anglo-Saxon race and enables them to make their way in the world."[43]

These attitudes of competition and rivalry are seen in a letter written by David Waubegegis, one of the Shingwauk's prize graduates, about his efforts to beat white rivals at Trinity College School:

> I am trying hard to get a prize. I hope the boys at Shingwauk are studying hard too. The boys here are studying till 10 o'clock at night. I think I will be head in Latin, for I am always ahead in our form, and the boys are so stupid they can't tell between nouns and adjectives. I am the only one that declined them right this morning.[44]

While boys were being taught trades, farming, and in a few cases the white collar occupations, girls were trained in domestic duties, either for future employment as domestics or as wives for Shingwauk graduates. The girls rose at 6:30 a.m. "as they do all the work of the Home, to prepare them for making good servants."[45] The essential qualities to be a good servant, as the following citation clearly shows, were docility, quietness, and obedience:

> Several Wawanosh girls are now out in service. The mistress of one writes: "We find N. very satisfactory. She is kind and obliging, and if not hurried, does very well. She is also very honest. She seldom goes out except with one of the children or to Church with ourselves."[46]

The other future of the girls was to marry the educated male pupils. This proper mating was considered to be very important. "The officials hoped to see the educated marrying each other. A marriage comprised of a 'civilized' husband and an 'uncivilized' wife was seen as a disaster."[47] This aim is voiced by Mrs. Fauquier (wife of the Bishop of Algoma) as is also the idea that married couples were intended to serve as "the fifth column" for civilization:

> Our hopes are also that, by and by, some of these Wawanosh girls and Shingwauk boys may be united in marriage, and by their good conduct, and tidily kept cottages, prove living recommendations to the benighted ones among whom their lot may be cast.[48]

As there was an imbalance between the number of boys and girls enrolled, there was a problem in the lack of females as prospective mates. From 1874 through 1879, the enrollment was 65 per cent male, from 1880-1885, it was 58 per cent male, and from 1886-1889, up again to 68 per cent male. In addition, the location of the Wawanosh School, some three miles distant from the Shingwauk, proved a barrier. It was a ticklish problem how much access to provide the boys and girls so that matrimony rather than scandal ensued. However, the boys and girls came together at least on Sundays, and there were a number of respectable unions.

* * *

Despite the optimism of missionaries and some governments, the process of

directed culture change and resocialization did not work. Witness the complaints of Indian spokespersons like Harold Cardinal. This is evident from an analysis of the Indian Homes *Register* which Wilson kept from the time of his arrival to his departure. The *Register* gives the entry and exit dates of all pupils. The length of Wilson's curriculum was five years. The children generally entered the school at age 11 or 12. Even this period of five years would have been insufficient for the process of resocialization Wilson planned. But in fact, the *Register* reveals that the average stay of the Indian children was less than 2.5 years.

From 1874 to 1879, there was a total of 149 pupils. The average stay was 2.43 years. From 1880 to 1885 there was a total of 142 pupils. The average stay in this period was 2.37 years. From 1886 to 1889 with a total of 92 pupils, the average stay was only 1.8 years. This was partly because during the latter period, Wilson started to introduce Indian children from the Prairies.

Another way to look at the data is to break down Wilson's five year programme into shorter periods. Of the 397 pupils in attendance between 1874 and 1889, 43 per cent stayed only one year or less. Another 22 per cent stayed from 1.25 years to 2.5 years. Thus, if we combine these categories, 65 per cent of the pupils spent 2.5 years or less at the school.

Let us suppose that if an Indian child stayed at the schools for 3.75 years or more, this might be accounted a success in retention. In fact, only 21 per cent of the Indian pupils stayed for 3.75 years or more.

So it seems that participation in the schools was too little and too late for successful resocialization. More often than not, attendance at the Shingwauk was an "episode" in the Indian child's biography, rather than a major influence. By the time the children got to the schools, they were usually in early adolescence — far after cultural habits are ingrained during childhood.

Another indication of dissatisfaction was the recurrence of runaways. There were 39 reported cases of runaways in the period of 1874 to 1889; 14 per cent of the total enrollment of boys ran away. Only two per cent of the girls were runaways. This would seem to reflect sexual socialization practises. The runaways were avidly pursued by Wilson. He believed they should be forced to return and to remain their term at the school since (i) in many cases parents had signed a "contract" for their children to remain for a set period (ii) the runaway was usually wearing institutional clothing which rightfully belonged to the schools. Thus, Chapter XXIX of Wilson's book, *Missionary Work Among the Ojebway*, is devoted to rather dismal accounts of expeditions setting out after escaped boys:

> A lamp was lighted and we told the boys who were lying on the floor and scarcely awake yet, to get up and come along, and then our sailor boys each took charge of one prisoner, and we marched them down to the boat.[49]

Wilson's disgruntlement with the Indians, both parents and children who

rejected the freely given gift of missionary education, is seen in the following passage:

> I think the Indians for their real advancement require to be held with a somewhat firmer hand, and that if they will not see what is good for them that they should be made to do so . . . . I am inclined to think that if the Department would procure the necessary legislation and pass a law for compulsory education of Indian children in the same way as a law has been passed prohibiting the sale of liquor to them, that the effect would be most beneficial.[50]

When these suggestions were not acted on, Wilson devised plans of his own. One such idea was to implement a school year in which the long summer holiday was removed. This prevented adults from getting used to having their children at home again for a period of two months. Wilson's opinion of the older generation was never high since he could not understand why they did not see things as he did. Obviously Indians did not have the societal stage model of ''progress'' that Victorians held (including an otherwise atypical Victorian, Karl Marx). Wilson was not noticeably endowed with the virtue of empathy. ''The old people do not sufficiently realize the advantages of education themselves, and so seem to care little whether their children are in their place at class or roving about the bush with a bow and arrow.''[51]

If Wilson had considered that to parents, the education their children were receiving was irrelevant and foreign from their own experience, the lack of enthusiasm might have been better understood by him. If the Shingwauk had been teaching improved methods of hunting or other aspects of Ojibway culture, the older generation of parents who did not agree with their chiefs in the need for Anglo-Canadian ways would have been more enthusiastic.

Besides cultural traditionalism and conservatism, there was one other main problem that Wilson faced with Indian parents. In English civilization, it is highly desirable to send one's children far away for education to a boarding school, the private so-called ''public schools''. However, with the Ojibway and other Indians, the matter was quite otherwise. The Ojibway educational system was based on imitation of the adults by children. Thus it was rooted in Ojibway culture that children had to be close to their parents:

> While pre-adolescent girls follow their mother's activities, boys of this age take an increasing interest in those of their fathers . . . . By the age of fifteen a boy is out on the trapping line, helping his father, and running with the toboggan as a fledgling trapper.[52]

Again and again Wilson found that the Ojibway did not like sending their children hundreds of miles distant. Wrote the Indian Agent at Parry Sound:

> . . . I explained the matter to the differing bands in Council showing them the advantages it held out for their children — but the answer was that although they wished for education for their children, they want not to send them so far from their parents.[53]

When Wilson visited the Prairies in 1885 and sought to bring back some Indian children, the Cree chief O'Keness ''seemed to approve of the Indian children being educated, but did not think they would send their children so far.''[54]

As a result Wilson was often forced to accept children who were a burden to their parents, either because of physical or behavioural defects:

> It is also unfortunate circumstance for us if we can only take into our institution just such children and of such an age as the parents may offer us, and are obliged to pass over young intelligent looking children whom we feel sure would benefit far more by receiving a course of instruction.[55]

It was not that such missionaries as E.F. Wilson failed to understand the vast cultural chasms which lay between the Indian and European cultures. But most missionaries did not take the existence of this chasm as any reason to proceed cautiously in a programme of cultural replacement. Rather, they saw such differences as further proof that Indian aspects must be changed immediately and totally. Victorian missionaries believed in the need for drastic operations to ensure the patient revived from his debilitated condition.

Not all was gloom of course, and Wilson was able to record some successes. He was able to write of Joseph Esquimau in his *Register*:

> Teacher. 5 years. Employed as a catechist and school-teacher at Neepigon. Married Oshkahpudkeda's daughter (the chief in that area) — had two children — wife died. Still at Neepigon '90. Returned to Little Current, fall 1891. Made great progress. Learned Algebra, Euclid, Latin, Greek.[56]

Or of John Wigwaus: ''Bootmaker, 5 years. Living on Sugar Island 1887. Married with 1 child. Steady. C. of E. Doing very well '92.''[57]

However, as indicated in the data cited earlier successes were outweighed by failures. A recent author on the schools, D. Geddes, has said, ''Generally speaking, the children failed in attempts to use the trades skills learned at the Shingwauk Home . . . .''[58]

Some circumstances beyond Wilson's control also contributed to the failure of his plans. Prejudice against Indians was wider than he would admit. Wilson believed that if only the Indian would accept white culture, there would be no bias. Instead, Anglo-Canadians sometimes doubted the ability of the Indians, and were less than enthusiastic to have them resident in towns and cities. Nor did the widespread Depression of the 1870s to 1890s help, as this discouraged any process of ''amalgamation''.

In addition, increasing mechanization tended to render the trades learned at residential schools redundant:

> In most cases jobs were scarce. The occupations that they were preparing for had few openings. For example, in the case of shoemaking, factory made boots were cheaper and quicker to obtain than those students made by hand . . . . Emphasis was placed upon more students becoming proficient in agricultural pursuits and the learning of

trades was correspondingly de-emphasized.[99]

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. Other authors have cited the advantages of marginality. In the case of the North American Indian, the advantages of marginality would seem to have been rather thin.

NOTES

1. R.J. Surtees, "The Development of an Indian Reserve Policy in Canada", *Historical Essays on Upper Canada*, ed. J.K. Johnson, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975, pp. 264-65. This paper originally appeared in *Ontario History*, 1969.
2. For a good argument about considering the rate of change among native peoples as significant, see Charles A. Bishop and Arthur K. Ray, "Ethnohistoric Research in the Central Subarctic: Some Conceptual and Methodological Problems", *The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology*, 1976, 6:1, pp. 116-144.
3. Surtees, p. 263.
4. *Ibid*., p. 262.
5. *Ibid*., p. 267.
6. For further information on Wilson's earlier career, see David Nock, "E.F. Wilson: Early Years as Missionary in Huron and Algoma", *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*, 1973, 15:4, pp. 78-96. For information on Wilson's "radical" phase, see David Nock, "The Canadian Indian Research and Aid Society: A Victorian Voluntary Association", *The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology*, 1976, 6:2, pp. 31-62.
7. E.F. Wilson, *Missionary Work Among the Ojebway*, London: S.P.C.K., 1886, p. 68.
8. *Ibid*., p. 63.
9. Public Archives of Canada, Reel A-76, C.C. Fenn to Wilson, December 31, 1869.
10. Wilson, *Missionary Work*, p. 50.
11. *Ibid*., p. 48.
12. Jacqueline Kennedy, *Qu'Appelle Industrial School: White 'Rites' for the Indians of the Old Northwest*, M.A. thesis, Ottawa: Carleton University, 1970, p. 91.

13. Wilbert H. Ahern, "Assimilationist Racism: The Case of The 'Friends of the Indian' ", reprinted in this volume, pp. 251-261.
14. *Correspondence*, Wilson to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, August 2, 1877.
15. Harold Cardinal, *The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians*, Edmonton: Hurtig, 1969, p. 87.
16. "Indian Training", *The Canadian Indian*, September, 1890, p. 29.
17. *Correspondence*, Wilson to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 2 August, 1877.
18. H.A.C. Cairns, *Prelude to Imperialism: British Reactions to Central African Society, 1840-1890*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965, p. 211.
19. *Correspondence*, Wilson to McMorine, March 19, 1878.
20. Cairns, p. 214.
21. Kathryn Kozak, *Education and the Blackfeet: 1870-1900*, M.A. thesis, Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1971, p. 75.
22. *Fourth Annual Report of the Shingwauk and Wawanosh Homes*, Sault Ste. Marie, 1877, p. 20.
23. *Ibid*.
24. Dominion of Canada, *Sessional Paper, No. 3, 1884*, Ottawa, 1885, p. 24.
25. *Ibid*.
26. "A Day at the Shingwauk", *Our Forest Children*, 1888, 2:10, p. 16.
27. Kozak, p. 75.
28. "Third Annual Report", *Algoma Missionary News and Singwauk Journal*, 1877, 1:5, p. 35.
29. "Letter to the Sunday Schools", *Our Forest Children*, 1890, 4:4, p. 209.
30. *Ibid*., p. 210.
31. "Visit to the Shingwauk Chapel", *Algoma Missionary News*, 1886, 9:2, p. 21.
32. "Letter to the Sunday Schools", *Our Forest Children*, 1890, 3:12, p. 143.
33. For a good example of a work which uses the methodology of base-superstructure analysis, see C.B. Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953. Macpherson shows how the political attitudes of Alberta farmers can be traced to the consequences and implications of their situation in the economic system of production.
34. Dominion of Canada, *Sessional Paper No. 16, 1888*, Ottawa, 1889, p. 23.
35. *Ibid*.
36. "On Tidiness and Punctuality", *Our Forest Children*, 1889, 3:4, p. 30.
37. *Ibid*.
38. "A Day at the Shingwauk", *Our Forest Children*, 1888, 2:10, pp. 15-16.