THE HISTORY OF THE FEDERAL RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS FOR THE
INUIT LOCATED IN CHESTERFIELD INLET, YELLOWKNIFE,
INUVIK AND CHURCHILL, 1955-1970

A Thesis submitted to the Committee on Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts
in the Faculty of Arts and Science

TRENT UNIVERSITY
Peterborough, Ontario, Canada

© Copyright by David Paul King, 1998

Canadian Heritage and Development Studies
M.A. Program

June 1999
The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author’s permission.

0-612-40475-7
ABSTRACT


DAVID KING

It is the purpose of this thesis to record the history of the federal government's record regarding the northern school system and the residential schools in relation to the Inuit from the inauguration of the school system in 1955 to 1970, when responsibility for education in the north was delegated to the new N. W. T. government. The research is based predominantly on primary sources.

This thesis demonstrates that the residential schools were used to commit the assault of cultural cannibalism. The residential schools were assimilation factories where the Inuit children entered as Inuit and left Canadianized. The government abused the Inuit by removing them from their families and communities while dispatching them to distant lands where they were housed in the large hostels of the schools for ten months of the year. The hostels deprived the Inuit of contact with both their families and their culture.
Acknowledgements

It would have not been possible to write this thesis without the assistance of my research committee of John S. Milloy, Andrew Tagak Sr. and Peter Kulchyski who helped me with the difficult task of bringing this research into context and providing important advice. For this I would like to express my appreciation. I would also like to thank the families of Andrew Tagak Sr. and John Tagak for their hospitality on the frequent occasions that I was a guest in their homes. Further acknowledgement is given to Andrew Tagak Jr. for providing his computer expertise. A sincere thank you to both Stephen Innuksuk and Madeleine Allakariallak for providing me with a place to stay while conducting research in Iqaluit. A special thank you is given to Saila Adla for teaching me Inuit customs during my stay in Iqaluit.

In addition, I would like to extend my appreciation to Frank and Charlie Meness for providing me with a place to stay while spending innumerable nights at the Nation Archives of Canada in Ottawa.

My sincerest gratitude to former residential school students Peter Ernerk, Richard Immorroitak, Alice Ningeongan, Mary Wilman, Rebecca Williams, Marius Tungilik, Mosesee Joamie and Celestino Ulinierk, as well as Andrew Tagak Sr., for providing the interviews for this thesis.

Acknowledgements are also given to former Ottawa students Zebedee Nungak and Peter Ittinuar for their assistance towards the completion of this thesis. I would also like to thank Mary Alainga for ensuring that this thesis became known and distributed amongst the Inuit.

Finally, I would like to thank everyone that played a role in assisting me in my research, particularly my family, Grandma, Dad, Mom, Mark and Sandie.
CULTURAL PREPARATION

To provide myself with some understanding of the Inuit culture, I spent three summers between 1995 and 1998 living with the Tagak and Inuksuk families of Iqaluit (the future capital of the new Inuit territory Nunavut, which means "our land" in the Inuit language Inuktitut). While I was living with the Tagak family, Andrew Sr. (one of the Inuit who serves as the Justice of the Peace in Iqaluit) taught me parts of the Inuktitut language and cultural events in Inuit history.

Prior to my academic career, I was a foreman for an industrial insulation company based out of Richmond Hill Ont., near Toronto. The company under which I was employed is the largest industrial insulation company in Canada and one of the largest in north America. While employed, I gained valuable experience working with various types of insulation (such as asbestos products) throughout Ontario. From nuclear plants to chemical plants to schools, I experienced many different types of job sites. I received various degrees of training, both union and government tickets, qualifying me to work with asbestos. Ironically, while I was living in Iqaluit, DIAND decided to fund the clean-up of the American weather station that was abandoned by the Americans during the cold war. Over the years, the former military site had become run down and its remnants were spread in what appeared to resemble a massive waste site across a radius of a few miles. The area was covered with PCB's and asbestos that was used for insulation. I was asked to be the crew chief of the asbestos clean-up. An independent contractor and two others, who were from the same union as myself, were flown in from Alberta to supervise the asbestos clean-up.

It was while working at the military site (called "Upper Base" by the Inuit) that I became acquainted with many of the Inuit people residing in Iqaluit. I was the only Qallunaaq (white person, a word meaning one eyebrow and a hairy belly, affectionately adopted for white people when the Inuit first discovered the Vikings around 982 A. D.) on my crew as well as the youngest. At first this did not sit well with the Inuit, but over time we became friends and our differences became a source of humour. My co-workers began to teach me more of their language and culture and I taught them job skills that I learned in the south. For example, my co-workers taught me about the origins of the founding of Iqaluit. The grandfather of one of my crew members, Mosesee Joamie, had led the Americans to a site that he thought would make a good place to establish a post. It was also only a few miles from a favourite Inuit campsite known as Iqaluit (meaning where the fish are). Over time, Iqaluit (called Frobisher Bay by the Qallunaaq) became a permanent community.

My co-workers exposed me to many of their cultural
foods such as raw Arctic char, caribou, seal, beluga whale, narwhal etc. I was also exposed to many of their past and present cultural customs and heritage.

Some of my fondest memories are the stories about the past, present and future over Friday night pizza with Jane and Andrew Tagak Sr. and their family; "hunting" with Billy Kownirk; ice hopping with Analusi Tagak and Richard; carving stone in Noah's shack with Ach-i-na Mathewsie and his wife, eating beluga whale with Stephen Inuksuk and Madeleine Allakariallak and their children, and watching the northern lights with Saila Adla as she explained their legend to me. "If you whistled they will come down to earth and cut your head off and play catch with it." Saila explained that parents told their children this in the past to keep their children from staying up too late.

What I miss the most from my experience living with the Inuit in the Arctic is just hanging out with everyone and conversing, sharing stories, teasing each other and laughing at each other, something I learned the Inuit like to do a lot of; and of course, never call an Inuk lazy as in their culture, that is the ultimate insult, even if done in jest.

The experience I gained living amongst the Inuit provided me with an education that I could have never receive from the Institutional confinement of a University, nor could this education be obtained by reading a book. While it is simple to state that the Inuit culture is steeped in tradition and the Inuit value this tradition, comprehending this statement without exposure to their culture is not.

The practical education I received from the Inuit in my personal journey through life has provided me with an opportunity to critically analyze the context of this thesis in a manner that I feel includes the Inuit perspective. Though I am not an Inuk, nor do I strive to be, I do believe that the close ties I now hold with many Inuit has significantly impacted the academic approach I have taken towards the writing of this thesis.
Table of Contents

Abstract ......................................................... 1
Acknowledgements .................................................. 2
Cultural Preparation ............................................. 3-4
Table of Contents .................................................. 5
Introduction ....................................................... 6-21
Chapter I .......................................................... 22-75
Chapter II .......................................................... 76-108
Chapter III ......................................................... 109-155
Chapter IV .......................................................... 156-179
Chapter V .......................................................... 180-211
Conclusion .......................................................... 212-215
Appendix ............................................................ 216-254
Bibliography ......................................................... 255-259
INTRODUCTION

In January of 1998, Jane Stewart, the federal Minister for the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, made an unprecedented declaration on behalf of the federal government entitled "Statement of Reconciliation: Learning from the Past." Within this Statement of Reconciliation, the government of Canada declared:

As Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians seek to move forward together in a process of renewal, it is essential that we deal with the legacies of the past affecting the Aboriginal peoples of Canada, including the First Nations, Inuit and Métis. Our purpose is not to rewrite history but, rather, to learn from our past and to find ways to deal with the negative impacts that certain historical decisions continue to have in our society today.

The ancestors of First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples lived on this continent long before explorers from other continents first came to North America. For thousands of years before this country was founded, they enjoyed their own forms of government. Diverse, vibrant Aboriginal nations had ways of life rooted in fundamental values concerning their relationships to the Creator, the environment, and each other, in the role of Elders as the living memory of their ancestors, and in their responsibilities as custodians of the lands, waters and resources of their homelands.

The assistance and spiritual values of the Aboriginal peoples who welcomed the newcomers to this continent too often have been forgotten. The contributions made by all Aboriginal peoples to Canada's development, and the contributions that they continue to make to our society today, have not been properly acknowledged. The Government of Canada today, on behalf of all Canadians, acknowledges those contributions.

Sadly, our history with respect to the treatment of Aboriginal people is not something in which we can take pride. Attitudes of racial and cultural superiority led to a suppression of Aboriginal culture and values. As a country, we are burdened by past actions that resulted in weakening the identity of Aboriginal peoples—suppressing their languages and cultures, and outlawing spiritual practices. We must recognize the impact of these actions
on the once self-sustaining nations that were
disaggregated, disrupted, limited or even destroyed by
the dispossession of traditional territory, by the
relocation of Aboriginal people, and by some provisions
of the Indian Act. **We must acknowledge that the result of
these actions was the erosion of the political, economic
and social systems of Aboriginal people and nations.**

Against the backdrop of these historical legacies, it is
a remarkable tribute to the strength and endurance of
Aboriginal people that they have maintained their
historic diversity and identity. The Government of Canada
today formally expresses to all Aboriginal people in
Canada our profound regret for past actions of the
federal government which have contributed to these
difficult pages in the history of our relationship
together.

One aspect of our relationship with Aboriginal people
over this period that requires particular attention is
the Residential School system. **This system separated many
children from their families and communities and
prevented them from speaking their own languages and from
learning about their heritage and cultures. In the worst
cases, it left legacies of personal pain and distress
that continue to reverberate in Aboriginal communities to
this day. Tragically, some children were the victims of
physical and sexual abuse.**

**The Government of Canada acknowledges the role it played
in the development and administration of these schools.**
Particularly to those individuals who experienced the
tragedy of sexual and physical abuse at residential
schools, and who have carried this burden believing that
in some way they must be responsible, we wish to
emphasize that what you experienced was not your fault
and should never have happened. To those of you who
suffered this tragedy at residential schools, we are
deeply sorry.

In dealing with the legacies of the Residential School
system, the Government of Canada proposes to work with
First Nations, Inuit and Métis people, the Churches and
other interested parties to resolve the longstanding
issues that must be addressed. We need to work together
on a healing strategy to assist individuals and
communities in dealing with the consequences of this sad
era of our history.

No attempt at reconciliation with Aboriginal people can
be complete without reference to the sad events
culminating in the death of Métis leader Louis Riel.
These events cannot be undone; however, we can and will
continue to look for ways of affirming the contributions
of Métis people in Canada and of reflecting Louis Riel's
proper place in Canada's history.
Reconciliation is an ongoing process. In renewing our partnership, we must ensure that the mistakes which marked our past relationship are not repeated. The Government of Canada recognizes that policies that sought to assimilate Aboriginal people, women and men, were not the way to build a strong country. We must instead continue to find ways in which Aboriginal people can participate fully in the economic, political, cultural and social life of Canada in a manner which preserves and enhances the collective identities of Aboriginal communities, and allows them to evolve and flourish in the future. Working together to achieve our shared goals will benefit all Canadians, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal alike.

Stewart's declaration was in response to the report by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples which in part outlined historical policies and events that occurred within the residential schools. However, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples contained a mere two paragraphs pertaining to the Inuit and the residential schools; in retrospect, although the Statement of Reconciliation appeared to entail the Inuit residential school experience, and in fact was identified as such, (the word "Aboriginal" encompasses Natives, Métis and Inuit alike and does not make any distinction) it does not. The question that needs to be answered is, how is it that a Statement of Reconciliation can be made to the Inuit pertaining to the residential schools when the Inuit residential school experience has been for the most part ignored?

In fact, the Royal Commission's research and recommendations in regards to residential schools was based almost exclusively on the experience of status Indians, not Inuit. The survey historians have equally ignored the Inuit residential school experience. For
example, the Native people of Canada (status Indians), through the Assembly of First Nations, published a book in 1994 entitled *Breaking The Silence* which provided a six page bibliography of texts dealing with the effects of residential schools on their people.¹ Research pertaining to the residential schools has been of great benefit to Natives in healing their communities. To date, no one has ever written anything substantial dealing with the Inuit and residential schools. I know this because I was told by the National Archives of Canada that I was the first person to read the majority of the file volumes cited in this thesis.

Aside from the brief section in the report by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, there are only two texts that relate to northern education policy and the residential schools for Inuit. These works were written by Richard Diubaldo and R. Quinn Duffy.

Diubaldo demonstrated the historical relationship between the government of Canada and the Inuit in regards to federal policy from 1900 to 1967 in his book *The Government of Canada and the Inuit, 1900-1967*. However, Diubaldo does not address the federal residential schools. Although Diubaldo does address the policies of the northern school system, Diubaldo provides no analysis of the policies in relation to the residential schools; in fact, Diubaldo did not even state where the

residential schools were located.  

Duffy, while dedicating a chapter in his book *The Road To Nunavut* to the historical development of church and government initiatives towards the education of Inuit, provided only two and a half pages in regards to the federal residential schools. Further, Duffy's assessment of both the date of establishment and the location of the residential schools is inaccurate:

Under the residential school system, set up in 1951 because of the lack of community schools, children were airlifted from remote settlements to larger centres such as Iqaluit, Great Whale River, Churchill, even Inuvik, Yellowknife and Ottawa. There, for 10 months of the year, the children were housed in hostels at government expense and cared for by Roman Catholic nuns or Anglican missionaries.

Duffy's summary is somewhat misleading. For example, the residential hostel at Iqaluit was a "territorial" hostel opened after the federal government relegated authority for education of Inuit to the territorial government. It was originally scheduled to be opened in 1965 under the Department of Northern Affairs, however, that was never realized due in part to the opening of the Churchill facilities; in fact, the Iqaluit children of high school age were predominantly dispatched to

---


In Great Whale River, (in the province of Quebec), there was a very small school with two small hostels that were utilized predominately by status Indians. Inuit at Great Whale River were infrequent at best; further, small hostels were not residential schools as were large hostels. Small hostels held predominately local children whose parents were usually on the land hunting. Local Indigenous adults were almost always the ones living at the small hostels looking after the children. This is a sharp contrast from the large hostels that removed children thousands of miles from home cutting them off from access to their culture and family.

In Ottawa there was no residential school or even a small hostel for that matter. A small group of Inuit children were hand-picked and sent to Ottawa for education between the years 1961 to 70; however, they were billeted with white families chosen by Northern Affairs. These children were provided with the best that white society had to offer in order that they be assimilated. The children sent to Ottawa were deemed to be of higher "potential" than the other Inuit children in Churchill.  

---

5 NAC RG85 vol. 711 file # 630-169-1 pt. 3.
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 711 file # 630-169-1 pt. 1 & 2.
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 711 file # 630-169 pt. 1.
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1443 file #630-169-1 pt. 4.

6 NAC RG85 vol. 499 file # 630-302-1 pt. 1.
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 712 file # 630-302-1 pt. 2.
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1444 file # 630-302-1 pt. 3.
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 461 file # 630-302-2 pt. 1.
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1375 file # 630-302-11 pt. 1.
the residential schools. In a memorandum from B. Thorsteinsson to Ben Sivertz, (both senior administrators with Northern Affairs) a photo of three former Ottawa Inuit students (Zebedee Nungak, Peter Kangenjuak Ittinuar and Eric Tagoona) was enclosed with the statement..."I tried to get you yesterday to bring the boys to see you. As time passes these boys and others like them will join the ranks of young students attending various Canadian universities." The words "students attending various Canadian universities" was then underlined in pen with the word "Yes" scribbled underneath. In 1964, Northern Affairs even considered sending Eric and Zebedee to Ridley College (a highly rated private school) in St. Catharines Ontario at a cost of not more than $1,500 per year. In this memorandum, R. L. Kennedy (the Administrator of the Arctic) states to Thorsteinsson "We have been gratified by the results of the experiment involving Zebedee Nunga, (sic) Eric Tagoona and Peter Konginjuak (sic), who are attending school in Ottawa and in grades six, seven and seven respectively." Some of the other Ottawa students were Alex Kapiapik, Evie Ikidloak, Lucy Evaloardjuk, Willie Ekoomiak, Johnnie Westaltuk and Sam Ekoomiak. In an Interview, Zebedee Nungak confirmed that the Ottawa students had in fact lived with white families and were taught to be white children. This was re-affirmed by Peter Konginjuak Ittinuar. They were not residential school students. When Northern Affairs relinquished its' authority over education of Inuit in
1970, the Ottawa students were sent home."

Duffy’s claim that the federal residential school system was created in 1951 is also not quite accurate. None of the four residential schools used by Northern Affairs for Inuit was open in 1951. The Yellowknife residential school hostel was not opened until 1958, followed by Inuvik in 1959 and Churchill in 1964. Duffy makes no mention of the Chesterfield Inlet residential school (which opened in 1955) at all.®

It was the opening of these residential schools by the Department of Northern Affairs on behalf of the federal government in 1955 that signifies the future relationship between Inuit and the government. The

"NAC RG85 vol. 1061 file # 600-1 pt. 5, "B Thorsteinsson to Mr. Sivertz, 13 June 1964."
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1061 file # 600-1 pt. 5, "B Thorsteinsson to Mr. T. R. Bleiler, 18 June 1964."
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1061 file # 600-1 pt. 5, "R. L. Kennedy to The Director (B. Thorsteinsson), 29 May 1964."
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1061 file # 600-1 pt. 5, "B Thorsteinsson to Administrator Of The Arctic, 22 July 1964."

Zebedee Nungak, Personal Interview, 12 June 1998. According to Zebedee, the Inuit students billeted in Ottawa had never before seen any of the archive documents concerning their education while in Ottawa. Roughly one year after I sent documents to Mr. Nungak, Mr. Nungak called me regarding further documentation on Peter Konginjuak, Eric Tagoona and himself. Now adults, the three former Ottawa students wish to write a book about their experiences. Mr Nungak stated, "The [government] letters burned something in us. You could just see them [Northern Affairs officials] rubbing their hands in their white lab coats. [A comparison to a scientist in a laboratory] They seemed to be so amazed that Inuit could be as intelligent as white people." Between August 7 and August 25, I met with Peter Konginjuak Ittinuar on several occasions in Iqaluit. Ittinuar is in accordance with Nungak.

®Please see Chapter II.
government had conducted preliminary enquiries in regards to educating the Inuit prior to the 1955 northern school system. The Inuit were consulted during the initial studies. The Inuit of both the western and eastern Arctic articulated to federal officials that they would indeed sanction the formal educating of their children. Nonetheless, the Inuit also made it apparent to federal officials that they did not want their children educated in residential schools. The Inuit wanted their children to remain under their families cultural influence while they were educated in federal day schools.

The Department of Northern Affairs began its northern education system with intentions of providing a desired education for Inuit. Notwithstanding, any intentions perceived by Northern Affairs were predetermined to be flawed due to Departmental ethnocentrism. For example, while the Inuit valued such cultural traits as language, diet and dress the Department did not; in fact, Northern Affairs perceived Inuit traditions as primitive.

It was this perception by Northern Affairs that lead to the residential schools. Northern Affairs was of the opinion that the most economically efficient means by which to educate the Inuit children in mass was by way of the residential school, despite the fact that residential schools were highly unpopular amongst the Inuit. Northern Affairs however, did not place the same level of importance on Inuit concerns as they did on the concerns
of white Canadians.

In 1959, Erik Watt of the Winnipeg Free Press demonstrated the racial discrimination that status Indians and Inuit were exposed to in the federal education system. According to Watt, federal officials had displayed a willingness to exert pressure on Indian and Inuit parents when they were recruiting children for the hostels that they would have never dared to impose on white parents who were aware of their legal rights as Canadian citizens. Watt cited as evidence that there were several complaints, although none "official" about Indian and Inuit children who had to be shipped to Inuvik for schooling. The Department of Northern Affairs did nothing. Then it was realized that under the current system, white children, some even being children of federal officials, would also have to be shipped to Inuvik. "As long as it was only Eskimo or Indian parents that were affected, The Empire Builders found nothing wrong with the plan. But when you start pushing whites around as if they were Indians or Eskimos..."

Northern Affairs administered the northern school system by two main curricula policies that were based on an attitude of cultural superiority. First, curricula policy was designed to prepare Inuit to survive in what was referred to as the "new" north. The "new" north was the belief that southern Canadians would soon dominate

---

all regions of the Arctic in mass engaging in an economic boom fuelled by the north's natural resources. With them, southern Canadians would bring their "advanced civilization." In view of this coming reality, residential school students were readied to live and survive according to white culture and values. For example, the Department of Northern Affairs banned the traditional Inuit diet and taught students that it was responsible for sickness. In place of the traditional diet, Inuit were taught under Northern Affairs' Home Economics program to prepare and eat southern Canadian foods in place of their traditional diet.

The second policy was Northern Affairs' refusal to implement policy that would have taught, valued and safeguarded Inuit culture within the residential schools. For example, children were not allowed to speak Inuktitut [the Indigenous language of the Inuit] in the classrooms. The fact that the children were encouraged to speak only English caused many children to lose the ability to communicate with their own parents who only knew Inuktitut. While the residential schools separated children from the influence of their families and communities, this policy deprived the Inuit children from learning about their heritage and culture.

Bishop Donald Marsh of the Anglican church succinctly addressed the assimilative policies of Northern Affairs' schools:

...both in the Hostel at Churchill, and in the school at Churchill, and in the day schools right across the
North., (sic) I have repeatedly been told by the teaching personal, that their aim is to make the children 'white' and able only to take their place in an outside system. As we all know, if we honestly face the problem, no children from the Arctic (with the possible exception of a very few), will be absorbed into the southern life, and unless they have pride of race inculcated into them by the teachers, (which is most definitely not done at the present time), they will have little or nothing to aim at, and it will be too late to start teaching this in a few years time.10

The Inuit children who attended the federal residential schools and lived in the school hostels were under a tremendous amount of stress. The over-whelming majority of Inuit children placed in residential schools had never been apart from their parents or family and had never before left their home environment.11

In Inuit culture, the entire community was involved in the raising and educating of the children. A child would eat when their body felt the need to eat; a child would sleep when a child felt the need to sleep. The Inuit believed that when one slept, the soul left the body and travelled. If a sleeping person was wakened, there was a risk that the soul would not be able to find its' way back to the body.12

This was in sharp contrast to the residential schools where the educational process was void of family

10 NAC RG85 vol. 1444 file # 630-500-10 pt. 1, "Donald The Arctic to Arthur Laing, 10 June 1965."

11 NAC RG85 vol. 401 file # 630-158-1 pt. 4, "Sister Elizabeth Herauf to F. J. G. Cunningham, 9 August 1955."

12 This evidence is based on various discussion with Inuit resident in Iqaluit. Please see Appendix interviews (especially Appendix E) in order to gain insight into some of the customs mentioned here.
influence. In some cases, the R.C.M.P. deliberately forced Inuit parents to stay away from the residential schools where their children had been sent. The independence so valued in Inuit life was replaced by the rigors of clocks and schedules based on the twenty-four hour clock. The clock determined when it was appropriate to eat and sleep. Further, the important loving affection that the children received in their development at home was non-existent in the residential schools.\(^{13}\)

For all intents and purposes, the residential schools were assimilation factories which purpose was to admit the Inuit children as Inuit and discharge them as Canadian. Through the residential schools, the Department of Northern Affairs attempted to commit cultural genocide against the Inuit and their future, that future being their children. For the Inuit, submitting their children was compulsory; for this, Canada as a nation is responsible.

No thesis on residential schools could be considered complete without the input of former students. For this thesis, interviews of former residential school students were conducted in Iqaluit in the summer of 1997. The complete transcript of the Interviews appears in Appendixes A through F. The Interviews for the most part do not appear in the body of the thesis. Although the

\(^{13}\)This evidence is based on various discussion with Inuit resident in Iqaluit. Please see Appendix interviews (especially Appendix E) in order to gain incite into some of the customs mentioned here.
interviews present an extremely valuable personal perspective from former students, the exorbitant cost associated with Arctic travel prevented the possibility of interviewing enough of the former students to constitute a significant percentage of their population. For this reason, the interviews must be presented intact as the testimony of each individual informant.

The thesis provides a picture of the development of the school system as well as the changes in Inuit youth in regards to language, diet, dress and customs while they attended the residential schools. Admittedly, this thesis failed to establish whether or not physical or sexual abuse occurred in the residential schools. This is due to two reasons. First, this thesis is based on the policies and records of the Department of Northern Affairs. As far as the file records kept by Northern Affairs are concerned, sexual abuse did not occur in the residential schools as there is nothing in the federal records proving that children were abused in the residential schools.

The church archives were not much help either. On May 8 of 1995, the R.C.M.P. served a search warrant on the Roman Catholic church archives in reaction to over two hundred allegations of sexual abuse by former students of the Chesterfield Inlet school and hostel. The Roman Catholic authorities circulated a memo on February 2 of 1995 informing their clergy that a search warrant was imminent. The Roman Catholic church authorities
instructed its' archivists to conduct the following procedures in the event that a search warrant was served at St. Paul's Roman Catholic University in Ottawa where the Roman Catholic archives exist:

1) On arrival of the police at the Archives he should immediately contact counsel for the University.
2) There should be an immediate privilege claimed on all documents and nothing should be done until counsel for the University attends at the Archives to review the search warrant and discuss the procedure with the police.
3) Ensure that the police do not read or confiscate any documents until your counsel arrives. At the time counsel will review the documents and procedures to ensure that everything is in order and claim privileged specific documents which may be part of the documentation the police are trying to seize.\(^\text{14}\)

Regardless, the R.C.M.P. stripped the Catholic church archives of every file involving a Bishop [name deleted], as well as the bulk of all other files pertaining to the federal government's residential schools and hostels for Inuit. The R.C.M.P. entered the archives, served the appropriate search warrant and confiscated the documents before church officials had time to react.\(^\text{15}\) As a direct result, the contents of the seized documents could not be ascertained at the time of the publication of this thesis. As is the case with the federal archives, the Anglican church archives contain no documentation of abuse against children.

Without interviewing a significant proportion of the

\(^{14}\) ADOMI, "Telecopie, Charles Gibson to Father Dale M. Schilit, O.M.I., Rector & Father Colin Levengie, Vice-Rector Administration, 19 April 1995."

\(^{15}\) ADOMI, Telecopie, Romuald Boucher to Normand Martel, 7 February 1995."
former residential school students and viewing the
documents of the Roman Catholic church, it is not
possible to ascertain the complete role of the churches
or to adequately address the issue of physical and sexual
abuse. At the same time, the former students interviewed
for this thesis were asked about physical and sexual
abuse. Their responses are on record in the Appendix
section of this thesis.

To date, this thesis provides the most thorough, in
depth historical audit of the federal residential schools
for Inuit. It is in this context (as opposed to focusing
on any perceived shortcomings) that this thesis should be
examined.
CHAPTER I

AN HISTORICAL BACKGROUND INTO THE MOTIVATIONS LEADING TO THE CREATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS FOR THE INUIT.
On March 28, 1955, The federal government officially announced its new education programme in the N. W. T. which would also involve Inuit residing in Northern Quebec in the following press release:

The Minister of Northern Affairs, Hon. Jean Lesage, announced today that the government has approved an extensive programme of construction of schools and hostels to provide better education for children in the Northwest Territories.

...The scattered character of the Indian and Eskimo population makes it impossible to provide education for most of the children except at centres where residential facilities are provided. The hostels will provide such facilities. They will be built and owned by the government. Those intended primarily for Indian and Eskimo children will be operated by the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches as virtually all Indian and Eskimos in the Northwest Territories are of either the Roman Catholic or the Anglican faith. The schools will be operated by the government through the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources which, as of April 1, will be responsible for Indian, as well as other, education in the Northwest Territories.

The programme of construction will be spread over six years. As the need for education is most urgent in the Mackenzie Valley, the main emphasis during the six years will be there. Later on, said Mr. Lesage, similar facilities will have to be provided in other areas where the immediate urgency is not so great.

...At Yellowknife the plans call for a non-denominational hostel, to be operated by the government, to accommodate children from outlying parts who attend the vocational training school or high school.

The Minister said the schools and hostels will be financed by the federal government. All costs will be paid by it in respect of Indian and Eskimos, since they are a federal responsibility. The Territorial Government of the Northwest Territories will be expected to finance a share of the hostels and schools proportionate to the attendance of children other than Indians and Eskimos.16

Lesage's announcement prompted an editorial in the Montreal Gazette entitled "Lo, The Poor Eskimo" which read as follows:

16NAC RG85, vol. 1507 file # 600-1-1 pt. 8, "28 March 1955."
The Canadian North is finally getting some attention from Canadians. The Government has formed a new ministry, the Department of Northern Affairs.

Two principal factors are responsible for this new interest: the possibility of Soviet attack over the top of the world and the discovery of new mineral riches in quantities large enough to merit mining even at such distances from populated centres. The great problem of the North, however, is its people, Eskimo and Indian, and the more white communities, military or civilian, that are established, the greater the problem.

The climate, topography and resources of the North vary greatly from the Yukon to Ungava, but the native problem is much the same. The aborigine of the North is generally nomadic, living off the land, relying on a hunting and trapping economy. When military or mining installations are set up, his contact with the white man is often disastrous. He develops tastes that his old way of life is unable to satisfy. Yet he is, at his present stage of development, incapable of assimilation into the white man's way.

He becomes what many Northern veterans call, sadly, a "camp tramp," hanging around the new communities for hand-outs and odd jobs, losing his old skill as trapper or hunter, losing his old, proud independence and self-sufficiency.

Yet neither mining nor military authorities feel they can hire him with confidence. He is likely to disappear after the first payday and not return until he has spent all his money, usually on things that do him no good at all, leaving food and clothing last on his shopping list.

The pattern is familiar. This is what happened to the Indian in the southern areas of the country. But Canada has learned a great deal since the Indian was allowed to destroy himself. Northern Affairs Minister Lesage has announced long-range plans for rail and road extension into the Northwest Territories, but he is also studying methods of training the natives so that new developments will bring them positive good.

Right Reverend Donald Marsh, Anglican Bishop of the Arctic, says the main trouble is that Canada is trying to go too fast. "In our own way", he says of his missionary church, "we are trying to get Eskimos used to the white man's ways. But now we are trying to telescope the centuries.

The story of the white man's relations with the North American Indian is not a proud one. Canada has the opportunity of proving, in her vast Northland, that she can learn from past mistakes.\(^\text{17}\)

\(^{17}\text{Montreal Gazette} 17 January 1955, ed.:6\)

The editorial in the Montreal Gazette raises two
proverbial questions; first, what was the historical relationship between the Canadian government, its' non-northern residents and the Inuit and Indians in the north that lead both to Lesage's announcement and the Montreal Gazzette's claim that "The Canadian North is finally getting some attention from Canadians?" Second, why was there a need for an education system for Inuit in 1955?

Historically, the federal government had maintained a "Laissez-faire approach" to the north. The expense of providing services in the north and the rather limited white population in northern communities lead the federal government to concluded that the northern Aboriginal people were best left as they were; Aboriginal. This stance was maintained in spite of the fact that the Indian Act called for the assimilation and "civilization" of Aboriginal peoples; therefore, education policy in the north was that there was no need for education as educating Aborigines would have no benefit to Canada. Aboriginal people in the north had little to offer the Canadian economy aside from harvesting furs. An educational system for the north would have created a considerable financial burden on federal coffers while offering few if any dividends in return for such a perceived investment. "Rather than offering treaties, the federal government tried, after a fashion, to support the natives in their role as harvesters. The decision rested more on a desire to limit federal spending than a belief
in the value of the native lifestyle."18

Canada's concern in the north was based on a fear of "foreign" explorers present in the Arctic, mainly Americans. It was for this reason rather that Canada sought to have the Arctic annexed from Britain in the first place and not due to concerns of economic benefit or the welfare of Aboriginal residents.

According to the historian David Judd, the British Colonial Office in 1879 declared, "The object in annexing these unexplored territories to Canada is, I apprehend, to prevent the United States from claiming them, and not from the likelihood of their proving of any value to Canada." Judd further argued that "...it is for this reason only that Canadian politicians sent "sporadic forays" into the arctic since 1880 as there was nothing else for the federal government to be concerned about in regards to the arctic."19

Concern for educating the Indigenous population in the north did not reach the federal level until 1921 when the NorthWest Territories Branch was created in order to oversee the natural resources within the N. W. T. It's first director was O. S. Finnie. Diamond Jenness remarked some forty years later that Finnie realized immediately upon his appointment that the federal government was


negligently shifting its' responsibility to educate the Inuit onto the churches and the missionaries. In Finnie's opinion, the churches lacked the capacity to properly educate the Inuit. Finnie however, would soon discover that the federal government did not share his views towards administering education to the Indigenous peoples of the north.\textsuperscript{20}

He realized, as did few other Canadians, that territorial rights carry obligations; that it was the duty of the federal government to civilize the Eskimos and to safeguard their health and welfare; and that it was shamefully evading its responsibilities when it shuffled off those tasks on the traders and missionaries, neither of whom had the means to carry them out.\textsuperscript{21}

Finnie could not bring any change in policy according to historian Richard Diubaldo:

\begin{quote}
Be that as it may, Finnie soon discovered that his enthusiasm and concern would be obstructed.

The problem over the murky status of the Inuit and whether they merited any special attention, humanitarian reasons excepted. It was an issue which vexed politicians, and especially bureaucrats, for over two decades and did little for the Inuit, who paid the price for indecision, a smattering of reticence and a healthy dose of parsimony.\textsuperscript{22}

Diubaldo claims that the "murky status" of the Inuit revolved around a political debate amongst federal bureaucrats as to whether or not the Inuit were subject to the \textit{Indian Act} as were Status Indians; which, would
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{22}Richard Diubaldo, \textit{The Government Of Canada And The Inuit 1900-1967} (Ottawa: Research Branch Corporate Policy Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1985) 30-32.
have in turn, obligated Indian Affairs to provide education for the Inuit. Diubaldo is of the opinion that it was this debate (as to which department should provide education for the Inuit) between federal politicians and bureaucrats within the various federal departments that facilitated the status quo; the status quo being no grants for education for Canadian Inuit.  

Historian R. Quinn Duffy stated that as early as 1925, federal politicians debated whether or not the Inuit were a Canadian responsibility as were all other Canadians. The negating factor was the financial responsibility that entailed. Canadian politicians did not want the responsibility of the Inuit if it meant a cost financially to Canada. The argument was raised as to whether or not the Inuit were recognized as wards of the government. The answer was given that the Inuit were. If they were not than Canada could not go into the lands of the Inuit, try them, imprison them and execute them for

\[^{23}\text{Richard Diubaldo, The Government Of Canada And The Inuit 1900-1967 (Ottawa: Research Branch Corporate Policy Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1985) 32-33.}\]

Diubaldo states that this dilemma rose to the forefront in late 1919 when the manager of the Hudson's Bay post, C. H. Clarke, was prosecuted under section 35 of the Indian Act for selling alcohol to Inuit. The police however were of the opinion that the Indian Act did not apply to the Inuit and doubted the charges would hold. The police felt that if the federal authorities would provide the Inuit with the same protection as status Indians the problem would have been easily remedied.
infractions of Canadian laws as Canada had been doing.24

While this debate went on, the churches "worked" among the communities. According to J. Lorne Turner, (the Director of the Northeast Territories and Yukon Branch of the federal government in 1934) there were a few day schools and some boarding schools located around the principal trading posts throughout the N. W. T. In all cases, these "schools" were missionary facilities, designed to propagate the Christian faith. These schools operated entirely on their own, administering their curriculum independent from the federal government, although they did receive a small yearly federal grant based on the number of pupils and for that grant they were expected to follow grant regulations. It is unclear in 1934 as to exactly what constituted education under the federal grants received by the churches. As these schools were not Indian Affairs schools, federal authorities demonstrated little if any concern regarding the curriculum taught within the schools.25

Bishop Fleming of the Anglican church claimed that during this era of history, the federal government was simply not 'interested' in educating Inuit and the size of the education grants testify to this opinion. "The 'hopelessly inadequate' government grants referred to by Bishop Fleming were $400 a year for residential schools,

25NAC RG85, vol. 1130 file # 254-1 pt. 1, "J. Lorne Turner. 22 May 1934."
$200-$250 for mission day schools, and $500-$1,500 for public day schools.\footnote{26}

If it is assumed that federal influence in mission schools was pro-rated based on federal monies allocated to the missions, it would be a logical assumption that federal influence was minimal at best. Jenness affirmed that although the Department of Indian Affairs had periodically provided for destitute Inuit since 1880, limited amounts of monies were allocated to mission schools. One example given by Jenness is Indian Affairs allocating $31,000 between the years 1918 and 1921 to the missions for education of Inuit. The grants however, were also supposed to partially go towards providing medical attention at Hershel Island.\footnote{27} "Education" of Natives, (Inuit in this case), and half-breeds in the N. W. T., had been left to the Christian missionaries since the time of confederation.\footnote{28}

The pupils attending these missionary schools were usually half-breeds, alleged orphans or children whose parents for various reasons were not able to support them. The children generally were admitted to the missions at the age of five or six; most never left until their adolescence or adulthood. Females generally were

\footnote{26}{R. Quinn Duffy, \textit{The Road to Nunavut} (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1988) 96.}

\footnote{27}{Diamond Jenness, \textit{Eskimo Administration: Canada 5 vol.} (Montreal: Institute of North America, 1962-68) 32-33.}

\footnote{28}{NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1 pt. 1, "J. Lorne Turner. 28 May 1934."}
encouraged to remain at the mission schools until marriage, while boys usually left around fourteen to sixteen years of age. These pupils were taught such "talents" as Home Management, (which constituted teaching and training a child to maintain a household and manage a household by southern Canadian standards), English and Gardening; "talents" that were of little use in Inuit culture. Needless to state, graduates of mission schools had little if any knowledge or experience in Inuit culture. Therefore, it is no surprise that these "graduates" were doomed to a meagre existence as they could not survive in the north as Inuit. In many cases, graduates remained at trading posts "...eking out a pitiful existence working for wages." 29

Often, the Inuit who were raised in the missions became somewhat "institutionalized," losing both culture and traditional survival skills. In some mission schools, Inuit children were not even taught English. The primary objective of the mission schools was to propagate the Christian faith onto the Inuit. As the Christian bible was available in abundance written in the Inuktitut language, it was not always necessary to teach Inuit English. 30

29 NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1 pt. 1, "J. Lorne Turner. 22 May 1934."

30 This evidence is based on the following three texts:
W. R. Morrison, Under the Flag: Canadian Sovereignty and Native People in Northern Canada (Ottawa: Research Branch, DIAND, 1984).
Anthony Apakark Thrasher, Skid Row Eskimo (Toronto:
According to J. Lorne Turner, the Christian churches were creating a significant problem for the Inuit, the federal government and the north in general. The churches were turning out numbers of Inuit who had no idea how to survive in either the Inuit or white economy. Propagating the Christian religion to the Inuit held precedent with the churches above any other issue. Turner unfortunately does not elaborate as to the number of pupils educated in the missions or the size of the impact.31

In essence, these mission graduates had increasingly become an economic burden on all parties involved; the traditional Inuit, the federal government, the trading posts and the churches. Further, the Christian churches held steadfast to their current initiatives. Rather than reducing their involvement in the north, the churches were looking to expand. Turner was of the opinion that not providing the northern peoples with an education was no longer an option for the federal government. If the government did not educate its' northern residents, the

Griffin House, 1976).

31NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1 pt. 1, "J. Lorne Turner. 22 May 1934."

Apakark, an Inuit man who was raised in a mission school, provides an insightful autobiography into the many trials and tribulations he endured in his personal life as a result of what Apakark feels was his upbringing in the mission school system. Apakark's autobiography is in accordance with J. Lorne Turner's reports.
Christian missions would. Turner (already a proponent against mission-style education) was not too optimistic about the future of the Canadian north or the Inuit if the missions were to continue the educational role.

Under Turner, in 1934 the federal government began to conduct research and compare the education of the Inuit in other countries. In Alaska, it was discovered that Christian missionaries had created similar problems. As a result, the United States Bureau of Education took over operation of all schools and the missionaries were prohibited from running any private schools within Alaska.

In Greenland, a similar situation as in Alaska was enacted. All schools were run by the Danish colonial government. The churches were not permitted to operate independent schools for Inuit in Greenland. In Greenland there were no residential schools. In 1934, Greenland Inuit were residing for the most part in settlements. All schools were day schools where children returned to their families. All the public school teachers, as well as some high school teachers in Greenland were Inuit. Denmark even went as far as to train Inuit in the field of medicine. As a result, the hospitals in Greenland employed mostly Inuit nurses and medical personal as well.

\[\text{footnote: NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1 pt. 1, "J. Lorne Turner. 22 May 1934."}\]

\[\text{footnote: NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1 pt. 1, "J. Lorne Turner. 22 May 1934."}\]
as providing free health care for all Inuit.\(^\text{34}\)

In Arctic Sweden and Norway, the Sami, (or Lapps) had a travelling government teacher visit the camps while in the communities. Again only government schools were permitted, although there were both government day schools and boarding schools.\(^\text{35}\)

A newspaper article found within the federal archives with Turner’s correspondence, claimed that in Siberian Russia, the Russian official policy was to bring the Inuit into Russian law and order, but Inuit culture was to be respected and the Russian authorities did not permit anyone to interfere with the Inuit, this included the Christian churches.\(^\text{36}\) The Russian education system involved all the basics, language, science, math, etc., while at the same time, excluded any forms of religious indoctrination.\(^\text{37}\)

Despite Turner’s research and the examples of other jurisdictions acting differently than Canada, the federal government did nothing. The government’s decision was one of inaction. The Canadian government was well aware of Turner’s concerns as far back as 1934, demonstrating that Canada was years behind in educating the Inuit compared

---

\(^{34}\)NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1 pt. 1, “J. Lorne Turner. 22 May 1934.”

\(^{35}\)NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1 pt. 1, “J. Lorne Turner. 22 May 1934.”

\(^{36}\)NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1 pt. 1, “J. Lorne Turner. 22 May 1934.”

to other countries, as well as Turner's assertion that, in his opinion, Canadian Inuit who received church mission-style education were degenerating rather than progressing. The federal government's reasoning for not providing an education for Canadian Inuit was two-fold. First, the government considered Canadian Inuit to be too "primitive" to be able to be educated.\(^{18}\) Second, in defence of the government, Turner's report was unfortunately produced in the mists of Canada's greatest economic depression. Although Turner's report was taken seriously and it was generally established that Canada did in fact have an obligation to educate the Inuit and other northern residents, the position of the federal government was that they simply lacked the financial resources to comply with Turner's recommendation.\(^{19}\)

There was one further reason. In October of 1963, Rev. T. E. Jones of the Anglican church claimed that prior to World War II, the federal government's position was that the Inuit and Indians were a dying race whose numbers would soon be insignificant. As a result, the federal government chose to ignore them. Jones professed that in the depression years [1930's] the federal government would not provide monies to church hospitals in the north to aid in the Tuberculosis epidemics, furthering the claim that Inuit and Indians were a dying

\(^{18}\)NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1 pt. 1, "J. Lorne Turner. 22 May 1934."

\(^{19}\)NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1, "Deputy Commissioner to Major McKeand, 7 May 1943."
race not worthy of assisting.¹⁰ For all these reasons, as late as 1955, the missionaries had maintained their sole role in educating Inuit.

Sole missionary control in the north came to an end with the onslaught of World War II as Canada's ambitions northward drastically changed in 1942. World War II brought with it a growing fear in both Canada and the United States as to a possible military attack against Canada and the United States via the north. As a result, Canadian and American military personal began establishing military posts across the north. With the presence of both the Canadian and American military in the north, the federal government soon found itself under further criticism as the military began to discover the lack of education provided to Canadian Inuit. This lead to a response from Major D. L. McKeand, (a senior bureaucrat with the Canadian Department of Mines and Resources Lands, Parks and Forests Branch Bureau of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Affairs), to R. A. Gibson, (Deputy Commander of the NorthWest Territories) which stated:

So long as an Eskimo is allowed to live a community life, in the truest sense of the word, he will absorb the white man's lore gradually. But attempts to introduce the tribal system or "big boss" idea, whether by government, fur trade or missionary teaching will be resisted until the Eskimo is convinced that the white man's ways are better for the Arctic than the form of community life

which has prevailed for centuries."

Canada's failure to provide education to the Inuit became internationally known as a result of the influx of the American military. While stationed on Baffin Island in the eastern Arctic, American service men began to provide medical attention to the Inuit for sicknesses brought in from outsiders. To the shock of the Americans, the Inuit had never received any legitimate education, prompting heavy criticism by U. S. Officers. T. H. Manning of the American military dispatched a memo to McKeand which declared:

"Members of the U. S. Forces and civilians at Southampton Island are extremely critical of the Eskimo living conditions and the apparent lack of interest of the Canadian Government in them. Questions asked are:
1. Why is nothing being done about scabies?
2. Why was nothing done about the meningitis epidemic for at least two weeks, and then why was it a U. S. plane that had to take in the sulphenilimide?
3. Why has nothing been done to educate the Eskimos?
4. Why have the traders been allowed to exploit the Eskimos?"

The Canadian government proceeded to conduct "damage control" by employing Major McKeand's Deputy Commissioner to respond to Manning. He attempted to persuade American military officers that the situation was not as critical as it seemed and that Canada was indeed attempting to remedy the situation, while at the same time admitting to

"NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1 pt. 1, "D. L. McKeand to Mr. Gibson, 1 April 1942."

"NAC RG85 vol. 1069 file # 251-1 pt. 1, "Lt. T. H. Manning to Major McKeand, 30 April 1943."
Canada's impotence in many capacities with just reason.43

However, on the general question of the welfare of the Eskimos in the Eastern Arctic I think we are all agreed that we are not doing as much as we should for a number of reasons, the principal one of which is that we were unable to get financial provision for more extended activities during the years of the depression, and latterly that priority for war purposes on both manpower and equipment and supplies renders the problem increasingly difficult...44

As of December 1945, the "education" of the Inuit was still under the authority of the Roman Catholic and Anglican church missionaries.45

In the waning years of the decade, the government found itself presented with another reason for providing an education system for the Inuit, that reason being to enforce the Criminal Code of Canada. According to Diubaldo, it was while the American and Canadian military were present in the Canadian north that Canada was forced to address the dilemma of not bringing the Inuit under the criminal code of Canada. Diubaldo claimed that the problem reached a climax when a blood feud erupted between a group of Inuit in northern Quebec who believed that the second coming of Jesus Christ had arrived and a rival faction who scoffed at such predictions. The Canadian government was embarrassed as it was blatantly obvious to those non-Inuit present in the Canadian north

---

43NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1, "Deputy Commissioner to Major McKeand, 7 May 1943."

44NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1, "Deputy Commissioner to Major McKeand, 7 May 1943."

45NAC RG85 vol. 1505 file # 600-1-1 pt. 2, "R. A. Gibson to Bishop Fleming, 4 December 1945."
that the Inuit still followed Inuit custom rather than the Canadian criminal code when considering what constituted murder.\(^4^6\) Although not frequent, blood feuds amongst the Inuit were not all together uncommon. Despite the presence of the R. C. M. P. in the north, the Inuit appeared either to not understand the criminal concept of murder under the criminal code of Canada or ignored Canadian law and exercised their own traditional agency as to when it was appropriate to take another's life. Canadian federal bureaucrats actually debated placing the Inuit outside of the criminal code of Canada in the event of murder but it was decided that "The [criminal] code [of Canada] should, and would, not be changed."\(^4^7\) It was concluded that educating the Inuit was the best solution towards enforcing the criminal code of Canada.\(^4^8\)

J. G. Wright, (who was chief of the Eskimo Research Section within the Bureau Of NorthWest Territories And Yukon Affairs), wrote a memorandum to his superior, R. A. Gibson (the Deputy Commissioner) stating that the increased numbers of non-Inuit in the north had an affect in assimilating the Inuit insofar as the criminal code of Canada was concerned. Wright added that


\(^\text{48}\)NAC RG85 vol. 1870 file # 540-1 pt. 2, "J. G. Wright to Mr. Gibson, 10 January 1947."
education, and "ultimately" education facilities would be utilized to further the process:

The increasing contact with white men such as missionaries, traders, medical officers, weather and radio station operators, more recently with American troops at a number of points and, last but not least, the constant work of the R. C. M. Police amongst them for the past twenty-five years, have all had their effect in changing the outlook of the native so that the present generation has a pretty good conception of the white man's law. Cases of infanticide or mercy killing of the aged and infirm are now rare; homicide as a result of anger or malice seldom occurs. We are planning further education of the native by means of syllabic literature and, ultimately, by further educational facilities connected with health centers.19

The close of World War II did not end Canada's northward ambitions. The Cold War between Russia and the United States and its' allies rapidly raised the strategic importance of the north. On February 11, 1947, then Prime Minister of Canada W. L. Mackenzie King declared in a speech that with new technological advances new geographical factors must be recognized. The Arctic polar regions represent the shortest distance to north America from the largest populated regions of Europe and Russia. As a direct result, King claimed Canadians must learn more about the north, where as in the past, (according to King) Canadians concerned themselves with the east and west when considering national defence. King felt that Canada now held a fundamental need to know the north's topography and weather as well as develop better communication and improve flying facilities. It was

19NAC RG85 vol. 1870 file # 540-1 pt. 2, "J. G. Wright to Mr. Gibson, 10 January 1947."
King's opinion that this need would lead to economic development in both civilian and military endeavours in the north.50 Any economic development in the north would require a sufficient labour force that could withstand both the weather and living accommodations. The Aboriginal people resident would best fill this void if only they were formally educated.

In the Canadian north, this new form of defence would later become known as the DEW Line (Distant Early Warning). American involvement (in its construction) would be significant. The official Canadian government historical text states: "After World War II, the 'cold war' between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. brought more changes to the North. In 1955 work began on three lines of east-to-west radar stations following the Arctic coast. Many Indians and Inuit moved to the radar sites to find employment. With its weather stations and airstrips, the Dew (Distant Early Warning) Line took the opening of Canada's North an important step further."51

Unfortunately, the federal government sought to invest great economic and intensive initiatives to "entice" and to some extent force the Inuit and Indians in the north into an economic wage-for-labour existence under the understanding that such projects as the Dew Line would provide the wage earning jobs that many Inuit were to be "educated" in schools to partake in, while at the same time, those who held the necessary skills to


51 The North (Ottawa-Hull: Minister of Supply and Services Canada DIAND, 1985)13.
survive independently in the traditional Inuit economy would rapidly decrease in number. Instead, federal government short-sightedness created a welfare state in later years as "the Canol Project, the Dew line and various other smaller military ventures in the north had relatively small effect on the long-term economic development of the area." This inevitable result unfolded as federal officials continued to partake in their endeavours in regards to the policies concerning the north and the north's peoples.

The most significant glaring discrepancy of the mission schools in so far as industry was concerned was the lack of vocational teaching. Inuit to date had no such training. Diamond Jenness had adamantly advocated for the establishment of vocational training for Inuit repeatedly since 1925 with no results.

In originally setting up the residential schools, however, the administration had intended to give to "children from primitive environments" an education that would lead to vocational training and prepare them for work "in the white man's economy." In the mid-1950's, as a direct result of the employment demands created by the DEW Line, the government put a new emphasis on vocational training. Officials quickly realized that something more

---


53 NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1 pt. 1, "Jenness to Camsell, November 1925."
than primary education was required for the benefit of those children capable of learning skilled or semi-skilled occupations. In 1955 not one technical or vocational training school existed in the N.W.T. This no doubt, held weight as to why Inuit were not sharing in the economic benefits initiated from the natural resources in their lands.54

Considering the fact that it was a relatively new adventure for Canada, the scale of natural resources believed to soon be extracted from the north was considerable. In 1953 Canadian businesses extracted over $9,979,000 in gold, $257,000 in petroleum and $2,200,000 in fish resources from the Arctic alone. In 1954, Canadian businesses extracted $10,193,000 in gold, $297,000 in petroleum and $1,700,000 in fish produce were extracted (fish produce was in a slump in 1954 and was considered to be drastically down). At the same time, the dwindling fur trade left the Inuit in economic chaos with little or no capacity to adapt a lifestyle that was viable to the vast resources Canada was reaping from the north.55 There is no evidence to suggest that the Inuit received any of the vast millions of resource dollars in monies allocated to federal financial coffers via Inuit lands, with the exception of what Canada termed "welfare hand-outs." However, if Inuit received an education


equivalent to that necessary to engage in a wage for labour economy, any federal short-sightedness insofar as Dew Line and fur-trade employment is concerned would be irrelevant. Further, the environment in the north was considered "hostile" to southern labourers.

Erik Madsen, who wrote a paper on "Federal Commissions And Northern Development" ascertained that it was precisely the resources believed to be in the north that fuelled Canada's initiatives northward.

The growing emphasis on Territorial affairs by Federal Commissions is evidence of the accelerating awareness and interest in the area north of sixty. Why this sudden interest? Is it because the North, ignored while more favourable areas of Canada were evolving, must now be developed in the Canadian tradition? Is it because Canada feels obligated to raise the native quality of life to southern standards? Are Canadians interested in the North because of its strategic importance as a result of the 'Cold War'? While it is true that the notion of the Arctic as the last frontier is romantic, and the desire to help those not as fortunate as ourselves may be commendable to some, these rationales do not fully explain the enormous amount of attention presently being given to the North. Furthermore, as the North has lost some of its strategic importance owing to detente and changing military technology, security cannot adequately explain Ottawa's mounting interest in the Territories. The real reason the Federal Government and Canadians are gazing northward is because it is widely believed that the Arctic, with its wealth of natural resources, will be able to maintain the southern industrial machine. In a world experiencing depletion of natural resources and with predictions of future shortages, the eyes of Canada, and indeed the eyes of foreign nations, are riveted on the North. It thus comes as no surprise that the push to develop and exploit the North intensified after the discovery of natural gas and oil in the Arctic, notably in the Mackenzie Delta and Alaska's Prudhoe Bay. Had it not been for the depletion of southern supplies the North would remain a relatively ignored, unexplored and undeveloped frontier.  

On February 12 1958, then Prime Minister of Canada John Diefenbaker gave a speech on his vision of the north's future which lends credibility to Madsen's hypothesis:

This national development policy will create a new sense of purpose and national destiny. One Canada. One Canada, wherein Canadians will have preserved to them the control of their own economic and political destiny. Sir John A. Macdonald gave his life to this party. He opened the West. He saw Canada from East to West. I see a new Canada—a Canada of the North...We will aid in projects which, while not self-liquidating, will lead to development of the national resources for the opening of Canada's northland. We will open that northland for development by improving transportation and communication and by the development of power, by the building of access roads. We will make an inventory of our hydro-electric potential...Canadians, realize your opportunities!...This is the message I give to my fellow Canadians, not one of defeatism. Jobs! Jobs for hundreds of thousands of Canadian people. A new hope! A new soul for Canada...As far as the Arctic is concerned, how many of you here knew the pioneers in Western Canada? I saw the early days here. Here in Winnipeg in 1903, when the vast movement was taking place into the Western plains, they had imagination. There is new imagination now. The Arctic. We intend to carry out the legislative programme of Arctic research, to develop Arctic routes, to develop those vast hidden resources the last few years have revealed...57

This vision of the north as an economic Mecca for Canada held a profound impact towards educating the Inuit. In 1955 when Northern Affairs announced its policy change towards educating Inuit, Chesterfield Inlet


For a detailed source on natural resources in the Arctic see:

operated the only residential school. Yellowknife was added in 1958, Inuvik in 1959 and Churchill in 1964. Duffy claimed that eastern Inuit greatly needed education, particularly in the English language in order that they partake in the economic benefits projected for the north.

When DEW Line recruitment reached the east the Inuit, who needed work most, were least able to benefit from it: they were too poorly educated. The Federal Electric Corporation had to bring workers in from the Western and Central Arctic to fill vacancies at Eastern Arctic DEW Line sites for which the local labour force was unqualified.  

Duffy further stated that the reason given by the businesses responsible for hiring was that the eastern Arctic Inuit held a poor command and understanding of the English language.  

The federal government concluded that in order to bring the Inuit under the realm of the "new" north, residential schools would be needed as Inuit communities were generally too small in numbers to warrant a day school; further, Inuit often travelled great distances on the land and would have to take their children with them if there was only a day school instead of a residential school. The government's conclusion was that day school facilities would be constructed with accommodating hostels. The day schools would be under the authority of

---


the federal government so as to control the teachers and curriculum and maintain education standards more effectively. Part of this curriculum would be manual and basic vocational training which translated directly into a future in manual labour and/or trade skills.\(^{60}\)

According to Duffy, it was 1947 when the federal government took over responsibility for educating the Inuit. Duffy is of the opinion that the government held no real course of implementation towards education or even a plan as to how to educate the Inuit. Further, the government was not concerned with possible negative impacts of missionary education that may very well be repeated in the federal system if officials did not safeguard against such options.

When the federal government took over northern education in 1947, it made no attempt to assess the effects of the mission system on the native people's social, political, and economic welfare. Nor did it try to assess where the future education policies would lead the native peoples, or how the educational system fitted into the overall structure of development in the north. Instead the federal government adopted an incremental approach.\(^{61}\)

Duffy argued that the government merely assumed that if the Inuit were poor or illiterate by southern standards it was because the Inuit were denied the opportunity of a southern education. Therefore, the emphasis was placed on building modern schools in the

---

\(^{60}\)NAC RG85 vol. 1507 file # 600-1-1 pt. 8, "Jean Lesage, 4 March 1955."
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1462 file # 600-1-1 pt. 21, "12 August 1957."

north, increasing enrollment of Inuit students and the number of teachers with southern Canadian teaching certificates. 42

Duffy's grievances seem to have been correct. In the summer of 1948, the government commissioned S. J. Bailey to the eastern Arctic in order to ascertain through interviews of northern residents as to the possible establishment of an education system for Inuit. However, Bailey's objectives were merely to ascertain the need and desire for education for Inuit. Nothing was on Bailey's agenda concerning the establishment of a set policy regarding the aims of such an education system or where it would lead the Inuit. Bailey was to report his findings directly to W. G. Wright, (who as previously stated was chief of the Eskimo Research Section), Wright reported directly to R. A. Gibson (who as previously stated was the Deputy Commissioner). Bailey made stops at Chesterfield Inlet, Eskimo Point, Baker Lake and Churchill Manitoba. Bailey based his report almost entirely on information supplied by non-Inuit whom Bailey felt were familiar with the needs and/or wishes of the Inuit. 43

While in Chesterfield Inlet, Bailey found that "In discussing this problem, everyone agrees that the establishment of a residential school is NOT the answer


43NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1, "27 July 1948."
as these children must remain with their parents during the winter months." However, it was felt that in general, the Inuit people were very much in favour of educating their children. The suggestion was to erect a small building with living quarters for a teacher so as to educate the children in a day school. As was Inuit custom, at times the parents who travelled out onto the land would leave their children in town with relatives or tents were utilized (as was common amongst Inuit at this date). The suggestion was even made that the Inuit parents would like to employ the education facilities for their own formal education as well. Further, the teacher would be required to travel north and have no other duties for nine months of the year than to learn the Inuit language Inuktitut.

While in Eskimo Point, Bailey was informed by local R. C. M. P. constable Ball that in his opinion the government could attempt to educate the Inuit but Ball claimed no progress would be made. Ball felt the Inuit held a "low mentality." According to Ball, the missionaries had been attempting for years to educate the Inuit with little success.

Mr. Russell of the Hudson Bay Company was very enthusiastic about the prospects of education. Russell favoured a summer school and felt there was a great need

---

64 NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1, "27 July 1948."
65 NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1, "27 July 1948."
66 NAC RG85 vol. 1139 file # 254-1, "30 July 1948."
for it. Russell felt the government had an obligation to educate the Inuit and could not simply "liquidate" their responsibilities by giving the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches grants. The Roman Catholic priest, Father Dionne, felt that there was little need for a school but stated if the federal government constructed one he would co-operate.67

While at Churchill, Bailey was informed that it would be a great initiative to provide education not only to Inuit children but also Inuit adults. The only suggested condition was that the children were able to spend the winter months with their parents. The trip to Baker Lake produced identical results as Churchill with one notable exception. The local Anglican missionary (Rev. James) felt that a year round residential school would be best. James was the only one at Baker Lake who held this opinion as everyone else Bailey consulted felt that the Inuit families wanted the education but they also would want to keep their children with them in the winter months.68

In 1950, the federal government of Canada commissioned S. J. Bailey to conduct yet another report on the need for education for Inuit, in this case he was commissioned to conduct a survey in the western Arctic, more specifically Spence Bay and Holman Island. This time

67NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1, "July 30, 1948."

68NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1, "2 August 1948."
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1, "13 August 1948."
Bailey consulted both Inuit and non-Inuit alike. The non-Inuit appeared to be equally split on the issue. Those in favour of an Inuit education system thought that it would greatly assist the Inuit in their lives if they learned such things as English and math among other subjects such as engine repair and proper preparation of southern foods. Those against the proposed education system felt that the north would not be changing any time soon and the education system would do more harm than good. The ironic result of the consultations was that the Inuit themselves were unanimously in favour of an education system.65

...Amongst the natives with whom this subject was discussed, however, there was no difference of opinion—education is eagerly anticipated and actually pleaded for. In order to ensure that these natives were not being biased in their thinking, I had those who are opposed to education carry on a number of discussions with the Eskimos, but the results were the same—the Eskimos wanted the education.70

The Inuit of the western Arctic felt education would facilitate their business dealings which were considerable. The Mackenzie Delta Inuit were estimated to be amongst the top family income earners in the world. One Inuit man, Jim Wolki, paid nearly a thousand dollars in income tax alone in 1942. The Mackenzie Delta Inuit had received informal education from various means such as Alaska, (The Mackenzie Delta Inuit had migrated from

65NAC RG85 vol. 1072 file 254-1 pt. 2A, "S. J. Bailey, 9 April 1950."

70NAC RG85 vol. 1072 file # 254-1 pt. 2A, "S. J. Bailey, 9 April 1950."
Alaska roughly fifty years earlier) traders and people in general whom the Inuit came in contact with. The Mackenzie Delta Inuit exercised their own agency to appropriate southern Canadian and American technologies that would enhance their business dealings with Inuit and non-Inuit.71

The Mackenzie Delta Inuit were extremely successful business people when it came to utilizing their natural resources and engaging in trade with other Inuit and non-Inuit. The education they received was a knowledge of the English language, ship work, trapping and economics in relation to financial capital. These Inuit were so successful at utilizing the benefits of both cultures that one federal government correspondent remarked that the Inuit held extreme pride of race and would rather pay for the education of their children if a better system were available than the one offered free by the missionaries which the Inuit viewed as inadequate at best.72 The following succinctly sums up the wealth and success of the Mackenzie Delta Inuit:

An indication of their wealth may be gathered from the fact that the Hudson's Bay Company received offers to purchase both of their coastal boats, the "Nigalik" and the "Margaret A" in 1942. In 1941 a 24 year old Eskimo offered Bishop Trocellier ten thousand dollars in bills for the "Our Lady of Lourdes." This year he got a boat, the "Fox," and negotiated the purchase by wireless with

---

71NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1 vol. 1, "C. H. D. Clarke to Mr. Cummings, 19 April 1943."

72NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1 vol. 1, "C. H. D. Clarke to Mr. Cummings, 19 April 1943."
Captain Pedersen.\(^7\)

The Mackenzie Delta Inuit were so independent that some used their financial wealth to fight against the federal government's stance that relegated Inuit as wards' of the crown of Canada. One such measure used by the Inuit was to order alcohol as Inuit were deemed not responsible enough to consume alcohol. Inuit were incensed by any inclination that placed them below that of any other ethnicity. Jim Wolki (a non-alcohol user) ordered alcohol regardless of the fact that he did not drink because he was informed that federal laws recognized Inuit as inferior to whites.\(^7\)

The federal government was not able to regulate the Mackenzie Delta Inuit as they did other Aborigines in part because they understood the English language and maintained radio's that kept them in touch with the outside world, including the incoming of the American military as a result of World War II and the fear of Russian aggression. It was evident to Bailey that the Inuit of the western Arctic wanted the same rights accorded to all other Canadians, including an adequate education system for their children.\(^7\)

All parties agreed that the Inuit children should

\(^7\)NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1 vol. 1, "C. H. D. Clarke to Mr. Cummings, 19 April 1943." 

\(^7\)NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1 vol. 1, "C. H. D. Clarke to Mr. Cummings, 19 April 1943." 

\(^7\)NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1 vol. 1, "C. H. D. Clarke to Mr. Cummings, 19 April 1943."
remain in the care of their parents in the winter months when it is most important that the children learn the ways of Inuit culture. One of the leading advocates for education among the Inuit was Peter Nattit from Cambridge Bay, a well respected and educated Inuit man.⁷⁶

There was, as well, consensus on the nature of the proposed system. All parties agreed that the education provided would have to meet the needs of the Inuit, that is the elements that an education system could offer to enhance Inuit culture. If this was to be the aim of the education system, the non-Inuit opposed to the suggested education system agreed to support it. If the federal government intended to use the proposed education system to assimilate the Inuit, that is make them "white," then everyone, the Inuit and both the non-Inuit originally in favour or against the proposed education system revealed to Bailey that they would be adamantly against such a system.⁷⁷

Regardless of Bailey's findings, the federal government felt that a residential school system would be best. The Sub-Committee on Eskimo education stated in a report dated December 1954 that "The residential school

⁷⁶NAC RG85 vol. 1072 file # 254-1 pt. 2A, "S. J. Bailey, 9 April 1950."

⁷⁷NAC RG85 vol. 1072 file # 254-1 pt. 2A, "S. J. Bailey, 9 April 1950."

Bailey's Report unfortunately failed to define exactly what the "needs" of the Inuit were or, for that matter, what suggested elements the education system offered to enhance Inuit culture.
is perhaps the most effective way of giving children from primitive environments, experience in education along the lines of civilization leading to vocational training to fit them for occupations in the white man's economy."

In 1955, plans towards a federal school system in the north and the use of hostels for residential schools were realized. This was contrary to Inuit aspirations. The Inuit were against removing their children from home in placing them in residential schools:

Educators, from their southern perspective, had a different view of the situation. They believed that the Inuit child would make better progress if placed in the proper environment of boarding school or private, non-native home. This, of course, was progress as southern Canadians judged it. Inuit students boarding in homes with white families or guardians absorbed a large share of middle-class, southern values and behaviour patterns. The host house parents supervised them more closely, regulated their hours more strictly, discouraged absenteeism, and gave them positive inducement to achieve high standards. These students did better academically but paid a price for such success. They had to be away from their own communities for 10 months of each year. As a result they lost contact with home and widened a serious, alienating gap between themselves and their parents. They surrendered much of their language and culture and assumed many white attitudes to dress, eating habits, and social activities. Subject to the combined influence of southern teachers, southern-style boarding schools or other residences, and a southern curriculum, many of these students came to disdain their own culture, their own parents, their own families in the Arctic."

By 1951, the federal government had become involved in a "limited" number of day schools within the territory of the Inuit. However, there was still much progress to

78NAC RG85 vol. 1507 file # 600-1-1 pt. 7, "Report on Education in Canada's Northland, 12 December 1954."

be made.\textsuperscript{80}

In 1952 the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education was established. The chairmanship would be none other than J. G. Wright, whose title was now chief of Northern Administration Division within Northern Affairs.\textsuperscript{81}

In the summer of 1952, the federal government held an "informal," private meeting with their own senior bureaucrats, members of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Roman Catholic Oblates as to a solution to the "Eskimo Problem," more specifically, education. While claiming that there was nothing secret about the meeting, Acting Director F. J. G. Cunningham stated that it was felt that there would be "freer expression of views" if the meeting was private and "nothing of public interest came out of the meeting." It is unknown who was present at this meeting and what was discussed. There is no public record of this meeting as it was "private." What is known was that this meeting was meant to help facilitate federal bureaucrats in their decisions regarding education for the Inuit,\textsuperscript{82} while at the same time, Cunningham down

\textsuperscript{80}NAC RG85 vol. 1072 file # 254-1 pt. 2, "G. E. B. Sinclair to Mr. Day, 16 July 1951."


\textsuperscript{82}NAC RG85 vol. 254 file # 40-8-1 pt. 3, "F. J. G. Cunningham to Mr. Clyde Kennedy, 16 June 1952."

It is unclear who Clyde Kennedy is. All indications based on the letter sent to Kennedy from Cunningham suggest that Kennedy is a private citizen resident in Montreal as the letter is addressed to Kennedy's home residence. It is unknown as to how Kennedy became aware of the meeting and what capacity Kennedy held in order
played criticism that no Inuit representatives were
invited to their private meeting.

The only reason why Eskimos were not invited to the
meeting was, apart from the difficulties of
transportation and language, that it was felt that few,
if any, of them have yet reached the stage where they
could take a responsible part in such discussions. There
is, as you know, no tribal system among the Eskimos and
no leaders other than those of small family groups. It
would therefore be quite impossible to select any
individual - or even a small group - which could speak
authoritatively for all the Eskimos. Conditions and
customs vary greatly throughout the Arctic. This does not
mean that the Eskimo viewpoint was not presented to the
meeting. Many of those attending were men who are or have
been very closely associated with Eskimos and have their
interests and welfare very much at heart.83

Cunningham adds that the Hudson's Bay Company had
been operating in Canada since 1670 and the Oblates since
1845; therefore, in Cunningham's opinion, they were
"scarcely foreigners."84

On September 26, 1952, the government held its'
first meeting of the newly formed "Sub/Committee On
Eskimo Education" whose purpose was to meet from time to
time in order to discuss the future education of the
Inuit. The notes of the Port Harrison welfare teacher,
(Miss E. M. Hinds) who was a member of the first
historical meeting, provide some insight into the matters
discussed. It is unclear based on federal records who the

that he raised such concerns. What is known is that
Cunningham's letter to Kennedy addressing Kennedy's
concerns is the only documentation of this meeting taking
place.

83NAC RG85 vol. 254 file # 40-8-1 pt. 3, "F. J. G.
Cunningham to Mr. Kennedy, 16 June 1952."

84NAC RG85 vol. 254 file # 40-8-1 pt. 3, "F. J. G.
Cunningham to Mr. Kennedy, 16 June 1952."
original members of the committee were and who was present at the first meeting.85

Hinds was against the idea of a summer school system in part because she was of the opinion that the children were too concerned with playing and enjoying the summer weather after a long cold winter. Hinds felt the children would be too distracted to attend school in the summer. Hinds further argued that summer school would be unfair to the teacher as the teacher would not have a summer vacation and one could not leave the settlements as plane or boat were the only means of leaving; hence, the teacher would always be in the settlement. Hinds instead favoured the idea of "camp" teaching, meaning a teacher would travel to the camps with an Inuit assistant until Inuit people could be trained to be camp teachers themselves.86

More than twelve years after the first meeting of the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education, investigative reporter G. E. Mortimer of the Globe & Mail criticised the lack of summer-camp schools in place of residential

85NAC RG85 vol. 1072 file # 254-1 pt. 2, "E. M. Hinds, 9 January 1953."

Hinds was a school teacher with experience teaching in various Inuit communities. The title "welfare teacher" was assigned to at least one teacher at all federal schools in the north. As many children in the north came from families that lacked financial capital needed in order to purchase clothing, food and supplies for pupils, it was the responsibility of the welfare teacher to maintain records of such children and assist on behalf of the federal government in providing necessities.

86NAC RG85 vol. 1072 file # 254-1 pt. 2, "E. M. Hinds, 9 January 1953."
schools. While conceding that seasonal schools are unorthodox and do demand a certain kind of creative effort, Mortimer claimed that the policy-makers of the federal government had not undertaken any such initiative to challenge the teachers to make such a creative effort. Mortimer was of the opinion that federal policy-makers merely asked teachers in the north as to their opinions and thus, based federal decisions on the teachers' opinions. An analysis of the Hinds report and the weight that it carried with the first meeting of the Subcommittee on Eskimo Education holds Mortimer's claims as valid.

The topics addressed at the meeting dealt with language, texts and other materials such as films. Hinds felt that the language in class should be English but when teaching Inuit history, the program should duplicate that of the Lapps or Sami in Sweden and teach Inuit history in the Inuit language Inuktitut. Hinds felt that the texts and films were inappropriate as they were designed from the perspective of white southern Canadians and did not involve anything that Inuit children could relate to or hold any value in. Hinds also held that it was the duty of the program to safeguard Inuit culture and protect it from the possible intrusion of other cultures that no doubt, would bear an impact.

---


through the suggested education program.\textsuperscript{88}

Hinds was not free of her own ethnocentrism and cultural prejudice as she quite clearly stated, "The Eskimo hasn't the same integrity as a good type of white person, therefore, our education scheme should include opportunities for developing character and a sense of responsibility."\textsuperscript{90}

Although the federal government as of yet had not developed a set plan or strategy for implementing an education system for the Inuit, the government had reached a decision to proceed with the maintenance of federal schools where a non-denominational teacher would teach both Catholic and Anglican children or the children of any other faith. In this form of school, there would be no missionary approaches towards "education." It was felt that a secular system would remove the missionary approach to education out of the classrooms which in the past had proved to replace education rather than facilitate education. The government proposed the establishment of tent hostels around the school in order to ensure the maintenance of the Inuit children. The use of tents were already wide spread amongst Inuit; further, tents would allow for low cost maintenance as the Inuit children would be utilizing their traditional caribou clothing as well as other clothing made from animal

\textsuperscript{88}NAC RG85 vol. 1072 file # 254-1 pt. 2, "E. M. Hinds, 9 January 1953."

\textsuperscript{90}NAC RG85 vol. 1072 file # 254-1 pt. 2, "E. M. Hinds, 9 January 1953."
hides. The government plan was to have the children at school from Easter (April) to August so as to ensure that the children were with their parents during the winter months when they would best learn the traditions of their own culture.91

According to J. G. Wright, Bishop Lacroix of the Roman Catholic church stood in opposition of the original federal plan and argued against its implementation, at least where Chesterfield Inlet was concerned, as the Roman Catholic church had already established a mission school and a mission house which could house about fifteen girls, a caretaker and his wife as an instructor. Lacroix felt that at least ten boys could be housed in the school using bed rolls that would be rolled up each morning before classes. Lacroix favoured a residential school with Roman Catholic "grey nuns" teaching the Inuit instead of "lay" teachers. Lacroix argued that the proposed school term was too short for the children to learn anything and that while the children were gone with their families on the land the children would forget everything that they were taught. Lacroix further contested that it would be difficult to get the children to bed in the long daylight hours between April and August, especially if the children were out-doors in tents. He believed that by placing the children in a residential school they would be better controlled and

91NAC RG85 vol. 229 file # 630-158-1 vol. 1A, "J. G. Wright to Director, 29 December 1952."
sent to bed when necessary. According to Lacroix, the Inuit did not learn much about camp life until about the age of twelve; therefore, Lacroix was of the opinion that the children should attend residential school from the ages of seven and eight to twelve and while at school the Inuit children would be returned to their parents between New Years (January 1) and Easter. Lacroix professed that the Inuit children would be better educated in trapping, shooting, making fish nets and other Inuit pursuits at his proposed residential school than they would learn at home with their parents.92

Finally, Lacroix offered to support the federal government's plan if the government agreed to employ the grey nuns instead of lay teachers. Lacroix suggested the nuns would live in the residence with the students, therefore negating the need for a separate teachers residence and inadvertently saving the government the cost of building a teachers' residence. Further, Lacroix pointed-out that there were few if any non-Catholic Inuit in Chesterfield Inlet and those that did arrive never stayed for long anyway. Hence, there was no need for a non-denominational school.93

In response to Lacroix, J. G. Wright pronounced, "I am not arguing in favour of any departure from our policy but I think we expect a certain amount of friction and

---

92NAC RG85 vol. 229 file # 630-158-1 pt. 1A, "J. G. Wright to Director, 29 December 1952."

93NAC RG85 vol. 229 file # 630-158-1 pt. 1A, "J. G. Wright to Director, 29 December 1952."
difficulty in school administration at Chesterfield if the Bishop does not win his point."

The federal government gave way to all of Lacroix's demands under the advice of Wright who claimed that:

Apart from objections on the matter of policy this would be an easy and relatively inexpensive way out in a community which is almost solidly Roman Catholic. Occasionally there may be one or two white Protestant children at Chesterfield but their parents seldom remain more than a year or so at this point. The school is, therefore, to all intents and purposes a federal school for Eskimos not greatly different from Indian Affairs schools for Indians. I believe it is the policy of Indian Affairs to work very closely with the missions and teaching sisters are often employed in Indian schools. I am not arguing in favour of any departure from policy but I think we may expect a certain amount of friction and difficulty in school administration at Chesterfield if the Bishop does not win his point.

Although the federal government agreed to meet all of Lacroix's demands, the government insisted that two conditions be met by Lacroix and the Roman Catholic church. First, the hostel was to be built by the Roman Catholic church at no cost to the federal government and the hostel would be maintained by the Roman Catholic church at no cost to the federal government. Second, the school would be allowed to be run as a Roman Catholic school using qualified nuns as teachers until September 1963 when the situation would be reviewed, provided that there was never more than ten non-Catholic Inuit pupils requiring education at Chesterfield Inlet. If there was

---

94NAC RG 85 vol. 229 file # 630-158-1 pt. 1A, "J. G. Wright to Director, 29 December 1952."

95NAC RG85 vol. 229 file # 630-158-1 pt. 1A, "J. G. Wright to Director, 29 December 1952."
ever more than ten then Non-denominational teachers would have to be employed. 96

Bishop Lacroix further asked that federal financial grants over and above the already proposed $2.00 per day per pupil be given for clothing and transportation. Lacroix was of the opinion that traditional Inuit clothing would not be of any use in the residence. As for transportation, Lacroix felt that he needed additional assistance as approximately twenty-five pupils would be recruited by the Roman Catholics from the communities of Eskimo Point, Baker Lake, Garry Lake, Pelly Bay, Igloolik and Coral Harbour. 97 The federal government stated that they could promise no further financial aid at the present time. 98

The federal government placated any grievances by the Anglican church against the all Roman Catholic residential school by promising to erect an all Anglican residential school in either Cambridge Bay or Baker Lake in the near future. 99

Clearly, as far as Chesterfield Inlet was concerned, the Inuit were about to have an education system that they adamantly were against forced on them by the federal

96 ADOMI, HR 6641 . C73R, "H. A. Young to Bishop Lacroix, 24 February 1953."

97 ADOMI, HR 6641 . C73R, "Marc Lacroix to General Young, 18 April 1953."

98 ADOMI, HR 6641 . C73R, "30 April 1953."

government of Canada so as not to create friction with the churches and save the government financial costs.

Despite the Federal education plan and the movement at Chesterfield Inlet, there still was not any comprehensive educational strategy developed and this was not unnoticed.

The previous church managed education system was heavily criticized. John Parker (a Yellowknife lawyer and elected member of the N. W. T. council) charged that Inuit and Indian children were going without an adequate education and that federal authorities had "utterly failed to meet the need" of Aboriginal people in the north.\(^{100}\)

He seemed to be correct. Federal government records revealed that in the N. W. T., there were 2116 Inuit children of school age while only 15%, (327), of this number were attending schools. At the same time, another 400 were receiving part-time instruction from missionaries. Federal records claim that the illiteracy rate among the Inuit was very high and the number of Inuit with training to enable them to do labour tasks other than menial and unskilled was "trifling." Under the belief of a growing "whiteman's economy" developing in the north, it was thought that Inuit would need an adequate education. In the N. W. T., 90% of non-Indian

and non-Inuit children were receiving an education.\(^{101}\)

The Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education reached a final decision in December of 1954. "The residential school is perhaps the most effective way of giving children from primitive environments, experience in education along the lines of civilization leading to vocational training to fit them for occupations in the white man's economy."\(^{102}\) According to R. Quinn Duffy, "That qualifying 'perhaps' indicates that the government was still not quite sure which way to go. But off it went, heading with noticeably unsure tread along the path to the residential school."\(^{103}\)

The federal government concluded that residential schools were needed for the Inuit as Inuit communities

\(^{101}\)NAC RG85 vol. 1507 file # 600-1-1 pt. 8, "Jean Lesage, 4 March 1955."

According to Jean Lesage, the reason that Inuit and Indians were not under the realm of the N. W. T. educational policies was due to the fact that both these ethnic groups were subject to the authority of the Indian Act and therefore were the responsibility of the federal government.

Although Inuit were "Indians" based on a court decision, a federal government decision placed responsibility for Inuit under the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources; thus officially excluding Inuit from the Indian Act. Therefore, in spite of the court decision declaring Inuit "Indians," Inuit were not recognized as such by the federal government and education of Inuit was not under the realm of Indian Affairs as was the case with status Indians.

Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1462 file # 600-1-1 pt. 21, "Memorandum For The Minister [author unknown], 12 August 1957."

\(^{102}\)NAC RG85 vol. 1507 file # 600-1-1 pt. 7, "Report on Education in Canada's Northland, 12 December 1954."

were generally too small in numbers to warrant a day school; further, Inuit often travelled great distances on the land and would have had to take their children with them if there was only a day school instead of a residential school. The government's conclusion was that day school facilities were to be constructed with accommodating hostels.104

The schools were under the authority of the federal government so as to control the teachers and curriculum and maintain education standards more effectively. Part of this curriculum was manual and basic vocational training.105

The hostels were under the control of the Anglican and Catholic churches where the Inuit children lived while attending school throughout the school year, with the exception of the planned hostel at Yellowknife which was maintained by the Department of Northern Affairs. This was done in part as a compromise with the churches from Northern Affairs for removing the churches from a position of authority insofar as educational policies were concerned with Inuit and Indians. As previously stated, for decades the churches had been the only source

---

104NAC RG85 vol. 1507 file # 600-1-1 pt. 8, "Jean Lesage, 4 March 1955."
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1462 file # 600-1-1 pt. 21, "Memorandum For The Minister [author unknown], 12 August 1957."

105NAC RG85 vol. 1507 file # 600-1-1 pt. 8, "Jean Lesage, 4 March 1955."
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1462 file # 600-1-1 pt. 21, "Memorandum For The Minister [author unknown], 12 August 1957."
of education for Inuit and Indians in the north. It was not likely that the churches would have peacefully given way to the government without some sort of compromise. The school at Chesterfield Inlet remained under the guidance of the Roman Catholic church while the curriculum and financial support came from the federal government.  

Due to the deficiencies of the mission schools, the government eventually resumed control of all the schools in the north, bringing to a close all mission schools within the north. Hence, by the federal definition, a residential school for the Inuit was a school where a large number of Inuit children were in attendance, within a large building structure, while at the same time residing in large hostels under the authority of either the Roman Catholic or Anglican churches or Northern Affairs. Tent hostels and small hostels do not qualify as residential schools as they allowed for Inuit adults (who were generally relatives of the children) to often live amongst the children and therefore, there was an Inuit cultural atmosphere maintained. In large residential schools, Inuit children were almost always flown in from vast distances and lived in virtual isolation from family

---

106 NAC RG85 vol. 1507 file # 600-1-1 pt. 8, "Jean Lesage, 4 March 1955."
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1462 file # 600-1-1 pt. 21, "Memorandum For The Minister [author unknown], 12 August 1957."
and Inuit cultural Influence.\textsuperscript{107}

The residential schools facilitated the assimilation of Inuit children into the dominant Canadian society where it was felt that Inuit would perform manual labour tasks for industries in relation to the extraction of natural resources in the north. The "preferred" terminology was "integration" as opposed to "assimilation", at least from the prospective of the Anglican church:

It is now felt by many, the Anglican Church included, that only by integration (the word must not be confused with "assimilation") can the Indian and Eskimo peoples be given the opportunity fully of entering into and making their contribution to the National Life of Canada. The best and logical place to start a programme of integration is with the younger generation and in the classroom.\textsuperscript{108}

Although from the perspective of the Anglican church, (replacing Inuit traditional religious beliefs, values and customs with that of Christianity and southern Canadian ideals did not constitute assimilation) the evidence within the Anglican church's own archives suggests that "integration" and "assimilation" were in fact one in the same. Citing as evidence that Inuit now hunted with rifles, trapped furs, bought consumer goods, received family allowances, pension and financial

\textsuperscript{107} NAC RG85 vol. 1507 file # 600-1-1 pt. 8, "Jean Lesage, 4 March 1955."
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1462 file # 600-1-1 pt. 21, "Memorandum For The Minister [author unknown], 12 August 1957."

assistance, Anglican church officials claimed that "The fact has to be faced that the traditional relationship between Eskimos and their physical environment has ceased to exist." 109

As the Department of Northern Affairs proceeded to "wing-it" in setting-up its' residential schools for the Inuit, they held little if any knowledge of the Inuit as a people. This would have to be remedied:

One of the greatest difficulties facing those responsible for health, welfare and education of the natives of northern Canada is a lack of basic information on their social and cultural patterns and how these patterns are being changed by the advance of civilization. Some information is available about certain groups and communities but it is not adequate for a proper understanding of the overall picture. Such an understanding is essential if suitable government policies are to be evolved. There has never been a thorough sociological study of the natives in the north and a need for the information such a study would produce is being felt more and more each day.

The same problem existed in Alaska and during the 1930s a team of specialists from Stanford University, supported by a grant from the Carnegie Foundation, carried out a comprehensive sociological study of the Alaskan native. This study has apparently been of considerable assistance to the United States Government in the development of their education and welfare policies in Alaska and would serve as an excellent guide to a similar study in the Canadian north. The results of such a project would be of immediate value to those in Canada concerned with native problems. At the present time, for instance, the Education Division of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources is attempting to draw up a curriculum to meet the specialized educational problems of the Eskimo and Indian but is handicapped by a lack of the type of information which such a study would provide. 110

According to Diubaldo, "In 1954 a 'Northern Research


110NAC RG22 vol. 545-ACND-1957, "Robertson to E. L. Harvie, 17 June 1957."
Co-ordination Centre' was established to carry out the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources' responsibility. Those responsibilities would entail 'fostering through scientific investigation and technology, knowledge of the Canadian north and of the means of dealing with conditions related to its future development."

Diubaldo further stated "The terms of reference of the centre were wide ranging and reflect the extent to which the government had to educate itself in a number of matters, including 'Social Anthropology'..."

**Social Anthropology**

To plan out a programme of Eskimo research in the fields of social anthropology and related subjects such as psychology and sociology. This function requires a small staff of permanent research scientists in the Northern Research Co-ordination Centre to provide professional advice and to study problems of immediate concern to the administrator, and the employment of scientists on a seasonal basis— or through contracts or grants-in-aid— to make continuing field investigations into living conditions of Eskimos undergoing social and economic change. This includes investigation of the following:

- Eskimo social organization and habits
- Problems associated with population movement.
- Problems associated with the availability of natural resources and the degree to which the Eskimo are or could become dependent on these.
- Problems associated with the introduction of new

---


112 NAC RG22 vol. 545-ACND-1958, "Northern Research Co-ordination Centre, October 1958."
technical and social forms to the Eskimo, such as housing, clothing, handicraft industries, education, and social welfare programmes.

Problems associated with the interrelationship of Eskimos, Indians, and men of European stock.

The programme of social anthropological research is directed towards the needs of the northern administrator. It differs from the anthropological research carried out by the National Museum as it is not concerned with the academic reconstruction of native cultures involving projects in archaeology, physical anthropology, ethnology, and folklore.\[^{114}\]

Beginning in 1955 and concluding in 1958, the Northern Research Co-ordination Centre conducted at least ten social anthropological studies of the Inuit in an attempt to decipher who and what the Inuit were.\[^{115}\]

On May 25, 1959, the Eskimo Affairs Committee met in Ottawa for its tenth meeting. For the first time, the meeting involved Inuit representatives. The Inuit representatives were a Mr. Shingituk, Mr. Koneak, Mr. Okpik and Mr. Menarik, all from the eastern Arctic. Also in attendance among several prominent federal government officials was than Prime Minister of Canada, John Diefenbaker.\[^{116}\]

The eastern Arctic Inuit representatives unanimously were all in accordance in that Inuit wanted their

\[^{114}\text{NAC RG22 545-ACND-1958, "Northern Research Co-ordination Centre, October 1958."}\]

\[^{115}\text{NAC RG22 545-ACND-1958, "Northern Research Co-ordination Centre, List of Projects Undertaken by the Northern Research Co-ordination Centre from 1955 to 1958, October 1958."}\]

\[^{116}\text{NAC RG85 vol. 653 file # 1012-9 pt. 2, "Remarks Of Eskimo Delegates At The Tenth Meeting Eskimo Affairs Committee, Ottawa, 25 May 1959."}\]
children educated and felt that education should be expanded and expanded rapidly with more schools and more space. The Inuit representatives expressed that Inuit wanted to take control of their own resources and wished to manifest their own destiny as Inuit outside of Canada were doing, thus a formal education was greatly needed. The federal government had now been encouraged by both the western and eastern Arctic Inuit to educate their children.\(^{117}\)

Mr. Menarik noted the need for English as he attended a mission school and not only did not learn to speak English but did not learn to hunt either as a result of his upbringing in the mission. Mr. Okpik stated that the Inuit had only been organizing and voting for representation based on committees for the last ten years but these committees were pointless as every time they sent letters with requests the Inuit received no response. All agreed that English was the language of business; however, Inuit had no intention of abandoning their own language or cultural identity. The Inuit wished to appropriate technologies from the outside world that would enhance their own cultural identity.\(^{119}\)

The Inuit representatives were quick to point-out that the technologies Inuit sought were not only

\(^{117}\)NAC RG85 vol. 653 file # 1012-9 pt. 2, "Remarks Of Eskimo Delegates At The Tenth Meeting Eskimo Affairs Committee, Ottawa, 25 May 1959."

\(^{119}\)NAC RG85 vol. 653 file # 1012-9 pt. 2, "Remarks Of Eskimo Delegates At The Tenth Meeting Eskimo Affairs Committee, Ottawa, 25 May 1959."
"whiteman's" technologies. Mr. Koneak sums up the Inuit perspective succinctly:

Last year we made a trip to Greenland, and we saw over Greenland very interesting things never happening over in Chimo or near Chimo at the coast. Our people are away behind, and we found the Greenland people are treated very well, and it is a longer time we have ahead of us. We saw Eskimo Greenlanders who have a lot of boats, a lot of houses, and that also most of the people are working and making money-fishermen, farmers, working in different factories-and I think these things could be done near Chimo...I think the Eskimo don't want to go back to the old days any more, they couldn't stand it any longer. We know some of the Eskimo people living in other countries are doing fine. We people are still down in the ground, hardly have come up from the ground. We want help in any way to see if we can make grown-up.  

Koneak and the other Inuit representatives emphatically encouraged the government to provide education for Inuit youth. However, the government gave hints that their interests in a school system for the Inuit were not necessarily one in the same as the interests and motivations of the Inuit. The government appeared to selectively listen to people like Koneak as a pre-determined means of supporting the Northern Affairs' endeavours rather than critically analyzing Koneak's speech. This is blatantly obvious on June 2, 1959 when R. G. Robinson, then deputy Minister of Northern Affairs and Resources, referred to such Inuit speakers as Koneak as their "star performers."  

The federal government's representatives continued

---


to monitor the educational policies of the United States and Denmark for Inuit in Alaska and Greenland in order to facilitate Canadian initiatives for education of Inuit in Canada. Plans began to take fruition in the summer of 1955 for a possible visit to Alaska and Greenland by B. G. Sivertz, (Chief of the Arctic Division in the Northern Administration and Lands Branch), in 1957.\footnote{121}\footnote{122}

Thus, finally, in 1955 the federal government began to launch the northern education system and its residential schools for Inuit, voyaging in unchartered waters, somewhat curious, oblivious and selectively blind as to their destination and just what the strategy of the schools was:

In spite of all the difficulties, the educational authorities in the north had substantially increased school enrollment. In 1955, when Northern Affairs launched its program to build schools and pupil residences throughout the Territories and to eliminate illiteracy among the native peoples of the Arctic, less than 15 per cent of the Inuit school-age population was enrolled in schools; by June 1964, approximately 75 per cent of the 6-to-15-year-old population was at school.\footnote{122}

\footnote{121}{NAC RG85 vol. 1507 file # 600-1-1 pt. 9, "B. G. Sivertz to William H. Olsen, 31 August 1955." Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1337 file # 600-1-1 pt. 11, "2 January 1957."}

\footnote{122}{R. Quinn Duffy, The Road to Nunavut (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1988) 112.}
CHAPTER II

LIVING ACCOMMODATIONS FOR INUIT YOUTH RESIDENT IN THE RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL HOSTELS LOCATED IN CHESTERFIELD INLET, YELLOKNIFE, INUVIK & CHURCHILL.
Prior to the establishment of the federal government's northern school system and residential schools for Inuit, not even one Canadian Inuk (singular for Inuit) in fifteen could read or write [syllabics was not recognized as a legitimate form of discourse]. By comparison, Inuit in Greenland, Alaska and Russia boasted literacy rates of almost one hundred percent.123

In 1955, the federal government set about to build its' residential school system for the peoples of the north, mainly Inuit and status Indians. The plan was to build schools and pupil residences throughout the Northwest Territories in order that school enrollment would be "drastically increased," thus eliminating illiteracy among the Arctic's Aboriginal peoples.124

The federal preference for sites to build the residential schools was in larger urban centres that were modelled after southern urban centres. Rather deliberate or simply coincidental, this removed Inuit youth from parental, family and community influence as children were dispatched great distances from home.

Nonetheless, the government had taken on a rather daunting task in its' endeavours to eliminate illiteracy amongst the Aboriginal people of the north. In 1955, less than fifteen percent of the Inuit school-age population


was in attendance in school; by June of 1964, roughly seventy-five percent of the 6-15 year old Inuit youths were attending school. According to historian R. Quinn Duffy, this was the result of a "vigorous" government policy towards school construction.\textsuperscript{125}

Although the government's actions were long overdue, the swift and ill-prepared speed at which the Department of Northern Affairs moved created a legacy of overcrowding in both the schools and hostels throughout the government's tenure of the residential schools.

The residential schools were under federal jurisdiction until 1970 when responsibility for the education of Inuit and status Indians was delegated to the N. W. T. government. This thesis will focus solely on Inuit in attendance at the federal residential schools.

The residential schools for Inuit were built in Chesterfield Inlet in 1955, Yellowknife in 1958, Inuvik in 1959 and Churchill in 1964. There were small hostels and tent hostels erected across Arctic settlements along side of small federal day schools; however, small hostels and tent hostels do not apply here as a residential school.

For the purpose of this thesis, a residential school by definition was a large building or series of building structures used to educate and house children absent from parental or family influence for the duration of the

\textsuperscript{125}R. Quinn Duffy, The Road To Nunavut (Kingston & Montreal, Canada.: McGill-Queens University Press, 1988) 112.
school year. Each school was under the authority of the federal government. The adjacent hostels where students dwelt after school hours were under contract to either the Roman Catholic church, the Anglican church, or were maintained by Northern Affairs. Small hostels and tent hostels are not included as they entailed cultural and family involvement. A small hostel was simply a makeshift small building (generally one room) adjacent to a federal day school. These small hostels were utilized by both parents and students who normally would be on the land hunting if not for their children being in school. As small hostels were built near the pupils' home camp, a relative could stay at the small hostels with the pupils if a parent could not. The tent hostels were simply canvas tents set-up within close proximity to the federal day school. Usually the tents were put in place by parents of children who were in attendance at the schools. This afforded parents the opportunity to maintain family influence over their children while the children attended school. The tent hostels were not popular with many government and church officials however, as they were perceived to create a "shanty town" of tents around the schools.

Large hostels greatly facilitated assimilation where as small hostels and tent hostels provided an avenue for Indigenous cultural content. For example, in a tent hostel Indigenous clothing such as caribou hides had to be utilized. Such clothing was of no use indoors.
The hostel at Chesterfield Inlet was completed and opened on August 15, 1955 and named Turquetil Hall after a Roman catholic missionary (Father Turquetil) who was one of the early missionaries in the Arctic. He founded a mission in Chesterfield Inlet in 1912. The mission school was named after Captain Joseph Bernier who commanded the federal government's vessel, the Arctic, first launched in 1904.

The school and hostel were owned by the Roman Catholic church until the summer of 1957 when it was purchased by the federal government via the Department of Northern Affairs. However, the school and hostel remained under the management of the Roman Catholic church. The actual purchase of the school and hostel itself by Northern Affairs from the Roman Catholic church was not finalized until 1959. The hostel was purchased for $265,000.00. Included in the price was all furniture, appliances and machinery which was in any way fastened to

---

126 ADOMI HR 6643 .C73R, "Document untitled or dated."


From 1904 to 1911, Bernier had the 'Arctic' in the eastern Arctic every year, wintering there four times.

129 NAC RG85 vol. 1462 file # 600-1-1 pt. 21, 12 August 1957."
the walls, floors or ceiling.\textsuperscript{130}

The architect of the hostel was H. O. Leicester, a former chief architect with the Department of Northern Affairs. Leicester was assisted by Father G. Laviolette of the Roman Catholic church. Laviolette had some experience in the residential schools for status Indians. C. E. Lessard of Quebec City completed the final drawings. A hostel was built to accommodate students attending the school facilities from outside of the Chesterfield Inlet settlement. The Roman Catholic church spent $200,000.00 to build the hostel. At the completion of construction, Northern Affairs agreed to pay a subsidy to the church of $2.50 per day per child resident in the hostel.\textsuperscript{131}

The hostel was built approximately 100 yards to the north-west of the federal school. The Hostel building was three stories high, 110 feet long by 88 feet wide and rests on a concrete foundation. It maintained a pressurized hot water system. Fuel oil was used to heat the building while a large diesel plant supplied the electrical power.\textsuperscript{132}

The ground floor rooms were the bakery, laundry room

\textsuperscript{130}NAC RG85 vol. 1062 file # 630-125-8 pt. 2, "B. G. Sivertz to Administrator of the Mackenzie, 28 September 1959."
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1374 file # 630-158-9 pt. 7, "R. A. Bishop to A. B. Connelly, 11 April 1960."
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1338 file # 600-1-1 pt. 19, "Walter Dinsdale to Paul Martineau, 13 September 1962."

\textsuperscript{131}ADOMI HR 6643 .C73R, "Document untitled or dated."

\textsuperscript{132}ADOMI HR 6643 .C73R, "Document untitled or dated."
and drying room, store rooms, general workshops, a manual training room, "Eskimo" [Inuit] reception room, refrigeration rooms, sewage tanks, the heating plant, boiler room, and the hot water tanks. The boiler room and fuel oil tank room were completely fire proof.\textsuperscript{133}

The first floor accommodations contained a staff room, staff dining room, kitchen and pantry, pupil's dining room, a dressing room for the boys, a large play room, a boys' dormitory and bathroom which held 36 pupils and the rooms of both the supervisor and the engineer.\textsuperscript{134}

The second floor contained seven staff rooms, a common sewing room, a small chapel and similar quarters for the girls as were on the first floor for the boys.\textsuperscript{135}

In order to provide water and sewage services, blocks of ice cut from a nearby freshwater lake had to be lifted into the reservoirs [holding tanks] which held a capacity of 34,000 gallons of water. The ice was melted by steam heads.

The sewage system consisted of two receiving tanks that each held 6,000 gallons. One tank held soapy water that was re-used for flushing water in toilets in the winter while the other tank (sewage waste) was treated with chemicals and regularly emptied by a pipeline in the summer and by a tractor-drawn sled-tank which dumped the sewage onto the sea ice away from the shore during the

\textsuperscript{133}ADOMI HR 6643 .C73R, "Document untitled or dated."
\textsuperscript{134}ADOMI HR 6643 .C73R, "Document untitled or dated."
\textsuperscript{135}ADOMI HR 6643 .C73R, "Document untitled or dated."
winter. Due to the labour intensive means by which water was obtained, toilets were only flushed once daily. There were four toilets in both the boys and girls dorms. Flushing only once daily left a noticeably strong odour.\textsuperscript{136}

The dining room maintained six tables and twelve ten-foot benches made from planks. The boys playroom held four ten-foot tables and eight ten-foot benches made from planks. There were also two pool tables with cues and balls. On one side of the wall was a set of cupboards built from the floor to the ceiling so as each child had a small cupboard to place personal belongings such as books, toys, etc. Aside from the previously mentioned four toilets, the boys washroom consisted of six rail-way type stainless steel sinks equipped with hot and cold water taps. There were only two bathtubs in the boys washroom. In February of 1959, the dormitories of Chesterfield Inlet were already somewhat overcrowded.\textsuperscript{137}

"The boy's dormitory had forty steel beds with slat springs, 20 of which are 3' X 5' and 20 of which 3' X 6' in size. Each was equipped with a feather pillow, cotton mattress, grey flannelette sheets and coloured comforter. The beds are set on glass coasters."\textsuperscript{138}

Quarters for the girls were nearly identical as the

\textsuperscript{136}ADOMI HR 6643 .C73R "Document untitled or dated."

\textsuperscript{137}NAC RG85 vol. 645 file # 630-158-9 pt. 6, "W. H. Van Sickle, 27 February 1959."

\textsuperscript{138}NAC RG85 vol. 645 file # 630-158-9 pt. 6, "W. H. Van Sickle, 27 February 1959."
quarters for the boys. The girls play room was directly above the boys and was identical to the boys as was the washroom. The girls dormitory (also directly above the boys) was identical to the boys except that it held forty-three beds, approximately half were 3' X 5' and half 3' X 6'.

The local power plant was owned and operated by the Roman Catholic church. It provided power for the school, hostel, the hospital and the mission building. Northern Affairs purchased the power for the school and hostel (as well as other local agencies) from the Roman Catholic church. Originally, the federal government built a small power plant for the school and hostel but it was discarded in favour of purchasing power from the Roman Catholic church in order that the government would not take on any added responsibility combined with the fact that the Roman Catholic power facilities were already in place.

The hostel was built by local Inuit and the Oblate Order. The hostel was finished with green insulated siding with windows and door trims and cornices of aluminum.

The original two-room federal day school established in 1951 was enlarged to four rooms the same year that the

---

139 NAC RG85 vol. 645 file # 630-158-9 pt. 6, "W. H. Van Sickle, 27 February 1959."

140 NAC RG85 vol. 644 file # 630-158-1 pt. 6, "J. V. Jacobson to J. I. Nicol, 23 January 1959."

141 ADOMI HR 6643 .C73R, "Document untitled or dated."
new hostel was constructed. Fluorescent lighting was used throughout the school as was the norm in all federal schools in the north.\textsuperscript{142}

The enlargement did not, however, bring the school up to modern standards. All waste had to be removed by hand. As well, ice had to be carried into the school in order to supply drinking and washing water as there was no water system in the school.\textsuperscript{143}

Hostel life in Chesterfield Inlet constituted a foreign world to the Inuit children. A world that was strange, intriguing and at times intimidating. According to Sister Elizabeth Herauf, the principal at Chesterfield Inlet residential school:

Most of the children coming into residence had never left their parents and had never seen a Sister of Charity (Grey Nun) It is not difficult, therefore, to know the feelings of these little ones during the first two or three weeks at their new abode...Practically everything they saw was new to them. Being keen observers they had much to busy their minds with. To cite one of the many examples, ELECTRICITY. Where does the light come from? etc. etc. I could go on indefinitely."\textsuperscript{144}

The school at Chesterfield Inlet was opened 166 days a year. Overcrowding remained a serious problem with difficult consequences for the children.\textsuperscript{145}

\textsuperscript{142}NAC RG85 vol. 711 file # 630-158-1 pt. 5, "8 August 1957."

\textsuperscript{143}NAC RG85 vol. 644 file # 630-158-1 pt. 6, "W. G. Devitt to Mr. R. A. Bishop, 20 March 1959."

\textsuperscript{144}NAC RG85 vol. 401 file # 630-158-1 pt. 4, "Sister Elizabeth Herauf, August 1955."

\textsuperscript{145}NAC RG85 vol. 1337 file # 600-1-1 pt. 10, "1 June 1956."
In 1956-57, the hostel accommodated some 70 students (the hostel could accommodate 80 students) from the settlements of Eskimo Point, Rankin Inlet, the remote parts of Chesterfield Inlet area, Repulse Bay, Igloolik, Pond Inlet, Spence Bay, Gjoa Haven, Garry Lake and Baker Lake. All students were listed as Roman Catholic. Soon after the hostel opened, enrollment soared to 100 pupils.

The Chesterfield Inlet hostel predominantly housed young children in the one and two grade level. Students were not necessarily at the age of a grade one or two pupil. Frequently older children were classified as "age-retarded" and placed in grades one and two at Chesterfield Inlet with younger children. The dormitories were extremely cramped and over crowded with no separate quarters for pupils. This often facilitated the quick spread of sickness such as colds and the flu. A federal government official made the following comments upon inspecting the hostel:

...many children were in bed with the flu. We were not surprised that infection had spread, since there are forty beds in each dormitory, and all so very close together. We wondered why all the boys are young, & most of the girls seem young too. The fact that there are no pupils beyond Grade II level in a school that has been in operation so long indicates either that the children do not wish to stay any longer at the school, or that by the time they reach grade II level they have absorbed as much

---

146 NAC RG85 vol. 711 file # 630-158-1 pt. 5, "1956-1957."

147 NAC RG85 vol. 711 file # 630-158-1 pt. 5, "8 August 1957."
of white man’s education as they are able to take.148

By the early 1960’s, the hostel at Chesterfield Inlet was becoming increasingly over-crowded. As federal and church authorities heightened their initiatives to educate Inuit youth and send more children to residential schools than ever before, the existing hostel facilities were no longer adequate. The Chesterfield Inlet hostel was originally designed to hold 80 pupils, while it now held 104. Enrollment at the federal school had reached 127, swelling classes to 32 pupils, 7 above the preferred size of 25. Northern Affairs wished to solve the over-crowding problem by sending some of the older and more "promising" students to Yellowknife where there was a vocational centre which offered a far better education than what was available at Chesterfield Inlet.149

148 NAC RG85 vol. 644 file # 630-158-1 pt. 6, "E. M. Hinds to J. V. Jacobsen, 19 October 1957."

149 NAC RG85 vol. 1374 file # 630-158-1 pt. 7

NAC RG85 vol. 1374 file # 630-158-9 pt. 7, "26 October 1961."

Northern Affairs had been conducting an aggressive campaign to place all Inuit children in school. To the surprise of the Department, they discovered that Mr. Kennedy, the federal appointed official responsible for recruiting students from the eastern Arctic for the residential school at Chesterfield Inlet, had not always ascertained parental consent prior to bringing children to Chesterfield Inlet.

"In as much as the regulations state that no child may be admitted to hostel unless an application for admission has been completed, I am disturbed to read that Mr. Kennedy considers the rules unrealistic and that in his capacity as Regional Administrator he has not insured that they were followed at Chesterfield Inlet. Does he mean that children have been admitted without his knowledge or permission, or that parental
Father Haramburu, the principal at Chesterfield Inlet in 1963, did not wish to send Inuit children to Yellowknife (partly due to the fact that Yellowknife was a non-denominational school) and refused with the aid of the Roman Catholic officials to co-operate with federal authorities. Haramburu wished to convert an old nearby warehouse into a dormitory for pupils. He threatened Northern Affairs officials by stating that he would advise Inuit parents against sending their children to Yellowknife and demanded a straight forward "Yes" or "no" answer from Northern Affairs as to whether or not the old warehouse would be converted in order that the Roman Catholic authorities could plan their next course of action.\textsuperscript{150}

The Department of Northern Affairs felt that to give into the Roman Catholic authorities would be a major step backwards as it was less than ten years since the Minister of the Department of Northern Affairs negotiated with the churches in order that inferior church buildings consent is not always obtained in writing?"

Northern Affairs conceded that it would be difficult to get a departmental officer into the settlements to fill out the necessary forms, but added that the services of R.C.M.P. or Hudson's Bay Company officials could be enlisted. As a direct result, federal authorities began using employees at the settlements to secure the necessary forms in advance of Kennedy's arrival so as to facilitate the situation. In Repulse Bay the Hudson Bay Company was recruited and in Pelly Bay the necessary duties fell to Father Vandevelde as there were no federal employees available in these two communities.

\textsuperscript{150} NAC RG85 vol. 1374 file # 630-158-1 pt. 7

88
would become a thing of the past.\footnote{NAC RG85 vol. 1374 file # 630-158-1 pt. 7}

Over-crowding continued to be a problem at Chesterfield Inlet. However, eventually, Northern Affairs did win their "battle" with Chesterfield Inlet church authorities. In March of 1963, plans were placed in motion to send older Chesterfield Inlet students to vocational school in the new residence at Churchill the following year, which was to be non-denominational. Up to that point, the church authorities had been housing students for Chesterfield Inlet who could not be accommodated in the hostel in the local hospital. Northern Affairs insisted that the situation could not continue while empty facilities existed in Churchill.\footnote{NAC RG85 vol. 1374 file # 630-158-1 pt. 7, "14 March 1963."}

In September of 1958, the Department of Northern Affairs opened the Yellowknife Composite High School and Hostel. The Yellowknife school and hostel were both under the authority of Northern Affairs as opposed to the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches managing the hostel; however, there was two separate schools for Roman Catholic and Anglican children from grade ten and up, meaning all classes and costs were duplicated. At the same time, the hostel (Akaitcho Hall) was non-denominational.\footnote{NAC RG85 vol. 1337 file # 600-1-1 pt. 13 Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1462 file # 600-1-1 pt. 21, "12 August 1957." Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1462 file # 600-1-1 pt. 21}

\footnote{NAC RG85 vol. 1374 file # 630-158-1 pt. 7}
"...in honour of the Indian chief who saved the life of Sir John Franklin, whom the school itself was named after." \(^{154}\)

In every way, it offered superior accommodation for the students. Yellowknife housed predominately adolescent Inuit youth as opposed to young children. The hostel maintained 26 student rooms. It was intended that 4 students would reside per room. The student rooms had a door in the middle while 6 feet and 6 inches by 30 inches of space was available on either side of the door. It was intended that a set of bunk beds would be placed on each side of the door. Tables for the pupils were also placed in the rooms. \(^{155}\)

The space allotted for beds at Akaitcho Hall was so limited that a problem erupted. Northern Affairs ordered beds that were 74' inches in length. The contractor mistakenly sent beds that were 77' inches long. Northern Affairs officials stated that the space allotted for beds was 78' inches without plaster and baseboard; thus, the original measurements ordered for beds was satisfactory as plaster and baseboard did not reduce space by more than a couple of inches. Even if the original order is used, there was still roughly only 2' inches between the

Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1444 file # 630-500 pt. 3, "5 May 1964."


\(^{155}\)NAC RG85 vol. 709 file # 630-105-10 pt. 1, "E. N. G. to Mr. Doyle, 23 October 1958."
head and foot of the beds and the walls, demonstrating the tight confines of the dorm rooms.\textsuperscript{156}

The hostel was run separate from the federal school and was utilized for the housing of the "out-of-town" pupils. The hostel maintained a cafeteria which was available to all students at Yellowknife Composite school and/or Sir John Franklin school students and hostel residents as well as the teaching staff at the federal school.\textsuperscript{157} The cafeteria was operated by federal employees. The students considered the cafeteria food at Yellowknife to be above and beyond the diet provided by the church operated hostels.\textsuperscript{158}

The Yellowknife hostel provided many extra-curricular activities for its' resident youth in order that a good quality of life could be had. While living at the hostel, students enjoyed such activities as skating, basketball, pool, table games, dancing and hockey. Table tennis was scheduled to arrive soon. The pool tables were however of poor quality, the hockey sticks were inadequate and there was no playground equipment.\textsuperscript{159}

Students resident in the hostel were originally given a $2.00 a week allowance that was later raised to

\textsuperscript{156}NAC RG85 vol. 709 file # 630-105-19 pt. 1, "R. Westater to J. V. Jacobson, 15 July 1958."

\textsuperscript{157}NAC RG85 vol. 709 file # 630-105-10 pt.1, "W. G. Booth."

\textsuperscript{158}Please see chapter V.

\textsuperscript{159}NAC RG85 vol. 1373 file # 630-105-10 pt. 3, "G. H. Needham."
$3.00 a week. The raise was given in part to provide extra money for students who smoked cigarettes. The student council maintained a canteen where students spent their allowances on assorted items, mainly "junk food." The profits were then re-invested in social activities, run by the student council.\textsuperscript{160}

By 1960, it was apparent that the demand for student residence at Yellowknife was more than the hostel could bear. Plans were put in place to construct an addition to the hostel adding rooms to accommodate 100 more students. As part of the renovations, federal officials felt that the short-comings of the hostel could also be addressed. These included a lack of laundry facilities in the hostel, small supervisors quarters, no office or counselling room for the hostel supervisor or staff, (as a result, the small living quarters of the supervisor doubled as a counselling room for pupils by the supervisor) the janitor's quarters were too confined leaving inadequate space for storage and drying cleaning equipment, linen storage was inadequate for pyjamas, bedding, towels, etc. and the student common rooms were too small.\textsuperscript{161}

The Department of Northern Affairs solved the problem over the lack of facilities by simply raising the academic standards required when selecting students to

\textsuperscript{160}NAC RG85 vol. 709 file # 630-105-10 pt. 1

\textsuperscript{161}NAC RG85 vol. 1373 file # 630-105-10 pt. 3, "A. J. Boxer to W. G. Booth, 30 January 1960."
attend Yellowknife. First priority went to students with a grade 9 Alberta (curriculum) standing who could not be accommodated at Inuvik while second priority was given to vocational students with adequate academic standing, aptitude and desire for vocational training.\textsuperscript{162}

The third residential school was built in the town of Inuvik. The community of Inuvik was a planned community built by the government in 1958 to serve as a regional centre.\textsuperscript{163}

In September of 1959, Northern Affairs opened the new residential school in Inuvik. Inuvik maintained a federal day school and two separate hostels, one for Roman Catholic children and the other for Anglican children. The hostels were managed by the respective churches. The Inuvik school also had two separate wings of classrooms from grades one to nine so as to separate Catholic and Anglican children. This meant that duplicate classes were taught at double the cost rather than having one class for both religious denominations.\textsuperscript{164}

The school was named Sir Alexander Mackenzie Home &

\textsuperscript{162}NAC RG85 vol. 1373 file # 630-105-10 pt. 3, 23 August 1960."


\textsuperscript{164}NAC RG85 vol. 1062 file # 630-125-8 pt. 2, "B. G. Sivertz to Administrator of the Mackenzie, 28 September 1959."
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1374 file # 630-158-9 pt. 7, "R. A. Bishop to A. B. Connelly, 11 April 1960."
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1338 file # 600-1-1 pt. 19, "Walter Dinsdale to Paul Martineau, 13 September 1962."
School Association. The Roman Catholic hostel was named Grollier Hall after a Roman Catholic priest who was the first to start a mission north of the Arctic circle. The Anglican (protestant) hostel was named Stringer Hall, after Isaac Stringer, an Anglican missionary who became the first missionary to live at the Arctic coast. Stringer built his mission at Herchel Island in 1892.

The school had 24 classrooms including a gymnasium-auditorium, shops, library, home-economics laboratory, social studies classroom, guidance suite and a guidance classroom. Reflecting the "composite" character of the school, it was built in a "T" formation with common facilities in the stem while 10 classrooms were in the west wing for Roman Catholic students and 14 classrooms were in the east wing for protestant students.

The hostels were built to hold a combined total of 500 students, 250 in the Roman Catholic block and 250 in the protestant block. Each block provided a service area with offices, recreation rooms, medical rooms, laundry, kitchen, students' dining room, staff dining room, staff bedrooms and common rooms, student study rooms, boys' and girls' dormitories each with washrooms, infirmaries.

165NAC RG85 vol. 1468 file # 630-125-8 pt. 1, "10 August 1959."


167NAC RG85 vol. 1468 file # 630-125-8 pt. 1, "10 August 1959."
lounge and supervisors quarters.\textsuperscript{168}

As was the case in Yellowknife, the quality of life at the Inuvik hostels was superior to the living conditions in Chesterfield Inlet. The hostels each had showers where ten to twenty children showered together. The hostels each had two play rooms, one for boys and one for girls. The playrooms were empty except for a basketball net at each end.\textsuperscript{169} One Anglican Minister remarked about the playrooms by stating:

...when I come into these playrooms I feel like dropping on my knees and thanking God for the person that planned them. If you have ever tried to look after 250 youngsters between the ages of five and fifteen after school, in the evenings, and on Saturdays and Sundays, for a two-month period when the weather forbids their going outside, you will know what I mean.\textsuperscript{170}

The hostel dormitories were open areas with no privacy and the locker space was inadequate. In 1960, a proposal was brought forward to build cubicles, dividing up the dormitories. The new plan was to help provide privacy for the older students resident in the hostels. The cubicles would hold a maximum 5 students and there was to be 12 cubicles per dormitory. In the cubicles would be study facilities. In addition, the girls cubicles were to be equipped with mirrors. The Anglican hostel supervisor requested that no doors be installed while the Roman Catholic hostel supervisor requested

\textsuperscript{168}NAC RG85 vol. 1468 file # 630-125-8 pt. 1, "10 August 1959."

\textsuperscript{169}NAC RG85 vol. 1468 file # 630-125-1 pt. 1

\textsuperscript{170}NAC RG85 vol. 1468 file # 630-125-1 pt. 1
doors for the cubicles. The problem was that the new cubicles would have reduced the amount of space for beds and would have added a considerable amount of costs that were not accounted for.  

The plans called for each hostel to have four dormitories and each dormitory accommodated 64 pupils, a combined total of 256 pupils. But in the proposed construction, each of the two hostels would have lost space for 8 pupils. In 1960, space was not an issue as the Roman Catholic hostel had 54 vacancies and the Anglican hostel had 15 vacancies. However, 17 pupils in the Roman Catholic hostel were 16 years of age or older and 35 pupils in the Anglican hostel were 16 years of age or older.  

Northern Affairs felt that by re-constructing the hostels to provide privacy for the few older students they would have been displacing the younger students who made up the majority of the pupils and did not require privacy. The Anglican authorities felt that one whole separate dormitory should have been used for pupils between the ages of 16-22. Northern Affairs was of the opinion that the present situation, combined with the extra costs led to the only conceivable conclusion. At an estimated cost of $30,000.00 per hostel, the status quo

\[17^1\]NAC RG85 vol. 1062 file # 630-125-8 pt. 2, "26 February 1960."
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1434 file # 600-1-1 pt. 18, "G. H. Needham."

\[17^2\]NAC RG85 vol. 1062 file # 630-125-8 pt. 2, "E. N. Grantham to Mr. Bishop, 9 May 1960."
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1434 file # 600-1-1 pt. 18, "G. H. Needham."
would have to be maintained until such time as the younger students reached the age of senior students. At this time, no privacy could be afforded to older hostel residents.\textsuperscript{173}

As at the other schools, the tight confines of the living and sleeping areas were naturally a health hazard should any students become ill. This is exactly what transpired in late November-early December 1959, when a measles epidemic began to spread throughout the Anglican student residence and raised anxiety as to the possibility that the epidemic had reached the Roman Catholic residence. By all accounts, the Roman Catholic hostel appears to have been spared. In all probability, this was due to the segregation of Roman Catholic pupils from Anglican pupils and vice-versa.\textsuperscript{174}

By 1962, the school and hostels at Inuvik began to experience a serious over-crowding problems. The local parents around Inuvik organized themselves and dispatched a petition to Northern Affairs authorities containing over three-hundred signatures from concerned parents. The school was originally built to hold 600 students. There were now 850 students crammed into the same facilities.

A staff member at Inuvik demonstrated the over-crowding problem in a memorandum to Northern Affairs:

\textsuperscript{173}NAC RG85 vol. 1062 file # 630-125-8 pt. 2, "E. N. Grantham to Mr. Bishop, 9 May 1960."
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1434 file # 600-1-1 pt. 18, "G. H. Needham."

\textsuperscript{174}NAC RG85 vol. 1468 file # 630-125-1 pt. 1, "J. V. Jacobson to director, 1 December 1959."
Mr. Bock briefly outlined the present over-crowded conditions at the school. The school, he stated, was designed for 600 pupils; the enrollment as of last Thursday was 822, with 25 to 30 pupils still to arrive in Inuvik from Sachs Harbour, Cape Perry and Fox and Dye Sector DEW Line sites. Rooms not designed as such but which are being used as classrooms are: the lay teachers' room in 'B' Wing; the Sisters' room in 'B' Wing, the counselling room in 'A' Wing; the teachers' room (lounge) in 'A' Wing and the male teachers' room in 'A' Wing. Additionally, two Plan 512 cabins are being used as opportunity classrooms; the dressing room at the stage end of the auditorium-gymnasium is being used as a music room; the school library is being used as a part time (sic) classroom; the drafting room in the industrial shop is being used as a temporary art room. Moreover, at the present time ten classrooms have thirty or more children enrolled in them. This is aggravating in that the classrooms were designed for twenty-five children only.\(^{175}\)

The situation grew to such proportions that make-shift classrooms were utilized using counselling, medical and staff rooms. The parents complained that these rooms were never designed for class rooms and were too small. To make matters worse, the people who would have used these rooms were dispossessed, creating a situation where pupils and staff were running into each other while trying to accomplish their work. The parents suggested that a new liquor store that was near completion be utilized as temporary class rooms for pupils.\(^{176}\)

The liquor store was deemed unfit for use as temporary classrooms due to the fact that the facilities were in too poor condition to undergo conversion into

\(^{175}\)NAC RG85 vol. 1374 file # 630-125-1 pt. 3, "R. A. Hodgkinsen to Administrator, 9 October 1962."

\(^{176}\)NAC RG85 vol. 1374 file # 630-125-1 pt. 3, "9 October 1962."
classrooms. One temporary solution was to place Anglican (protestant) pupils from the 'A' Wing in the 'B' Wing, which was Roman Catholic. Surprisingly, the churches co-operated.

This was a vexing problem, however, many of the "makeshift" quarters used as temporary classrooms were "not entirely safe" and were not up to modern standards. The federal authorities nonetheless held no plans to expand school facilities at Inuvik. This both shocked and outraged the local population as predictions held that the following year (1965) 960 students would be enrolled and the year after that no less than 1000 would be enrolled. In all probability, the lack of federal interest in further construction of facilities at Inuvik, Yellowknife and Chesterfield Inlet is evidence that the Department Northern Affairs was planning to utilizing the new facilities at Churchill and day schools now in various northern communities. This would logically lead federal authorities to the conclusion that there would soon be less young students resident in Inuvik, Yellowknife and Chesterfield Inlet, thus negating any need for expansion.

Local complaints about the conditions of the

177NAC RG85 vol. 1374 file # 630-125-1 pt. 3, "R. A. Hodgkinsen to Administrator, 9 October 1962."

178NAC RG 85 vol. 1374 file # 630-125-1 pt. 3, "24 January 1964."

179NAC RG85 vol. 1442 file # 630-125-1 pt. 4, "30 March 1964."
temporary classrooms appear to have been well founded. In June of 1964, Dr. G. C. Butler, Chief of the Department of Northern Health Services, inspected the facilities and remarked that the arrangements were unsanitary and that heating was not adequate. According to Dr. Butler, a difference in temperature was evident from one classroom to another and a marked difference occurred from the floors to the ceiling as the hot air entered the classrooms at the ceiling level. Northern Affairs addressed Dr. Butler's complaints by instructing subordinates to add extra heaters and solve the sanitary problem. However, it was deemed not necessary to fully upgrade the buildings as they were only temporary.  

The fourth and final federal residential school was established at the Churchill military post. Originally, Cambridge Bay and Baker Lake were considered as possible sites to build an Anglican residential school and hostel for children of the Keewatin area in order to offset the Catholic residential school and hostel in Chesterfield Inlet. With the planned military abandonment of the Churchill military base however, a much cheaper means was discovered as Churchill already had existing facilities. Not only did the Department of Northern Affairs abandon plans to build a residential school for Anglicans in either Cambridge Bay or Baker Lake, the government

---

reached the decision that the Churchill school was to be run by Northern Affairs as non-denomination (non-religious) while the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches would manage denominational hostels. This did not rest easy with the Anglican church, already experiencing anxiety over the inroads being made by other protestant denominations amongst the Inuit; however, it was the belief of the Anglican church authorities that it was these very "inroads" that lead to the decision to erect a non-denominational school.  

In September of 1964, the residential school at Churchill Manitoba was finally opened as the Canadian military had vacated the premises. 

Inuit employees of the Department of National Defence lived in the near by Inuit makeshift site known as "camp 20" which was an unofficial Inuit "Reserve" of sorts. The children of camp 20 lived with their parents and not in residential schools. 

181 AC of C GSA 6575-103 Series 2-15 Box 29 MSCC ISA, "Subject files, Arctic Education 1959."


183 NAC RG85 vol. 1682 file # 630-500 pt. 1, "R. G. R. to Mr. Cunningham, 22 April 1955."

There were Inuit children attending school at Churchill prior to 1964, however, their parents were employed by the Department of National Defence and therefore, these children were considered the responsibility of the Department of National Defence as were all other employees' children and were not considered the responsibility of the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources. This placed the Inuit children in question outside of Northern Affairs northern education
Catholic and Anglican staff were employed at the hostel and students were religiously segregated as much as possible within the hostel residences. In one instance, two Catholic and two Anglican pupils had to share a room due to lack of space, the Catholic church raised complaints through Father Haramburu, the principal at Chesterfield Inlet residential school.  

Fort Churchill was far from being recognized by the Canadian military as an ideal post; on the contrary, Fort Churchill was considered the toughest posting a soldier could be asked to endure within Canadian jurisdiction.  

A posting to Fort Churchill, Man., is apparently the toughest any soldier can receive in Canada.  

A new army order decrees that a tour of duty at an establishment in northern Canada is for three years—except at Fort Churchill.  

A posting to Fort Churchill on Hudson Bay is for two years in the case of married soldiers accompanied by their families and for one year for single soldiers or married soldiers not accompanied by their families.  

Unmarried officers and men get first priority on postings to northern establishments, followed by married men without children and married men with children.  

The new order also specifies that only men with two years' experience in regular army can be posted to northern stations.  

"Because of the transportation difficulties involved and the lack of provost (police) service available it is imperative that other ranks who have a record of misconduct or who are thought likely to become military offenders are not selected for such postings," says the order.  

(sic) Main object is to make sure the army doesn't have the expense and inconvenience of bringing a man out of the north unnecessarily once he has been posted there  

system and residential schools for Inuit.  

for his tour of duty.\textsuperscript{185}

One of the first problems that the department of Northern Affairs experienced in Churchill was accommodation. The Department of National Defence had postponed the construction of several hundred housing units by staffing the military base with mostly single men and not permitting married men to bring their families. This meant that when the military abandoned the facilities and Northern Affairs moved in, there was no accommodation for employees. A proposal was raised to purchase 100 trailers. In the meantime, it appeared that only 130 children as opposed to the planned 500 could attend school at Churchill. This meant that school facilities in the Keewatin area would have to be improved as 370 of the pupils who were destined for Fort Churchill in order to ease over-crowding at the other residential schools and day schools could not be accommodated. An employee of the government described the change in events as "a possible blessing in disguise."\textsuperscript{186}

The Churchill hostels contained 40 pupils' bedrooms. The bedrooms each contained two sets of maple bunk beds, two desks and book shelves with lights, lights for upper bunks and a mirror. As well there were 3 pupil reading rooms and 3 pupil common rooms in the hostels. The

\textsuperscript{185}Posting To Fort Churchill A Tough One For Army Men\textsuperscript{186} Winnipeg Free Press 11 September 1957.

\textsuperscript{186}NAC RG85 vol. 1444 file # 630-500 pt. 3, "19 March 1964."
students had the use of record players, radios and magazines in the common rooms. The hostels were only available to students under the care of the Department of Northern Affairs, Indian and Inuit.

There were two separate schools at Churchill. The new school operated by Northern Affairs and the school that was previously in Churchill, (Duke of Edinburgh School) which was attended by mostly "white" children and employees of the Department of National Defence. In the first year of the Northern Affairs pre-vocational and academic upgrading program, approximately 50 of 160 students brought to Churchill who were considered at or near grade level were sent to the Duke of Edinburgh school. Accommodation eventually reached problem levels as student enrollment was increasing and the space available for students was not. This lead to the suggestion that the Navy building be converted into a vocational centre for children only who had received a minimum grade five or six level education as the Navy building was not large enough to accommodate all vocational pupils. The school offered "Home Economics laboratories, a recreation centre and Vocational Shops." *187*

---

187 NAC RG85 vol. 1444 file # 630-500 pt. 3, "19 March 1964."
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1444 file # 630-500 pt. 3, "1 May 1964."
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 14444 file # 630-500 pt. 4, "B. Thorsteinsson to Mr. Bateman, 31 July 1964."
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1445 file # 630-500-10 pt. 2, "Ralph Ritcey, 1965-1967."
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1444 file # 630-500-10 pt. 10, "12
The accommodation problem was not the only issue. Inuit parents were not too anxious to send their children to Churchill due to rumours making their way from the student residence back to the Inuit communities claiming that excessive drinking, gambling, debauchment of young girls who were intoxicated and even prostitution were occurring at Churchill. Only 39 Anglican children had been enrolled in the inaugural year. Northern Affairs enlisted the aid of Anglican Bishop Donald Marsh to remedy the situation. The majority of the "wild-parties" were taking place in the single persons' quarters for employees of the Churchill base; however, the single persons' quarters was a short distance from the student hostel.\textsuperscript{188}

Churchill residential school experienced problems that should not have occurred as the Department of Northern Affairs had operated residential schools since 1955. One such problem was that the residence maintained only two 8 lb. washing machines that were expected to do the laundry for 190 students. Other problems were under staffing, no time off for hostel staff and no qualified matron (nurse) at the hostels for the students. Sickness spread rampantly amongst students and Northern Affairs

January 1965.\textsuperscript{188}

\textsuperscript{188}AC of C GSA M 96-07 Box 92 file 1, "Diocese of the Arctic Govt.-hostel, Ft. Churchill 1964-1966, 30 May 1964."
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1444 file # 630-500 pt. 4, "Donald The Arctic to B. Thorsteinsson, 9 July 1964."
Also AC of C GSA M 96-07 Box 92 file 1, "Diocese of the Arctic Govt-hostel, Ft. Churchill 1964-1966, 9 May 1966."
had planned to add an additional 90 pupils the following year. At one point, the staff organized a revolt and threatened to resign. Northern Affairs persuaded most to withdraw their resignations with a promise to improve the situation.\(^{189}\)

The Department of Northern Affairs was, however, opposed to any further construction to the facilities at Churchill as "It is not known how long this Department will continue to be responsible for this school, and we are, therefore, anxious to avoid additions to the school buildings until some more permanent arrangement is established."\(^{190}\) At this time in 1965, plans were already underway to eventually relegate responsibility for education of status Indians and Inuit from the N. W. T. to the N. W. T. territorial government. The transfer was finally realized in 1970.

The hostel administrator (Mr. Chapple) secretly commissioned the services of Anglican Minister Rev. Walter, in hopes of convincing Northern Affairs to renovate buildings that Chapple desperately felt were in need. Chapple was frustrated by the fact that work orders were repeatedly made up for work that he did not want and none were made up for work that he felt was needed. Further problems were that the province of Manitoba

\(^{189}\)AC of C GSA M 96-07 Box 92 file 1, "Diocese of The Arctic Govt-hostels, Ft. Churchill 1964-1966." Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1444 file # 630-500-10 pt. 1 A, "Stevenson to Director, 23 December 1964."

\(^{190}\)NAC RG85 vol. 1444 file # 630-500-4 pt. 1, 19 July 1965."
"wishes to do as little as possible" in regards to the operation of the Duke of Edinburgh school.191

Northern Affairs appeared to have lost its' earlier ambitions toward constructing buildings for the purpose of educating the Aboriginal youth of the N. W. T. The Department of Northern Affairs had grown increasingly weary of spending money on buildings for the purpose of providing schooling. This coincides with the fact that the predetermined 1970 date of transfer of authority for education of Aborigines within the N. W. T. from Northern Affairs to the territorial government of the N. W. T. was only a few years away.

Regardless of any decision that the territorial government would reach concerning the use of residential schools, Churchill would almost certainly be closed. If federal authority was relinquished, leaving a residential school for N. W. T. youth in the province of Manitoba would create legal problems as the Churchill residential school would still be subject to the province of Manitoba's curriculum.192 If the N. W. T. wished to control the education of its' youth, N. W. T. youth would have to be educated in the N. W. T.; hence, any money spent up-grading facilities in Churchill could in all probability be better utilized elsewhere.


192Please see chapter III.
As of the summer of 1965, Northern Affairs reported no further construction or significant up-grades to residential schools and hostels on its' behalf for Aboriginal youth in or from the N. W. T. This does not imply that the territorial government had not begun to construct schools of its' own. At this point, Northern Affairs appeared to have been simply waiting to transfer responsibility.\textsuperscript{193}

Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1444 file # 630-500-10 pt. 1, "12 January 1965."

108
CHAPTER III

THE CURRICULUM IMPLEMENTED IN THE RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS FOR THE INUIT.
While the government demonstrated some initiative in building the schools and hostels that comprised the residential schools within the new northern school system, the task of developing the curriculum that would ultimately be implemented was not met with the same enthusiasm. In fact, in 1955 when Northern Affairs officially opened its' new school system for the north, there was no northern curriculum in place. Throughout the legacy of the government's northern school system until authority for education of Inuit and status Indians within the N. W. T. was delegated to the N. W. T. government in 1970, the development of a northern curriculum was never realized. This was in spite of repeated federal claims to the contrary.

The Department of Northern Affairs' policy was to use the curricula from the provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario. In 1955 Northern Affairs employed the Manitoba curriculum in the Keewatin District while using the Alberta curriculum in the rest of the N. W. T. Three years later, in September of 1958, Northern Affairs added a third curriculum to its' school system when it implemented the Ontario curriculum throughout Baffin Island. The Keewatin District continued to use the Manitoba curriculum while the Alberta curriculum was now limited to the Mackenzie District. In effect, the government had taken the schools in the south and brought them north. This created the same assimilative effect as

\[\text{NAC RG85 vol. 1462 file # 600-1-1 pt.21} \]

110
could be expected had Northern Affairs sent Inuit children to residential schools in southern Canada.

The implementation of the Ontario curriculum in 1958 was based on a government initiative to improve federal control over the management of curriculum within the schools and end dependence on the Catholic and Anglican churches.

In its' inaugural years, Northern Affairs was largely dependant on the churches to maintain the school curriculum. This was due to the fact that the Department was new in the field of education while the Catholic and Anglican churches had experience.

Northern Affairs felt that its' school system had relied too heavily on the province of Alberta for educational policy. The Department decided to remedy the problem by relying more on the province of Ontario's school curriculum. This obviously was not based on the belief that the Alberta curriculum lacked northern cultural content as the Ontario curriculum was by no means a remedy. The reason given by Northern Affairs for implementing the Ontario curriculum was that it made administration easier as the federal government was based in Ottawa Ontario and the Ontario curriculum was more readily accessible to federal bureaucrats than the Alberta curriculum.\(^5\)

One of the prime objectives of the government was to

\(^{5}\)NAC RG85 vol. 1337 file # 600-1-1 pt.13, "2 September 1958."
grant greater certainty over northern education with the Department of Northern Affairs and J. V. Jacobson at the expense of the churches. By centralizing most of its' interests in Ottawa and administering the Ontario curriculum, Northern Affairs was of the opinion that administrative problems respecting curriculum would be lessened, allowing for greater control of the school system by the federal government and the Department of Northern Affairs.196

Regardless, this did not bring about a "set" Northern curriculum. With no set northern curriculum ever in place, Northern Affairs left all involved unsure of exactly what purpose the curriculum was to serve and what the long term objectives were. Was the government's intention to assimilate the Inuit into mainstream Canadian society, preserve Inuit culture or somehow combine the two?

Criticism over the lack of a set curricula policy and a curriculum designed for the north was prominent throughout the history of the government's northern school system. As early as 1957, an American University faculty member who had experience in the north summarized his concerns in relation to the residential schools as follows, "The teaching that you will give in your new school will be most unsuitable...You will take the Eskimo from his natural environment...How can the Grey Nuns

196NAC RG85 vol. 1337 file # 600-1-1 pt.13, "2 September 1958."
teach them to hunt and trap?... You are going to commit a grave injustice against these likable people..."^{197}

Federal and church authorities stated that they were in accordance with these concerns; however, they felt the concerns were exaggerated and that the "exaggerations" would not become reality.^{198}

Unbeknownst to the government, the Anglican church was privately critical of Northern Affairs, although its criticism was kept confidential for the most part within the privacy of the church's own personal archives. Canon A. H. Davis' personal archive files recorded in January of 1960 reveal the Anglican's concerns:

...However, the Church cannot agree with an educational system which prepares a child from the wilds of the Arctic for life solely in a city.... We deeply deplore that the curriculum used in all Government day schools across the North today is identical with that used in Alberta and contains no provision to retain the many wonderful things in Eskimo life, customs or any of the fine things that were part of it. We deeply regret that the Department of Northern Affairs cannot see that there is so much that they have to cherish and treasure... An education system which teaches a child purely on the basis of a white child's needs undercuts all old ways, beliefs and problems. All children form from their parents a moral and spiritual outlook; if this is destroyed, a vacuum is left unless it is replaced by something else. To replace this is the task of the Church.^{199}

At any rate, the Department claimed that as far back

^{197}NAC RG85 vol. 711 file # 630-158-1 pt. 5, "1956-1957."

^{198}NAC RG85 vol. 711 file #630-158-1 pt. 5, "1956-57."

^{199}AC of C GSA MSCC, 6575-103 Series 3-4 Box 94, "A. H. Davis files, Diocese of the Arctic, 1960-61, January 1960."
as 1955 its' education system had two main curricula principles. Its' goal was to prepare the pupil to return to their own way of life as Inuit while enabling the pupil to survive in what was generally assumed by Canadians and the Canadian government to be the "white-man's economy." To achieve these goals, the curriculum was to emphasize basic subjects such as English, (reading, writing and speech), game and conservation, pre-vocational training in elementary carpentry, sanitation and related subjects. The vocational training was for Inuit students who were not going to spend a lot of time in school and thus, would take on a role as a contributing member of the "new" northern society. Vocational training was for pupils who had achieved at least a grade IV level. The Vocational program was designed to produce "skilled carpenters, mechanics, typists, stenographers, book-keepers, nurses' aides, etc."^{200}

The Department of Northern Affairs' curricular principles were not entirely one and the same with the actual curriculum implemented. First, (as previously stated) between the years 1955-1958, curriculum was left for the most part to the discretion of the churches provided that the churches used the designated provincial standard. In 1958, a new curriculum era began. As previously stated, in this year Northern Affairs began to

^{200}NAC RG85 vol. 1507 file # 600-1-1 pt. 8, "22 March 1955."
take a more active role in the implementation of curriculum while diminishing the role of the churches. Nonetheless, the curriculum at no time afforded the Inuit with the opportunity to return to their own way of life. After 1958 however, there is no doubt that the curriculum had been designed to prepare Inuit for life in the "whiteman's economy."

Prior to 1958, Chesterfield Inlet was the only federal residential school in existence for Inuit. For this reason, Chesterfield Inlet is the only residential school where the curriculum can be analyzed pre-dating 1958.

Prior to 1958, the Chesterfield Inlet school had maintained many educational devices that afforded the Inuit little benefit for life in the North as Inuit. One such example was the class projects that teachers had pupils prepare. In one such class project, a Sister Plante had displayed for the students a farm scene with barn, fence, animals, meat, milk and eggs. Granted, Inuit children should have had some idea as to where the residential school was getting the food that they were feeding them, however, no Inuit person choosing to reside in the Arctic would ever become a farmer as the terrain of the Arctic could not sustain such initiatives; therefore, the school projects should have been more in line with Inuit means of sustaining life.201

201NAC RG85 vol. 711 file # 630-158-1 pt. 5, "21\23 March 1956."
For the purpose of English instruction, Northern Affairs had used the "Dick and Jane" children's reading series. The Dick and Jane reading series was based entirely on southern Canadian culture; there was nothing about Inuit culture, values and identity contained in it. The Dick and Jane reading series provided Inuit children with an appreciation of southern Canadian values and ideals. With absolutely no Inuit cultural content utilized in the Dick and Jane reading series, the curriculum not only undermined Inuit culture and values but influenced Inuit children to desire a lifestyle and commodities that they could not obtain residing in the Arctic as opposed to living in southern Canada.  

Within the actual classrooms, Canadian values and ideals were reinforced in order to facilitate education. The Chesterfield Inlet school divided classes into groups in order to foster "group-competition" in subjects such as math and spelling. This was a very useful means to teach western values; however, it undermined Inuit values. The Inuit competed in physical acts of competition but never in acts to demonstrate intellectual superiority. The entire concept of individual or group recognition for intellectual superiority over other students was a western value. As a communal people who depended strongly on generalized reciprocity in order to

---

202NAC RG85 vol. 711 file # 630-158-1 pt.5, "21\23 March 1956."

203NAC RG85 vol. 711 file # 630-158-1 pt.5, "21\23 March 1956."
survive, such an ideology served to undermine the fragile family political system that was necessary to survive as Inuit on the land.\textsuperscript{204}

Nonetheless, by 1958, it was evident that the government (with the aid of Chesterfield Inlet Roman Catholic church) had experienced considerable success with its' English program. One example is the "English Through Pictures" series used in order to encourage pupils to adapt English sentence structures to their indigenous environment. The "English Through Pictures" text was a government creation; however, the Catholic church received Northern Affairs' praise for developing activities and exercises around the text book and materials.\textsuperscript{205}

Northern Affairs felt a need to use Inuit culture only because it was necessary to teach "new" students English. The government recognized no need to enlist the use of Inuit cultural content for students who had already accumulated an understanding of English. These pupils were subjected to Dick and Jane. For this reason the "English Through Pictures" series can not be interpreted as Inuit cultural content as it was used to "wean" Inuit from the use of Inuktitut to English.

Another successful church-government venture was the

\textsuperscript{204}This evidence is based on a series of conversations with several Inuit such as Andrew Tagak Sr. & Andrew Tagak Jr.

\textsuperscript{205}NAC RG85 vol. 644 file # 630-158-1 pt.6, "M. F. Gaynor to E. I. Herauf, 23 January 1958."
use of filmstrips. Sister Elizabeth Herauf, principal at Chesterfield Inlet, provided some insight:

The other teachers and myself have shown these filmstrips to our pupils; moreover, I have shown them to a group of adults. We are unanimous in saying that the Question Filmstrips are most helpful as teaching aids, possibly because we have based our English teaching exclusively on the Pocket Book English Through Pictures. The "We Learn English" appealed to all, it being in color. In general they considered the group as a family. To the Eskimo John Adams and Mary Brown could be husband and wife without any questioning whatever seeing that the Eskimo has no surname; could we consider them as such?  

The first significant change Northern Affairs introduced into the schools under its' new realm in 1958 was a policy to bring the Inuit under the realm of Canadian society by teaching the Inuit that they were part of Canada and the British monarchy. Although the curriculum did not re-enforce pride in Inuit culture, it certainly provided positive enforcement towards Canadian pride and pride in belonging to the British Commonwealth. 

The Department of Northern Affairs had instructed the residential schools to teach the Inuit pupils that they were part of the British Commonwealth and as such, were subjects of the Queen of England. Students were taught to observe "Empire and Citizenship Day." After receiving the appropriate Commonwealth propaganda, the Inuit students were told by their teacher to stand and repeat the Oath of Allegiance. "I (insert own name) ---- swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to

---

206NAC RG85 vol. 644 file # 630-158-1 pt.6, "Elizabeth Herauf to Jacobson, 17 May 1958."  
207NAC RG85 vol. 711 file # 630-169-1 pt.2, "16 May 1958."
Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second, Her Heirs and Successors according to law and fulfil my duties as a Canadian citizen. So help me God." The children were than kept standing at attention while singing "O' Canada" followed by "God Save the Queen."\textsuperscript{208}

The government assimilated the Inuit children into Canadian society and culture by repetitively enforcing Canadian ideals and values. The pupils were taught to place a high importance on Canadian ideals and the Canadian state apparatus. At the same time, Inuit parents and families were removed from the pupils as the pupils lived in the residential schools away from home with no positive reinforcement of Inuit values.

The second change introduced by Northern Affairs was to suggest that pupils be promoted from grade to grade based on individual merit as opposed to the standard method of up-grading the entire class at the same time. This suggestion was based on the unique problems of the north that were not as prominent in the south, i.e., lack of a workable knowledge of the English language in new pupils. This meant that a student could be up-graded by more than one grade level per year.\textsuperscript{209}

For the sake of simplification, everything taught within the schools can be placed in two main categories. "English" and "Home Economics," which was first

\textsuperscript{208}NAC RG85 vol. 711 file # 630-169-1 pt.2, "16 May 1958."

\textsuperscript{209}NAC RG85 vol. 1337 file # 600-1-1 pt.13, "2 September 1958."
introduced in Inuvik in 1959. The Department of Northern Affairs made the decision as to what would be taught and had the schools implement the courses using either the Alberta, Manitoba or Ontario curriculum.

The previous initiatives at Chesterfield Inlet were of immense benefit to Northern Affairs' English program in Inuvik in 1959 when the residential school was first opened. Inuvik maintained a rather large population of students who could not read, write or understand English. Unlike Chesterfield Inlet where many of the church clergy on staff were fluent in Inuktitut, [the language of the Inuit] the teaching staff at Inuvik lacked a workable knowledge of Inuktitut or experience teaching English. The Department of Northern Affairs addressed the problem by dispatching one of its' own officials (Mr. Hovdebo) to Inuvik in order to observe and assist the Inuvik staff in teaching English to the Inuit students.216

The content of "English" classes were entirely of English Canadian culture and language. This ranged from studying Alberta soil zones, music, social issues, counting using southern Canadian objects to the actual literature read. "English" classes consisted of instruction in Music, Art, Mathematics, Science, Social Studies, Language, Literature, Health and Personal Development, and Physical Development. Although instruction in English was greatly needed, the use of the

---

216NAC RG85 vol. 1468 file # 630-125-1 pt.1, "M. F. Gaynor to J. V. Jacobson, 30 November 1959."
southern curriculums meant that Inuit children were taught English in preparation for life in such vocations as farming and life in an urban environment. This was problematic as Inuit children could not relate to the southern environment presented; thus, the ability of the pupils to learn and absorb English was greatly handicapped. Northern Affairs promised that a new curriculum would be developed.211

The English program was so successful that students who entered the residential schools with no prior knowledge of English, while at the same time being fluent in Inuktitut, soon were fluent in English and were losing their ability to communicate in Inuktitut.212 This is astonishing when one considers that the Inuit maintained a literacy rate of 95% in their own language Inuktitut, prior to attending the residential schools.213

211 NAC RG85 vol. 710 file # 630-125-1 pt.2 1960
212 Please see chapter IV.
The "Home Economics" program held similar problems as the "English" program. The Home Economics program was designed to prepare Inuit girls for a lifestyle equivalent to that of southern Canadian housewives. Boys were given Vocational Training where they were taught woodworking and prepared for a future as labourers, mainly tradesmen. Occasionally the boys were taught trapping skills.

It was the opinion of Northern Affairs that the Home Economics program would prepare Inuit children for a "new" life in a "new" north. The Home Economics program operated on the assumption that the southern industrial machine would soon dominate activities in the north, which would be followed by southern culture, rendering the traditional Inuit culture a dangerous hinderance. If the Inuit were to survive, they would need to abandon their traditional means of sustenance and be adequately prepared to survive in the "new" north. Once again, Northern Affairs saw no benefit in the possibility of including Inuit or northern cultural content. The Department stated in a memorandum that its "Home Economics" and "Industrial Arts" (boys shop class) programs were an example of courses based on local activity and the development of skills needed for local living.\textsuperscript{214}

The general objectives of the Home Economics Programme were as follows:

\textsuperscript{214}NAC RG85 vol. 1462 file # 600-1-1 pt.21

122
1. Establish classroom procedure.
2. Cleanliness as related to sewing, handicraft, foods and personal hygiene.
3. Learn basic English words for equipment used.
4. Learn basic sewing and embroidery stitches.
5. Promote feeling of responsibility for school and for completion of a task.
6. Gain experience in following verbal and written instructions.
7. Creativeness.
8. Co-operation in the duties undertaken, thus developing higher ideals.
9. Learn basic cooking procedures.
10. The necessity for a clear knowledge of nutrition to ensure the wise planning of the family meals.
11. The value of a well set table and correctly served meals for the social graces of eating.  

The Home Economics Programme was divided into two units; Sewing and Handicrafts, and Food.

In the Sewing and Handicrafts classes, students learned to make things such as leather pencil cases, potholders, duffle mittens, leather coin cases, leather and duffle moccasins, wrist pin cushions needle-books, squares for ribbing, knitting and purling, simple peasant aprons, simple bib aprons and drindle skirts. The purpose of the sewing classes was to familiarize Inuit girls with a sewing machine and to teach them all the necessary skills to make, sew and repair all clothing and necessities such as blankets made in accordance with southern Canadian standards (as opposed to traditional caribou skin blankets) as it was these standards that the students' future families were expected to become.

---

215 NAC RG 85 vol. 710 file # 630-125-1 pt. 2, "16 November 1959."
The "simplified" objectives of the food unit section within the Home Economics programme were as follows:

1. The responsibility to plan and complete a task. To take charge of simple home-making situations at school or in the home and assist with difficult ones.
2. To develop skill in preparing and serving in a variety of ways foods that are available to them.
3. To develop an attitude of importance of planning nutritionally sound meals.
4. Knowledge of food nutrients and the part they play in food preparation and meal planning.
5. To give a knowledge and develop an importance of sanitary methods of handling food.
6. To develop a knowledge of a correctly set table and table manners.  

The course notebook listed meals according to the "Canada Food Rules" along with pictures so as to facilitate the students' ability to assimilate to that of a southern Canadian diet. Foods were listed in various meals which were divided into the four major food groups, meat, vegetable, dairy and fruit. Students were taught how to prepare and cook balanced meals using "electric" stoves and to follow a recipe book. This involved

\footnote{NAC RG85 vol. 710 file # 630-125-1 pt.2, "16 November 1959.
NAC RG85 vol. 711 file # 630-158-1 pt.5, "21/23 March 1956.

The Chesterfield Inlet school placed great importance in teaching Inuit girls to sew and mend clothing of southern Canadian fashion and teaching the girls how to wash laundry for the purpose of cleanliness and "longativity." The school recruited the aid of one of its' caretaker's wives to assist the nuns in teaching the children.}

\footnote{NAC RG85 vol. 710 file # 630-125-1 pt.2, "16 November 1959."}
stressing the importance of three daily meals, breakfast, lunch and dinner. Students were taught sanitation methods such as cleaning one's hands, washing foods, cooking all foods, washing dishes and disposal of waste. Students were also taught southern Canadian customs such as the "proper" way in which one was to set a table and to conform to "proper" southern Canadian table manners.218

While the girls were learning to be southern Canadian housewives, the Inuit boys were taught industrial skills under the Industrial Arts division so as to prepare them for life as manual labourers in the "new" north. The Inuit boys were mainly given instruction in woodworking.219

The government attempted to add a "musk rat trapping" course to its' Industrial Arts program for Inuit boys attending the Roman Catholic and Anglican hostels in

---

218NAC RG85 vol. 710 file # 630-125-1 pt.2, "16 November 1959."

---

219NAC RG85 vol. 711 file # 630-158-1 pt.5, "21\23 March 1956."

The school entertained the idea of using an Inuit man to instruct the boys so as to provide a role model but complained that they could not find one. Unfortunately, the school never acknowledged the lack of an Inuit instructor as an obvious example as to the importance of wood in sustaining Inuit life at this time.

Northern Affairs did locate an Inuit man from Great Whale River who was "qualified" to teach the Inuit boys about carpentry, (Joe Adlayook). Adlayook was an Anglican though and not a Catholic. Chesterfield Inlet residential school was maintained by the Roman Catholic church. The federal government left it up to the church authorities whether or not to hire Mr. Adlayook. No record could be ascertained in the affirmative or negative regarding Mr. Adlayook's employment at Chesterfield Inlet.
Inuvik. The federal government viewed trapping as being part of traditional Inuit culture and a means of sustenance. The belief was that Inuit children could use the trapping skills taught at school in their adulthood as the Inuit economy became more "Canadianized."

The trapping courses had to be placed on hold as the Deputy Commissioner of the Northwest Territories informed Northern Affairs that the lands surrounding the school of Inuvik were all individually registered to private trappers. The Roman Catholic authorities accepted the situation and advised Northern Affairs to do the same. "However since it has been agreed by the powers that be that Eskimo children would be brought into Inuvik to train for a radically different way of life, it seems logical to accept this situation."

The Anglican church authorities at Inuvik were not in accordance with the Roman Catholics as they expressed disappointment in light of the fact that the teaching of muskrat trapping may not be possible at Inuvik, although the Anglicans stated that they understood the government's dilemma. The Anglicans believed that the residential schools should have been responsible for teaching trapping because Inuit parents could not teach

---

220NAC RG85 vol. 1062 file # 630-125-8 pt.2, "B. G. Sivertz to Canon Cook, "8 September 1959."

221ADOMI, HR 6729 .C73R, "Inuvik files, B. G. Sivertz to Father Renaud, 8 September 1959."

222NAC RG85 vol. 1468 file # 630-125-9 pt.1, "Andre Renaud to B. G. Sivertz, 16 September 1959."
their children trapping while the children were at school. 223

The Department of Northern Affairs was not unaware of the results its' school system was producing. Northern Affairs had been conducting standardized tests on Inuit pupils as early as 1957 until the end of its' role in educating Inuit. For the most part, the government was satisfied that the curriculum had accomplished federal objectives.

One of the first standardized I. Q. tests that Northern Affairs had its' schools employ on Inuit was the "Draw A Man I. Q. Test." This test consisted of simply drawing a man. The tests were then compared with tests of other children across Canada.

While administering the tests, children were given a piece of paper and a pencil only. The pupils were instructed, "On these papers I want you to make a picture of a man. Make the very best picture that you can, Take your time and work very carefully. I want to see whether the boys and girls in ----school can do as well as those in other schools. Try very hard and see what good pictures you can make." 224

The test were to provide Northern Affairs with a source of data as to how Inuit pupils were acculturating. The results of these test could not be located.

223NAC RG85 vol. 1062 file # 630-125-8 pt.2, "Henry G. Cook to B. G. Sivertz, 10 September 1959."

224NAC RG85 vol. 644 file # 630-158-1 pt. 6, "Test Procedures And Directions For Scoring." 1957.
The tests were not without cultural bias. One such example is that in southern Canada, children above the age of twelve preferred to do profile drawings as opposed to a full-face drawing. J. V. Jacobson took notice that the Chesterfield Inlet students preferred full-faced drawings to profile drawings. Northern Affairs felt that this was possibly due to three different discrepancies; first, it is possible that students were instructed in this manner. Second, it is possibly a cultural difference based on perception. Third, the test suggested that by southern Canadian standards, Inuit children were not as intelligent as were southern Canadian youth.\textsuperscript{225}

Northern Affairs also felt that it was possible the actual administering of the tests in Chesterfield Inlet were flawed. The Chesterfield Inlet children had to take the test twice because when the Roman Catholic priest translated instructions to the Inuit children in Inuktitut, the priest told the children to "draw a man or a woman, not just a man."\textsuperscript{226}

The Department believed that its' methods of testing held as a testament to the superiority of government induced curricula as opposed to that of the previously used mission schools. In response to the question as to the progress of children in federal government schools to

\textsuperscript{225}NAC RG85 vol. 644 file # 630-158-1 pt.6, "J. V. Jacobson to Sister Herauf, 17 December 1957."

\textsuperscript{226}NAC RG85 vol. 644 file # 630-158-1 pt.6, "Sister Elizabeth Herauf to J. V. Jacobson, 7 January 1958."
date, Northern Affairs responded:

We have been quite pleased recently with the progress being made by the children in schools in the Northwest Territories, especially so during the past several years. Prior to this, when the chief means of education was through Mission residential schools, there was not a great deal of academic progress made. This is not a reflection on the mission schools though we must admit that during the last few years much better qualified teachers have been employed in the mission schools. The chief reason for the lack of academic progress arose from the lack of regular attendance. Two members of a family would attend school one year, while two others would be sent the following year while the two attending the first year were kept at home. Thus, after a period of eight years, it was quite possible that each child had only attended school four years. Consequently, if they attained Grade 3 or 4 level that is all one could expect. However, we have done some research on this and found that where children had attended the full eight years, and where they had known some English when they commenced school, the majority of them had been able to progress at the usual rate of one grade a year. Recently, standardized tests such as the Gates Reading Tests and the Dominion Arithmetic Tests have been given throughout the Mackenzie area and it was found that the students were well graded. These tests are standardized on school pupils in North America and consequently, make it possible for us to compare the standing of our children with that of pupils in other parts of Canada and the United States. In general terms, we can therefore say that we are quite satisfied with the progress being made by the children in the schools of the Northwest Territories.²²⁷

In response to the question of whether there was any significant difference in the "progress" of children from the east, west, north or south, the government answered:

In reply to this question, two underlying factors must be considered:

1. the ability of children to communicate with their teachers (to understand English);
2. regularity of attendance at school.

...have sufficient evidence that the children of the north are as capable as any group of children in Canada.

²²⁷NAC RG85 vol. 1337 file # 600-1-1 pt.12, 7 January 1958.
It therefore follows that, given equal opportunities, they will progress as rapidly as other children. However, those who do not understand English require at least a year of additional training in order to be put in a position where they can proceed at the usual grade-per-year rate. In order for them to do this, it is absolutely necessary that they attend school regularly, not only day by day, but year by year. As mentioned previously, we have evidence to show that if they do so we can expect those who know English when they enter school to attain Grade 8 level in eight years and those who do not know English—when they enter school to attain Grade 8 level in nine years.

You will realize that even children in other parts of Canada, with the odd exception where parents are able to fill the gaps, do not make good progress at school if their attendance is irregular. It is, therefore, most important that we do everything possible to obtain regular attendance in the schools in the Northwest Territories if we expect to make the progress mentioned above.

Those in the Keewatin and Franklin Districts are, for the most part, more primitive than others and consequently, with a few exceptions, require this additional year in order to learn English. Many of our teachers are finding that nursery school and kindergarten classes do much to prepare these children for Grade 1 and are therefore, whenever possible, offering this type of instruction.228

In 1962 however, Northern Affairs learned that there was a significant problem when imposing standardized tests for pupils across Canada, let alone in the N. W. T. where the government had been using three different provincial curriculums. Tests comparing the various provincial curriculums exposed a glaring discrepancy in educational standards from province to province; for example, studies demonstrated that under the Alberta curriculum it was much more difficult for a student to reach the grade 12 level than under the Saskatchewan.

228NAC RG85 vol. 1337 file # 600-1-1 pt.12, 7 January 1958.
curriculum. This meant that the residential schools varied in the quality of education from school to school depending on which provincial curriculum was employed at which school. The Department of Northern Affairs did not become aware of this discrepancy until April 9, 1962, seven years after the inauguration of its' northern school system. Therefore, it is highly probable that differences in test results in various federal schools in the N. W. T. had more to do with the use of the different curricula imposed rather than one region being more "primitive" than another.\textsuperscript{229}

Northern Affairs had experienced a reasonable measure of autonomy in its' management of the northern school system. Although complaints arose from time to time, they were soon forgotten by the Canadian public. All this changed in February of 1963 (eight years after the government had been administering education in the north) when D. W. Hepburn, a former principal at Northern Affairs' own residential school in Inuvik, published an article criticizing federal management of the schools.

...Insofar as aims and purposes for education in the north are concerned--and they should be of fundamental importance--the Department has failed to come to any definite conclusions. Whether the object is to preserve the natives cultures, to replace them with Canadian culture, or to combine the two in some way has not yet been determined. Members of the Department have made official statements that may be interpreted to support each of these; actual practice not infrequently contradicts their statements. For example, in June of 1961 the present chief of the Education Division, B.G. Thorsteinson, wrote that pupils, while passing through a

\textsuperscript{229}NAC RG85 vol. 1437 file # 620-8 pt.1, "B. Thorsteinsson to D. J. S. Jackson, 9 April 1962."
period of primary education, must become efficient in this (English) language, without losing their own cultural and linguistic tradition. In actual fact, no provision whatever is made in the curriculum to encourage retention of native language, culture or skills.

The curriculum of a school should be composed of a series of educational experiences that will lead to the acquisition of certain kinds of knowledge, of certain values and attitudes. If the school lacks aims, if the kinds of knowledge and values and attitudes to be achieved are not clearly defined, how then can a suitable curriculum be developed? The Education Division has ignored this question. Northern schools have been obliged to use the curriculum of the Province of Alberta, a curriculum designed to educate middleclass children in a region of agriculture and light industry. Adequate though this curriculum may be for children of Alberta, the results of imposing it on Indians and Eskimos are often ludicrous. Eskimo third-graders do short 'enterprises' on the quaint ways of children in distant lands, including the quaint and distant Eskimo! And senior students, sons and daughters of reindeer-herders and seal-hunters, study the soil zones of Alberta and the breeds of Dairy cattle.

...It is true that the Department has promised a new 'northern' curriculum, and the number of persons who have been employed in Ottawa to do curriculum work lead one to suppose that the promise would be fulfilled. In fact, however, such promises have been made every year since 1956, but the results have been negligible. ...In any case, depending on the individual teacher to make curricular adaptations is scarcely a sufficient answer. The truth of the matter is that the government has failed to make adequate curriculum arrangements.

Hepburn was not against teaching academic skills to the Inuit. On the contrary, Hepburn felt that the curriculum should have entailed positive re-enforcement of Inuit culture and that the materials and methods used for teaching should have somehow been in relation to Inuit culture. Hepburn was perplexed by the fact that the materials and methods used in the schools were based


132
...For the sake of example, let us consider the basic core subject of reading. Northern children are 'learning' to read using the same 'Dick and Jane' readers as pupils in the provinces, although they are totally unsuited to the job. The publishers of these readers, acting on the advice of top experts in the field of reading, purposely give their books a strong social bias: Dick and Jane are typical middle-class white children, living in a typical middle-class white house with white picket fences, whose typical white-collar father provides them with all the things familiar to such children in the provinces. They see trains, circuses, milkmen, elevators, and so on—all familiar to them long before they open their first pre-primer. This calculated social bias is intended to help children learn to read more easily by dealing with familiar things and events. Will this same calculated bias also help pupils in the north, whose background is entirely different? Obviously not. In fact, it will be a hindrance. Skilful reading requires not merely the ability to recognize words, but more important, the ability to develop meaning from the printed page. By dealing almost entirely with unfamiliar things, events, and attitudes, often difficult for the child to understand without direct experiences, these readers hinder the development of skilful reading in northern students.  

According to Hepburn, the result was a generation of Inuit that were "perhaps" literate but uneducated. Hepburn claimed these residential school graduates lacked both the skills necessary for wage employment and the traditional Inuit economy. Although the students did learn some English, arithmetic and a "vague notion" of the world, they lost years of valuable life-skills that were not developed in the residential schools. Of

---


particular importance to Hepburn was the loss of cultural pride as this was never re-enforced in the schools. Hepburn further argued that many residential school graduates suffered psychological damage from years of being deprived of a normal family life as they were raised in the residential schools.\textsuperscript{233}

To make matters worse, Hepburn demonstrated succinctly that Northern Affairs knew the alleged economic prospects believed to be developing in the north would never live up to expectations. This is astonishing when it was these economic prospects that greatly fuelled the northern education initiative.

...One final important consideration must be the economic prospects for the various regions of the north. There has been, of course, a great deal of talk about imminent economic expansion. One would expect the Deputy Minister of Northern Affairs, R. G. Robertson, to have as good a grasp as anyone on the economic prospects, and to support the popular enthusiasm if it could be justified. On the contrary, his views are sometimes rather sobering. In a significant article in the Department's own publication, 'North', he has expressed the view that 'nothing based on the renewable resources of the north...can ever be sufficient in scale to form an important addition to the national income of Canada. The interesting prospects', he continues, 'depend on mining and on oil and gas.' Even these prospects, he points out, may be diminished somewhat by the high costs of production and transportation. 'The north is much too tough a country to burgeon and bloom in a couple of decades as the prairies did,' he says. Yet much of the current educational practice is justified on the grounds that northern youth must be prepared immediately for the impending onslaught of our technological society. A realistic consideration of the north's economic prospects then, should be a basic

consideration for educational planners.\textsuperscript{234}

Hepburn stated that according to Robertson, between the years 1954 and 1961, the government spent nearly $21,000,000.00 on northern schools and residences; further, this figure does not take into account the millions more spent on filling the schools and hostels and operating them. Hepburn contended that Northern Affairs success in its building program and its efforts to "round up" students, hid the failure of the northern education system. That failure being that the education provided was "hopelessly inadequate," the aims of Northern Affairs in education were "thoroughly confused" and the curriculum was "inappropriate."\textsuperscript{235}

...many current practices of the system are not only ill-conceived but actually harmful. Reform is urgently needed, for the product of this educational system is a young Eskimo or Indian who despises his own traditions, and who not only does not know how to live as his fathers lived, but who does not know enough of Canadian culture and technology to be integrated successfully into either.\textsuperscript{234}

Hepburn added that during his tenure at the Inuvik residential school, the teachers had little to no experience in primary education while nearly sixty


percent of the students were in grades one to three. Further, too many of the teachers were in their first and only year of northern education and it was rare to find a teacher with three or more years experience in the north. "For example, of the thirty-five teachers on the staff of Sir Alexander Mackenzie School in Inuvik when it opened in 1959, fewer than half a dozen remain during the present year."237

Northern Affairs own records reveal that the teacher turn-over rate in the residential schools was more than double that of southern Canada. In 1962, Inuvik had 16 of 34 teachers resign. In 1961, 15 of 35 teachers resigned and in 1960, 17 of 34 teachers resigned. These high turn-over rates were due in part to the fact that the teachers, who were all from southern Canada, considered facilities and conveniences at the residential schools to be inferior to what they were accustom to.238

Hepburn further said:

...the school ignores the traditional culture, or, even worse, belittles it in a hundred different ways. Everything the child learns and does in school and the residence denies the value of his parents' ways. His language and customs are ignored. His traditional values are belittled. In fact, success and approval seem to be reserved for those who behave in a non-Eskimo or non-Indian way. How can a sensitive young person reach any conclusion other than that his own culture is of no value?

...in the past decade, it (the school) has only


238 NAC RG85 vol. 1374 file # 630-125-1 pt. 3, "26 June 1962."
helped to produce a generation without roots and without direction.\textsuperscript{235}

Hepburn's article succeeded in focusing national attention directly on the Department of Northern Affairs, the northern school system and the curriculum implemented within. Hepburn made two separate public appearances before a national audience. First on June 7, 1963, Hepburn was on the "Trans-Canada Matinee" and on August 3, 1963, Hepburn appeared on the CBC English Network's "Matinee Highlights."\textsuperscript{240}

The attention Hepburn's article focused on the curriculum implemented in the N. W. T. schools under the authority of the Department of Northern Affairs was unwanted. So much so that senior official, B. G. Sivertz, proposed that a rebuttal be prepared. Sivertz suggested that the Department of Northern Affairs take advantage of a public talk already scheduled for May 22, 1963 in Edmonton Alberta that was to be given by a Mr. Snowden (an official of Northern Affairs) to stage the Department's rebuttal. Northern Affairs was not prepared to admit to the possibility of any negligence on its' behalf.\textsuperscript{241}

\textsuperscript{239}NAC RG85 vol. 1338 file 600-1-1 pt.19 1963.

\textsuperscript{240}NAC RG85 vol. 1338 file # 600-1-1 pt.19

\textsuperscript{241}NAC RG85 vol. 1338 file 600-1-1 pt. 19, "C. M. Bolgar to Thorsteinsson, 2 May 1963."

Hepburn's article did not go unnoticed by the Department of Northern Affairs. Northern Affairs' bureaucrats dispatched their advice to the Northern Affairs Minister's Office. One bureaucrat claimed the article was extraordinary, claiming that they had seen it
In fairness to the Department of Northern Affairs, Hepburn conceded that some of the changes he suggested had already been proposed by the government, although none had yet materialized. Regardless, Hepburn firmly believed that attention needed to be focused on the future of the northern school system and its curriculum.  

Hepburn's public chastising of Northern Affairs seemed to usher in a new era of criticism that was both more open and direct. It was as if other adversaries (who

before. Apparently Hepburn had attempted to publish it in a more popular Journal entitled "Beaver." The editor of the Beaver sent the article to the Department of Northern Affairs asking for a response while relating her intentions to publish Hepburn's article. After Northern Affairs sent its response, the editor refused to publish articles from either party and cancelled Hepburn's publication.

Another bureaucrat wrote that Hepburn had some good ideas and stated that some of his ideas may be useful in future meetings held by the minister of Northern Affairs. Yet another bureaucrat suggested that the Department of Northern Affairs drop the issue. This bureaucrat felt that by publishing his article in an unknown journal such as Variables indicated a distressing defensiveness on Hepburn's part; further, in light of the fact that Beaver dropped the article, journalistic integrity must be considered. This bureaucrat felt that it would be justified to respond to a better known journal but not to one that would not be likely to draw much attention.

See Nac RG 85 vol. 1338 file 600-1-1 pt. 19, "W. G. Booth to Thorsteinsson, 6 May 1963."

The Department of Northern Affairs was well aware of Hepburn's public talks. Alex Martin of the Department of Northern Affairs' Education Division wrote to the CBC asking for a tape of the talks. Instead, CBC program liaison officer Harry W. Walker sent a typed transcript.

worked within the system itself) of Northern Affairs' policies towards its' northern school system felt a new sense of security in their personal opinions.

In January of 1964, a Roman Catholic priest by the name of Father Rousseliere publicly complained that both the federal government of Canada and the Department of Northern Affairs were in favour of developing policies that were based on assimilating the Inuit and excluding emphasis on the preservation of Inuit culture. The Department of Northern Affairs responded by claiming, "The Curriculum Section, which existed on paper for many years, has been a functioning organization only for about the last three years. During that time, it has made entirely satisfactory progress in adapting curricula to local conditions."  

When taking into consideration that the Department of Northern Affairs made this statement in January of 1964 and its' northern school system begun in 1955, it is apparent that criticism was warranted. The Department had ample time to solve the "flaws" of its' curriculum; that is, of course, if the alleged flaws were "perceived" by Northern Affairs to be "flaws."

Perhaps the most formidable critic of Northern Affairs from within was Bishop Donald Marsh of the Anglican church. As a high ranking official of the Anglican church, Marsh had two distinct advantages.

---

243NAC RG85 vol. 1434 file # 600-1-1 pt.20, "Director to Gordon, 21 January 1964."
First, as Anglican Bishop of the Arctic, Marsh always had inside information on the curriculum implemented within the school system. Second, as an official of the Anglican church and not a direct employee of Northern Affairs, Marsh could make all the statements he wanted without fear of reprisals such as dismissal. Marsh was in effect untouchable.

This time, Marsh made accusations claiming that the residential schools were culturally denigrating the Inuit children in their custody. Arthur Laing (the Minister of the Department of Northern Affairs) responded to Marsh in a statement with a familiar overtone that had grown all too repetitive since the 1955 inauguration of the northern school system. When one reads Northern Affairs response to Marsh, the words of Donald Hepburn re-surface in haunting fashion:

You raise the question of preserving "pride of race" among the Eskimo children and you stated that this is a problem of the educational system throughout the whole Arctic. We recognize this as one of our major tasks and we are continually seeking to effect arrangements which will in time serve to emphasize the positive aspects of the problem. We are also constantly striving to relate the curriculum to northern situations and the experiences of the children. Our educational system and our total plan for educating northern children are designed to enrich and not to rob the children. Our efforts are devoted to giving them the knowledge and training required not only to cope with the changing world in which they find themselves but also to offer a continuous and deeper appreciation of life around them. We urge our staff to remind the children of their cultural background and we encourage teachers to relate this to the classroom experiences of pupils, whether they be Eskimo, Indian or white. To this end we are devoting considerable time and effort to the interpretation of learning in terms of northern settings. An example of our efforts in this respect is to be found in the new Industrial Arts and
Home Economics courses.\(^{244}\)

Marsh was sceptical of the government's initiative insofar as curriculum was concerned:

"You say that you "think the fairest thing we can do for them is to give them the background necessary to make their decisions and we can only hope that they will decide for the best"—honestly Mr. Minister, do you really believe this? You have already chosen the background that they shall be given by sending them to school, and by giving them a curriculum of the white man's way or life. But what of their future? What do you intend to do for them to make sure that they can get a job and live on the standards of a white person? They have been wrested from their own way of life, and whether they like it or not, have been thrust into modern life, so that there is no talk about fairness of giving them a background. It became to them a compulsory thing, and we as a nation are responsible for having done this, and as such are responsible for the future of these people."\(^{245}\)

The Department demonstrated in its' confidential memos that they were privately not so sure of themselves. Arthur Laing asked other senior officials at Northern Affairs, "What do our top Education people say to people like Bishop Marsh and the points he raises?"\(^{246}\)

In defence of Northern Affairs, there were minor improvements to the English program to include some Inuit cultural content after Hepburn's public criticisms in 1963. In 1964, the Department of Northern Affairs professed that at the elementary level, they had modified the curriculum to suit the needs of northern peoples and

\(^{244}\)NAC RG85 vol. 1444 file # 630-500-10 pt.1, "Arthur Laing to Bishop Donald Marsh, 3 May 1965."

\(^{245}\)NAC RG85 vol. 1444 file # 630-500-10 pt. 1, "Donald The Arctic to Arthur Laing, 10 June 1965."

\(^{246}\)NAC RG85 vol. 1444 file # 630-500-10 pt.1, "Gordon F. Gibson to Mr. Gordon, 22 July 1965."
their environment. The Department declared that this modification involved the production of books, pictures, tapes and other visual aids appropriate for the north; however, secondary students had to write provincial examinations; therefore, until such time as northern examinations at the secondary level were developed, secondary students had to follow the provincial curriculums which lacked Inuit and northern cultural content. As of 1970, when the N. W. T. territorial government assumed responsibility for education, no special "northern" examinations were developed by the federal government.  

Meanwhile, in August of 1965, the Department of Northern Affairs received the grade XII exam results that were written by students under the Alberta curriculum. The results demonstrated a considerable improvement over previous years. Northern Affairs' response was to provide the press with the final grades while not naming the students so as the press could publish the findings. Northern Affairs stressed that with such a small number of pupils compared to the provinces, grades would fluctuate from year to year. The government claimed that it was common practice in the provinces to publish the exam results in local newspapers with the students' names as well. 

247 NAC RG85 vol. 1462 file # 600-1-1 pt.21 1964.  
248 NAC RG85 vol. 1682 file # 600-17 pt.1, "19 August 1965."
As a direct result of repeated complaints alleging that the curriculum of the northern school system had been producing a generation of confused and socially maladjusted youth, in October of 1965, Northern Affairs began studies into the possibility of acculturating Inuit youth more efficiently. The Department conducted a series of experiments on students at the Yellowknife and Fort Churchill residential schools in order to test personality and social adjustment using a test procedure from the state of California. The purpose of the test was to determine if there was a pattern of "undesirable social adjustment tendencies." If there was a pattern of "undesirable social adjustment tendencies," the Department of Northern Affairs intended to use the test results to provide counselling to students and develop policies to better facilitate meaningful learning situations in the schools so as to assist students in becoming "contributing community members" in the "new" north.  

The results of the tests could not be ascertained. However, concerns appear to have been just. As the first few generations of Inuit youth graduated from the residential schools, the maladjusted youth were not going unnoticed. An article published in the Ottawa Citizen in May of 1966 stated that the encroaching southern cultural norms were creating three different classes of Inuit; the

249 NAC RG85 vol.1436 File # 620-7 pt.3, "5 October 1965."
elders who held steadfast to the traditional ways, the children who were being raised to endeavour southern Canadian ideals and the teenagers who were somewhere trapped between the traditional values and southern Canadian ideals.  

In view of the curriculum materials implemented from 1955 to 1968, the residential schools had in fact at least began to developed some curriculum related to Inuit culture and environment for the primary grades, although most of the changes had occurred in 1968. Some course books used in English reading classes were Seal Hunt, The story of Papik an Eskimo Boy, Nicotye and Her Family, Nuna, Igloolik Eskimo Way of Living and The Seal Book. However, these books were created by the staff members of the residential schools and not Northern Affairs. The books were never published as were the old Dick and Jane series; instead, these books were produced using paper and a photo-copy machine. Another staff initiative was the creation of a book for use in Mathematics that utilized the Caribou. In Health & Physical Education classes, Inuit games were introduced. In Science classes, colour slides showing northern flora and fauna were shown to the students. These improvements were however rather limited when the entire school year is taken into account.  

---


251NAC RG85 vol. 1682 file # 620-1-1 pt.5, "April 1968."
The new "teacher" engineered reading books did bring about at least one positive change. By October of 1967, it appeared that the "Dick and Jane" reading series had finally been removed from at least the Keewatin District. Mrs. J. A. Turner, a government official travelling through the Keewatin District inspecting schools stated that she could find no evidence of "Dick and Jane" anywhere.\(^\text{252}\)

There were further criticisms of the Home Economics program as well in the post-Hepburn era. Bishop Marsh raised the argument with the Department of Northern Affairs as to why "electric" stoves were used in the Home Economics program when the Inuit cooked with oil at home? According to the executive assistant to the Minister of Northern Affairs, several officers of the Education Branch of Northern Affairs combined could not provide Marsh with an adequate response to his complaint.\(^\text{253}\)

Further to Marsh's concerns, even in modern times, most of the foods that the children were taught to prepare in the Home Economics program are either unavailable in many northern communities or are available at prices which place them beyond the financial grasp of

\(^{252}\text{NAC RG85 vol.1445 file # 630-500-10 pt.2, "Mrs. J. A. Turner to Mr. D. W. Simpson, 16 October 1967."}\)

\(^{253}\text{NAC RG85 vol. 1444 file # 630-500-10 pt. 1, "Gordon F. Gibson to Mr. Gordon, 22 July 1965."}\)

The executive assistant further stated that Marsh raised many problems within the education system that responses could not be adequately provided for.
many Inuit families. Even when southern foods such as fruits and vegetables are available, the quality is often very poor by the time the food arrives north. In the residential school era, most of the foodstuffs children were taught to prepare were not available at all in the Inuit settlements.254

Northern Affairs had introduced one last initiative to its' Home Economics program in 1968 before education was delegated to the new N.W.T. territorial government. That initiative was to create a "Family Life Education" program, originating out of the residential school in Inuvik. The objectives of the program were to create a "Social Hygiene Guidance Program" to educate and combat the increasing rates of illegitimate births and sexually transmitted diseases in the north. The Department wished to involve everyone from the communities in designing the course from parents to teachers to the R.C.M.P. to the churches. It is interesting to note that the government subscribed to the belief that these problems were not as rampant prior to the influence and presence of the southern Canadian influx. The program was not fully developed while Northern Affairs maintained authority over education in the N.W.T.255

254 This evidence is based on my own personal experience living in Iqaluit for two summers combined with stories of this nature told to me by several Inuit from various communities; especially Saila Adla of Cape Dorset, Stephen Innuksuk of Igloolik, Madeleine Allakariallak of Resolute Bay and the Tagak family of Iqaluit, formerly Resolute Bay.

255 NAC RG85 vol. 1468 file # 630-125-1 pt.5 1968.
Despite the changes made to curriculum and promises towards more, in 1967-68 Northern Affairs still provided "lip-service" in regards to the need to incorporate Aboriginal [Indian and Inuit] and northern cultural content into the education system. The Department stressed that on top of the problems experienced with three different provincial curriculums in the N.W.T., Inuit in northern Quebec were subjected to that provinces' protestant curriculum (Catholics in the province of Quebec maintained a separate curriculum).\(^{256}\)

\(^{256}\)NAC RG85 vol. 1462 file # 600-1-1 pt.23 1967-68.

AC of C GSA MSCC, M 96-07 Box 92 file 1, "Diocese of The Arctic Govt-hostels Ft. Churchill 1964-1966, Marsh to Laing, 24 November 1964."


Northern Affairs had been involved in plans to relegate authority for education of Quebec Inuit to the province of Quebec outright. The Quebec Inuit were adamantly against this.

"With regard to the Province of Quebec and the possible take-over at some time in the future: I presume that you have heard of the meeting which took place between the Eskimos and the Minister of Quebec, Mr. Rene Levesque, at Fort Chimo. At that time, the Eskimos made it perfectly clear to Mr. Levesque, that they did not wish to be taken over by the Quebec Government, but of course, this decision was not made public, nor I presume it conveyed to you officially. There does seem to be very little doubt as to the feelings of the Eskimo people all around the Quebec coast on this matter."

Regardless of Inuit concerns, by 1970 the Inuit were eventually placed partially under the authority of the Quebec government and partially under the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.

One reason given as to why the Inuit did not want to be relegated under the authority of the Quebec government was that in decades past, when many Inuit experienced hardships where they were destitute, the federal
In the waning years of Northern Affairs' authority over the northern school system, the lack of Inuit cultural content maintained itself as a serious issue. J. Gordon Gibson, a counsellor in the newly formed territorial government, (who had much support among his peers and northerners in general) labelled the federal government's education system for Inuit and Indians as an empire-building education system and a disgrace. Gibson claimed that "No one from the federal education department has shown me what good they have done...We've taken backward steps with the Indian and Eskimo people, We have turned them from self-sufficient people...almost into wards of the government. It's the greatest disgrace anyone could perpetrated on any race or people..."  

Complaints continued to arise even after Northern Affairs was no longer responsible for the education of Inuit and status Indians in the N. W. T. Tagak Curley, president of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, was a prominent adversary against the residential school system. Curley claimed that the residential schools had

---

government asked the provincial government of Quebec to be responsible for the health and welfare of the Inuit in question. The Quebec government took the federal government to the Supreme Court of Canada which ruled that Inuit and status Indians were under the intention of the British North American Act and therefore, were a federal responsibility, not a Quebec responsibility as were all others residing in the province of Quebec. This lead to suspicion as to why Quebec suddenly gained a "new found" interest in the lands of the Inuit.

257NAC RG85 vol. 1462 file # 600-1-1 pt. 23, "22 February 1968."
undermined parental influence in facilitating the outcome of the development of their children's character; an essential part in re-enforcing culture. Further agitating northern peoples was the lack of consultation by federal authorities in drafting policy affecting the lives of northerners.258

In 1972, an Inuk known as Nashook from Pond Inlet raised the issue of Inuit claims that the children who went to residential schools came home a different people, "they loath their culture and look down on the old ways of their parents."259 The initiative to improve the situation lead the N. W. T. territorial government to plan a curriculum that taught Inuktitut from kindergarten to grade three as the language of instruction, then switched to English but maintained Inuktitut as a second language.260

The criticism of Northern Affairs' northern school system appears to have been accurate. An education report


A program designed to teach northerners to take-on the occupation of teachers, using northern culture, was implemented in 1970-71. The same time that the federal government relinquished authority to the new N. W. T. territorial government.

259*Education must fit Eskimo,* Edmonton Journal 22 August 1972.

260*Education must fit Eskimo,* Edmonton Journal 22 August 1972.
prepared around 1982 stated that there was a new generation of Inuit who were neither competent to survive in the traditional Inuit economy or to compete for jobs in the wage economy. The problem was equated to the school system, predominantly that of the residential nature. The suggested solution? "The gist of the report is to expand elementary schools to Grade 10 so students could stay home longer before going away to high school, and to expand the curriculum to include cultural, vocational, academic and adult-education courses." More than twelve years after the federal government removed


The argument that Northern Affairs held no other alternative than to place Inuit children in an alien institution in order that the pupils could have been educated is called into question as early as the summer of 1957 when examining the situation at Resolute Bay. A young Inuit woman, known as Leah, asked the men of the community to construct a classroom out of discarded R. C. A. F. packing cases so as she could teach the children. Everything within the school was provided by the Inuit within the community except for a blackboard and some books which were provided as gifts from the federal government. There was no government or church teacher made available. With only a grade six education obtained while resident in a hospital, Leah took on the task of school room teacher. Leah taught a class size of 16 pupils. The results of the school was that 6 of the pupils could read and write in English and all could read and write in Inuktitut. The small school involved input from the entire community and entailed many cultural aspects such as the value of hunting and life skills. The children of Leah's classroom learned the value of a formal education and still maintained a cultural pride in heritage. It should come as no surprise that this school was a success. In Inuit culture, education was based on education using the family and the entire community.
itself from the residential schools, the residential schools were still surviving in some areas under the N. W. T. territorial government and were still generating the same problems as was recognized and debated decades before.

Hepburn's warning in February of 1963 was prophetic:

The school system is producing a generation in a most unhealthy predicament: devoid of natural pride in their native culture and linguistic heritage and hating the Whites who discriminate against them socially, yet recognizing that they must become Canadianized, and therefore adopting leather jackets, extreme hair styles and other outward evidences of acculturation. They have abandoned the old values and have not learned the new....The ways of his parents and grandparents are of little or no value. The White ways are worth studying five days a week; his people's ways are worth scarcely a passing glance.

From this the young Indian or Eskimo can fairly conclude that his own culture is immensely inferior, something of which he can only be ashamed. In southern Canada we are all familiar with the charge that Indians 'seem to have no pride in themselves'. If this is true, could it not be, at least in part, because of the education they have received? ...Certainly, evidences of the decay in cultural pride are already in evidence in some settlements. Young people prefer to wear leather jackets to parkas, jet boots to (sic) moccasins. Young metis women show a reluctance--a refusal-- to marry highly eligible treaty Indian men because they would be marrying 'down'. Young people avoid participation in traditional dances, talk of them disparagingly when asked about them, and show a marked preference for 'rock and roll' and the 'twist'. In Inuvik, matters on occasion even reached the stage of gangs of black-jacketed girls staging 'rumbles'--surely an accomplishment of acculturation.

...A second consideration must be importance of the family to the growing child. 'The family is the unit of Eskimo life', wrote former Northern Affairs Minister Jean Lesage, 'and strong are the forces of family...and the desire to be an honoured member of the community.' Yet the government's policy has been to provide huge residential schools where children from the age of six can spend nine or ten months of each year away from home and family.

Not everyone was entirely against the education provided in the residential schools. Peter Ernerk (an
Inuk man who attended residential school in Chesterfield Inlet, Yellowknife and Churchill) wrote a letter to the editor of the Edmonton Journal stating that there were many former residential school students that benefitted from the schooling they received. Ernerk conceded that it is true that the schools broke the traditional family circle as well as other atrocities, there were positive aspects that were not being acknowledged. Ernerk asserted that many former residential school students had begun to enjoy the wage economy rather than living off of welfare. Many became community leaders. Ernerk affirmed that it was not the welfare that led Inuit people to the settlements but rather the warmer houses and entertainment facilities such as bingos, dances, friends to visit, movies to see and local stores.262

Granted, there were both positive and negative effects as a result of the school curriculums implemented; however, the success or failure of the curricula must be measured based on the curricula principles as they were declared by Northern Affairs. Those curricular principles included preparing the pupil to return to their own way of life while enabling them to survive in the whiteman's economy which was believed to be emerging in what was coined the "new" north.

Clearly, from 1955 to 1958 when curriculum was

---


Peter Ernerk as seen here is the same Peter Ernerk interviewed for this thesis in 1997.
largely controlled by the churches, there was nothing to prepare Inuit to return to their own way of life. In 1958, Northern Affairs had made changes to curriculum but these changes were based on the desire of Northern Affairs to wrestle authority from the churches, not out of a desire to prepare Inuit to return to their own way of life. Changes to the curriculum to include some Inuit cultural content did not take place for the most part until after 1963 when Hepburn focused national attention on the issue. Regardless, the changes were minor and most were initiated by the school staff and not Northern Affairs.

In view of the curricula imposed by the government, the content within the courses taught to the Inuit youth, the constant accusations claiming that the government was attempting to assimilate the Inuit and the testing conducted by Northern Affairs analyzing the success of its' curriculums' dividends in comparison to other Canadian students within the provinces, one would logically conclude with the assumption that the curricula policy was to assimilate the Inuit. However, Northern Affairs consistently argued to the contrary. At the same time, there was never a set curriculum policy in place as to what the curriculum was to accomplish. While the provinces from whom the government appropriated the curriculums maintained both a curriculum and a curricula policy setting-out the provincial directives, Northern Affairs simply continued to use the provincial curricula
without providing curricular policy that would enable Inuit to return to their own way of life. As to how the Department of Northern Affairs had planned to acculturate Inuit into Canadian society without eradicating Inuit culture is a mystery.

This raises the question, Were the schools at least successful in preparing the Inuit for the whiteman's economy in the new north? In answering this question, one need not bother weighing the bulk of the evidence for or against. The answer was provided by R. G. Robertson's confession that the Department of Northern Affairs and the federal government had grossly over-estimated the economic prospects that were to be developed in the "new" north. Although some former residential school students have found employment as a direct result of their schooling, these jobs have been predominantly positions within the bureaucracy of the federal government. For the majority of the former Inuit residential school students the "new" north for which they were supposedly prepared for has yet to arrive. Instead, these former residential school students are faced with chronic unemployment, poverty and government dependency.263


Please see chapter one, especially former Prime Minister John Dieffenbaker's boasts on February 12 1958 stating that "we [the government] will aid in projects which, while not self-liquidating, will lead to development of the national resources for the opening of Canada's northland. We will open that northland for development by improving transportation and communication and by the
Northern Affairs had succeeded in raising a generation of Inuit from 1955 to 1970 for a "north" that Hepburn (using R. G. Robertson's own words) proved the Department knew at least by 1963 would never materialize. Regardless, Northern Affairs maintained the same assimilative course in regards to curriculum until 1970 when authority over education of Inuit was relegated to the N. W. T. government. At the same time that Inuit children were being assimilated into a wage economy that the government knew would not exist in the north, the children were deprived from contact with their own culture and families for ten months of the year. In retrospect, the curriculums were a failure. As stated by Bishop Donald Marsh on June 10 1965, "It [residential school] became to them [Inuit] a compulsory thing, and we as a nation are responsible for having done this, and as such are responsible for the future of these people."  

development of power, by the building of access roads..." At the same time, Dieffenbaker claimed that the "new" north would yield "Jobs: Jobs for hundreds of thousands of Canadian people."  

264NAC RG85 vol. 1444 file # 630-500-10 pt. 1, "Donald The Arctic to Arthur Laing, 10 June 1965."
CHAPTER IV

INUKITUT: THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE OF THE INUIT AND ITS' IMPASSE WHEN CULTURALLY COLLIDING WITH THE RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS.
In 1990, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada released the following information regarding the Inuit language, Inuktitut:

The language of the Inuit (Inuktitut) existed without written form until missionaries went north in the 18th and 19th centuries. But the Inuit possessed more than an oral language. They also maintained a non-verbal language that relied on body expression and other cues to display feelings. So, the Inuit learned to interpret human behaviour in the same manner they read animal behaviour.

Inuktitut today, as in the past, reflects and reinforces the Inuit's culture and value system. Strong emphasis is placed on nature and its elements. There are dozens of words to describe snow, for in the north the weather can produce a wide range of snow conditions, and the quality of snow is of great significance to the Inuit. Only certain types of snow, for example, make good igloos.265

In 1955, (the year Northern Affairs launched its' education program for Inuit) the federal view of the Inuktitut language was very different; in fact, the Inuktitut language and Inuit culture was perceived as "primitive." As the Department of Northern Affairs implemented the new northern education system within the new federal schools of the north, the English language was considered the language of importance. If the Inuit were to survive in the "new" north, a solid command of the English language was of the upmost importance. The government believed that they were helping the Inuit escape from a backward and primitive state; hence, what use could a backward and primitive language be to the Inuit as they evolved into "modern" society? So prominent

265 The Inuit (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, DIAND, 1990) 18.
was this belief within the Department of Northern Affairs, English was the only language emphasized in schools they controlled.

Northern Affairs placed extreme importance in teaching the English language to Inuit youth within its' new northern schools. Prior to their arrival at the residential schools, most Inuit had little to no exposure whatsoever in English; further, a workable knowledge of the English language was desired not only by government but by Inuit themselves.266

In fact, Northern Affairs maintained no language policy concerning the Inuktitut language at all. It was this void of policy that allowed the churches and schools to choose their own "policy" in regards to Inuktitut.

As early as 1959, Northern Affairs began to take notice that Inuit youth were assimilating into the English language at such a rapid pace that many lost the ability to communicate with their own parents, who for the most part, knew only Inuktitut. As a result, Northern Affairs made efforts to encourage a limited use of the Inuktitut language within its' residential schools which entailed religious instruction and encouragement to write letters home. Northern Affairs' concerns in relation to Inuktitut were based entirely on sympathy for Inuit parents who were losing the ability to communicate with their own children, not on the possible eradication of the Inuktitut language.

266Please see Bailey Reports in chapter I.
The Department of Northern Affairs did not attempt to eradicate the Inuktitut language as there was never such a policy. Northern Affairs simply recognized no practical need to safeguard Inuktitut other than for the purpose of communication with Inuit who did not have a knowledge of English; hence, it was a lack of policy rather than policy that threatened Inuktitut within the residential schools.

While Northern Affairs believed that the Inuit language and culture were both primitive, Northern Affairs believed that provided with the English language, the Inuit would eventually chose to discard Inuktitut. However, the mechanisms put in place by Northern Affairs that had threatened Inuktitut within the residential schools removed any choice Inuit were perceived to hold. As previously stated, Northern Affairs was aware of this as early as 1959, yet Northern Affairs chose to do nothing to safeguard Inuktitut against eradication.

As early as 1951, the government had conducted research into the importance of language within culture. By utilizing evidence present in Northern Affairs' own files, it is clear that federal authorities were well aware of the possibility that a loss of Inuktitut would equate the loss of Inuit culture.

Jespersen, the world-famed Danish authority on language said "The essence of language is human activity- activity on the part of the individual to make himself understood by another, and activity on the part of the other to understand what was in the mind of the first." Therefore, since language is behaving, its problems are psychological rather than mechanical. Language is not a native, inborn human skill, it is something which must be
learned. In reading, as in other behaviour, (sic), the child's language activities are reactions to the stimuli of the environment or parts of his interaction with that environment. Language being a form of behaviour, must be considered as part of a child's total activity in certain social situations. When it comes to the language in the school and instruction in that language the whole problem resolves itself into a matter of methodology, and we become dependent upon the skill and ability of the instructor trained in the field of education to deal with the specific situation. The influence of a child's early language environment on his use of language has an important implication.  

Regardless of the Jespersen evidence, the government had little concern, if any, regarding the possible loss of the Inuktitut language. Fort Churchill provides an excellent example of the federal position. In 1955, only Inuit children whose parents were employed by the Department of National Defence attended school at Fort Churchill. The federal government placed their Inuit employees on a one year probation program to ensure that the Inuit employees would not return to a traditional Inuit way of life that was deemed "primitive" by the federal government; hence, it was not necessary to educate Inuit children in a manner that would enable them to live a life as Inuit, let alone afford the children an understanding of Inuktitut. "It is, of course, true that the type of academic education offered at the Duke of Edinburgh School is not the type that would fit Eskimo children to return to the native way of life, but as has been mentioned in previous correspondence between our departments, we regard the Eskimos now at Churchill as

267 NAC RG85 vol. 1072 file # 254-1 pt. 2, "G. E. B. Sinclair to Mr. Day, 16 July 1951."
men who probably will never return to the primitive life." 268

By placing Inuit on probation for being Inuit, while at the same time imposing English as a first language, the government had in effect attacked the Inuit sense of their social and psychological conventions such as how they regarded their sense of 'self' in social relations within traditional Inuit culture. This federal stance toward Inuit employees within the Department of National Defence provides a "litmus test" as to how the government perceived Inuit culture and Inuktitut within its' residential schools.

As previously mentioned, Northern Affairs recognized that the vast majority of Inuit students destined to the residential schools had no previous knowledge or exposure to the English language; however, this was deemed as not presenting a serious dilemma. Canada had already gained a great deal of experience educating Native and immigrant children in similar circumstances. R. G. Robertson, a senior bureaucrat with Northern Affairs stated, "I understand that it does not usually require more than two years, even for older children, to become sufficiently at home with English to get along well. In the case of children starting grade one at the age of six, the problem of language usually disappears in a matter of

268NAC RG85 vol. 1682 File # 630-1500 pt. 1, "R. G. Robertson to Drury, 29 March 1955."
months. 269

Sister Therese Chaput (a teacher at the Chesterfield Inlet school) appears to have been in accordance with Robertson:

It is surprising to notice what these pupils have acquired during the year. I have checked their admission in school and found out that most of them will start their fourth year at school and follow a standard grade three's work in August. We surely can not expect more from our interesting group, who, on the day of their admission can hardly say or understand English. Besides they have to adapt themselves to a routine completely different from their free Eskimo life in an igloo. 270

Chaput related a conversation a matron had with two young Inuit children recently brought to the Chesterfield Inlet hostel. The conversation provides an insightful example as to the rapid pace in which Inuit children were making the transition from Inuktitut to English. "We like it here with you, was the answer given to the matron, and we wouldn't mind going to school if only the teacher would speak as we do, she talks a lot but we can't understand a single word she tells us. The two weeks having elapsed, Michel and Catherine were as happy as larks in the classroom. There was no more coaxing to be done." 271 The matron further claimed that the task of educating the Inuit children in the English language was not a difficult one. "Eskimo children as a rule are very

269 NAC RG85 vol. 1682 File # 630-1500 pt. 1, "R. G. Robertson to Drury, 29 March 1955."


docile, frank, and wide awake. From my two years' experience with them I do not believe the disciplinary problem will ever be a difficult one.  

The severity in which youth residing in the federal residential schools were losing their knowledge of Inuktitut was demonstrated at the Inuvik school in October of 1959. Remarkably the very year the Inuvik school was opened. E. W. Lyall emotionally described the seriousness of this threat in a letter to J. V. Jacobson:

Dear Mr. Jacobson

I am going to write you on behalf of the parents of the children that has gone to the new School in Inuvik. I believe the regulations at the School in Inuvik is that none of the children are allowed to talk, read, or write in their own language; this I think is Shocking, in the first place It would be an awful crime if the Eskimo lost their very fine art of writing, in the Second place the parents of these children would always like to hear from their Son or daughter, how will they be able to do this if they forget how to write or read in Eskimo?

I for one think there should be something done about this, as you know in 1953 I sent three of my children to the Anglican School in Aklavik. When they came home None of them could speak Eskimo at all. Two years ago I sent another of my boys to Aklavik to School he had a wonderful command of the Eskimo language and could write it fluently, his mother who speaks and reads only in Eskimo made him promise to keep writing her every chance he got, for a year he was writing her all the time, you can imagine how pleased she was in getting letters which she could understand, last winter he wrote her a letter in Eskimo so badly written she could not make head or tail of half the letter, on the end of his letter he wrote, "I am forgetting how to write in Eskimo now as we are only taught in English." She was almost heart broken. You can just imagine what it will be like if all these children gone out to School forget how to write in Eskimo.

Surely there is something to get around this; even if they had a couple of lessons a week which would be enough to keep them up to writing letters some to their parents. How easy it would be to make a rule that each...
child was complid (sic) to write a letter once every week.

perhaps (sic) if you look at it this way you may get a better view of what I am getting at. Say for instance you had to Send one of your own Children away to Some School, Say where they only Spoke French and he was forbidden to Speak or write in English, in a couple of years he would forget all about his own lingo, and I am Sure you would agree with me it Would not be just right.

I think it is a very good idea of teaching the Eskimo the ways of the white man. but it must be remembered that only a certain percentage of those that go to School will get far enough ahead to earn his own living as a white man, what is going to become of the ones who have to go back to their own land and make a living of it? So I think it is very important that they Should be taught their own way of living as well.

Hoping to hear from you in the near future.

Cardially

E. W. Lyall

J. V. Jacobson responded to Lyall's letter by first proclaiming on behalf of the federal government that they were unaware the "Catholic and Anglican church managed" school at Inuvik maintained a policy of forbidding the use of Inuktitut, "except" during class time; thus Northern Affairs knew that Inuktitut was not allowed at least within the schools. Jacobson justified this by stating that none of the teachers understood Inuktitut. Jacobson was however, in accordance with Lyall's stance that every effort should be made to preserve Inuktitut and praised Lyall's letter writing initiative. Jacobson assured Lyall that initiatives were presently being explored to bring Inuktitut into the school curriculum and that in some schools (Chesterfield

Three months out of the year, government schools returned children to their parents for
Jewish children were in the mission schools because present situation was by no means one in the same as when
months, Jaccobson alleged this fact to mean that the
implementation of the government's school system in 1955,
Jaccobson was quick to point out that prior to the

... to both, 19 November, 1959.

Committee with the English language
that the teachers at each in their attempt to
language instruction by starting with
education program, both defended the school's
laughed at the school hours and made part of the adult
the schools, although both felt that instruction should be
agreed that instruction instruction should be brought into
W. G. Both (the school administrator for Jacobson)
on their own policy.

Attacks that left the opening for the churches to decide
Attacks such a policy. It was precisely this void by northern
regard as northern attacks never planned or developed
assurance what northern attacks policy was in this
residential schools. Of course, Jacobson was unable to
department's policies on the issue of instruction in
his own admittance in order to assure his own
astonishing, Jacobson had to send letters of inquiry out
obligations to church policy within their own schools is
The fact that Jacobson and northern attacks were
Inter, the process was already in place.
are discouraging them from speaking Eskimo at the school. At the same time I disapprove of a school ruling which would prevent them from communicating in their own language, with their parents at home." 276

Upon receiving assurances from Booth, Jacobson sent a further Memo to Lyall stating that the following initiatives were presently underway:

1. Children in the Inuvik hostels are being encouraged to write home to their parents at frequent intervals in their own language;
2. If a suitable person or persons can be found at Inuvik to carry out extracurricular instruction in the Eskimo language for one or two hours a week, this will be done;
3. Every effort will be made to return children to their parents during the summer months so that they do not lose contact with them and do not forget their own language.

Mr. Booth has told me that he would certainly disapprove of any school ruling which would prevent children from communicating in their own language with their parents at home. 277

It is apparent that both Northern Affairs and the school administration engaged in a serious reaction to Lyall's letter before consulting with Rev. Holman who was in charge of the Anglican hostel where Lyall's children were in attendance. Lyall was no ordinary parent. Lyall held a position of significance in the Arctic as he was the Hudson Bay Company's "Factor" at Spence Bay as well as the husband of an Inuit woman. 278

Holman bypassed the usual bureaucratic process and


277 NAC RG85 vol. 1468 File # 630-125-1 pt.1, "Jacobson to Lyall, 8 December 1959."


166
responded directly to Lyall in a letter dated January 15, 1960:

Dear Ernie:

I have just found out that once again someone has apparently been spreading false stories about the schools and hostel here in Inuvik. Of course this sort of thing is nothing new to us, it has been going on for years, mainly because the people who carry these stories do not get all the details and jump to conclusions which are so often miles from the truth.

I understand someone has told you that the Eskimo children here are not allowed to talk, read or write in their own language. Now, Ernie, please tell all the parents for me when next you see them that here in the Anglican Residence the Eskimo children - and we have about 180 of them -

1. The children talk Eskimo
2. The children sing in Eskimo
3. The children write in Eskimo
4. The children dance Eskimo dances to music (whenever possible - we only have one Eskimo recording)
5. The children sing Eskimo Hymns in Chapel, (each one who can read has an Eskimo Hymn and Service Book)
6. The children try and teach us Eskimo words - this is always good for many laughs - in fact sometimes the boys laugh so hard that I wonder if they are telling me the correct word or words.

In fact, Ernie, a good percentage of the time a person hears only Eskimo being spoken, in the Dormitories, in the Playrooms, as they go down the Halls, in the Dining-Room and in the Showers. We do everything we possibly can, in the Residence to encourage them to hang on to all the Eskimo they possibly can.

All the children have been encouraged to write letters home but I have found that a good many of them are unable to write letters without assistance from the older boys and girls. We have tried having them write by themselves, in small groups and in large groups, but each time it is the same story, they must rely on about seven or eight of the older children to assist them with many of the words and naturally the older ones get a bit tired of this and interest lags behind. Many of the little ones of course can't write either Eskimo or English yet but I do think the Intermediates and Seniors have been quite faithful in sending letters home. I know this as they all bring them down to me and wait while I address the
envelopes according to their instructions, then they seal, stamp and mail the letters themselves in the school mail-bag.

When your other children were in school at Aklavik, they were the only ones there who spoke or read Eskimo or wrote it and being away from home for a few years naturally lost some of their ability to do so. When Pat came to All Saints, I understood he had an excellent command of the Eskimo written and spoken language and in order that he would not lose this skill, as his brother Bill had done, I hit upon the plan of having him teach it to me but this only worked for a little while, then Pat lost interest and would escape by saying he had forgotten - but knowing Pat, he was probably more anxious to get out and play with the others or read.

I was a bit surprised to learn that Mrs. Lyall did not speak or write in English - I had just assumed that she, like yourself was good at both. Perhaps if you asked the local teacher she might be able to conduct Adult Education classes this winter in Basic English for some of the parents it would be a good thing for the children if they find when they return for summer holidays that their parents are just as smart as they are when it comes to learning English - and Ernie it would certainly open up new worlds to them if they could learn to read in English. With the North opening up as fast as it is, a workable knowledge of English is becoming more and more important to both children and parents...

...It would be rather difficult to find anyone here who could help them write in syllabics as they have (the adults) been using English for so long and writing English that they have had no need for the syllabics and hence have forgotten what they ever knew.

Next year we will rely on the older children again and hope in the meantime that perhaps the parents have learned a little English, then they can write to each other in both languages.\textsuperscript{275}

Holman's response appears rather insensitive (in his suggestion that Mrs. Lyall solve the communication problem by learning English) while further leading to a definitive conclusion. It is blatantly apparent that the residential schools were in fact wreaking havoc on the

\textsuperscript{275}NAC RG85 vol. 710 File # 630-125-1 pt.2, "Holman to Lyall, 15 January 1960."
very survival of the Inuktitut language, a fact that both government and church officials managing the schools were aware of for some time.

The concerns raised by Lyall on behalf of Inuit parents appear to have been legitimate. Northern Affairs was well aware of the fact that the Inuit children attending residential schools were not learning Inuktitut from any source outside of their parents and home communities, from which they were removed for the greater duration of their youth. A memorandum dated March 18, 1959 from Sister Chaput to Jacobson (seven months and seven days prior to receiving Lyall's letter) demonstrates that Northern Affairs had already been debating whether or not the syllabic writing system used for Inuktitut should be taught in the residential schools:

During his visit mr. (sic) Devitt discussed the question regarding the teaching of Eskimo Syllabic, after school hours. Should it or should it not be taught? If I recall well it was decided to have it on trial for a few months this year because many youngsters do not know the dialect with which to communicate with their parents.  

On April 8, 1959, (six months and seventeen days prior to receiving Lyall's letter) Northern Affairs and the Chesterfield Inlet school jointly entered into contract with a twenty-one year old Inuit women, Rosalie Iguptak, to teach Inuktitut to the students at Chesterfield Inlet at a pay rate of two dollars an hour

---

280NAC RG85 vol. 644 File # 630-158-1 pt.6, "Sister Therese Chaput to Mr. Jacobson, 18 March 1959."
after school hours. Northern Affairs decided against placing the Inuktitut language on the curriculum; further, due to the number of students, only a half hour per day was designated to the teaching of syllabic.

According to the former students at Chesterfield Inlet, the so called Inuktitut language instruction classes taught after school were really religious instruction in Christian doctrine.

As a result of the problems that had already been unfolding at Chesterfield Inlet, Jacobson and Northern Affairs had previous knowledge as to how the Inuktitut language would be affected by dispatching young children to the Inuvik residential school in 1959. The failure of Northern Affairs to place Inuktitut on the school curriculum demonstrates the importance that Inuktitut held from the perspective of the government.

In fact, there is at least partial evidence that would suggest the disturbing possibility that Northern Affairs may have been deliberately facilitating the erosion of Inuktitut. Within the private files of the Anglican church, a memo addressed to Canon A. H. Davis, signed by one F. H. Wooding inquired, "Do we understand it is the intention of the government to completely eradicate the Eskimo language? If not, how is its

---

281 NAC RG85 vol. 644 File # 630-158-1 pt. 6, "8 April 1959."

282 NAC RG85 vol. 644 File #630-158-1 pt. 6, "Sister Therese Chaput to Jacobson, 18 March 1959."

283 Please see Appendix F.
retention to be encouraged?" Although this statement
does not prove in any way that it was the government's
intention to eradicate Inuktitut, it does prove
nonetheless that the eradication of Inuktitut due to the
residential schools was no secret. That having been
established, Northern Affairs should be perceived based
on how they dealt with the problem/s that they created.

The Department of Northern Affairs finally took a
definitive stance on the language issue on January 21,
1964:

There are a few children who have so quickly
forgotten a knowledge of Eskimo that they find difficulty
in communicating with their parents. We would hope that
there would eventually be none, but we simply are not
equipped to have Eskimo language teaching in the schools.
We have far too few teachers with a command of the Eskimo
language to make it possible for them to teach the
language, and we still must wait several years before
there is a body of Eskimos who have had time for
sufficient education to pursue teaching careers. There
are a few Eskimos, usually by accident of
hospitalisation, who possess enough education and
knowledge of language to play a useful role in assisting
teachers. They are few, however, and not well enough
equipped to introduce the program of Eskimo teaching
which we see as an objective in the future years. We
believe it wrong to try to persuade any promising Eskimo
to leave his learning career in order to come on school
staff while it is possible for him to go through higher
grades of education.

While it is our long-term objective to have the
Eskimo language as a subject in schools, I must emphasis
(sic) that we still maintain the conviction that teaching
must be in one of Canada's two national languages. Almost
all experience in comparable situations elsewhere in the
world, especially in Greenland, strengthens our belief in
the rightness of this view. It is interesting that,
although ESKIMO often quotes the Greenland example, it is
the Greenlanders themselves who tried teaching in the
vernacular over a long period, and have given it up to
follow our pattern of instruction. This was simply

---

28AC of C GSA MSCC, G 575-103 Series 3-4 Box 94, "A.
H. Davis files, Diocese of the Arctic, 1960-61, Wooding
to Davis, 15 January 1960."
because the Greenlanders themselves felt that, by being denied a knowledge of Danish, they were being relegated to an inferior class of citizenship.\footnote{NAC RG85 vol. 1434 File # 600-1-1 pt. 20, "Memo to Gordon, 21 January 1964."}

In September of 1965, the Globe and Mail newspaper commissioned investigative reporter G. E. Mortimer to look into the language issue regarding the Inuit and the federal residential schools. Mortimer cited the government's use of southern Canadian ideals such as the poodle, cow and bus in the children's readers. Using Greenland as an example, Mortimer stated that Inuit in Greenland were taught first in their own language than in Danish. Further, in Russia, Inuit students started school in their own language than switched to Russian. As of 1965, both Russian and Greenland Inuit boasted many university graduates. As of 1965, not one Canadian Inuit had graduated from a university. In Sweden, a similar situation to Russian and Greenland Inuit took place with the Lapps or Sami. Some of the nomadic reindeer hunters maintained special schools of their own where they learned both Lapp and Swedish. Other Lapps or Sami who adopted the lifestyle of Sweden, Norway and Finland attend ordinary schools. Nonetheless, Canada appeared determined to teach Inuit children in a foreign language and culture and did not take measures to educate Inuit in their own language first and foremost. At any rate,

\footnote{The word ESKIMO as interpreted here is meant in reference to a Catholic magazine and is not meant to mean the Inuit.}
Canadian Inuit were struggling where other Inuit were prospering.²⁸⁶

In the province of Quebec, the provincial government had "proclaimed" a policy to teach Inuit in their own language if and when the Quebec government resumed responsibility over Inuit education. As part of its' initiative, the Quebec government began to teach French speaking teachers to speak Inuktitut and planned to begin to teach Inuit themselves to be school teachers without worrying too much about formal educational standards. English speaking education authorities refused to lower formal educational standards. Mortimer raised the argument as to which was better, a teacher with a formal education who can not reach the students or a teacher who can speak to the students in their own language?²⁸⁷

Mortimer articulately argued that federal authorities should have been able to cite research findings from various parts of the world as to the achievements of children who were educated in English from the start of school as opposed to children who had been educated in their own language first before taking on a second or third language. Mortimer stated that federal officials held no information of the sort, rather federal authorities offered "dubious man-in-the-street


folklore" as opposed to scientific findings.\(^{288}\)

Mortimer said he was informed by a Northern Affairs official in an authoritative tone that, "Eskimo is too primitive- it isn't a suitable language in which to learn about the modern world."\(^{289}\) Mortimer countered by stating that any second year anthropology student knows that there are no primitive languages and that language may be expanded indefinitely to meet new conditions. Mortimer added that in his investigation, the reasons for federal policies in regards to Inuit education were political and emotional rather than scientific and educational. The result of this was the creation of an education system for Inuit that "tends to blot out their language and way of life, and make them ashamed of their traditional ways, without giving them proper access to the European-Canadian languages and way of life."\(^{290}\)

Mortimer concluded by stating' "But the formal school system for Indians and Eskimos, when it got under way, was based, for the most part, on the idea that the whites were the dispensers of all wisdom, and the Indians


\(^{289}\)G. E. Mortimer, "Indian, Eskimo Children Struggle to Learn Alien Concepts in Foreign Tongue," \textit{Globe \& Mail} 3 September 1965.

\(^{290}\)G. E. Mortimer, "Indian, Eskimo Children Struggle to Learn Alien Concepts in Foreign Tongue," \textit{Globe \& Mail} 3 September 1965.
and Eskimos the passive recipients.  

Northern Affairs' stance on the use of Inuktitut in the residential schools was both ethnocentric and selective. It must be stressed that when it became apparent Inuit adults with a knowledge of Inuktitut and syllabics were needed by both the Catholic and Anglican churches in order to propagate the Christian faith to new students who could not articulate in English or French, both churches experienced little if any difficulty finding Inuit adults to fill such a capacity. 

Could not these same adults be hired to teach Inuktitut and syllabics as part of the school curriculum? 

Further, the Canadian government can not justify its' position on the lack of Inuktitut in its' residential schools by using the Greenland education system as a comparison. The Indigenous language of the Greenland Inuit was by no means threatened as a result of the education system. Denmark poured a substantial amount of financial capital into Greenland in order to insure cultural survival. Canada was not prepared to match such fiscal efforts.

The government's failure to use Inuktitut within its' northern schools remained an issue throughout the


292AC of C GSA MSCC, M 96-07 Box 92 file 1, "Diocese of The Arctic, Govt-hostels- Ft. Churchill, 30 November 1964."

293Please see chapter I.
magazines, TV, books and other stimuli which hasten the
language: when children, on the other hand, have
centered themselves around the face that exkmo
world around them.

Children have only their parents from whom to learn their
foreign languages, or for that matter something more for
English, or other languages (French, English) which is
exemplifying children are otherwise forced to struggle.


demonstrator says.

Teaching constitutes a handicap on the foreign order, the
children are instructed, especially the first few
years. If we reject the exkmo language as an instrument in
practice, we should be allowed to do it abhorrent.

Mr. Coutinens a philosophe, economist and secretary
resident exkmo.

According to this, the present order of Quebec's new
government, the Quebec's new government's foreign
government's authority on Canada's exkmo's, betewes
bilingual department, and a teaching
northern territories, languages, and a teaching
Language is cultural. No one in the country, director

From Dr. Robert Millemann, a recently published

The problem is now, he's waiting for the
language to be respected in the federal
degovernment's exkmo administration, that the language
would be supported by exkmo, and clearly respect the language in

Spontaneously occurring conferences point is whether these

Is the significance of the exkmo language

A debate which has dragged for almost ten years among

Linguists succumb to;

Worthless? The last frontier. Armstrong says up the
writing an article entitled "Exkmo language - worthy of
recruited natural accent on northern Affairs by

Ralph Armstrong, a journalist with the Edmonton Journal

Legacy of the residential schools. On March 23, 1967,

176
language-learning and pre-school education process.

(It is for this reason that some observers believe the CBC errs when it publicly relates availability of TV in the Far North to entertainment value. There is sound evidence that the Eskimo, whose visual learning is vastly greater than a white child's would derive immense educational benefit from the TV medium.)

SERIOUS CHARGE

One of the most serious charges filed against the federal government's territories education system is its refusal to recognize Eskimo as a language in school.

Dozens of territories folk have told me they are bitter about Ottawa's attitude in territorial schools. There is evidence, after some ten years' government operation of these schools, that Ottawa is changing course.

Eskimo language instruction probably will be in full force in the territories within a few years. The idea will be to teach in Eskimo, not so much to teach Eskimo.

Mr. Gourdeau asserts that in Ottawa's Quebec Eskimo schools Eskimo should be taught as a language at least to age six.*

A second language should follow later "permitting these students an early future in the economy of New Quebec." There's disagreement about whether the second tongue should be English or French. The answer it seems is migration.

YOUNG ESKIMOS

Mr. Gourdeau is confident that because of their cultural orientation to traditional homelands, most of the young Eskimos in Quebec schools will want to work in New Quebec.

Ottawa's chief problem in dealing with the Eskimo language question has been gaining momentum toward teacher instruction in the difficult Eskimo tongue.

The momentum is measurable now, and federal officialdom is slowly orienting itself to the difficult task of somehow placing Eskimo-speaking bilingual teachers in primary schools.294

When Armstrong published his article, (March 23, 1967) the federal government was three school years way from relinquishing authority of education in the Northwest Territories over to the territorial government; therefore, any possible effort to introduce Inuktitut into the school curriculum at this date would have been

294NAC RG85 vol. 1462 File # 600-1-1 pt. 22
fruitless in so far as Northern Affairs was concerned. This does not imply that Northern Affairs did not "debate" or "entertain" the possibility of such initiatives. However, Northern Affairs simply did not have enough time in its' mandate to seriously conduct such an over-haul in the curriculum of its' school system.

Northern Affairs was well aware of both the Mortimer and the Armstrong articles as they were found in the governments' own files.

The federal government did not at anytime have a policy to eradicate the Inuktitut language. The government simply believed that Inuit culture and the Inuktitut language were "primitive." As ignorant and ethnocentric as this may have been, Northern Affairs' bureaucrats for the most part felt that they were fulfilling a just cause; that cause being "saving" the Inuit from a primitive culture while providing them with the English language and all that southern culture entailed.

The fact that Northern Affairs originally believed that English was being taught as a second language as opposed to replacing Inuktitut is irrelevant. Northern Affairs knew that the lack of Inuktitut in the residential schools was causing Inuit children to lose their language in place of English at an "alarming" rate as early as 1959. This is only four years after Chesterfield Inlet became a federal school, one year
after the opening of the Yellowknife hostel, the same year as the opening of the Inuvik residential school and five years before the Churchill military base was converted into a residential school. Northern Affairs knew that English was not only being taught as a "first" language to the Inuit youth within the residential schools, Northern Affairs knew that English was replacing Inuktitut among the residential school students.

Aside from engaging in political dialogue with critics, Northern Affairs did nothing to safeguard Inuktitut. As previously stated, the campaigns to encourage students to write home in Inuktitut were based out of sympathy towards Inuit parents who were losing the ability to communicate with their own children. This "encouragement" was never considered important enough to warrant placing Inuktitut on the school curriculum. In fact, more importance was placed on possibly teaching the Inuit parents English in order that they may communicate with their children than placing Inuktitut on the school curriculum.

Although the government didn't deliberately seek to eradicate the Inuktitut language, the government knew that the school system it put in place was jeopardizing the use of Inuktitut by the Inuit youth resident in the residential schools. Regardless, the federal government did nothing. For this, the federal government of Canada is responsible.
CHAPTER V

CHANGES IN INUIT DRESS AND DIET FACILITATED BY THE
FEDERAL RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS.
Prior to the establishment of the federal residential schools, the animals that the Inuit hunted afforded the Inuit with most of their food and materials necessary for the making of clothing. This does not imply that Inuit never had or used southern foodstuffs or clothing prior to the residential schools. While southern food and clothing was utilized on occasion by the Inuit, most Inuit preferred traditional foods and clothing; further, the vast majority of Inuit lacked the capital necessary in order to purchase southern foodstuffs and clothing.

The residential schools deprived the Inuit children of both community and parental influence. As this deprivation festered, the very reciprocal relationship Inuit held with the animals that they depended on for food and clothing was altered. Furthermore, over a period of time, the residential schools replaced the forms of traditional food and clothing that the children resident in the schools' hostels were accustomed to with that of Canadian mainstream society.

The assimilation of Inuit diet and dress was accomplished by the Department of Northern Affairs both through policy and a lack of policy. Between the years 1955 to 1961, Northern Affairs maintained no policy in regards to diet. The government simply provided the churches with capital to purchase foodstuffs and left policy concerns to the churches.

The policy of the church hostels in Inuvik and
Chesterfield Inlet was to provide the Inuit with a combination of their traditional diet and a southern Canadian diet. Northern Affairs allowed this for two reasons. First, the traditional diet was virtually cost free. This was beneficial as Northern Affairs had always experienced financial difficulties with its northern school system. Second, Northern Affairs recognized no reason as to why Inuit should not be fed their traditional diet.

The church policy continued in place of the lack of a policy from Northern Affairs until 1961. By this time, a federal assumption of dwindling caribou herds and increased enrollment meant that there was a need for more southern Canadian foods. Further, the federal managed hostel in Yellowknife was providing many foods that the church managed hostels claimed they could not afford based on the budget and produce prices provided by Northern Affairs. This lead Northern Affairs to conduct studies into possible means by which to save money in order that the diet provided within the church hostels of Inuvik and Chesterfield Inlet would be similar to the federal hostel in Yellowknife. What Northern Affairs discovered was that the Department had paid the actual food costs in Inuvik and Chesterfield Inlet instead of a bulk food price. By purchasing foodstuffs for the church hostels at the bulk food price, Northern Affairs removed any financial dependence on the Inuit traditional diet. Having relinquished that, the only reason for allowing
the continuation of church policy was based purely on moral obligation; however, moral obligations were "changed" by the Department of Health and Welfare Canada.

The Department of Health and Welfare informed Northern Affairs that the traditional Inuit diet was responsible for sickness sustained by Inuit; thus, in 1961, Northern Affairs replaced the church policy with a new federal policy. The federal policy banned the traditional Inuit diet from the residential schools and outlined exactly what the pupils were to be fed. This policy lasted for the remainder of Northern Affairs control over the Northern school system.

Policy concerning dress within the residential schools did not receive near the attention as policy concerning diet. Unlike the diet policy, there was never a policy to eradicate the traditional dress of the Inuit; in fact, neither the churches or Northern Affairs placed significant emphasis on the issue.

Instead, Northern Affairs maintained a policy of providing southern Canadian clothing in place of traditional Inuit clothing for the students resident in the residential schools. In 1958, Northern Affairs altered policy to deliberately provide the pupils with a choice of a limited supply of clothing that was deemed to be of "middle-class" standard. The aim of this policy was to familiarize the pupils with the prospect of a future as "middle-class" Canadians in the "new" north.

In fairness to both the Roman Catholic and Anglican
churches and Northern Affairs, Inuit traditional dress was meant for outdoor Arctic conditions. Much of the traditional Inuit clothing could not be utilized indoors as the clothing would not "hold-up" to the warmer temperatures. At the same time, traditional clothing could have been utilized for outdoor activities.

The change in traditional Inuit dress at the residential schools was a short lived issue. In fact, it was rarely mentioned by the government or the churches. In all probability this is in part due to the fact that the change in dress at the residential schools took place at Chesterfield Inlet and Inuvik. The children at Yellowknife and Churchill were for the most part adolescent youth who had already been "exposed" to southern standards of dress.

During the inauguration of the residential schools, the churches made an effort to provide the Inuit students with as much of their traditional diet as could be expected under the circumstances, although in part this was done as a cost saving measure. On February 19, 1954, the Roman Catholic school at Chesterfield Inlet successfully applied under section 76 (h)(i) of the Game Ordinance Act for permission to use twenty-five caribou carcases in order to feed Inuit pupils living within their school residence for the year ending June 30, 1955. This constituted one caribou per student per school year at the time. The licence was granted without questions pertaining to health concerns from the federal
government. However, the commissioner of the North West Territories granted the licence under the "distinct understanding...that it will not be used as a precedent upon which later requests of other mission schools or hospitals may be based." Nonetheless, a precedent was set and the precedent was that the church had to re-apply every year for a new licence. The licence was renewed on July 26, 1955 without incident. However, when church officials re-applied again on August 1, 1956 complications arose.

The Roman Catholic church asked that quotas be maintained so that one caribou would meet the needs of one pupil per school year. This would have constituted an increase from twenty-five caribou to approximately seventy as hostel enrolment was soaring due to Northern Affairs' recruitment initiatives. Northern Affairs claimed that government surveys demonstrated the caribou herds were in decline due to various explanations; hence, no quota increase could be granted. In spite of this, the standard of twenty-five caribou would be maintained for the year ending June 30, 1957. Thus, federal objections (to the traditional Inuit diet) in 1957 were based on

295 ADMIT, HR 6641 .C73R "Chesterfield Inlet files, R. G. Robertson to Roman Catholic mission."


297 ADMIT, HR 6641 .C73R, "Chesterfield Inlet files, Andre Renaud to F. J. G. Cunningham."

184
supply and not concerns regarding health.\textsuperscript{298}

This meant that students residing in hostels at Chesterfield Inlet would henceforth receive roughly a third of the caribou ration previously provided. Logically, the two-thirds less caribou had to be substituted in order to sustain the pupils. The necessary foodstuffs were imported from southern Canada, non-Inuit foods, which constituted the largest diet change in Inuit history, so much so that in later years, the former residential school students would refer to their traditional foods as "country food."\textsuperscript{299}

The need for southern food in place of the lack of caribou meant that the Chesterfield Inlet school would need more funds in order to make the necessary purchases. The money would have to come from Northern Affairs who had already been enduring financial problems in relation to the operation of the residential schools. This triggered the necessity to find areas where money could be saved and re-directed towards purchasing foodstuffs. Thus, the events at Chesterfield Inlet effected all the residential schools for Inuit.

The relationship between diet and funding had always existed. On May 26, 1961, that relationship became ever more prominent when F. A. G. Carter of Northern Affairs sent a memorandum to Reverend Holman (at the Anglican

\textsuperscript{298}ADOMI, HR 6641 .C73R, "Chesterfield Inlet files, Robertson to Renaud."

\textsuperscript{299}The use of the term "country food" is wide spread amongst Inuit today.
hostel in Inuvik) conceding that Northern Affairs was negligent in relation to its' role in administering diet to pupils. Carter stated that due to "limited experience," the Department had paid the actual food cost of foodstuffs rather than a bulk food price.\textsuperscript{300} Carter's admittance can not be taken lightly. The federal managed hostel at Yellowknife had maintained a far superior diet by Canadian standards in comparison to the church managed hostels at Inuvik and Chesterfield Inlet. The federal hostel in Yellowknife provided a diet that was virtually southern Canadian in its' entirety with everything available that could be obtained in the south. "The influence of the Yellowknife Hostel is felt even in Inuvik. The older pupils at Inuvik hear what the pupils at Yellowknife get by way of food and wonder why the difference.\textsuperscript{301}"

A comparison between the school menu's formulated in 1960-61 for the Chesterfield Inlet and Yellowknife hostels demonstrates the discrepancies between the church managed hostels and the federal managed hostels. On a typical Sunday in Chesterfield Inlet, one could expect Corn Flakes or Puffed Wheat as a treat for breakfast with Pilot Biscuits and Hot Chocolate. For Dinner one might expect pork and beans with bread, served with preserved

\textsuperscript{300}NAC RG85 vol. 1442 File # 630-125 -8 pt.3, "F. A. G. Carter to Reverend L. Holman, 26 May 1961."

\textsuperscript{301}AC of C GSA MSCC, 6575-103 Series 2-15 Box 24, "Visit Reports, Superintendent's Visit To Inuvik Hostel, 8-15 March 1960."
fruit, jam or jellies for desert and "weak" tea and sugar. If students were not at school for Sunday lunch they would eat "fancy biscuits and milk" for lunch. Frozen Beef with bread, dehydrated raisins, peaches, apples, dates or cake and Jello were served for supper.\textsuperscript{302}

At Yellowknife, a typical Sunday would constitute a combination of a half grapefruit, dry cereals, griddle cakes and syrup, grilled bacon and coffee and milk for breakfast. A 1 p. m. snack consisting of Tomato Soup and crackers, canned blackberries and cookies and tea and milk would be provided. Dinner would consist of a menu such as roast lamb and mint sauce, baked potatoes, buttered carrots and peas, a slice of orange pie and tea and milk.\textsuperscript{303}

On most days other than Sunday, Chesterfield Inlet students could have expected hot cereal, with milk and sugar, pilot biscuits and a hot chocolate and milk for breakfast. Lunch usually meant meat stew with macaroni and potatoes or vegetables, bread and potatoes, corn syrup and "weak" tea or milk. Supper could consist of frozen or boiled fish or boiled beef, bread, preserved jam and jellies or dehydrated fruits with "weak" tea and sugar. Eggs would be served twice a week when

\textsuperscript{302}NAC RG85 vol. 1374 File # 630-158-9 pt. 7, "Weekly Menu for the Pupils."

\textsuperscript{303}NAC RG85 vol. 1373 File # 630-105-10 pt. 3, "Menu."
A typical breakfast at Yellowknife could have consisted of orange, grapefruit or apple juice, cooked cream of wheat or rolled oats cereal, stewed apples, raisins or prunes, dry cereals, boiled eggs, toast and marmalade or jam or French toast and syrup or toast and honey. Coffee, tea and milk were also provided. Lunch consisted of foodstuffs such as soup, chicken a la king and toast, pork and pepper casserole with rice, steamed potatoes and parsley butter, mashed potatoes and butter, grilled cheese sandwiches, roasted potatoes, shepherd's pie, hamburgers and fries, spaghetti and meat sauce, bologna and home fries, bread and butter, canned prune plums, white cake, cinnamon rolls, coconut cream pie, canned pears, jello, orange cream pudding, tapioca pudding and tea coffee, and milk. A typical supper could consist of sausages and gravy, pork chops and apple sauce, liver in tomato sauce, corned beef, salmon loaf and parsley sauce, hamburgers, French fries, roasted potatoes, buttered beets, mashed potatoes and melted butter, boiled cabbage, steamed potatoes and parsley butter, buttered onions, scalloped potatoes, niblet corn, buttered green beans, apple Betty, white cake, coconut cream pie, spice cake, raspberry surprise cake, ice cream sundaes, tea and milk (Coffee does not appear to have been available.\textsuperscript{104}

\textsuperscript{104}NAC RG85 vol. 1374 File #630-158-9 pt.7, "Weekly Menu for the Pupils."
served at supper). The Anglican and Roman Catholic hostels at Inuvik boasted similar diets as that of Chesterfield Inlet.

The church hostels claimed that the reason they could not provide a similar diet as the Yellowknife hostel was due to a lack of finances. The Anglican hostel at Inuvik in particular maintained that in addition, they could not afford such foods as celery, bacon and eggs etc., as they were also too expensive. The Inuvik complaints continued, "A number of the older boys have worked during the summer at D.W.P. projects where steak, bacon and eggs, fresh greens, etc., are commonplace at the meal tables. They now consider the school diet and variety of food as inadequate and dull."

The church managed hostels were somewhat dependant on utilizing traditional Inuit foodstuffs out of economic necessity. After Carter found a means by which to negate the economic dependence the church hostels had on the use of the Inuit traditional diet, the only reason that remained for providing the Inuit pupils with traditional foods was based on moral compassion.

Economics played a role with regards to dress within

---

305 NAC RG85 vol. 1373 File # 630-105-10 pt. 3, "Menu."

306 NAC RG85 vol. 1442 File # 630-125-8, pt. 3


the residential schools as well, although it was marginal at best and limited to the Roman Catholic hostel at Inuvik where there was an initiative to encourage a limited form of traditional Inuit dress. The Roman Catholic authorities had asked parents of students to provided moose hides and wolverine trim in order to make mukluks (boots) for hostel students. B. G. Sivertz, on behalf of Northern Affairs, gave his blessing to the initiative. Nonetheless, there is no information on the success or failure of this project.\textsuperscript{309}

For the most part, Northern Affairs did not recognize Inuit traditional dress as clothing. Inuit children who arrived at the residential school without "southern-Canadian" clothing were registered as "indigent," meaning their parents were unable to provide for their wellbeing.

Northern Affairs articulated their position succinctly:

As the students attending the Yellowknife Hostel are not selected on the basis of monetary qualification, there will be those who do not have and cannot provide their own clothing of a type and quality in keeping with the standards envisioned for the institution. They will be attending Academic classes along with day students, so that a wide discrepancy in apparel will be a deterrent to full acceptance in the student group. This is undesirable and will tend to produce an unpleasant and unwelcome integration problem.\textsuperscript{310}

As previously stated, Yellowknife maintained the

\textsuperscript{309}\textit{ADOMI, HR 6729 .C73R, "Inuvik files, 8 May 1959."}

\textsuperscript{310}\textit{NAC RG85 vol. 709 File # 630-105-10 pt. 1, "24 July 1958."}
only hostel for Inuit managed by Northern Affairs without the assistance of the churches. Yellowknife also boasted a large "white" student population. It is apparent that rather than teaching children to respect and appreciate cultural differences, at Yellowknife, "white" children served to help aid the assimilation of Inuit fashion to that of the southern Canadian standard.

To remedy the "indigent" problem, Inuit students attending the Yellowknife hostel were provided with southern clothing at the expense of Northern Affairs. In 1958, (the first year the Yellowknife hostel opened) Northern Affairs provided an average of one-hundred and fifty dollars per year per-pupil for clothing. The aim was to acculturate the Inuit children to that of a Canadian middle-class standard. Northern Affairs deliberately maintained a policy of not purchasing the best quality clothing or the cheapest, but rather somewhere in the price range that would be provided by parents with "average means." To help acculturate pupils, Inuit children were allowed a certain amount of lead-way in selecting their own clothing. Northern Affairs believed that this would help prepare the pupils for a life as "middle-class" Canadians in the "new" north.  

During the initial inauguration of the residential schools, the Department of Northern Affairs relied heavily on the churches to provide an adequate diet to

\[\text{NAC RG85 vol. 709 File # 630-105-10 pt. 1, "8 September 1958."\}
Inuit pupils. Northern Affairs provided the churches with little guidance or regulations in so far as nutrition was concerned. According to the Department of Northern Affairs, this was due to the fact that the churches had experience with residential schools and administering diet to large numbers of hostel students while the Department did not.

The change in diet from traditional to southern Canadian varied in swiftness. The Yellowknife and Inuvik residential schools were exposed to southern Canadian foods at a much more rapid pace than students at Chesterfield Inlet (Churchill was not opened until 1964). Inuvik and Yellowknife boasted large "white" populations by northern standards, which increased demand for southern foods. At the same time, the community of Chesterfield Inlet was in virtual isolation from outsiders and the Chesterfield Inlet residential school operated as a community within a community, isolated from the town of Chesterfield Inlet itself. This greatly facilitated the transition in diet with Yellowknife and Inuvik while the isolation of Chesterfield Inlet presented obstacles that Northern Affairs would eventually overcome.

As a direct result of Carter's discovery that

---

312 NAC RG85 vol. 1337 File # 600-1-1 pt.11, "Basic Standards For Meals In Boarding Schools."

Northern Affairs had paid the actual food cost instead of the bulk food price in the church hostels, Northern Affairs sought to gain a more accurate fiscal account of the foodstuffs purchased for the hostels within the residential schools. Northern Affairs did not stop here. With the assistance of the Department of Health and National Welfare, Northern Affairs began to assume all responsibilities in administering diet, aside from actually distributing foodstuffs at church run hostels to students. By recruiting the Department of Health and Welfare, Northern Affairs planned to compose a diet policy that would be both nutritious and standardized in all the residential schools.314

This marked a drastic change in Inuit student life. The Department of Health and National Welfare Canada began not only to force the churches to impose the "Canadian Food Rules" on the Inuit children, church officials were informed that the traditional Inuit diet was banned from the residential schools. Further, church officials were told to teach Inuit children that their traditional diet was inferior and lead to many health problems including death.315

Further complicating the issue of student diet is


AC of C GSA MSCC, 6575-103 Series 2-15 Box 24, "Visit Reports, Superintendent's Visit To Inuvik Hostel, 8-15 March 1960."
The churches did not relinquish their authority over students' diet without protest. A war of words erupted, pitting the churches on one side and the Department of Health and National Welfare on the other, although some church officials were indifferent to the federal initiative. The church lead resistance was futile as the Department of Northern Affairs had already decided to implement whatever the Department of Health and National Welfare Canada sought to devise.

On September 27, 1961, Rev. L. Holman of the Anglican hostel in Inuvik sent a memorandum to B. G. Sivertz (who at this time was director of the Northern Affairs Administration Branch) in response to federal initiatives to eradicate the use of traditional Inuit diet within the residential schools. Holman conceded that frozen whitefish and frozen reindeer were served to the Inuit pupils raw, whitefish never more than twice a month as an extra treat along with a regular meal. Reindeer was served approximately once a month as an extra with a regular meal. Holman added that both whitefish and reindeer were approved by government officials for human consumption; in fact, the hostel obtained the whitefish from the government operated frozen fish cold storage plant at Inuvik. The reindeer came from the government's

the Anglican disclosure that according the D. P. W. and N. C. P., the Roman Catholic hostel at Inuvik maintained four different scales of a menu. Number 1 being for priests, 2 for nuns, 3 for kitchen staff and 4 for pupils. According to the Anglicans, the most favourable menu was number 1, followed by 2 then 3 while number 4 was the least favourable.
Reindeer Station annual kill. Holman made little objection to the change and stressed to Sivertz that the discontinuing of serving raw foods to children as a special treat would not constitute a problem.\footnote{NAC RG85 vol. 1442 File # 630-125-8 pt.3, "Holman to Sivertz, 27 September 1961."}

However, Holman presented a 180 degree turn from the formal stance he conceded when he attached a separate letter to his formal reply sent to Sivertz. In the separate informal letter, Holman criticized federal initiatives and lack of compassion or understanding of the Inuit diet:

Just a little extra' to the formal reply attached. Rather a sweeping statement that many Eskimos have died of Trichinosis' but then surely the Chief Health Officer would not say this if he did not have accurate statistics at his finger tips.

Since I have joined them in eating frozen fish and meat, I presume I should expect to drop dead anytime now!!!

All joking aside, we do appreciate your letter as we would be the last ones to ever want to serve anything which might be contaminated in any way, shape or form. It is interesting to note, however, that it was men from the same Department who advised and recommended that we include these items as a 'special' in our diet and that they would be perfectly safe. (No names-no Pack Drill).

A little story:- Over a year ago in the midst of the Measle epidemic, one little Eskimo lad from a very primitive section was really very sick and was showing no sign whatsoever of recovery. Just lay there with a high fever, not wanting to drink. We have on our staff and (sic) Eskimo lady, Mrs. Annie Andreason, who comes from Coppermine area and knows their dialect, so whenever there is sickness she leaves her sewing and goes in to help the Nurse, and talks away to them in their own language, which we have found to be very beneficial. He called and asked her to PLEASE get him a piece of frozen Caribou. None was available so she slipped downstairs and came back with a little piece of frozen Reindeer. He fairly grabbed it out of her hand, pushed it into his mouth and lay there sucking and chewing on it. This was
the turning point on the road to recovery. Just a little taste of 'home' from one of his own, who knew and understood.

It is an experience, to say the least, just to watch the expressions and hear the squeals of delight when they see the platters of frozen fish—which they call 'kwawk'. They stop eating everything else and just sit there, wreathed in smiles, sucking and munching, leaving nothing but the bones. Even though it does seem a bit of a shame to deprive them of this occasional 'treat (when they eat it anyway at the homes of anyone they might happen to visit here in Inuvik) you can rest assured that we will certainly abide by any recommendations you may see fit to make.\(^{317}\)

The Catholic hostel in Inuvik was readily willing to fall in line with federal initiatives. The hostel administrator, Father Max Ruyant, responded to Sivertz's orders by stating "I know that some of our eskimo (sic) children would like very much to be served raw frozen meat, but we never served them any because it is not practical and also because I knew that some Health officers did not like it."\(^{318}\)

The Catholic hostel at Chesterfield Inlet served raw meat more than any of the other hostels and officials there were not willing readily to change their routine. Chesterfield Inlet provided students with raw fish and raw imported beef from southern Canada. Students were accustomed to two meals a week each of raw fish and raw beef. A change in diet from four meals a week of raw food to no raw food whatsoever would be felt harder at

---

\(^{317}\)NAC RG85 vol. 1442 File #630-125-8 pt.3, "Leonard Holman to B. G. Sivertz."

\(^{318}\)NAC RG85 vol. 710 File # 630-125-9 pt. 2, "Holman to Sivertz, 28 September 1961."
Chesterfield Inlet than any other hostel. When asked if this change in diet would create any real problems, Father Rene Belair replied:

Yes it would create a real problem because it would reflect on the health of the children: they need this kind of food: it (sic) part of their diet. You cannot stop that because I know for certain that the minute they will return home they will ask for it and they will definitely (sic) get it. The best reason for approving this raw food is the very evident fact that none of our children at Chesterfield Inlet has been sick for the last past five years. They are very healthy as they are right now: so do not try to stop this practice of serving raw meat. Do not forget that they are eskimos (sic) and not white: They like it and it is good for them. This is one thing that you will never be able to stop, is to stop an eskimo from eating raw meat. It is just like ice-cream to us.\textsuperscript{319}

The Department of Northern Affairs delayed its' response until May 22, 1962 when under the advice of the Department of Health and National Welfare, B. G. Sivertz dispatched orders to Rev. Holman to only serve vegetables such as carrots and turnip raw, never fish or meat, stating "What the children are fed by parents at home is not the governments responsibility." The reason for not serving raw fish or meat is that according to Health and National Welfare Canada, "There is always a possibility that it may be infested with trichinosis and hydatid or tapeworms."\textsuperscript{320}

On May 22, 1962, Reverend Holman wrote a memorandum to B. G. Sivertz stating that the practice of serving raw

\textsuperscript{319} NAC RG85 vol. 1374 File # 630-158-9 pt.7, "Belair to Bishop, 28 September 1961."

\textsuperscript{320} NAC RG85 vol. 1442 File # 630-125-8 pt. 3, "B. G. Sivertz to Holman, 22 May 1962."
food to pupils had been permanently discontinued months back.\footnote{321}

Sivertz had acted on the advice of Dr. P. E. Moore, director of Medical Services for the Canadian Department of National Health and Welfare.\footnote{322} Sivertz conceded that his Department (Northern Affairs) were not health experts and were relying strictly on the Department of Health and National Welfare. In a further memo to the Chesterfield Inlet hostel, Sivertz continued to defend his position against the protests of the Roman Catholic church:

The point I tried to make in my previous letter is simply this. We have been advised by the Chief Medical Officer of the Northwest Territories who, in turn, bases his opinion on research studies carried out by the Department of National Health and Welfare, that amongst the native population of the north there is a high incidence of tapeworm and trichinosis. These infestations are caused by the consumption of raw meat and raw fish and the Chief Medical Officer, and other experts who study the problems, are very strongly of the opinion that an all-embracing (sic) educational program is required to teach the native peoples the dangers inherent in eating these raw foods. We fully recognize the fact that this is a long term program and that it may be many years before the benefits are fully apparent. I am sure that when you look upon the subject in this light you will realize that our aim in discontinuing the serving of raw meat and raw fish in Turquetil Hall is much broader than simply the protection of the health of children who happen to be resident there today.

In their day to day work throughout the north Public Health workers will be campaigning against the practice of eating raw foods. The general health program offered in the schools will emphasize this problem and, of course, specialized Home Economics programs will give it particular attention. The importance of this program to the future well-being of the native population cannot be overstated and I think you must appreciate the fact that, should the Government continue to authorize the serving

\footnote{321NAC RG85 vol. 1442 File # 630-125-8 pt. 3, "Holman to Sivertz, 22 May 1962."

322NAC RG85 vol. 1442 File # 630-125-8 pt. 3, "Sivertz to Moore, 9 June 1962."}
of raw meat and raw fish in its student residences at the same time it sponsors a public health program which opposes the eating of these foods, it would be a most irrational act.

I think I mentioned in a previous communication that the administrators of all other hostels have agreed to discontinue the serving of raw meat and raw fish. They do not anticipate any major problem in doing this and, quite frankly, I am having some difficulty in understanding why the situation should be any different at Turquetil Hall. Perhaps it is simply a matter of a misunderstanding of our long term aims and objectives.

A further point which perhaps requires clarification is that we in the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources do not purport to be experts or, indeed, to have any specialized professional knowledge on this subject. In these matters we must rely on the advice of the Chief Medical Health Officer for the Territories who is in the Department of National Health and Welfare. That Department, as I am sure you are aware, has a vast amount of knowledge available to it through the many highly qualified medical and scientific experts which it employs...

Reverting to the raw food problem at Turquetil Hall, I wish you would again give this matter some consideration in the light of what I have said above and let me know whether you do not agree that the wise course is to discontinue the current practice. I am writing to you in this personal way because I feel strongly that it is the right thing to do in the interests of the children and Eskimo people as a whole. I have no authority to direct you one way or another in this matter, but my duties will require me to bring the situation to the attention of those who do carry the ultimate responsibility and authority. You and I both wish to do what is best for the Eskimo people and, because of this common interest, I think you will agree that as far as possible we should try to work out these minor differences in an informal way.  

The Roman Catholic hostel at Chesterfield Inlet officially ended their protest on July 22, 1962 when Father Rene Belair sent a memorandum to R. A. Bishop at the Department of Northern Affairs stating, "It has been approved by our staff at Chesterfield Inlet that we will not serve any more of raw meat and raw fish to the pupils

---

at the Hostel. So this question of raw meat and raw fish is a question of the past. With this date, a new era was officially ushered into the Department of Northern Affairs' policies for Inuit children resident in its residential schools. With the assistance of the Department of Health and National Welfare Canada, the newly devised Home Economics program became part of school curriculum. Children were to be taught that the foods their parents fed them at home were responsible for virtually every sickness that Inuit people had ever endured. Needless to state, this would cause a strain on Inuit culture between parents and students returning home. A suggested menu for hostel students was developed and distributed to all the hostels caring for Inuit children. The suggested menu read as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Breakfast</th>
<th>Lunch or Supper</th>
<th>Dinner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mon</td>
<td>Citrus fruit(1)</td>
<td>Egg dish</td>
<td>Meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cereal(2)</td>
<td>Raw vegetable</td>
<td>Potatoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buttered toast</td>
<td>Milk dessert(7)</td>
<td>Green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vegetable(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fruit dessert(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tues</td>
<td>Fruit(4)</td>
<td>Cheese dish</td>
<td>Meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cereal(2)</td>
<td>Raw vegetable</td>
<td>Potatoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buttered toast</td>
<td>Citrus fruit(1)</td>
<td>Yellow-veg. (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fruit-dessert(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wed</td>
<td>Citrus fruit(1)</td>
<td>Milk soup</td>
<td>Meat-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

324 NAC RG85 vol. 1374 File # 630-158-9 pt. 7, "Rene Belair to R. A. Bishop, 22 July 1962."

325 For an in depth report on the Home Economics program please see chapter III on curriculum.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cereal (2)</th>
<th>Fruit (4)</th>
<th>alternate (6)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buttered toast</td>
<td>Bran muffins</td>
<td>Potatoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thurs</td>
<td>Citrus fruit(1)</td>
<td>Cheese dish</td>
<td>Liver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cereal(2)</td>
<td>Raw veg.</td>
<td>Potatoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buttered toast</td>
<td>Fruit(4)</td>
<td>Yellow veg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fri</td>
<td>Fruit(4)</td>
<td>Egg dish</td>
<td>Dessert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cereal(2)</td>
<td>Tomatoes</td>
<td>Fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buttered toast</td>
<td>Dessert</td>
<td>Potatoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sat</td>
<td>Citrus fruit-juice(1)</td>
<td>Soup</td>
<td>Meat alternate (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cereal (2)</td>
<td>Meat dish</td>
<td>Potatoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buttered toast</td>
<td>Raw veg.</td>
<td>Green veg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dessert</td>
<td>Fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>Citrus fruit(1)</td>
<td>Cottage cheese</td>
<td>Meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bacon and egg</td>
<td>Salad greens(3)</td>
<td>Potatoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buttered toast</td>
<td>Whole wheat-muffins</td>
<td>Veg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fruit(4)</td>
<td>Milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dessert (7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Orange or grapefruit or their juices; tomatoes, juice, or vitamined apple juice may be used as alternates.
(2) Cooked-rolled oats, cracked wheat or similar cereal; ready-to-serve whole grain breakfast cereals.
(3) Asparagus, green beans and peas (canned or fresh), beet greens, broccoli, brussel sprouts, cabbage, lettuce, spinach, swiss chard, wild greens, etc.
(4) Fresh, canned, dried, or frozen; or fruit dessert such as a fruit crisp, fruit batter pudding, pie or tart, etc.
(5) Yellow beans, carrots, yellow corn, squash, sweet potatoes.
(6) Fish, poultry, dried beans or peas, eggs, cheese, peanut butter.
(7) Custard, blanc mange, cereal pudding made with milk, ice cream, etc.

Note: Bread and butter or vitamin-fortified margarine may be added as desired. There are many forms of nutritious breads containing extra milk, wheat germ, whole wheat, rye, soya bean, or dried yeast.

Extras such as sugar, marmalade and jam, mayonnaise,
gravy, cookies or cake will add flavour and interest to the meals.

Beverage of choice may be served for adults, milk for children. It is wise for adults to have milk at one meal.\(^\text{226}\)

Evidence suggests that Northern Affairs may have reacted irrationally when attempting to eradicate the traditional diet of the Inuit in the belief that it was the diet of the Inuit that was responsible for all that ailed them.

Federal archive records in relation to medical excursions into the north do not support the notion that the traditional diet of the Inuit was responsible for sickness as claimed by Northern Affairs. As early as 1943, doctors with experience in the north were recommending that the best way to treat tubercular disease was to keep the conditions of the Inuit as "Native" as possible but with a guaranteed supply of traditional food, preferably traditional food such as seals.\(^\text{227}\)

The Medical Report of the Eastern Arctic Patrol, the S. S. North Pioneer, in 1947 clearly demonstrated that sickness and the spread of disease was directly related to the Inuit economy and the ability to supply themselves with sufficient food resources, not the particular foods the Inuit ate. In fact, the report stated that judging by the Inuit mode of life, one would naturally be lead to

\(^{226}\)NAC RG85 vol. 1444 File # 630-500 pt.3

\(^{227}\)NAC RG85 vol. 1871 file # 500-1 vol. 1-A, "Sgd. D. L. McKeand to Major McKeand, 1 November 1943."
believe that individual Inuit families would be ravaged by disease, yet the evidence collected does not support such a hypothesis.\textsuperscript{128}

As far as tuberculosis was concerned, the x-ray surveys of the Eastern Arctic patrol of 1946 demonstrate that the only cultural product that aided the spread of tuberculosis was the fact that Inuit dwelled in small, confined igloos. Entire families lived in closed quarters together facilitating the spread of tuberculosis. The x-ray surveys state that it is unknown when tuberculosis began to infect the Inuit population or how long it had been in contact with the Inuit; therefore, no one can clearly state whether or not Inuit were infected by Europeans, Euro-Canadians or if tuberculosis was indigenous to the Inuit. What the x-ray team did ascertain was that the Inuit were "tubercularized," meaning that mostly all Inuit had some form of tuberculosis and that the Inuit had acquired somewhat of an immunity to tuberculosis. The x-ray team claimed that Inuit were "better able to resist it [tuberculosis]..." than other peoples. There was no evidence supporting a claim that traditional Inuit foods were in any way, shape or form responsible for tuberculosis or any other disease.\textsuperscript{129}

\textsuperscript{128}NAC RG85 vol. 834 file # 7387 pt. 2, "H. W. Lewis M. D. Regional Superintendent for Easter Arctic, 2 October 1947."

\textsuperscript{129}NAC RG85 vol. 984 file # 15117, "X-Ray Survey Of Eskimos, Eastern Arctic Patrol, 1946."
One area that Health and Welfare Canada should have investigated was the living quarters of the children within the hostels. Inuit children slept, ate and played in large wide-open quarters shared with numerous other students in the hostels of the residential schools. It is rather easy to ascertain that there is a high probability that sickness would spread rapidly under these circumstances.\(^{310}\)

Several other federal archive files dealing with the Inuit and the spread of disease also contain no evidence supporting a connection with the Inuit traditional diet and the spread of disease.\(^{311}\)

Ironically, Health and Welfare Canada had inadvertently done the Inuit resident at the Chesterfield Inlet hostel a considerable service by eradicating the "Inuit" diet within the residential schools. The so-called "traditional" diet provided for Inuit youth by the Roman Catholic church was not a "traditional" diet at all. The church officials fed the Inuit children raw southern beef and fish heads that were often spoiled and still contained "guts." The Inuit claim that the northern weather kills parasites that would normally be present in

\(^{310}\)Please see chapter II.

\(^{311}\)NAC RG85 vol. 1903 file # 1009-13 vol. 1, "22 July 1955."
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1871 file # 500-1 pt. 2, "Sgd. A D. P. Heeney, Clerk of the Privy Council, 12 October 1945."
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 1130 file # 254-1, "30 April 1943."
Also See NAC RG85 vol. 984 file # 15117, "Harry W. Lewis, 1946."
southern meat. As southern beef is obviously not from the Arctic, parasites would still be present. Further, although the Inuit did consume fish heads, the Inuit only ate fresh fish heads and would never serve anyone fish heads with the guts still in them or meat that was spoiled.\footnote{This evidence was provided from conversations with Andrew Tagak Sr. and interviews of former residential school students concerning diet at the schools. Please see the interviews of former Chesterfield Inlet residential school students in Appendix D.}

Unlike the area of diet, the changes in clothing introduced by the residential schools did not lead to much of a controversy at all amongst Northern Affairs and church officials. The only concerns raised regarding clothing were in relation to how Inuit parents would perceive the appearance of their children dressed in "uniformed" southern clothing as they arrived home on government airplanes and how these perceptions by Inuit parents would reflect on Northern Affairs:

...on their arrival at Cambridge Bay, and this is true in the other destinations as well, the children were for the most part dressed in blue denim jeans and in many cases with a blue denim jacket. Mr. Bond points out that, in his opinion, this is not appropriate clothing for children to wear in that part of the country on their return from school, and further that there was a certain appearance of such uniformity as to indicate that the children had just been released from an institution...the children were mostly carrying their few possessions in gunny sacks or brown-paperwrapped parcels. This, of course, is common practice when Eskimo are travelling in that area but, on the other hand, when they return from residential schools at Inuvik, perhaps Mr. Bond is right in feeling there may be a reflection on the Department at seeing these children in their denim jeans carrying a gunny sack, as perhaps bearing an unfavourable reflection
Northern Affairs had good reasons for their concerns. Inuit were accustomed to seeing white people who visited their isolated communities dressed in uniform. Inuit were generally taught to fear and to be intimidated by uniformed southerners as they were usually people who were placed in a position of authority over the Inuit such as the R. C. M. P. and church clergy.\(^334\)

The change from traditional diet and dress to southern Canadian ideals was accomplished in a remarkably short time, in part, facilitated by other federal initiatives in the north, such as the "Distant Early Warning Line" radar stations built across the Arctic in the event of a nuclear attack against Canada and the United States from Russia. For example, as early as 1960, (only the second year the Inuvik school was in operation and one year prior to the implementation of federal policy banning the Inuit traditional diet within the hostels) students at the Anglican hostel in Inuvik complained of not being able to eat food such as "...grapes, oranges, bananas, cabbage, green tomatoes, etc." The pupils making the complaints were from communities near DEW line sites where southern Canadian

\(^333\text{NAC RG85 vol. 1062 File # 630-125-8 pt. 2, "11 July 1960."}\)

\(^334\text{Please see Peter Ernerk in Appendix D & E.}\)
food was available.  

Northern Affairs initiative to replace the traditional Inuit diet with that of a southern diet demonstrated success as early as February 1965. The hostels took notice that they were experiencing a much easier task than in former years when attempting to entice Inuit students to eat more vegetables. What used to constitute a formidable task, was now taking place without much notice.  

Inuit youth resident in the residential schools had equally preferred southern dress as well as southern diet. By the turn of the decade, (1960) Inuit parents began to notice a startlingly change in their children's dress and their children's choice in clothing upon their return from the residential schools. Inuit children no longer preferred their traditional garments. In fact, traditional garments were denigrated in favour of southern Canadian apparel. This was an appalling revelation to Inuit parents whose children had been in attendance in the residential schools.  

When it became apparent that the residential schools had all but eroded the traditional cultural dress of the Inuit, Northern Affairs (rather than implementing a sense

---


of cultural pride in Inuit traditional dress into the school curriculum) chose to blame the churches and fur traders and the churches blamed Northern Affairs. In response to accusations of this nature against Northern Affairs by Roman Catholic priest Father Rousseliere, Northern Affairs responded:

We deplore as much as Father Rousseliere the thoughtless examples of our material civilisation given to Eskimos in matters of dress, and so on. To keep perspective, however, it must be remembered that in the Canadian Arctic the aping of southern dress began long ago, when the first traders and Missionaries came into the land. It has been represented that the encouragement of southern dress was partly at the instance of traders, and partly at the instance of certain Missionaries who in particular attributed immorality to the traditional women's costume based on the wearing of sealskin pants. In Greenland, the traditional dress was not opposed and was not so lightly discarded. We think the Greenland example has much to commend it. At any rate, we do not believe that we should be blamed for the emphasis on southern styles which began long before the entrance of the administration, and which has continued in spite of it.\textsuperscript{338}

This statement by the Department of Northern Affairs offers three key points. First, Northern Affairs knew that they had contracted the same mission churches to administer education to Inuit children on behalf of the federal government who had a history of "aping" Inuit traditional dress. Second, Northern Affairs was not oblivious to the fact that the residential schools were facilitating the erosion of Inuit traditional dress as the issue was brought to their attention. Third, although Northern Affairs shunned any responsibility for the role

\textsuperscript{338}NAC RG85 vol. 1434 File # 600-1-1 pt. 20, "21 January 1964."
the residential schools played in the erosion of Inuit traditional dress, by providing the Greenland example, the government demonstrated that in fact, something could have been done to the contrary. Northern Affairs' neglect in acting in any capacity whatsoever to encourage cultural pride in Inuit traditional dress is clear evidence of the governments' guilt as the Department of Northern Affairs was well aware of the unfolding situation.

Although "traditional" Inuit diet and clothing were utilized at times in the early years of the residential schools by the church staff, this was in part due to financial necessity. Once this economic factor was removed, the assimilation to southern Canadian standards was swift. By the early 1960's, Inuit resident in the school hostels were themselves preferring southern foods and clothing; thus, providing a testament to the success of the assimilation process. This did not go unnoticed by Inuit parents who begrudgingly witnessed drastic cultural changes in their children upon their return home from the residential schools.

Although the Department of Northern Affairs deliberately set out to eradicate the Inuit diet, the same can not be said regarding Inuit dress. Northern Affairs knew that the residential schools were significantly contributing to the eradication of Inuit dress, however there was never a set policy or objective to accomplish this eradication. Northern Affairs was
responsible for establishing the mechanisms that had drastically effected the change in dress. When Northern Affairs was made aware of the effects of the residential schools on Inuit dress, Northern Affairs chose to simply ignore the situation and let events unfold as they may. For this, the government is responsible.

The eradication of diet entails yet another issue. It is unclear as to the extent and as to where the Department of Health and National Welfare Canada gathered their data in regards to exactly what constituted the traditional diet of the Inuit. Northern Affairs repeatedly demonstrated a tendency to depend on the churches as an authority on issues in relation to Inuit culture throughout the legacy of the federal school system in the north. It has been established in memorandums from church officials to the Department of Northern Affairs that officials from the Department of Health and National Welfare Canada had been to the residential school hostels and had in fact viewed the diet administered to the resident Inuit children and adolescent youth. There is no evidence suggesting that Health and National Welfare Canada visited Inuit communities when collecting their data.

Judging by the interviews provided by the former hostel students at Chesterfield Inlet, the Roman Catholic church clergy were by no means experts in regards to just what constituted the traditional diet of the Inuit. If Health and Welfare Canada based their opinions on what
they thought was a traditional Inuit diet as a result of the "spoiled meat and spoiled fish heads with the guts still in them" that were administered at Chesterfield Inlet, Health and Welfare Canada was probably correct in their negative assessment of the Inuit diet.

However, Northern Affairs was supposed to be acting in the best interest of the Inuit, not its' employees (church clergy) or Health and National Welfare Canada. Northern Affairs should have put as much credibility into studying the Inuit traditional diet as administered by Inuit within Inuit communities as it did in the churches and Health and National Welfare Canada. Northern Affairs was negligent in that they provided the churches with too much liberty and responsibility insofar as administering diet to Inuit within the federal hostels. Had Northern Affairs adequately fulfilled its' responsibilities to the Inuit, a valid "traditional" Inuit diet would have been served to the residential school students. However, it is apparent that Northern Affairs did not regard Inuit knowledge of what constituted a balanced diet as valid. Not one Inuit adult was consulted by the Department of Northern Affairs on this issue.
CONCLUSION
The Statement of Reconciliation given in January of 1998 by Jane Stewart, the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, on behalf of the federal government, did address the Inuit residential school experience. However, there was not a substantial amount of research done regarding the Inuit residential school experience.

The Statement of Reconciliation did acknowledge that the federal government and its' various Departments had conducted the business of managing the nation with an underlying attitude of both racial and cultural superiority when faced with developing policy concerns regarding Aboriginal people. For this reason, it was not necessary for the federal government to conduct research in relation to the Inuit residential school experience in order to fashion its' Statement of Reconciliation. The Department of Northern Affairs was no different than the rest of the government of the day.

Nonetheless, federal attitudes of racial and cultural superiority so prevalent in policy developed to govern the lives of Inuit reduced Inuit to the status of federal wards. Cultural refugees in their own country, the Inuit were deprived of the right to exercise their own agency. The administration of the residential schools by the Department of Northern Affairs is only but one chapter in the overall history of this administrative prejudice by the government of Canada against the Inuit; therefore, there is a need for further research in all areas of federal administrative impingement into the
traditional governance of Inuit by Inuit. If there is but one glaring deficiency in this thesis, it is that this thesis is merely a historical report and is not an impact assessment of the residential schools and the assimilative policies of government against Inuit. Today the Inuit are experiencing many social problems that raise the suspicion as to the possibility of the social problems being connected to the assimilative policies of the federal government. For example, Inuit under the age of 25 are more likely to commit suicide than any other group of people in the world. There is a need for Inuit to tell Canadians their stories and experiences in the residential schools and various other circumstances where their lives were\are effected by federal policy.

There is no denial by the federal government that its' policies resulted in the "erosion of the political, economic and social systems of Aboriginal people and nations." To these charges the government has already admitted guilt. However, for reasons unknown, the overwhelming amount of research conducted in this field has been and remains to be focused on Natives [status Indians] while the Inuit are continually ignored by the survey historians. On the positive side, the Inuit are included in the healing fund established by the Department of Northern Affairs as a result of the findings by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

If Canadians truly embrace the Statement of Reconciliation made on behalf of their government to Aboriginal people, perhaps the words of G. E. Mortimore of the Globe & Mail should be remembered:

Who is to say the European-Canadian way is better? Sharing food among relatives and neighbors, allowing children to be brought up by, and develop warm ties with, several adults in several dwellings, so that the children feel that their home is the whole community; following an easy-going seasonal rhythm rather than the clock and the foremen's orders; being one's own boss, preferring the woods, lakes and sea to the cramped life of the cities—are these such bad habits of mind?340

APPENDIX (A)

The following excerpts are interviews conducted with former residential school students in regards to accommodation at the various residential schools attended. Please consult footnotes for the name of the person interviewed and the school/schools attended:

"We lived in a big dormitory which I was not use to so I felt extremely uncomfortable with the huge dormitory. At home we lived in a very small tent in the summer time, in the winter a sod house or an igloo big enough to accommodate five of us. That igloo might have been about fifteen feet in diameter. Living conditions at the Tufquetil Hall were that you had to go to bed at a certain time and lights out at a certain time. I wasn't use to sleeping with thirty to forty other people in those days so to me those years were extremely strange." 341

"Living conditions for pupils weren't rich at home, different environment...dramatic changes. [Pupils] slept in dormitory setting, segregated from our sisters, we weren't allowed to see them or speak to them unless it was a Sunday afternoon between 1 and 3 I believe, and that was hard because in Inuit culture it is imperative to bond with your siblings and the other sex. We weren't allowed to visit Inuit within Chesterfield Inlet and that was hard, we weren't allowed to bond. We lived in our own little world. We didn't see our parents for 10 months of the year. No one spoke Inuktitut in class." 342

"It was crowded, there was no privacy. Otherwise it was something new for me." 343

"Very good. As far as I know everything was very neat and very clean. It was a big dorm, we cleaned it and

341 Ernerk, Peter.

342 Tungilik, Marius.

343 Immoroitak, Richard.
we were very proud of it. We were good students."  

"The one we were at was in pretty good shape in my view. At that time living conditions were probably better than home other than being away from the parents for so long."  

"Residence was pretty good. We had no complaints, other than being restricted from going places. When we got our own dorm, the older guys got together and we went from F 11 to F 4 lower. I believe we had one of the cleanest dorms. It was much closer to the classrooms. We didn't have to go outside to our classrooms or to eat a meal. If we went to a mechanical workshop we had to walk maybe half a mile. We could only visit girls' dorms over Christmas holidays and we were supervised at all times. Never saw any soldiers in dorms, only time we saw them was when they were chasing polar bear out of town or if we were at a cadet meeting."  

"I'd say they were pretty good. They had everything that was needed to provide for us. I would say they were really good compared to the matchbox house we lived in at home."  

"Good. No complaints. In my situation I was coming out of a home environment that was barely meeting living standards because we were coming from an outpost camp. They were very clean, very good hygiene, a lot of supplies were added. We were solely responsible to up-keep our own rooms. Some may have thought that four girls to a room was not good at times but I think as a young kid you adjust so well, you cope with things."  

---

344 Williams, Rebecca.  

345 Ulinierk, Celestino.  

346 Joanie, Mosesee.  

347 Ningeongan, Alice.  
1997 Personal Interview, July 15-August 30. In attendance at Churchill 1967-70?  

348 Wilman, Mary.  
APPENDIX (B)

The following excerpts are interviews of former Inuit residential school students in regards to curriculum administered at the residential schools for Inuit:

Question: What was the role of the Inuit in the school system aside from being pupils?

"There were no Inuit teachers as such, they were mostly southern Canadian teachers or nuns as well as a few men and women who were brought up to the Turquetil Hall to teach. There was an Inuk teacher, he was mostly an instructor, his name was Pierre Karilk, who taught us two things, how to make fish nets as well as how to do a bit of carpentry, making handles for snow knives and a few other things like that but this wasn't very regular, it was infrequent. We had no Inuktitut teaching at all aside from catechisms normally from one priest, father Eugene [last name pronounced fafard]."^349

"There were no Inuit teachers, there was a janitor, that's all I know."^350

"No Inuit teachers. No Eskimos were hired. Don't forget in those days they were Eskimos. I do remember one who was a janitor. There was a women in the early sixties who taught some Inuktitut."^351

"No involvement of Inuit in school system, basically [Inuit were] maintenance, cleaning, cooking; No teachers except substitute."^352

---


"We were all students as far as I remember. I didn't see any Inuit in any teaching capacity other than one male supervisor from Northern Quebec."  

"Well, they had two female seamstresses. There were a few guys who needed help sewing and what not. But they were the only Inuit in the residence that I know of. There weren't any men. If there were they were with the church. No teachers. Two Anglican ministers, David and Eddie [were Inuit]."  

"No Inuit teachers. A few cleaners, laundry people, some in the kitchen."  

"Maybe Inuit seamstresses. That's all I remember."  

Question: Was the government of Canada prepared & competent to run the school system?  

"The only contact we had in those days under the Roman Catholic system that we grew up under at Turquetil Hall with the government was this man named Mr. Gordon Devitt who visited Chesterfield Inlet. As a matter of fact I just e-mailed his son last night in Yellowknife. Mr. Devitt died fifteen or twenty years ago. He was the only contact we had as a government of Canada representative. I believe he was district superintendent of education for the Kewatin district. He was a very, very nice man who came to talk to us one year in 1958, I don't remember what he said but I remember his nice personality. The R.C.M.P. played their role very well in those days, they were there to be feared and they knew their job. Their the next group of people who should talk about their role in relation to residential schools. They knew their role insofar as being "superior" to Inuit in  

\[353\] Wilman, Mary.  

\[354\] Joamie, Mosesee.  

\[355\] Williams, Rebecca.  

\[356\] Ningeongan, Alice.  
those days. They played their role very well. They came here in complete uniform. Their facial expressions were very stern looking, they never smiled. That was a complete contradiction of Inuit culture. That's exactly how they operated. They tried to scare people a lot in those days. I'm still very scared of the R.C.M.P. but I don't fear them anymore, whenever I see what I think is wrong I can stand-up to them now and be equal to them. I think it was because of the R.C.M.P. that for many years I was afraid of white people. The R.C.M.P. had a lot of influence in my upbringing as they were related by the Roman Catholic church. They would fly into the communities with their little dark blue airplanes with yellow stripes and they would scare a lot of people when they were coming in. I was told by a resident of Chesterfield Inlet that whenever they would come into Chesterfield Inlet from their camps in those days the R.C.M.P. would question them as to when they were going back; Meaning get out now, we don't want you here."  

"I think they were competent, I would say. I think those days were a trial period to start sending Eskimo kids to school. They were getting ready to be prepared rather than actually being prepared. I'm sure if they were prepared they wouldn't have sent other kids to other settlements."  

"No. They were not prepared. They didn't know. And it was later, the government officials, the only one I saw was around the end of any schooling. Before that all I saw was the churches running it."  

"We hardly saw any one from the government. There were a few visits by the superintendent but I doubt they knew half of what was going on in the schools."  

"In their own system yeah. With their own beliefs and values. It seems when I look back they had no

-------------------

357 Ernertk, Peter.  

358 Ulinierk, Celestino.  

359 Immoroitak, Richard.  

360 Tungilik, Marius.  
consideration for what we had already gained from our own up-bringing because what we had was also education....I was 10 years old when I started school. I was already well educated in Inuktitut, that was not enhanced [in school]. I wonder if I was educated using English as a second language....I might have been more successful in the education system. Today for Inuktitut students your not exposed to totally English. It's gradual. If you teach Inuit kids, Inuktitut should reflect that education and that's what I would have liked to [have been taught] in my education. What was taught in the homes should be reinforced in the schools.\textsuperscript{361}

"I guess they were. The kitchen could have used more improvement. One time in particular we had sour milk for breakfast. Nobody would use it. All we did was complain. Lunch hour we had fresh milk. We didn't have any problems with the staff. Some students had problems with other students."\textsuperscript{362}

"No idea."\textsuperscript{363}

"They had no idea of our cultural difference. So in that way they were incompetent. They more or less forced their British culture onto Inuit, instead of having Inuit integration with us. In fact, I sometimes think they were trying to get rid of our Inuit culture. At the time I didn't think that way but I was just going along with the flow."\textsuperscript{364}

Question: Were the churches competent in their roles?

"No, no they were not competent come to think of it, the education we received was based on a 1938 education school Act which was competent in providing Inuit with a good education. I'm not satisfied with the education that I got from the church itself. I don't go to church anymore, I only go to church when there are funerals. I don't even go to church on Christmas Eve anymore and

\textsuperscript{361}Wilman, Mary.  

\textsuperscript{362}Joamie, Mosessee.  

\textsuperscript{363}Williams, Rebecca.  

\textsuperscript{364}Ningeongan, Alice.  
1997 Personal Interview, July 15-August 30. In attendance at Churchill 1967-70?
that's because of something else that happened to me some years ago back in 1979. I don't follow the teachings of the church but I put a lot of effort into the Education Ordinance Act that was put in place to teach. The Roman Catholic teachers were merely put into these residential schools to teach us English reading, writing and to add arithmetic.  

"They were, we didn't really know what education was then. Education was southern wise pretty good." 

"I would say yes. Maybe once a week they taught religion, so how could that be in the way? I don't think schools are better off today without the churches. The kids are harder to talk to today and they have more questions when you ask them to do something." 

"We didn't have anything to compare with. They certainly didn't teach anything about family values. They didn't teach us about our own values and culture. They gave us a top notch English education. They taught us English values."

"I don't know, we were not taught by the church." 

"Yes, they were there to keep you religious and all that stuff."

"Our hostel didn't have anything to do with the

---

365Ernerk, Peter.  

366Immoroitak, Richard.  

367Ulinierk, Celestino.  

368Tungilik, Marius.  

369Wilman, Mary.  

370Joamie, Mosesee.  

222
church. It was run by the government.\textsuperscript{371}

"I don't know. I don't remember them as trying to get rid of our culture."\textsuperscript{372}

Question: What was the relationship between the church and the government within the school system?

"I don't know besides learning about the contract. The Roman Catholics being the lowest bidder in those days so they got the contract to run Turquetil Hall. I don't know if the government of Canada really had any choice but to give the contracts to the churches in those days because of their own policies. The churches were already here and they were expanding into various Inuit communities. The way the system was working throughout the world was such that Inuit people were going to be educated about life by one of two groups, the Roman Catholics or the Anglicans."\textsuperscript{373}

"I didn't see any relationship. I only saw the religion in there. There was a government officer that came maybe once a year."\textsuperscript{374}

"I had no clue at the time. All I know is that they sent us from point A to point B after so many months."\textsuperscript{375}

"I don't know."\textsuperscript{376}

\textsuperscript{371}Williams, Rebecca. 1997 Personal Interview, July 15-August 30. In attendance at Churchill 1966-70.

\textsuperscript{372}Ningeongan, Alice. 1997 Personal Interview, July 15-August 30. In attendance at Churchill 1967-70?

\textsuperscript{373}Ernerk, Peter. 1997 Personal Interview, July 15-August 30. In attendance at Chesterfield Inlet, Yellowknife & Churchill.


"I don't know what sort of relationship they had. To me I couldn't care less what it was."\textsuperscript{377}

"I have no idea."\textsuperscript{378}

"I don't know."\textsuperscript{379}

Question: Was there any Inuit cultural content within the school system?

"No. I can say that with all honesty. The church and the school system will argue that there was Inuit cultural inclusion programs, there was none. If they consider making nets with an Inuk instructor Inuit culture, I would argue that that is not Inuit culture because making nets is not Inuit culture. It was brought in by Europeans. If they consider religious teachings in Inuktitut language as being Inuit culture, that's not Inuit culture, that's imposing their religion by the Roman Catholic priest to the Inuit students in the Inuit language. Because I was an exceptionally good learner in terms of religion in those days, I remember in one of the classrooms, catechisms, and they used to be done right after school at three-thirty in the afternoon or three-forty-five, until about four-thirty or so. I won a prize and the prize was an apple for being the most knowledgeable student about catechisms, about religion in those days in 1958. So religion classes, I do not consider those as part of the Inuit cultural inclusion. They were done in Inuktitut but the only reason was because most of the priests, if not all, spoke Inuktitut in those days. They had to, they had no choice. This was necessary in order to propagate the faith. Their masses were all in Latin, so I can speak some Latin. The only time they spoke Inuktitut during mass was the part where they preached to the church. That was the only Inuktitut part that I remember being said by the priests."\textsuperscript{380}

\textsuperscript{377}Joamie, Mosesee.  

\textsuperscript{378}Williams, Rebecca.  

\textsuperscript{379}Ningeongan, Alice.  
1997 Personal Interview, July 15-August 30. In attendance at Churchill 1967-70?

\textsuperscript{380}Ernerk, Peter.  
1997 Personal Interview, July 15-August 30. In attendance at Chesterfield Inlet, Yellowknife &
"No. But later on, maybe last six years of it, we were able to go trapping." 381

No. I don't recall any. In those days the Eskimo culture was oral. Their still complaining in 1997 that there is no cultural content in the schools and their not hiring any Inuit elders. In white culture yes, that was all they taught us. We did some trapping in the winter months. 382

"No Inuit cultural content. The only thing taught about us was we lived in igloos, ate raw meat, lived in hostile environment. They didn't bother to bring in anyone who knew about Inuit society. In a sense schools were very successful in educating Inuit. Because we had a top notch education in English, we can attribute some of our experience to the schooling despite some of the downfalls. Unfortunately there was the religious brainwashing and not knowing what we stood for as Inuit. We got to know people from other communities. We got a good sense of commonality. We know what we went through today. Just who held the power and how they used it and what we can do about it today to influence policy." 383

"No. " 384

"No Inuit cultural content within the school system. None that I remember. If Inuit culture and history would have been allowed it would have helped but unfortunately there was no Inuk teachers." 385

Churchill.

381 Immoroitak, Richard.

382 Ulinierk, Celestino.

383 Tungilik, Marius.

384 Wilman, Mary.

385 Joamie, Mosesee.
"No, none." 386

"No. Like I told you earlier on, seems like they were trying to eliminate our culture and impose their own so there was nothing like that." 387

Question: Did the people involved in the school system have any understanding or experience in Inuit culture?

"No. None what-so-ever. None. They weren't pre-pared at all for Inuit people and they didn't want to be. They did not want to be. They had their own little community called Turquetil Hall residential school, Joseph Bernier day school. This was a community within the community of Chesterfield Inlet village." 388

"No. I think I was twelve years old and I was telling my classmates it was going to snow in recess time. When the teacher found out she made me stand in front of the class and tell them I'm sorry for telling you a lie that it was going to snow. But before the class was out she had to turn down her blinds because it was snowing." 389

"Maybe some did because they spoke Inuktitut or maybe they had no choice because no one spoke English I guess." 390

"No for the most part no one knew about Inuit culture teaching at the schools, except for the people teaching religion. They had lived in Inuit communities for years. We lived in a vacuum. We weren't allowed to

386 Williams, Rebecca.

387 Ningeongan, Alice.

388 Ernerk, Peter.

389 Immoroitak, Richard.

390 Ulinierk, Celestino.
associate with anyone else. We operated in isolation.\textsuperscript{391}

"Yeah, some of the teachers that I had here [Iqaluit] were in Churchill. So there were some teachers who had taught in northern communities. A lot of teachers in Churchill you could relate to. We were older students. There were good student teacher relationships." \textsuperscript{392}

"I'll have to say there were a few. There were a few teachers who taught in Frobisher [present day Iqaluit] before they went to Churchill. Mr. Graves, Ms. Boyko, the Millican family were residents of Frobisher before they went to Churchill. Mr. Page and Mrs. Page [lived in Frobisher]. The Page's always welcomed us when we went to visit." \textsuperscript{393}

"No. I don't think so." \textsuperscript{394}

"Not really, I don't think so. If they did they didn't use it." \textsuperscript{395}

\textsuperscript{391}Tungilik, Marius.

\textsuperscript{392}Wilman, Mary.

\textsuperscript{393}Joamie, Mosesee.

\textsuperscript{394}Williams, Rebecca.

\textsuperscript{395}Ningeongan, Alice.

227
APPENDIX (C)

The following excerpts demonstrate the role of Inuktitut and syllabic in the classrooms according to former Inuit residential school students:

"If they consider religious teachings in Inuktitut language as being Inuit culture, that's not Inuit culture, that's imposing their religion by the Roman Catholic priest to the Inuit students in the Inuit language. Because I was an exceptionally good learner in terms of religion in those days, I remember in one of the classrooms, (catechisms), and they used to be done right after school at three-thirty in the afternoon or three-forty-five, until about four-thirty or so. I won a prize and the prize was an apple for being the most knowledgeable student about (catechisms) about religion in those days in 1958. So religion classes, I do not consider those as part of the Inuit cultural inclusion. They were done in Inuktitut but the only reason was because most of the priests, if not all spoke Inuktitut in those days. They had to, they had no choice. This was necessary in order to propagate the faith. Their masses were all in Latin, so I can speak some Latin. That was the only Inuktitut part that I remember being said by the priests."396

"They started having that [Inuktitut language in classrooms] later on when I was in school. I didn't really like it. I knew if I could speak it I didn't have to write it. It was a big set back for me too. It wasn't helping me with the new system they have, the new syllabics they have now. I had to re-learn how to write."397

"I guess it wasn't permitted because that was not what we were there to speak, we were there to speak English. But they did encourage us to write syllabics in that sense. I learned to write home to mom using syllabics from the prayer book. It used to take me a long time but at least I learned to write in the writing


system that she knew.

"There were no scoldings for speaking Inuktitut that I was aware of. They didn't seem to encourage it or to have anything for it or against it. It wasn't encouraged, English was encouraged. I don't remember speaking Inuktitut in the classes. I think if we accidentally answered in Inuktitut our teachers got defensive, as if we were talking back in a language they didn't understand. So I think in that sense they got suspicious." 399

"No, I never heard of anything that stopped Inuktitut. We wrote home in Inuktitut. They didn't teach it but I have no knowledge of them discouraging it." 400

"Don't even think Inuktitut was taught in the school. Some students recall being taught syllabics in school. I can't recall that myself. I guess that was in the early days. 10 months English 2 months Inuktitut at home. So difficult. We missed-out on how to interact. Suddenly home was an alien environment. We were punished if we were speaking Inuktitut in class. A scolding or beating. We were told not to speak the devil's tongue. Religious instruction was conducted in Inuktitut." 401

"We didn't take any Inuktitut courses down there. There were no Inuk teachers. Maybe they weren't interested in teaching us Inuktitut. We could have had David or Eddie if we needed to take it. They might have tried to keep Inuit from speaking Inuktitut in the early years but when I was there we spoke whatever language we wanted to use." 402

"They said don't use it [Inuktitut] but the thing is

---

398 Ningeongan, Alice.

399 Wilman, Mary.

400 Williams, Rebecca.

401 Tungilik, Marius.

402 Joanie, Mosesee.
if you don't speak English how are you going to talk to a fellow student?"403

403Ulinierk, Celestino.
The following excerpts are the responses of former Inuit residential school students when asked as to the quality of the diet provided in the residential schools:

"It wasn't too bad at times. A lot of times eating new food I couldn't eat. I couldn't eat cheese or drink milk. Even though I got sick from eating cheese, I had to eat cheese right in front of them so I learned to give it away right away. Also fish heads were really bad. They still had guts in them, they were really bad. We weren't given any country foods [Inuit traditional diet]." 404

"The diet was terrible in Chesterfield Inlet. We use to have for evening meals at times frozen cow beef, sometimes fish, arctic char, which was very old, caught the summer before and put into a very large freezer they had at the hostel. They use to feed us old, old fish that was a bit stinky, actually quite a bit stinky in those days. Sometimes they fed us Muktuk from beluga. I'm not sure where that came from. They used to feed us this terrible, terrible soup that we used to have once a week mixed with bread and something else. One of the things that I used to look forward to was corn flakes. That was the highlight of the meal for me. In Repulse Bay my diet was country food [Inuit traditional diet]. Caribou meat, seal meat, Muktuk, aged fish, you know, things like that. In Chesterfield Inlet I was not so use to eating frozen cow beef and things like that so I hardly enjoyed any meal that I had in Chesterfield Inlet. That's one of the low points that I had living at Turquetil Hall. They also fed us some fish heads with guts in it. Inuit ate fish heads, but we would never serve our people with guts in it. The fish heads we were served boiled were O.K., they still had guts in them, that was not the kind of meat that I was use to eating at home. Inuit people had been use to eating raw meat for many, many thousands of years before the existence of the government of Canada's Department of Health and Welfare so we knew better how to properly prepare and preserve raw meat for many, many people. That is the kind of diet that kept us very strong and healthy." 405

---


I think some of the students pretended they didn't like it because they wanted to be Qallunaq [white]. There was an Inuit person working there in the kitchen so they couldn't make something bad. Once a week, who ever had the cleanest dorm got a cake. You still got a sandwich and milk at bed time even if you didn't have the cleanest dorm.  

"Monday to Saturday porridge. Corn flakes on Sunday. Tea on Sundays at dinner time. I don't remember too much of what we ate, but we did get frozen beef sometimes, don't forget, in those days we were Eskimos so we didn't mind. I didn't anyway. We had fresh bread which was really good when it is so soft. I think we use to have salmon heads but not really any country foods [Inuit traditional diet]."

"The diet was very different than what we were raised-on. Porridge every morning and cereal on Sundays. A lot of crackers with porache. We were served coco and biscuits every morning and afternoon. Sometimes we had fish heads which was good but most of the time they weren't fresh, they were cooked but they weren't fresh. I don't recall being served any raw meat."

"The only thing we never had was country food [Inuit traditional diet]. It was entirely a southern diet."

"The food to me was very rich, high cholesterol, I guess it was o. k. but three years of food like that was different for me, it was very different than what I was use to. There was no country food [Inuit traditional diet]. No seal meat, caribou, muktuk etc."

"There was no country food [Inuit traditional diet]."

---


It was all residential type meals. A southern diet.\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{11}Ningeongan, Alice. 1997 Personal Interview, July 15-August 30. In attendance at Churchill 1967-70?
APPENDIX (E)

The following excerpts are questions and answers from former Inuit residential school students regarding neglect, physical, sexual and mental abuse at the various residential schools. Please see footnotes in order to ascertain the identity of the former pupils and the schools attended:

Question: Were the Inuit in favour or against the residential school system?

"They had no say. I say it this way in my public statements. I was kidnapped by a Roman Catholic priest in 1958 in August when we were still living off the land about twelve miles from a community from a fishing place and when the boat came up to pick me up father [name deleted] came off first and told my father when we went to meet the boat that your son has to go to school in Chesterfield Inlet. Right away my parents got me ready. I put on a new pair of bran new kamiks [boots] that my mother had sewn earlier and I was off. I went to Repulse Bay by boat and then a few days later to Chesterfield Inlet by a single jet engine airplane. So the parents had no say, although in those days my father used to talk about me being able to interpret for him if I was educated in a Qallunaq's world. I was just talking to two teachers yesterday and I was telling them about my father along with three other Inuit men who were taken away to southern Canada in 1924 by [religious order deleted]. They spent a whole year in the Maritimes and I use the words "taken away," so there was a lot of that going on way back when. So we were taken away without our parents permission what-so-ever. If our parents did object..., they didn't want us to go to school. My father wanted me to learn to live off the land like the Eskimo people will, they always have learned to live off the land and they wanted us to learn to live off the land as well in the future. The priests used the R.C.M.P. to make parents want their children to go to school and if the children don't go to school then the R.C.M.P. will put the parents in jail. That's the tactics they used. The government of Canada would threaten to cut off family allowance if children didn't go to school."[12]


234
"No choice to go, [residential school] had to go or certain things would happen. Cut-off of welfare, family allowance... some people didn't send kids but again that was rare."413

"That is very hard to answer. Most of them [students] were forced to go and a small percent wanted to go. They didn't have a say. Even their parents didn't have a say. I've been talking to my father, one time he talked to the priest so I don't have to go [to residential school], I can start working... but there was no way, I had to go... I just had to go."414

"I don't know in that time [if Inuit were for or against the residential school system]. I'm sure they didn't like it but they had no choice. Our parents weren't going to get our family allowance if we didn't go [to residential school]."415

"They [Inuit] had no choice [in supporting or not supporting the residential schools], no questions asked. Qallunaaq [white people] said it so it must be right. How could Inuit know about school when they never went?"416

"I knew that they hated children being sent away from home for education so in that sense I guess they were against the system. Residential system was very different then home."417

"I would have to say that they were for it [residential schools] otherwise they would not have sent us down. That's the reason we have larger communities nowadays. The children were sent to school and the families moved around the communities. Otherwise they would be scattered around the land. I spoke with my mom


before I went down and she asked me if I wanted to go. After the first year I had a choice from my mom if I wanted to return or stay home. They had a choice."418

"By and large I think students were in favour of the school system. I think naturally we were going through some adjustment period. We came from an environment that did not have rigid rules, there were rules but they were mostly based on survival. It seemed that we were constantly supervised (at Churchill) the life that we would have was very organized for the next three years, very disciplined."419

Question: Did the Inuit adults support the schools?

"They had no say what-so-ever about not supporting or supporting the schools. They did notice that we were different when we came back. Each time we came back, from our cloths to our mentality of what we thought about life, they noticed a lot of changes in our upbringing. For example, the family closeness was no longer there when I returned in the spring of 1959. I had no brothers or sisters at Chesterfield Inlet but a lot of the people had sisters right upstairs which was the third floor from the ground. I remember the other boys were not allowed to see their own sisters upstairs. Bonding with relatives was an important part of Inuit culture that we were denied. For me I remember very well, we were not allowed to visit people outside of Turquetil Hall. I had a lot of relatives, cousins and so forth, an aunt in Chesterfield Inlet, a number of aunts, we were not allowed to visit them in 1958-59, the first year that I was there."420

"In many cases parents did not see a choice in sending children to school far way. I was sent when I was 5 years old. I still get nightmares. I see my children when they are 5 and I can not see sending them so far away. The coercion is something that needs to be

418 Joamie, Mosesee.

419 Wilman, Mary.

420 Ernerk, Peter.
"Not really no. Maybe some parents did at first but then they noticed that their kids were behaving different, they were being quite, they were talking but not saying anything."  

"I don't think they [Inuit adults] supported it [residential schools] but I don't believe they had any choice."

"I don't know [if Inuit adults were in support of the residential schools]. My parents were because my parents were told that when I finished I would have a job. It was positive."

"They [Inuit parents] didn't really have a choice [in sending children to residential school]. The education system was forced on them. Either you send your kids or you don't get government support. In other words they never got any say."

"As far as I remember the Inuit adults wanted their kids to get an education."

"I think in those days our parents were not really given a choice. They favoured an education. Unfortunately for those of us who required further education we could not get the education here [Iqaluit] so they had to go to Churchill. Not everyone got to go to school in Churchill. It was only a select few, at least that is how it was put to our parents. We were told we would be able to get a

421 Tungilik, Marius.  

422 Immooritak, Richard.  

423 Ulinierk, Celestino.  

424 Williams, Rebecca.  

425 Ningeongan, Alice.  
1997 Personal Interview, July 15-August 30. In attendance at Churchill 1967-70?

426 Joanie, Mosesee.  
job as soon as we returned from vocational school, so it was very much based on job readiness.**

Question: Were there instances of physical, mental abuse and/or neglect within the schools?

*There were sexual abuses, there were mental abuses, there were physical abuses, I have been part of it, I was part of the situation there in all three areas and I've seen other people being punished very severely. I've seen students being pulled by two grey nuns by the ears, taking them upstairs. Sometimes, not often but we were neglected by the staff. If you did talk back to the supervisor or the school teacher you were told that you were going to be sent home unless you smarten-up. Those were the kinds of words they would use in those days. They would hit us, they would slap us, they would pull us by the ear which was completely contrary to Inuit teachings. We were always told to never hurt people by the areas that broke easily such as the eyes, the nose, the ears and so-forth. So when they gave their punishments they did their job very well. They were very well trained to give their punishments to the former students. That is why a lot of the former students have become abusers themselves, we've gotten into major alcohol problems in our lives. We've had to re-direct, we've had to go through all the problems that we faced in the last twenty-two-five years. It all had to do with a lot of the things that happened to us at Turquetil Hall by the grey nuns, the personnel, the school staff and so-forth. This is how we are today and we've been doing a lot of work. Something that will never be recognized by both the churches as well as the government. They don't know how much work we've done to try and correct the situations that we went through in the past twenty-five years. They will never, never know how much damage they've cost........to the family relationship........to the students themselves, they will never, never ever know the amount of the impact they've had to our parents and to ourselves and to people like myself and Marius. WE'VE done a LOT........of work in the last.... ah, [sighs] ten years to try and see if we could become human-beings again. Better human-beings that are able to assist our fellow former students to make sure that Turquetil Hall syndrome is put into the past, that the government's actions are put into the past and make life better for ourselves and for our children.

I can remember certain teachers telling us that we should forget our culture, our Inuit spiritual ways,

427Wilman, Mary.
because we were here to learn to speak English, to write English, add arithmetic. One particular teacher, his name is [name deleted], every time he got angry at people in the classroom or outside of the classroom, he use to insult the way they look, “You bloody doe-doe, your no good for nothing, you S.O.B. Your dirty, Your stinky. That's exactly how he use to talk to the students in the classrooms in Chesterfield. I can remember that so well. I've heard about them trying to scrub the dark skin off of some students, even in those days but I never saw it. Even today I hear about it from former students. In Yellowknife I was ashamed to be Inuk because they made so much fun out of ridiculing the Inuit quite often in those days. People living in snow houses, ice houses, rubbing noses with men and women, travelling by dog team, eating raw meat, frozen meat, how could you eat that stuff, your like a bunch of dogs or something, so these are the kinds of things I put up with at Yellowknife myself.

When I got to Churchill I was eighteen years old at that point. I became a monitor at one of the dorms. There's about four rows of dorms at Churchill but most of the things that were very severe were done in Chesterfield Inlet.”

"Many instances of abuse. A wide variety of things that broke the spirit. Physical abuse was something that was. Not all teachers were physically abusive. But there was some who strived on abusing children. We had no idea why we were strapped, ears pulled, made to march around the room while the teacher strapped behind. I was thrown on the floor from a good height just because I couldn't see the board....I needed glasses. We were hit with an 18 inch ruler. We lived in fear. We grew-up feeling inferior. We had no future as an Inuit people. We had to adopt another culture. Many instances of sexual abuse as well. The people in the school must have known it was going on, there was nothing we could do. We were made to feel guilty for being abused. We didn't talk about it for a very long time. We were in a state of shock and denial. Everything just festers. There is a price to pay. Drugs, alcohol to oppress guilt, shame until you find a solution. If you break the law you lose creditability just because you are trying to solve problems in a complex way. You have to look inside no matter how hard it is. It's all part of the healing process. Unfortunately it takes a very long time.”

---

428 Ernerk, Peter.

429 Tungilik, Marius.
"Yes [abuse occurred at Chesterfield Inlet]. There was lots. I saw lots of physical abuse, mental abuse, there was sexual abuse. Both nuns and priests were abusers. For me I was abused by both sexually. There was lots of hitting and kicking by staff and teachers. I saw that. I didn't get lots of that because I was big. Mental abuse I did get, yes. Stern face, threatening looks in eyes."  

"I don't know about neglect or mental but I saw physical abuse. I was strapped once with this guy from Hall Beach but as soon as the nuns left we burst into laughter even though it was painful. There was more than one occasion when a student was being thrown around now and then. I saw some [sexual abuse] but not actually in the schools. Outside the building more or less."  

"Mr. [name deleted] did something to one of the girls. We were told he would never come back again. Mr. [name deleted] did something to one of the boys. We heard from the supervisors that they would never come back again, so to me they were open and honest, No wild parties, no girls getting pregnant. Students were quiet and very respectful."  

"There was a lot of disciplining, a lot of rules to follow. I've never witnessed physical or sexual abuse. There was none of that as far as I knew. We use to be grounded if we were a few minutes late. No parties as far as I know. I found out about two older girls who got pregnant and were sent home. I think it was other students who got them pregnant."  

"There wasn't any sexual abuse that I know of. They were pretty good at handling a bunch of kids. If there were any fights it was between a couple of students. No physical abuse. We were well taken care of, well fed as far as I'm concerned. Actually I feel fortunate to have been there. They had a lot of problems with the Indian

---

430 Immoroitak, Richard.  

431 Ulinierk, Celestino.  

432 Williams, Rebecca.  

433 Ningeongan, Alice.  
1997 Personal Interview, July 15-August 30. In attendance at Churchill 1967-70?
school there. Their school was not as well kept as our school was. We [Inuit students] never had any problems with the Indians though.*434

"Not in my environment [sexual abuse], I don't recall. No cases of wild parties or young girls getting pregnant that I remember. We were very well disciplined."*435

Additional thoughts:

"Christianity was already taught in Repulse Bay during my parents' time. We already had priests already in place. When I left Repulse Bay permanently in 1964, there was still a lot of Shamanism practiced in Repulse. I still think a lot about Shamanism, traditional spiritual teachings of the Inuit, because I am a strong believer in terms of our own spiritual teachings by Inuit. I still think a lot about that, more so than I do the teachings of the Roman Catholic church. Put it this way, I put a higher priority on Inuit spirituality than Roman Catholic teachings.

I wasn't aware of sexual abuse at Churchill or Yellowknife but I'm sure there was, people aren't speaking. The government is saying very little on this because they want to come out clean. They had to put the blame on someone so they put the blame on the Roman Catholic church in Chesterfield Inlet. It's good that many of us are speaking-out about sexual, physical and mental abuse in Chesterfield Inlet. I always felt that Canadian society has a right to know about what we went through in Chesterfield Inlet. What we do not want to do is to repeat the same kind of thing to any members of society. Sexual abuse is a very serious issue. In Chesterfield Inlet, at the age of eleven and twelve, a grey nun use to wash me in the bath tub....and....play with me to the point where I would get a hard-on. She knew that I did that. I never thought of it that way in those days. But she knew that I did, and she would spend a lot of time washing me in Chesterfield Inlet. Now....if Inuit had baths in igloos and sod houses and tents, that type of practice would not have been allowed by my mother or from my sister to be done to a young boy of eleven years, twelve years, to myself. Sexual abuse is something that should be done away with by society. What we went through in Chesterfield Inlet is something that would

---

434 Joamie, Mosesee.

435 Wilman, Mary.
never have been done if we were at home." 436

"They took everything off. Even our dignity. Brush cuts, tried to scrub off dark skin on some kids. We called it the vatican penitentiary, we were treated as like inmates. Chesterfield Inlet [the sex abuse that occurred at Chesterfield Inlet] is the largest criminal case in N. W. T. history." 437

"If I really look at the education part I think it was good because a majority of us are in good paying jobs. A majority of us have gotten over our addictions, alcohol and drugs, but a majority have gotten so hurt that they have addictions and are having a hard time in life. Education was good for me because I've had different jobs. Math and science were good for me. I've got an air line engineer degree. I think education was good in a sense. It was a set back for me family wise. I got really far from my father, my brother and sisters. But now that I am an adult I've been getting closer now. I went to school when I was six or seven and I've been travelling every since.

...An Inuk women has her first period 12-13 years [of age] and up. It's a sign a women is becoming a women. That's a big thing in our culture. But it was put down by the nuns saying girls were bad, they were putting them down. I always wondered if nuns got any periods......and there's all kinds of them. All kinds of abuse. Being abused physically, sexually, mentally, we have names, 160 something [abuse survivors who have come forward]. Less then half have gone out to seek help. There needs to be lots of healing and counselling because some of them, a lot of them have become abusers themselves and a lot of them don't know how to have a relationship. A lot of them don't know how to be parents, they never had parents when they were in school. It was only after I quite school that I started learning to be a parent, [using] my own culture and traditions by asking elders. I was away from work for 3 years just to live off the land and learn. Learn how to have my own dog team and how to hunt. To take care of animals and skin them all. I had to learn that after I came out of school. The signs of the weather, the danger of the ice. I learned that only after

436Ernerk, Peter.

437Tungilik, Marius.
I quite school.*438

"I think the only difference was that we had to go away so long for so many years. I never saw any wild parties at Churchill. The only parties I remember was dancing Friday nights for about three hours, drinking pop, eating chocolate bars, that's it. No alcohol.

Some students I talked to who went to Churchill use to say they didn't have any freedom there. But from my point of view I never saw so much freedom compared to Chesterfield Inlet. We had free time but not so much as compared to Churchill.*439

"After I got through four years in that school for some years after that I was very angry. I would always hear that Inuit had no self-esteem and I would get very angry about that. When asked if I was proud to be Inuit I would say why would I want to be part of that. My clothing was replaced, my shelter was different. I was taken away from my parents..... Inuit used pointer finger to put thimble on to sew, Qallunaaq [white people] used middle finger. The teacher would tap me on the finger with a pencil and tell me I was doing it wrong. So after those things what was left of me to feel good about myself?

I think socially we did very well. There was no suicide. We left home at over 12 years old. We had a very good foundation of Inuktutitut. The only way we knew how to survive was Inuktutitut.*440

"Another good thing about Churchill was we got to meet people from all regions, Northern Quebec, Baffin, Kewatin, we learned to live together, work together, things like that which is very beneficial for things like that today."441

"I had a pretty good experience. Made a lot of good friends there. Mind you the first year was pretty hard. Being away from family, around people you have never seen

438Immooritak, Richard.

439Ulinierk, Celestino.

440Williams, Rebecca.

441Ningeongan, Alice.
before, longing to go back to your family. It was an opportunity to take and make the best of it.\footnote{Joamie, Mosesee. 1997 Personal Interview, July 15-August 30. In attendance at Churchill 1965-68.}
APPENDIX (F)

The following are excerpts from interviews conducted with former Inuit residential school students regarding the role of religion in the residential schools. Please consult footnotes as to the name of the former student interviewed and the school/schools attended:

Question: What role did religion play in the residential schools?

"Religion everywhere, nuns priests, we went to school [for religious instruction] at least 5 times a day. I didn't go to church for a long time after school once I became an adult. I go occasionally now for my own reasons. I didn't see the value. we were so brain washed that Christianity was the only way to achieve a good life and a good after-life and I was sick of it. I know now that Christianity was not the only way. Our spirituality was equally valid. There was no reason to kill it, we had a good governing system. There was a time when I thought the priests and nuns were sent by god personally. We had to follow their wishes no matter how bad or corrupted."^44^

"Very, very big part. Pray first thing in the morning and it lasted all day."^44^

"At that age when your so young you don't really know what culture is. Maybe it [religion] was a good thing when your growing-up at that age."^44^5

"Lots! I prayed about fifteen times a day in those days. The religion played a very, very major role and the only way you could have gone to heaven according to the teachings that we got from the Roman Catholic church in those days was to believe in Jesus Christ, the virgin Mary and god. They had no concern, they had no respect for our traditional spiritual beliefs what-so-ever at

^44^Tungilik, Marius.

^44^4Immoroitak, Richard.

^44^5Ulinierk, Celestino.
classrooms as well as in private teachings taught by the grey nuns as supervisors. We were told "your here to learn to speak English, to write English, add arithmetic, so you have no use for your Inuit culture, Eskimo culture anymore so you will have to forget that part, your here to become teachers, pilots, doctors, grey nuns and priests." Those were the positions that existed or air-radio operators in those days because there was the D.O.T. operation facility in Chesterfield Inlet. I remember getting slapped on the palm of my hand very well with a three foot yardstick when I was speaking Inuktitut language with another student. That was my first year, two months after I had been in Chesterfield Inlet in 1958. The teacher said to me, "Don't ever let me hear you speak that language again in this classroom." 446

"I thought it was wonderful [religion]. I thought it was very good for me. The church taught me to get along with other people I never knew before. We were made to go to church." 447

"We had to go to church no matter whether we wanted to or not on Sundays or when there was masses. Other than that it wasn't really forced on us. No religion in classes." 448

"I was in the Anglican church. Except from one time Johnny [friend] and I went to Catholic mass so we could get an extra half hour free time for going to church. We had to wear our Sunday vest and "elephant" shoes. White up-front, round like an elephant foot. Priests and nuns never taught classes. Religion was not part of the classes." 449

"It was, we had to attend service, so every Sunday you had to attend. Although that was no different than my upbringing, my parents would have applied that, although than it was English for me instead of Inuktitut. I

446Ernerk, Peter.

447Williams, Rebecca.

448Ningeongan, Alice.
1997 Personal Interview, July 15-August 30. In attendance at Churchill 1967-70?

449Joamie, Mosessee.
suppose that was a way for me to learn English in a holistic way. No religion taught in the classrooms. No prior exposure to English [personally]."*450

Question: Was religion a hinderance or benefit to the schools?

*I think personally religion was a hinderance. If they were out to teach good values I think lack of religion would have been much more beneficial. Not if they were to undermine Inuit culture and customs. Religion has a role but it is not the only way to reach inner peace. Religion is not the only way to go and that is what they were promoting so strongly and that was detrimental on so many people."*451

"Yeah, pretty well yes [religion was a hinderance]. Cause I remember there was some Anglican students who went in there and they were sent away to another school because they weren't Catholic. They didn't want them at Joseph Bernier school."*452

"It [religion] wasn't a hinderance. I don't think it was going to stop teaching teachers from teaching us."*453

*In those days we didn't know any better and that was the only life that we knew would exist for our future, I thought that religion played a very major role in our up-bringing. I thought it would make miracles happen for me. So in those days I thought that religion was of a major benefit for me as an Inuk coming from the little community of Repulse Bay. They talked so much of seeing angels, seeing miracles, seeing Jesus and the virgin Mary and all that.....so, I use to pretend at that point that I was seeing Jesus Christ. In Chesterfield Inlet I remember a certain sister use to take us to her room, sometimes I would be washing the floor, that's one of the duties that I would have in those days was to wash

---

450Wilman, Mary.  

451Tungilik, Marius.  

452Imoronoitak, Richard.  

453Ulinierk, Celestino.  
the floor on Saturdays, she would talk to me about god. She told me that I should not be bad. I should be good always. If I was bad, god would be very angry with me. 

"Benefit [religion] to me as a person. Some of the teachers and supervisors we had went to church with us." 

"It helped [religion]. We were taught about religion back home. It helped us. Having something to believe in. It helped us be very knowing good and wrong."

"Religion was not a hinderance. It was very part of the classrooms. Wasn't a benefit, it just didn't make a difference."

"Benefit, [religion] I would think."

454 Ernerk, Peter.

455 Williams, Rebecca.

456 Ningeongan, Alice.
1997 Personal Interview, July 15-August 30. In attendance at Churchill 1967-70?

457 Joamie, Mosesee.

458 Wilman, Mary.
APPENDIX (G)

The following are excerpts of interviews conducted with former Inuit residential school students in relation to the residential schools and clothing:

"You had to wear uniforms in Churchill but we were already wearing those kinds of clothes here [Iqaluit]." 450

"Yes, [the clothing changed Inuit] we became little white Eskimos. More or less the Eskimo kids were trapped between two worlds, the majority were not full time hunters anymore. I myself, I don't think I could be a full-time hunter. We had to hunt all the time for the winter months, feed the dogs and all the people. I wouldn't say it was easy." 460

"Yes, there were changes in clothing. The clothing we had to wear was uniforms. The girls wore blazers and the boys wore suits, the boys also had to wear 'elephant' shoes." 461

"I suppose there were changes in clothing. Mind you when I went down I didn't wear any traditional Inuit clothing. I didn't bring none down either. We were given so much money to buy clothing that we would need. We were given additional clothing for the winter. Fortunately we didn't have to wear uniforms other than those 'elephant' shoes. We were given runners for gym class. When we wore them out we would get a brand new pair of shoes." 462

"Yeah [there were changes in clothing]. We had uniforms when I first got to Chesterfield Inlet. I have a picture of myself and other students all wearing blue-jeans and these red spring jackets. They provided us with down jackets covered with jean material. They also


461 Ningeongan, Alice. 1997 Personal Interview, July 15-August 30. In attendance at Churchill 1967-70?

provided us with boots made from cow leather, they were white. We use to have to paint them every couple of months to make them look like they had just come-in. When I first got to Chesterfield Inlet the nun took all my clothes. Those included my pair of Kamiks [boots]. When I got them back in the spring they were all dried up so they were no longer useable. So I don't know what they did with them in those days. My pants, my socks, my coat, Inuk coat...Inuit style, I only got them back the next May when I was going back to Repulse Bay. I remember my mother commented that the kamiks I had the year before when I was taken by father [name deleted], how she noticed that they were all dried-up and wondered if I did use them. That summer for the first time in my life in Repulse I put on a short sleeve shirt, a pair of jeans and a pair of shoes.\textsuperscript{463}

"Yes [there were changes in clothing]. To me the clothing was for Churchill. We had to wear uniforms depending on how many years we were there. The girls wore knee -highs black shoes and turtlenecks with different collars depending on which year they were in. The boys had to wear 'elephant' shoes, grey pants, white shirts a tie and dark blue blazer."\textsuperscript{464}

"Yes [there were changes in clothing]. There was very big changes for me. It was like wearing cardboard. They were stiff [residential school clothing]. I had a very hard time getting use to them. It was suffocating too, you had to button-up."\textsuperscript{465}

\textsuperscript{463}Ernerk Peter.

\textsuperscript{464}Williams, Rebecca.

\textsuperscript{465}Immoroitak, Richard.
APPENDIX (H) DEFINITIONS

AC of C GSA- Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Archives. ADOMI- Archives Deschatelets Oblates of Mary Immaculate.
DIAND- Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.
INAC- Indian & Northern Affairs Canada.
NAC- National Archives of Canada.
RC- Roman Catholic.
RG- Record Group.
NA & L- Northern Administration and Lands Branch.
D. Int.- Department of the Interior.
DMR- Department of Mines and Resources.
NANR- Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.
DND- Department of National Defence.
NHS- Northern Health Service.
H & W- Department of Health & Welfare Canada.
NAB- Northern Administration Branch.
HBC- Hudson's Bay Company.
NWT- Northwest Territories.
RCMP- Royal Canadian Mounted Police.
APPENDIX (I) PAST ANGLO NAMES OF INUIT COMMUNITIES AND THEIR MODERN INUKTITUT NAMES

Broughton Island- Qikiqtarjuaq
Belcher Islands- Sanikiluaq
Cape Hopes Advance- Quaqtaq
Cape Smith- Akulivik
Eskimo Point- Arviat
Fort Chimo- Kuujjuaq
Frobisher Bay, Ward Inlet- Iqaluit
George River- Kangiqsualujjuaq
Great Whale River- Kuujjuarapik
Hopes Advance Bay- Aupaluk
Leaf Lake- Tasiujaq
Payne Bay- Kangiruk
Port Harrison- Inukjuajp
Richmond Gulf- Umiujaq
Snare Lake- Wekweti
Sugluk- Salluit
Wakeham Bay- Kangiqsujuaq
Wolstenholme- Ivujivik
Consent Form Provided For and Signed By Principle Researcher and All Former Residential School Student Informants.

PARTICIPATION CONSENT FORM

Researcher: Dave King Re: Frost Centre, Peter Robinson College, Trent University, Peterborough Ont. K9J 7B8 (705)-748-1764 Office of John Milloy, research supervisor.


Project description: Informants are provided with data obtained from the government of Canada's files from the residential schools. Informants are asked to provide input as to diet, language, curriculum, clothing, religion, building structures, activities and abuse within the four schools.

Project Objectives: To research the history of the Federal government of Canada's Inuit residential school system in order to establish an in depth study as to the administrative, religious, economic and daily functions of the schools; To establish the difference between a residential school from any other form of school; To establish the difference between segregated Inuit schools and public schools; To demonstrate the roles of the three major operators of the Inuit school system. The Roman Catholic church, the Anglican church and the Canadian federal government; To document the residential school systems' introduction of a foreign language, diet, religion, clothing and customs on the Inuit; To interview Inuit as to their experiences, opinions and assessment of the residential school system on the Inuit; To investigate possible physical, mental and sexual abuse of pupils; To provide my research to the Inuit community via the Aurora and Nunavut research institutes.

Statement of Informants rights: "I have been fully informed of the objectives of the project being conducted. I understand these objectives and consent to being interviewed for the project. I understand that steps will be undertaken to ensure that this interview will remain confidential unless I consent to being identified. I also understand that if I wish to withdraw from the study, I may do so without any repercussions. Any and all data that I provide may be withdrawn at my request. I understand that no information provided by my person shall be published until I approve of the notes"
taken by the researcher and give my permission to publish the information. I understand that before the interview may be concluded, the researcher will present me with his notes and I will have the right to delete anything I do not want recorded. I understand that this project is associated with the University of Trent which abides by the Ethical Principles for the Conduct of Research in the North, (ACUNS). I understand that all interviews with my person will be conducted in hand written field notes by the thesis author through the aid of an Inuit interpreter if necessary."

**NOTE: THE TERM "PUBLISHED" AS USED WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THIS CONSENT FORM MEANS THAT DATA PROVIDED BY THE INFORMANTS WILL BE RECORDED IN THE RESEARCHERS' M. A. THESIS. THIS PLACES THE RECORDED DATA IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN WHERE IT IS AVAILABLE TO OTHER UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, STAFF, FACULTY AND THE PUBLIC IN GENERAL.

-----------------------------------------------
PARTICIPANTS SIGNATURE APPROVING PUBLICATION OF NAME
(PLEASE PRINT)

-----------------------------------------------
SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT APPROVING PUBLICATION OF NAME

-----------------------------------------------
PARTICIPANTS SIGNATURE DISAPPROVING PUBLICATION OF NAME
(PLEASE PRINT)

-----------------------------------------------
SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT DISAPPROVING PUBLICATION OF NAME

-----------------------------------------------
SIGNATURE OF WITNESS

-----------------------------------------------
I, THE ABOVE SIGNED RESEARCH ASSISTANT, AGREE TO MAINTAIN CONFIDENTIALITY OF BOTH INFORMATION AND THE SUBJECTS TAKING PART IN THE STUDY.

-----------------------------------------------
DATE OF CONSENT
BIBLIOGRAPHY


*Globe & Mail* "Eskimo Girl Starts Her Own Packing Box Schoolhouse," 11 July 1957.


Peterborough Examiner 6 October 1956.


The Inuit Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, DIAND, 1990.


Watt, Erik. "Eyewitness Says: Kidnap Children To Fill
School,* Winnipeg Free Press 30 September 1959.


Winnipeg Tribune "5 officials quit Eskimo school Long hours blamed," 5 October 1965.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Archives
Record Group MSCC, including Volumes 6575-103 Series 2-15
Box 29
M 96-07 file 1 Box 92
6575-103 Series 3-4
Box 92
6573-103 Series 3-4
Box 94
6575-103 Series 2-15
Box 24

Archives Deschatelets Oblates of Mary Immaculate
Record Group HR, including Volumes 6641. C73R
6643. C73R
6729. C73R

Public Archives of Canada
Record Group 22, including Volumes 379
545-ACND-1957
545-ACND-1958

Record Group 85, including Volumes 229 711 1337 1444
254 712 1338 1445
401 834 1373 1462
461 984 1374 1468
499 1061 1375 1505
644 1062 1434 1507
645 1069 1436 1682
653 1072 1437 1870
709 1130 1442 1871
710 1139 1443 1903
SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW SOURCES

Former Residential School Students and Schools Attended

Peter Ernerk, Chesterfield Inlet, Yellowknife and Churchill.
Richard Immoroitak, Chesterfield Inlet.
Mosesee Joamie, Churchill.
Alice Ningeongan, Churchill.
Marius Tungilik, Chesterfield Inlet.
Celestino Ulinierk, Chesterfield Inlet, Churchill.
Rebecca Williams, Churchill.
Mary Wilman, Churchill.